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RETHINKING URBAN-RURAL RELATIONS/MIGRATIONS IN CENTRAL-EUROPE

THE CASE OF SLOVENIA AND HUNGARY

Edited by: ALENKA BARTULOVIĆ and GÁBOR MÁTÉ

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Rethinking Urban-Rural Relations/Migrations in Central-Europe. The Case of Slovenia and Hungary

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INTRODUCTION:

RETHINKING URBAN-RURAL RELATIONS/MIGRATIONS IN CENTRAL-EUROPE. THE CASE OF SLOVENIA AND HUNGARY

This special issue is the result of a bilateral project titled *Anthropological study of rural-urban and urban-rural migrations in Central Europe: The case of Slovenia and Hungary* (BI-HU /21-22-002), which was financially supported by the Slovenian Research Agency. From the Hungarian side, it was carried out with the support of the Ministry of Innovation and Technology of Hungary, from the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund (2019-2.1.11-TÉT-2020-00175). The project aimed to foster further collaboration between the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at Faculty of Arts at University of Ljubljana and the Department of European Ethnology – Cultural Anthropology, University of Pécs, and joint research of the dynamic of rural-urban and urban-rural migrations/relations and impact on everyday life in Central Europe.

Ethnological and anthropological investigations contributing to the formation of the field of post-socialist studies, which emerged after 1990s, have placed particular emphasis on transformative socio-cultural and economic processes or the so-called "transition". Even though this renewed scholarly interest in East, Central and South-East Europe directed considerable attention to understanding the changes in the countryside, there are still relatively few studies examining the transformation of rural space and urban-rural relations in post-Yugoslav space (see for example Cernič Istenič 2015; Frelih Larsen 2005; Naumović 2013; Knežević Hočevar 2010, 2012, 2015; Obad 2002). In particular there is lack of studies that aim to analyse intensive and dynamic process of urban-rural and rural-urban migrations in historical and contemporary perspective and effects of this process on rural-urban dialogue.

In post-Yugoslav space scholars were recently focused on negative perceptions of the countryside and rural inhabitants among residents of larger cities (see for example Armakolas 2007; Bartulović 2013; Jansen 2002). The socialist era in Yugoslavia was marked not only by agrarian reforms, but also by a strong (political and ideological) alienation of the countryside (see Allcock 2000; Wairiner 1959), which influenced also the post-socialist relations. Since the 1990s, Slovenia as well as Hungary underwent a process of deindustrialisation and neoliberalisation, large areas of arable land have dissappeared and the number of employments in the agricultural sector has continued to decline. However, as early as the 1980s, there were the first waves of relocation of residents from urban centres to their surrounding areas, which continue to alter the dichotomies and connections between urban and rural areas.

In Hungary many attempts have been made by historians, sociologists, and geographers (some influential instances: Enyedi 1980; Vágvölgyi 1982; Váradi 2008; Kovách 2012; Csurgó 2013) to unfold and describe the changes associated with the communist transition (1948) and the effects of the transition to a market-economy (1990). The focus was especially on the smaller villages and "underdeveloped" regions. Hungarian ethnology has also been concerned with urban/rural relations mainly with changing living conditions (Bodrogi 1978), post-peasantry (Swarcz – Szarvas – Szilágyi 2005), and more recently with the counter movements from cities

to rural settlements (Farkas 2018), but still without much interest in the impact of inner migration on the society and countryside (Ispán 2020).

The main objective of the papers in this volume is to provide fresh ethnographic and historical data, and new knowledge about the socio-cultural reasons for urban-rural migrations in Central Europe. Regarding more specific goals, we also attempt to provide answers to under-researched questions about the impact of urban-rural and rural-urban migration on everyday life in the cities and in the countryside in Slovenia and Hungary. Our goal was to examine both the historical background and the contemporary processes and examples of urban-rural relations. However, our project did not allow us to conduct new research, but was limited to revisiting, revising, and regrouping our ethnographic materials. In general, we deal with different topics and work in different places. However, the opportunity to share our experiences during our joint fieldwork allowed us to gain comparative aspects and shed light on some of the pressing issues. In essence, the landscape, the role of women and youth in the process of improving urban-rural connectedness, self-preservation, and the expectations and future of young entrepreneurs (and new rural residents) emerged as common areas of interest.

Alenka Bartulović examines the coping strategies of new peasant women in Slovenia who married into farming families and thus moved from the city to the countryside. She underscores the importance of women's contribution to maintaining the existence of family farms and emphasises the changing dynamics of gender relations in the countryside with the introduction of pluriactivity. The article by *Judit Farkas* is about a small Hungarian village that has seen numerous inflows and outflows since II. World War. She examines how the future is planned, how community participation and the use of knowledge works. She also reveals what images of rurality and what ideologies are behind these ideas. *Kurucz Réka* focuses on a small southern Hungarian region (Ormánság) and its vineyards, where the vineyards and wine cellars played an important role in the forced migration of people (especially peasants) after the so-called communist turn (1948). She draws attention to the small vineyards that functioned as refuges in the lives of their owners even after the end of peasantry in the classical sense of the word. She explores the role they played in preserving the identity and sustaining the community. *Anja Moric and Gábor Máté* have identified parallel processes in the changing status of the landscape and conducted a comparative analysis. They examine two regions, Baranya in Hungary and Kočevska (Gottschee) in Slovenia and focus on the cultural and social consequences of processes of abandonment and their manifestations in both areas. *Ana Svetel* analyses various educational mobilities of rural youth in the Solčavsko region of northern Slovenia, where she highlights the importance of education, transportation and infrastructure, housing issues, farm succession, and tourism in shaping practises of moving, returning, and staying in Solčavsko. *Barbara Turk Niskač* examines the back-to-the-land movement in Slovenia over the past decade through a case study of five families who decided to move from urban centres to the countryside and make subsistence farming the centre of their lifestyle. By going beyond the rural idyll as a pull factor, the article situates itself within research on ethical food production and consumption.

These six featured articles have produced important findings in understanding urban-rural relations/migrations in Slovenia and Hungary. Based on ethnographic fieldwork they provided a glimpse into the interconnectedness of urban and rural spheres, which have often been studied in isolation. Additionally, they explored the dynamic of urban-rural migratory processes in the past and the present. It was our aspiration to inspire further research on the urban-rural relations in Central Europe and beyond in both theoretical and empirical terms. We hope that more interdisciplinary research is motived by this work in order to fill the gaps in the existing literature on urban-rural dialogue in Central Europe.

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Alenka Bartulović

WHEN A CITY GIRL MOVES TO THE COUNTRYSIDE: COPING STRATEGIES OF (NEW) WOMEN FARMERS IN SLOVENIA

Although the work of rural women has often been unrecognised and described as "hidden" or marginal, interdisciplinary research in recent decades has highlighted the importance of women's contribution to sustaining the existence of family farms and emphasised the changing dynamics of gender relations in the countryside. This article presents two cases of successful family farms in Slovenia, in which women who married into the farm and thus moved from the city to the countryside emerged as important innovators and contributed greatly to the socioeconomic stability of the farm. The paper focuses on the two turning points, i.e. the dissolution of Yugoslavia (which included Slovenia's independence in 1991) and Slovenia's accession to the EU (2004). The ethnographic research, conducted mainly in 2012 and 2013, highlights the process of introducing pluriactivity on farms and analyses the social circumstances and household dynamics that contributed to the active participation of women in the decision-making process, which in turn led to the socio-economic advancement of farms.

Key words: women farmers, urban-rural migrations, coping strategies, gender relations, Yugoslavia, Slovenia

Introduction

The disintegration of Yugoslavia and the collapse of socialism in Southeastern Europe had a major impact on the status of women and gender relations. Most research notes that the region has experienced a strong "re-traditionalization" of gender roles since the 1990s (see, for example, Hassenstab and Ramet 2015; Helms 2013; Mesarič 2015). In general, the revival of religion and the triumph of national ideology have been criticized by scholars as the main obstacles to the process of ensuring gender equality in post-socialist states. Rural areas have traditionally been seen as the guardians of so-called "traditional values," and this perception has not fundamentally changed with the post-socialist transformation.

Despite the prevailing policy of gender equality, which contributed immensely to the improvement of the status of Yugoslav women, rural women were considered throughout the Yugoslav era to be the bearers of backwardness and, consequently, the main target of the Yugoslav socialist project of "women's liberation." As Ivan Simić (2018) argues, in the early years of Yugoslavia, the Communist Party openly considered peasants to be the most backward segment of the population, with peasant women being placed even lower in this hierarchy, as they were seen as most inclined to resist new and forward-looking policies. The goal of the Yugoslav leadership was to transform the so-called "traditional communities" and impose socialist modernization on rural and urban areas (see also Allcock 2000). The Communist Party specifically targeted peasant women and used collectivization, among other measures, to emancipate them (Simić 2018). While the achievements of socialist Yugoslavia in terms of promoting gender equality cannot be denied (see Jamberšić Kirin and Blagaić 2013; Gothsee and Mead 2018), as many peasant and working-class women had access to education, health care, and employment for the first time and escaped poverty through (social) mobility

(Bonfiglioli 2017),[1] it is nevertheless clear that the impact of this process was uneven and unsatisfactory for many reasons. There were very many regional differences and, in addition, the status of women in socialist Yugoslavia was also strongly determined by their urban or rural origin. Thus, Yugoslavia developed a patronizing relationship towards peasant women. Rural women were seen as the most exploited part of society, with no agency of their own, and thus as victims to be rescued from the old traditional life and roles. Often their active role was completely ignored. Even when they did all the work and management of the farms while their husbands were employed in the rapidly developing Yugoslav industry and had to commute daily to urban centers (Barbič 2000: 99) and even though they clearly articulated their opposition to some of the ideas of the new agricultural policies, which were often developed in the centers, i.e. in urban areas, where policy makers assumed to know what was best for farmers (Simić 2018). This, highly urban-centered views and images of rural women persisted after the dissolution of Yugoslavia.

Today we still find the notion that gender equality in the countryside is impossible to achieve because of the nature of work and women's willingness to submit to patriarchal power. These assumptions are closely tied to the construction of agriculture as a masculine sphere, where farming is generally seen as a male occupation. As a result, farm women are referred to as farmers' "helpers" or simply as "farmers' wives," and their work is typically described as "hidden," private, or unvalued, and therefore less relevant to farm success (see Bock and Shortall 2006).[2] Being only a "farmer's wife" affected power relations on farms and often cemented the unequal division of labor (Alston in Wilkinson 1998: 393; Shortall 2006). "When agriculture is constructed as masculine, the structural inequalities that privilege men are naturalized." (Pilgeram 2007: 576).

Many studies have confirmed that the role of women on farms in the EU and beyond is still limited in on-farm decision making (see Pini 2005; Knežević Hočevar and Černič Istenič 2010). Moreover, inheritance practices have not changed. Farms in Slovenia are generally owned by men. The male heir is privileged and considered the most suitable and qualified farm manager (see also Shortall 1992: 444, Papadopoulos 2006: 197). Although we can find some highly successful female (co-)owners and managers of farms, they were and are mostly owners of small farms (Černič Istenič 2006: 72). According to data from 2012 (Uršič 2012), only 27% of family farms in Slovenia are owned and managed by women, while the number of women employed in agriculture is decreasing. In 2022, for example, the number of women owning farms decreased to 23% (Krajnc, Šuštar 2022). Patrilineal inheritance practices also contributed to the exclusion of women from decision-making processes.

However, farm women have always played an important role in family farms and rural economies. In recent decades, interdisciplinary research has shown that the labour input of women and children was critical to the success and survival of family farms, focusing also on changing trends in the division of labour and the different relationships between genders and generations (see Barbič 2000; Bock and Shortall 2006; Brandth 1994, Destovnik 2002; Kneževič-Hočevar and Černič-Istenič 2010; Kovács and Váradi 2000; Černič Istenič 2014; Papadopoulos 2006, Pilgeram 2007).[3] These studies, influenced by feminist theory, oppose the

[1] Numerous ethnographic studies have analysed the complexity of women's experiences in socialist Yugoslavia, which could not be generalised. The same is true for the experiences of peasant women in contemporary Slovenia.
[2] Moreover, their decision to become a farmer is not considered a "professional" decision, reflecting the aspirations and the will to farm, but a personal decision, concerning the intimate sphere of life and marriage.
[3] Some of these studies (see Kovács and Váradi 2000) confirm that a highly specialized gendered division of labour does not necessarily imply unequal gender relations.

selective representations and emphasize the immense contribution of women to peasant production through their labour input.

This article is thus a small contribution to contemporary studies dealing with the changing status of women in the Slovenian countryside and, in particular, with the process of women's empowerment. In this article, however, I will focus on two interesting ethnographic case studies of women who became farmers through marriage and thus moved from urban or semi-urban areas to the countryside.[4] Both women live on successful family farms in north-western Slovenia, where I conducted ethnographic research in the winter months of 2012 and 2013 and made a brief follow-up in 2021.[5] Here, women acted as important innovators and contributed greatly to the socioeconomic stability of the farm. This article focuses particularly on women's involvement on farms during the two turning points, i.e., the dissolution of Yugoslavia (which also led to Slovenian independence in 1991) and Slovenia's accession to the EU (2004). I will examine the socio-political circumstances and household dynamics that contributed to the active participation of women in decision-making processes, which in turn led to the further development of the farm and the improvement of gender equality in these families. I hope to highlight the complexities of women's resistance and persistence in peasant households in north-western Slovenia and to shed light on some of the obstacles, as well as opportunities, faced by women who chose to rebuild their lives in the Slovenian countryside at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st centuries.

Rebuilding the life in the Slovenian countryside

The collapse of the socialist system, the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the independence of Slovenia marked the period that led to further tectonic changes: the accession to the EU (2004) and the further strengthening of the neoliberal ideology. It seems that especially the farmers perceived this step into the European community as a crucial obstacle to their usual agricultural practices. Although Slovenian farmers were generally critical of the official Yugoslav policy that introduced agricultural reforms after the World War (see Allcock 2000), they were not impressed by the new era, which was characterized by great uncertainty, risky decision-making processes, high social expectations of farmers, government regulations, and agricultural policies (including the EU Common Agricultural Policy). Increased competitiveness was a major challenge for the survival of family farmers and semi-subsistence producers. Despite subsidy policies and active rural development policies, the new demands on farm families forced many to find additional sources of income or renew their farming practices. However, many lost the

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[4] I am aware of the problematic nature of the urban-rural dualism (see, e.g. DePuis 2006), but since the terms "urban" and "rural" play an important role in my interlocutors' narratives, I will use these categories as emic terms. However, the ethnographic case studies presented here clearly confirm the interconnectedness of urban and rural space.

[5] Ethnographic fieldwork included both participant observation and semi-structured interviews with farm women and their household members. Additional short interviews were conducted with some members of their local community to obtain information about their status. Special attention was given to understanding the role of women in the peasant household. The author gratefully acknowledges financial support from the Slovenian Research Agency (core funding P6-0187) and the project Anthropological study of rural-urban and urban-rural migrations in Central Europe: The case of Slovenia and Hungary (BI-HU /21-22-002) was financially supported by the Slovenian Research Agency.

battle. Many farmers experienced a severe personal crisis. This was especially the case for male farmers who adopted the new, neoliberal concept of personhood imposed by EU agricultural development policy (see Fox 2010, Knežević Hočevar 2015). "Unsuccessful" farm management or the perceived failure of men as farmers and providers for the family led to severe mental illness or, in some cases, even a dramatic increase in suicide rates among farmers at the end of the 20th century in EU and beyond (see Ramírez-Ferrero 2005: 39).

Refugee studies (see Jansen 2008), and rural studies (Shortall 2014) in particular, have often emphasised that the problems of coping with the loss of status and wealth have been particularly severe for men. Eric Ramirez Ferrero, in his book on the farmworker crisis in north-western Oklahoma, argues that the reason for this is the dominance of patrilineal succession in rural areas. Women, who usually came to the farms after marrying the (designated) owner of the farm, were often less attached to farming and the land they inherited. They also found that successful farming was less important to their personal identity and self-image, so they perceived financial difficulties as less compromising and therefore often found it easier to "act in crises" (Ramirez Ferre 2005: 39; Shortall 2014: 76).

The move of the so-called "city girls" to the countryside is often a very turbulent time for both the peasant families and the women themselves. As in many other contexts, the depopulation of rural areas can be observed on the borders of the EU. Public attention is therefore focused on other rural problems, including the persistent problems of unmarried farmers who cannot find a spouse willing to work on the land. Indeed, the academic literature confirms that mothers discourage their daughters from marrying a farmer (Lazaridis 2009), because it is seen as a life of deprivation from which women farmers in particular want to protect their daughters. Nevertheless, the qualitative study conducted in Slovenia in 1991 confirms that most girls who marry farmers come from peasant families (see Knežević-Hočevar and Černič Istenič 2010: 70). The fact that farming guarantees some security in times of crisis or even seems attractive as a form of better lifestyle (see Turk Niskač in this issue) also motivates some urban women to consider living in the countryside. However, during my field research, I often encounter the opinion that women who decided to settle permanently on the farm and leave the city are "not very smart" or do not know "what they are getting into." However, these two cases of successful family farms in Slovenia, where women were important innovators and contributed greatly to the socioeconomic stability of the farm, clearly prove the opposite. Two women were the ones who introduced pluriactivity as a livelihood strategy on family farms in order to contribute to the survival of family farms, but more importantly, to find their own vocation in life. Indeed, the female protagonists in my ethnography were eager to find a way to expand their opportunities for self-actualization, and at the same time they felt an obligation to contribute to the viability of the farm in order to secure a better future for themselves and especially for their children. However, they did not feel the burden of the past (the responsibility to continue farming) as strongly as their partners, and their identity was much more complex than the identity of their spouses, whose main idea of self was related to their occupation. In particular, they embraced multifunctional farming or pluriactivity, which is particularly attractive to women. I now turn to two case studies that show that because of their particular situation (i.e., they come from a different milieu, have particular skills and knowledge in a particular situation, etc.), these new women farmers have succeeded in improving their position not only in their family but also in their rural community.

Anka's story[6]

"I think this life has found me," Anka explained to me as we baked bread in the kitchen of her farm. She admitted that she had never thought about a life in the country, but then fate brought her to the remote dairy farm in the mountainous area around Železniki. Her husband was much more talkative when it came to their common beginning. He lost his first wife to cancer just as Slovenia was joining the EU. He experienced a double shock. Devastated by the loss of his wife and the mother of his three children, he indicated that he was seriously reconsidering his farming career at the time. He praised farming as a way of life and had a deep personal attachment to the land, although he had not moved to the farm until his father married the previous owner of the property. As a result, he was very hesitant to return to the nearby city to work, as it would have been the only solution to his financial problems. However, things changed for the better and he met Anka, a young woman from the nearby town, who fell in love with him and decided to move to the farm. In the conversation, he explained very honestly that he would have definitely given up farming if he had not find a woman willing to work with him and take on at least some household tasks, which in rural Slovenia is still mainly a woman's domain. Nevertheless, it was clear to her from the beginning that she had other ambitions. After a few years of hard living – not being able to earn as much from milk, dried walnuts and pears, and home-distilled liquor, and having to deal with "all the paperwork imposed by the EU" – the situation has changed.

He explained that Anka's baking is currently the largest contributor to the household budget and that her entrepreneurial activities improve the family's quality of life in many ways. The farm's other main source of income is milk, but since they have had many problems with the health of their cows, they have decided – also lured by the higher subsidies – to turn to organic farming, which has proven to be the best solution for mountain farms. So Anka's baking has provided them with a stable and guaranteed income and given them time to think about other options. Anka's work on the farm has earned her high standing in the family, and she is heavily involved in all decision-making processes, but she admits that she does not dare to advise her partner on dairy farming. Anka fared similarly to many other farm wives, reinforcing her husband's identity as a farmer (see Shortall 2014: 77). The division of labour in this family is still very conservative in some respects. Anka is mainly responsible for the household and baking, while her husband works in the fields, stables and forest. However, both believe that the division of labour is necessary for a well-functioning farm: "Everyone has their own area where they know what they are doing ... Too many cooks spoil the broth."

Nevertheless, the work that Anka invests inside and outside the household is highly valued by her partner. The importance of her spouse's recognition and valuation of her contribution in sustaining many otherwise uneconomical smallholder activities provided her with additional confidence to explore other opportunities for off-farm activities. Although Anka did not own the farm, she owned her own baking business and was also very proud of her financial success. This guaranteed her a better position in negotiation with her partner and she emphasized her desire to be financially independent. Her everyday life clearly shows the rural-urban interconnectedness, despite her move to a remote area. She often stressed the need to have her "own world" and the bakery business was her image of freedom where she could achieve her personal goals. She sold bread at the local store and market, which forced her to travel to the

[6] In this article I use pseudonyms for all my interlocutors.

nearby town most days, where she also "talked to friends and people at the market," which made her feel like she "did not have to give up too much" with her move to the remote farm.

Ana's story

Ana lives on one of the most successful Slovenian cheese farms, where all the children are involved in the ever-growing family business. Not only the farmer – the former owner of the farm (now the farm has been transferred to the youngest son, and various parts of the family business are run by highly motivated and well-educated children) – but also the children claim that their mother Ana is the one who is innovative, organised and very determined to achieve her goals, although she claimed in the interview that as a young girl she was a wanderer and could not concentrate on anything. Marrying a farmer, she said, gave her life the right direction, and moving from the city to the farm allowed her to reach her potential. Her youngest son commented: "Mom is the one who is very ambitious, she cannot keep still, she always has all these ideas and visions and she's always reading something... But on the other hand, we would not be so successful if my dad did not work his ass off. He works, works, works... he's a real worker."

Ana's husband is a very eloquent and highly educated farmer,[7] who also describes the beginnings as a collaborative process that was also driven by his courageous wife:

> We were pretty much alone in this and incomprehensible for the time (late 1980s, A.B.). We were young, a bit stupid, so we were not afraid. We just had to do something... Ana went to Switzerland (to attend cheese-making school as one of the few women, A. B.). When I was studying, I forgot my book about cheese making... And she found it. She was studying chemistry. And at that time we (his family, A.B.) were just starting to build our new barns here. We were among the first here to specialise in dairy farming... My father passed the farm to me, and I was one of the youngest farmers in Slovenia. I was 24 when I got the farm... It was such a big responsibility that there was no other way but to roll up my sleeves. Ana was always like that... she was always connected to nature and willing to work, even though she was a city girl, that gave her a special push. That was actually a prerequisite for us to go in that direction.

Thus, Ana's social capital (Bourdieu 1986) was crucial for farm's success.

Some studies show that the willingness of the older generation to hand over farms earlier to their successors promotes more flexible intergenerational and gender relations among family members (Černič Istenič 2014: 2; Slovenc 2017). This early transfer was undoubtedly partly responsible for the success of this dairy farm. However, it is obvious that Ana played an important role in this process. Not only was she willing to learn and work, but perhaps more importantly, she had essential knowledge and connections at the time of the breakup of Yugoslavia, as her family was from Serbia. Although the transition period was hard and extremely confusing for many farmers in the region, the early 1990s presented a unique opportunity for the family farm, and Ana knew how to take advantage of it. She did not brag about it, but her husband was far less modest:

[7] He has university degree.

> Ana came from Switzerland and mastered the technology to produce quality cheese... However, we were the first in the former Yugoslavia to start making kajmak in Slovenia. We always say that we are real war profiteers. The Čad restaurant in Ljubljana was missing - overnight - the most important ingredient. They started to panic. She (Ana, A.B.) had spent enough time in the south, and she had enough aunts there, she just had to make a few calls ... For the first three or four years, Kajmak was our main product. At least, in terms of the financial aspect.

Her roots helped her through the crisis in some ways, but in our interviews, she distanced herself from the European "South" or the Balkans, asserting that the chaos stereotypically attributed to the Balkans cannot be associated with successful farming. She often reiterated that order was an essential part of good family and business life, which is why every morning while I was on the farm, I would find her in her office doing all the administrative and paperwork for hours before the family held their organizational meetings almost every day. Despite her very rebellious nature, she also claimed to be a very demanding and conservative mother (which was confirmed by her children). I had a hard time understanding her self-perception, as her statements and actions were quite contradictory. At one moment she asked me, "Do I look like a woman who can ride in the back seat?" and the obvious answer was no, but at the same time she claimed that she believed that "the wife should follow her husband." In practice, however, she was not a follower at all.

This also became clear when we talked about her experience of moving from Ljubljana, where she was studying, to the farm. I even talked about it with her mother-in-law, who lived in a separate household on the farm, and both somehow confirmed that their relationship was conflictual from the beginning. For example, when I asked the mother-in-law if she was proud of her son and his family because they had managed to build a successful farm, she replied that her son was "very hardworking" and went on to describe her own contribution to the farm's success, completely ignoring Ana's role. As a former cook, she contributed to the financial prosperity of the farm. In Yugoslavia, it was quite common for farmers who lived near industrial centres to be encouraged to earn a living in a "double way." A farmer-industrial worker pursued off-farm activities and devoted his time to farming in the afternoon and evening (Knežević-Hočevar 2012: 67).

Ana confirmed my feelings. She admitted that the first days on the farm were extremely difficult, not only because of her move from the city to the country, but especially because of the attitude of her mother-in-law. It is common knowledge that relationships between mother-in-law and daughter/daughter-in-law are inherently conflictual, but in this case, it turned out that this conflict was actually productive. It gave Ana additional self-confidence and prompted her to work more in agriculture and to leave the intimate sphere of the household, which was often considered a woman's sphere.

> I came here on the first of May and... I came to my mother-in-law and asked her what I should do. She only told me once to go and vacuum the house. If she had said, 'Why do not you get some water so we can wash the dishes,' I would have done that. But she did not. Once she even told me to notice the work myself. Then I started working with my father-in-law and my husband. So I went... In a few months I already learned how to drive a tractor... And there were other things she never did...

She even heard the first dialog between her husband and her mother-in-law when she expressed her deep disapproval and declared that Ana was a bad choice because she was a "spoiled city girl." The thought that she was a "gold digger" was also not completely absent. This was the triggering moment for Ana. Although this dismissive attitude, clearly reflecting the struggle for control on the farm, could be very discouraging for her, she told herself that it was time to use a "spite strategy" known in the Balkans as 'inat': "Now you'll see, I'll do things you never did!" And she did. Above all, she began to cross boundaries that had never been crossed, at least on this family farm.

Tensions in the relationship between mother and daughter-in-law are often described as the most problematic or ambivalent family relationships in peasant families, as they often pose a threat to the viability of the farm and family relationships (see Gill 2008). Successful family farms require constant negotiation between family members, and although the relationship between her partner and Ana were a very important part of the family dynamic, it appears that this productive conflict between mother and daughter-in-law was even more important to Ana's role on the farm. However, Ana's constant support from her husband and father-in-law was crucial. Indeed, both believed that the autonomy of the new, leading farm family should be established and preserved. This is also evidenced by the quick transfer of the farm to the young couple, which allowed Ana to become more involved in the decision-making process and pave the way for an emerging agricultural business.

Conclusion

Ana and Anka are quite different in many ways, but they share some personal characteristics and similar stories about the difficulties, but also the opportunities, of urban-rural mobility in Slovenia. They are both ambitious and demanding women who have made a name for themselves through dedicated work and introducing innovations into existing agricultural practices. Ana constantly emphasises her femininity (she even hired a stylist to advise her and other family members on how to present themselves in public) but prefers to spend her free time riding motorcycles and takes great pride in the fact that she has always been able to do everything on the farm, including driving the tractors and operating the heavy machinery – tasks that are usually considered the domain of men. Her ambivalence towards gender roles is striking, combining conservative patriarchal and feminist ideas. However, their attitudes and behaviours are consistent with the findings of studies of gender relations on other farms, where deviation from normative gendered behaviours is often followed by compensation for these actions in other areas. For example, when performing non-traditional gendered work, such as operating heavy farm machinery, women often attempt to maintain their feminine identity and also emphasise their conservative nature (see, for example, Pilgeram 2007; Pini 2005; Shortall 2014).

The particular family dynamics in Ana's family, such as the productive conflict with the mother-in-law and the great support from the husband and father-in-law, as well as Ana's strong character created the right environment that allowed her to follow her dreams and contribute to the great success of the farm, especially in the 1990s. The crisis caused by the war in the former Yugoslavia and the independence of Slovenia allowed Ana to respond to the needs of the market (by starting the production of the missed product and satisfying the Slovenian demand for kajmak). The special circumstances in the region, but also in the family, allowed Ana

to realise her potential and shape the future of her family business, even if she sometimes tried not to deviate completely from the expected gender relations. Together with her family, she managed to build one of the most famous cheese dairies in Slovenia, which also enabled a great financial success of the family farm. This success also allowed Ana to have more influence in decision making and to shape the future of her family.

Anka, on the other hand, runs her small business and has no great ambitions to expand her business. She seems to be more of a conventional rural woman, devoting most of her time to baking, childcare, and housework, but it is obvious that she resists the idea that farm women should be constantly connected to the farm. That's why she takes cooking classes and enjoys travelling to nearby towns and markets. As she said when we went to town, where she regularly sells her bread and cookies: "It's actually the best thing. I have my own rituals, my own life. I feel really good when I go to town. I have my regular customers... And we chat and it's just great! So I am a farmer, but I also have my own life. I have not completely given up my old life."

Both women also emphasized that they were able to come to terms with life on the farm because they were also able to pursue their dreams as peasant women. They often emphasized their enjoyment of farm lifestyle and some of the benefits of their move to the countryside but did not fully identify with the identity of the farmer, which in many ways was still reserved for their husbands who had inherited the farm. Sometimes they identify as farmers, but it seems that the main role of the farmer was still attributed to their partners. Nevertheless, they demanded autonomy for their farm family and also emphasised that they are the ones who occupy the "big house" on the farm, which in many ways was considered a "potent symbol of power and status on the farm" (Gill 2008: 92). For example, both women argued that they would not have survived the move from the city to the farm if they had not been guaranteed residential autonomy. Anka, for example, claimed that farm girls were more familiar with intergenerational cohabitation and that, as a city girl, she could not bear to share the kitchen with another woman. Control over personal space was critical for both. As Michel Verdon (1998) noted, "'adulthood' universally implies a desire for autonomy in everyday economic and domestic matters" and residential autonomy has to do with decision-making power. Thus, residential autonomy is related to economic and domestic autonomy, which is always associated with decision-making power. And this is also crucial in shaping the future of the family farm. Both women stated that they would simply leave the farm if the older generation interfered in their decision-making process. Anka explained that she had already sacrificed a lot when she moved to the mountain regions, where they live in almost complete isolation during the winter months. Living with family members with whom one does not get along seemed too much of a sacrifice for her. On the other hand, the fact that the father-in-law and mother-in-law live on the farm, albeit in separate houses, intensified Ana's struggle for autonomy, and the conflict with the mother-in-law led to productive resistance that allowed the family farm to succeed in the long run.

During my stay at the two farms, I observed how these women shifted between different roles on the farm and how they switched between their identities. They presented themselves equally as conservative and independent women, as feminine and masculine, as urban and rural, and emphasized the intertwining of seemingly opposing worlds. At times they identified more with their rural role, but soon after they emphasised their "urban" background and education, which was related to their socialisation in the city. They saw themselves as women "in between," or, as Anka said, "a little different from the others, everywhere." Nevertheless, they were very critical of the public image of rural women and admitted that they, too, tended to make generalisations and simplifications when they did not know the reality of everyday life on the farm. Although in some aspects they submit to the established dominance of patriarchal relations, on the other

hand, their actions are also characterised by different forms of resistance that also appear and disappear in different situations: resistance to patriarchy and the conservative division of labour in peasant households, the expectations of older generations and the expectations of the village community, the prevailing notions of agricultural development, and the policies (including agricultural education programmes) promoted by the Slovenian state and the EU (CAP). However, because of their background and education, they were often better able to navigate ideas about rural development and related administrative work. They also sought to undermine the social narrative that only men are capable of succeeding in agriculture, and they were quite critical of agricultural education programmes that were part of the complex process of gender mainstreaming in agriculture and rural development that was stimulated mainly by international organisations (Food and Agriculture Organisation, United Nations). As Majda Černič Istenič (2014) notes, the Rural Development Programme contributed only slightly to the promotion of gender equality. Ana and Anka also criticised the tendency of women-only programmes to focus on rural household economics. They felt that they contributed more to the farm business and that women needed to be seen outside and not "just behind the stove." Progress in gender equality, they proved with their own example, depends heavily on family dynamics, the division of labour (Černič-Istenič 2014: 10), and the personal experiences and aspirations of male and female farmers in particular socioeconomic situations.

Despite their desire to fit in, both Anka and Ana stand out from their surroundings, Ana even more so because she is much less afraid of the opinions of the local community. Both women claimed that at first, their urban origins posed a threat to the village community and especially to their families' status and prestige, but through their activities, success, and hard work, they slowly earned respect. They were also considered to be more willing to take risks, which is crucial for the survival of peasant families. I would argue that this was also due to the fact that they felt they had alternative options if their ideas related to the farm did not work out. They were both educated, well-connected, and confident that they could get through the difficulties. Perhaps because of this, they found it easier to focus on the future and innovations rather than societal expectations. Moreover, as "city girls" exposed to the process of othering in the countryside, they were accustomed to experiencing criticism. Over time, however, they learned to view their "city roots" as a privilege and as something that gave them some kind of advantage in the farming business. For example, they claimed that they knew how "city folk" thought and that they were privileged because they knew their "aesthetics," which allowed them to sell their products better. They were sure that locals would buy their products because they knew the quality and the production process, but for city dwellers they needed the right packaging: "For them, the packaging is almost more important than the content." In a way, they see themselves as good mediators between urban and rural areas, especially because of their experiences, they often advocate for women farmers, encourage them to participate in various activities, create their own interests/small businesses, etc. Unlike many rural women (see Shortall 2014), they did not tend to downplay their successful entrepreneurship and rarely identified with the household; rather, their identity was strongly linked to their entrepreneurial activities (see also Brandth and Haugen 2010) and the family. Despite the initial distance and lack of understanding at the beginning of their move from the city to the countryside during turbulent moments in recent Slovenian history, both became role models in their local rural communities and continue to inspire other women to take on more important roles in their farming families. Their life stories also illustrate the impact of these strong individuals in the process of improving situation of women farmers, but also testify that women who move to the countryside from the cities still face a number of obstacles that must also be addressed in current agricultural development policies.

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Farkas Judit

"EVERYONE WHO COMES HERE WANTS TO CHANGE THE VILLAGE"

MIGRATION, COMMUNITY AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN A HUNGARIAN "CUL-DE-SAC" VILLAGE[8]

This paper is about a small Hungarian village, Kisfalu the 20th-21st century history of which may be described as constituted by a series of waves of out- and in-migrations. In the mid-2010s, some in-migrant residents of the settlement, as a result of earlier, informal conversations, raised the issue of developing the village. They organized a number of forums where the gathered shared their ideas with each other; they invited development specialists and they themselves traveled to other settlements to learn about good practices. The active part of the process lasted about two years, and its investigation contributes a lot of experiences to the issues of contemporary rural development and the functioning of local communities.

The paper examines how the future is being planned at Kisfalu; how the inhabitants envision its development; what groups dominate during this process, whose voice is heard, and whose is silenced; how does community participation and knowledge use work; what happens to competing development plans; and what images of rurality, what kinds of ideologies are behind these ideas. The work fits into the series of research which examine the impact of city dwellers moving to the countryside on the given settlement.

Keywords: moving to the countryside, rural development, invented traditions, radical rurality

Introduction, methodology

My paper is about a small Hungarian village, Kisfalu[9] the 20th-21st century history of which may be described as constituted by a series of waves of out- and in-migrations or as the rise and decline of a village.

In the mid-2010s, some in-migrant residents of the settlement, as a result of earlier, informal conversations, raised the issue of developing the village. They organized a number of forums where the gathered shared their ideas with each other. At other times, they invited development specialists or they themselves traveled to other settlements to learn about good practices. The active part of the process lasted about two years, and its investigation contributes a lot of experiences to the issues of contemporary rural development and the functioning of local communities. I will examine how the future is being planned at Kisfalu; how the inhabitants envision its development; what groups dominate during this process, whose voice is heard, and whose is silenced; how does community participation and knowledge use work; what happens to competing development plans; and what images of rurality, what kinds of ideologies are behind these ideas. My work is part of research which examine the impact of city dwellers moving to the countryside on the given settlement. I used the customary qualitative research

[8] Project no. 2019-2.1.11-TÉT-2020-00175 has been implemented with the support provided by the Ministry of Innovation and Technology of Hungary from the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund, financed under the "Anthropological study of rural-urban and urban-rural migrations in Central Europe: The case of Slovenia and Hungary" funding scheme.

[9] I use a pseudonym for the village throughout the paper, Kisfalu literally means small village.

methods of cultural anthropology in my research: I collected data through participant observation and semi-structured interviews, and in addition to formal interviews I also had informal conversations on the topic. I have been carrying out research in the settlement since 2009. My initial interest focused on the community of people who settled in the village and followed a sustainable lifestyle, later I extended my focus to encompass the entire community. In keeping with anthropological practices, I resided with local families, participated in their and the village's daily life and festivities. In addition, I have been keeping in touch with them through skype, telephone and Facebook ever since.

Kisfalu

In the following I will briefly describe some aspects of the history of the village relevant to this paper, as well as the socio-economic processes taking place in the present.

Occupation of the settlement has been continuous since the Hungarian Conquest of the 9th century, but by the 1700s the number of Hungarian inhabitants dwindled significantly, and for this reason, Protestant Germans from Hessen were settled in the village in the 1710s. This led to the flourishing of the village, it was characterized by a lively economic and social life (high school, clubs, reading circles, hotel). The characteristic vernacular architecture of Kisfalu was also shaped by the Germans (and was preserved thanks to a 1990s rejuvenation program), these are among the main attractions of the village to this day. By the end of the 19th century the village had become the richest settlement in the area, its population at the time reached nearly 2,500 (see Keresztes 2009, K. Német 2011.). The current inhabitants often refer to this glorious past, to the once lively cultural and communal life when justifying their current organizing activities.

This trajectory was halted in the 1930s by the Great Depression, but already from the beginning of the 20th century it was quite common for people to increasingly look for a better life in the United States and many of them settled down there. During World War II the village was unaffected by military action, however, the forced expulsion of those who were ethnically German after the war fully affected the inhabitants. Their place was mostly taken by people from Békés county in south-eastern Hungary, who at the time were working as laborers on the enlargement of a nearby canal. Besides them, a smaller number of ethnic Hungarians (who were also forced to leave their homeland) from the former 'Felvidék' [Upper Hungary] region of (then) Southern Czechoslovakia, now southern Slovakia moved to the village. All of this yields an interesting situation from the point of view of the question of "Who is local?", since local "aboriginal" families have only been living here for 60–70 years (in addition to the minuscule number of mostly elderly inhabitants of German ethnicity). I will discuss this question in greater detail below.

In the second half of the 20th century, Kisfalu endured the common fate of small villages in Hungary: the independent local council [municipality] ceased to exist, the administrative body of the village was relocated to the nearby town. From 1971 on, no building permits were granted, therefore a large portion of young people left the community to try their luck in nearby towns or even farther away. It often happened that they took the bricks from the houses they dismantled and used what could be transported to incorporate into their new houses

elsewhere.[10] At the same time, according to the mayor, the fact that the outward appearance of the village has remained unchanged is thanks to the ban on new buildings, because this way there are no modern standard square-shaped buildings in the village, vernacular architecture has survived. This fact, the beautiful settlement view plays an important role in attracting middle-class newcomers to the village. In 1973, the 4 upper grades of the primary school were moved to the nearby town. Following the 1989 "regime change" the cooperative farm and other enterprises providing people with work locally or nearby stopped operating and the final decline and depopulation of Kisfalu seemed inevitable. Those who could not move and did not find work nearby felt entrapped in the village and reacted to the situation with inertia and depression.

Some of those who work are commuting to nearby towns daily, others find employment in other parts of the country or abroad. Locally, people mostly work in agriculture and/or undertake casual labour. Besides this, the municipality, the kindergarten, the school and the public work program offer employment to a few people. Besides these, smaller enterprises also provide a living for the inhabitants of the village (artisanal workshops, bio agriculture instruction, summer camp, the local shop, etc.)

The settlement belongs to the joint municipality of a nearby town, which has a branch office in Kisfalu with five members. The current mayor is in her third cycle, she is strongly committed to her village, she was an employee of the Municipality for more than two decades. Her family is one of the "old German" families, one of the few who avoided being expelled after World War II, and who still partly maintain German traditions. There are fewer and fewer inhabitants of German ethnic background in the village, the younger ones have moved away, and the older ones are dwindling rapidly, today they are just a few (4–5) people. The village has a kindergarten, where in recent years the number of children has been growing in a hope-inducing way (currently 22), so much so that the building of the institution had to be enlarged. The primary school only has the lower four grades, currently with 34 students and for years they have been under the threat of being closed (this is why the growing number of kindergartners is a source of hope). There is one shop in the settlement, with short opening hours and a poor selection, typical of such villages. At the same time, direct providers who sell their food stuffs from a truck come regularly to the village (bread, frozen goods, sweets, etc.). There are no pubs or coffee shops in the settlement. There is no permanent post office either, in its place a post office truck comes daily. Neither is there a pharmacy or GP in the village, a physician comes twice a week from the neighboring town. Public transportation is rather sparse (five buses leave daily from the village on weekdays, and three on weekends) and – in my experience – they are underutilized. There is a two-spired Protestant church and a Catholic church in the village. Furthermore, there is a culture house and a museum of local history in the settlement, and the so-called Blue House ('Kék Ház') at the center of the village (the former milk collection center got its name from its color) also serves as a venue for community events. There are civil associations in the village (Village Association, Civic Guard, Pensioners' Club), which attract locals and newcomers, and there are innumerable clubs, circles and programs functioning without official recognition, which mainly attract young newcomers.

On the one hand, the village bears the characteristics of a cul-de-sac village, the signs of economic and social distress: unemployment, outmigration of young people. the threat to the survival of the primary school, lack of GP, pharmacy and post office. On the other hand, there

[10] For the similar fate of small villages, see among others Farkas 2009, Horváth 2023, Kovács – Váradi 2013, Váradi 2013.

is a large number of urban middle-class people moving in many of whom would like to see the village flourish and are willing to take action for this to happen.

"Everyone is a gyüttment[11] (newcomer) here." Migration and possibilities for development

In what follows I will review the possibilities for economic renewal – based on the rural development literature – and will examine the most important directions delineated by the literature for endogenous development strategies and their chances of success at the settlement under study (on this question see Horváth 2013).

The 20th-21st century history of Kisfalu can be best described as migration flows. Due to the forced displacements that took place during the 1940s and 50s, the population of the well-to-do village inhabited earlier in part by Hungarians, but mostly by people of German ethnicity, was almost entirely replaced. The second wave of in-migrants (arriving during the 1980-s and 1990s) were motivated by alienation from urban life and nostalgia for rural life. It was in this period that a female Protestant pastor moved here, who had an enormous impact on the life of the village, and in a certain sense this continues up to this day, even after her death. The most noticeable camp in this wave of in-migration has been large families (or those planning a large family, today with 5–9 children, two of which had since then moved away). In the 2000s – independently of each other – some families engaging in eco-farming moved in, as well as some foreigners (Dutch, British) who have bought houses and spend a few weeks in the village every year. Concurrently, during the second half of the 2000s a community of young people belonging to the Hungarian eco-village movement who were planning a complete change in their lifestyle was formed, and in turn they too attracted numerous in-migrants. From the 2010s a diverse group of new families moved in, variously inspired by the female Protestant pastor, nostalgia for rural life[12] or the eco-community. In addition, the return migration of the descendants of one-time Kisfalu (out)migrants, from within Hungary, Germany, or other parts of the world alike is characteristic. Their majority only buys a house and spends a few weeks a year here, but there are others who have settled down or are planning to do so. Thus, it can be stated that some arrived independently of each other, while others moved to the village attracted by a particular group. According to the mayor, in the 2020s roughly 40 per cent of the population consists of in-migrants who have moved in since the 1980s-90s. This percentage also includes people who married into the village.

The literature on Hungarian small villages identifies two dominant trends with regard to the future of these settlements (see for example Horváth 2013, Kovács – Váradi 2013, Váradi 2008): one leads to the depopulation of the villages due to the fact that the needs and desires of the inhabitants outstrip the possibilities offered by the settlements, motivating them to leave. The other trend is the opposite, it shows a distinctive in-migration and revival during which individuals and groups appear that "long for a natural, environment-friendly, calmer, familial lifestyle away from the bustle of the world and for a milieu in which they can shape their world

[11] A pejorative term meaning newcomer commonly used in Hungary to describe people who have moved into local communities from outside

[12] On lifestyle migration and rural nostalgia see Benson – O'Reilly 2009, Csurgó 2014, Halfacree 2003b, 2006, 2007.

according to their own values and cultural needs" (G. Fekete 2013: 352).[13] This longing can be interpreted as a response to modernity and globalization and to the social and environmental challenges generated by them, as a result of which human needs change as do motivations influencing preferences for certain locations to reside in. Thus, personal security, desire for a healthy, safe living environment and food stuffs become increasingly important, and groups of people who have particular preferences come into being who prioritize these needs already in their choice of residence (G. Fekete 2013: 352–354). Small villages can be an excellent fit but they can only attract new inhabitants if they can also meet other important needs (personal and material security, the availability of services, social relations, self-expression) (G. Fekete 2013: 352).

In the case of Kisfalu, examining the motivations for moving in,[14] I have found that these factors did prove to be attractive for the in-migrants.[15] Besides the healthy, clean environment, the beauty of the village and its natural surroundings almost everyone mentions personal security: that (apart from some petty theft) crime is not a problem, that children can be allowed to be out on the street alone, because they are not threatened either by people of ill-will or by traffic – these are primary considerations. Financial security is much less characteristic, but most of the in-migrants ensure their survival by diversifying their sources of income and/or by choosing to restrict their consumption. At the same time, one of the reasons given for moving away is precisely the difficulty of making a living, thus, those who cannot make ends meet, move on. Availability of services also presents a serious challenge, because although the tools of telecommunication (internet, phone lines, access to television) are readily available in the village, other important services such as an MD or the school, as we have seen are only available partially, or require compromise (an MD is present twice a week, there is no school locally beyond fourth grade, etc.). My research shows that the above enumerated factors play an important part in making the decision to move, but just as important a motivation, if not even more so, is the desire for social relations and self-expression. The positive reputation of the eco community attracted an especially large number of people to this settlement, but the availability of opportunities for an active social life was in any case a very important factor.[16]

The initial "discovery" of the village can be attributed to the above-mentioned female pastor, who moved to the village in 1993, primarily in order to take up the position of pastor, but very soon stepped beyond this role and began to vigorously experiment with development. Being very good at proposal writing she attained serious results, using grant money she opened a tele-cottage, ran a dressmaker's shop, planted an orchard, began to create a fruit processing plant (fruit drying), she organized the local market, and began the renovation of the Protestant

[13] One of the earliest and ever inspiring bodies of research on the subject is that on the Káli Basin, see Fejős–Szijártó 2002. On the re-study of the Káli Basin, see: Nemes – Sulyok – Tomay - Orbán 2020, Lajos – Nemes 2022.

[14] I conducted semi-structured interviews with 22 in-migrants (with men and women between 18 and 55) on specifically this topic, focusing on the following questions: what were the circumstances of their moving to the village; Why did they choose this particular settlement? and How did their life turn out to be here? I also had informal conversations with many about the same questions.

[15] Barbara Turk Niskac's research shows very similar results (Turk Niskac 2022). Life-style migration is characteristic of both Hungarian and Slovenian field sites (see Benson–O'Reilly 2009).

[16] I studied people's motivations for moving in: Farkas 2016. Part of these is the distinctiveness of the settlement: its location, the fact that it is a cul-de-sac village, the natural beauty of the surrounding countryside, the beauty of the village itself, its distinctive architecture, its suitability for sustainable (eco) agriculture, that it is well-suited to raising children, its school is good, etc. At the same time many brought up the personal factor, that they had moved because somebody or several somebodies were residing there.
For studies of similar types of moving to the countryside in Hungary, see among others Járosi 2007, Szijártó 2008, Virág 2007, Csizmady – Csurgó 2012.

church. Perhaps her most spectacular result was obtaining assistance from the Sapard Programme [of the European Union] in 2005, with the help of which jointly with the local municipality renovations were undertaken in the village to preserve the characteristics of German vernacular architecture. They renovated 82 façades, which grace the village in their original form ever since and constitute one of the main attractions of Kisfalu. She had a dual goal: on the one hand, to create jobs for the locals, and to revitalize communal life on the other. Her goal was to thereby save the village from depopulation. As part of this project she invited young in-migrants and indeed – as I mentioned it already – several large families with many children moved to the village precisely under her (charismatic) influence.[17] A recurring element of reminiscences about her is that she was an innovator who had a great impact, she had great success in winning grant money, but she neither had the patience nor helpers in sufficient numbers to complete the projects. The projects she did initiate have proved to be short-lived, most of them are only present in traces or ruins that serves as an object-lesson in current development efforts.[18]

Later, however, attempts to save the village, to improve community life gained new impetus with the appearance of new actors, with those newly moving in.

It is well known from the literature on rural development (see among others Csurgó–Szatmári 2014) that the European system of rural development considered the exploration and exploitation of local economic, social, and cultural resources to be the main tool for eliminating regional inequalities which means that development strategies aiming to make use of and valorize local resources also receive great emphasis in Hungarian rural development efforts. Endogenous rural development building on local natural and social resources replaced exogenous development policy (modernization based on external resources) in the 1990s (see Christopher Ray's culture economies theory, Ray 1998, furthermore Csurgó–Megyesi 2015, Csurgó–Szatmári 2014, Lowe–Murdoch–Ward 1995, Ploegvan der–Renting 2000).[19] Local culture is such a resource, its characteristic elements are specific to the given location, such as for example traditional dishes, the local dialect, folklore, local arts and crafts, the historical past, and the natural environment (Ray 1998). Just as important for development is local identity, which is "of key importance both for the representation and promotion to the outside world of the given rural area and for local community building" (Csurgó–Szatmári 2014: 34). This development model views culture as a key element of development and of the local economy, enabling the given settlement to shape its own social and economic future (Csurgó–Megyesi 2015: 170). The transformation of rural development models in this direction has the result that the broad self-promotion of various cultural regions and individual settlements and the re-interpretation of local identity is becoming increasingly important in Hungarian rural

[17] Rural sociological studies in Hungary show that one type of successful rural development projects always has a "local hero" in the background who because of her position or personal abilities can effectuate the advancement of the given settlement. She is not only able to identify local problems but local strengths as well, which she can turn into resources, furthermore she can find and make use of external resources (grants, sponsors) too (cf. Nemes 2018). Rita Glózer's excellent paper is about the life course and motivations of those who bring about rural development in regions with small villages, cf. Glózer 2013.

[18] At a planning meeting, when several new ideas were being enumerated someone asked why they should be thinking up new projects when the village had been incapable of absorbing and carrying out the earlier ones, and what will happen if the new projects meet the same fate as the previous ones.

[19] On the endogenous development model, see: Pike–Rodriguez-Pose–Tomaney 2011, Sorensen 2015. Recently neo-endogenous development has appeared in the literature which promotes combining local knowledge and external, expert knowledge (see Eversola 2021, reviewed by Sárosi-Blága 2022). In Kisfalu – due to the lack of resources among other things – this had not taken place.

settlements, and significantly influences the organization of local communities and shapes local identity (see among others Csurgó–Szatmári 2014: 33).

The opportunities for economic renewal of small villages mentioned in the literature (see Fekete 2013) are or have also been available at Kisfalu: several of these factors are present.

For example, peace and quiet and relative isolation are listed among the virtues of the village making it suitable for artistic and other creative endeavors, and for spiritual retreats. From 1998 on, for several years an artists' colony was run in the village whose leader emphasized precisely these factors in her advertisements for the colony. A young woman who moved in somewhat later (2011) held ceramics classes in her own workshop as well as at the school, besides which she also organized summer camps or ceramics courses of longer duration. A young couple who held musical meditation retreats at the village also moved there in 2011. Recently a group of well-trained local young people, children of 1990s immigrants have established a handicraft workshop in which they teach ceramics, weaving and spinning and bookbinding and their venue can also serve as a community space. Members of the eco-community hold courses in permaculture, gardening, fruit growing [horticulture, pomiculture] and also offer lifestyle courses as well as therapeutic camps, they teach an eco-conscious rural lifestyle. The camps and trainings primarily attracted external participants although at times people living locally also took part.

The other alternative for small villages may be the availability of unpolluted land, clean water, and other natural resources. One strand of rural development thinking only accepts agriculture as a rural livelihood strategy (see Megyesi 2007: 34).[20] This idea is also partly present at Kisfalu, but on the one hand it does not exclude ecotourism based on local products and the natural environment and on the other hand it also prefers regenerative agricultural methods. Organic agriculture that fits the local landscape, renewable sources of energy, traditional methods of production and the use of artisanal methods yield products made of locally produced raw materials manufactured through family or small-scale labor that represent an added value for which there is increasing demand. The municipality cultivates its own lands within the framework of local workfare programs and markets the – fresh or preserved – fruits and vegetables produced through it locally, but at times they also take their produce to neighboring local product shows. Furthermore, it is no accident that several Kisfalu families depend for their livelihood on organic agriculture and organic products (fruits, vegetables, goat cheese), nor that one of the communities of the Hungarian eco-village movement has settled here. From the point of view of the latter, it was a definite draw that in that part of the village where they preferred to settle the former inhabitants had barely modernized the houses, which fit the in-migrants' ecological principles perfectly, and that the area was well-suited to eco-agriculture. In the loess wall found at the end of the plots there are hundred-year-old cellars, storage rooms and even ovens, and the plots include the elevated loess wall (locally referred to as hostel), or further land could be purchased at relatively low prices.[21] A further advantage of the area from their point of view was that it was in a less central part of the settlement, which they hoped

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[20] The problems of agriculture-centered rural development is discussed, among others by Finta 2015, Kovács, Katalin 2016, Kovács, László 2018.

[21] By now – besides the overall rise in prices characterizing Hungary in general – the increased interest in the village also contributed to increasing prices.

would allow them to pursue an undisturbed lifestyle that diverged from that of the majority (see Farkas 2016).[22]

Development and competing ideas

In the previous section I have looked at the characteristics of the settlement, its opportunities for development and individual attempts to make use of these. In this section I will discuss what kinds of future-oriented planning processes have taken place in the village, what role did in-migrants play in these, and how did competing ideas they represented appear in thinking about the future of the village. In principle, opportunities for economic renewal listed by the literature in connection with small villages are also given here, however, in practice this is not necessarily enough for the promotion and advancement of the village. This is even more so, as an increasing number of settlements use these methods and therefore it is hard to say anything new, to find the right brand, one that would have economic potential and strengthen local identity in addition to calling attention to a particular village from among many similar initiatives (for example, from among the many festivals or the many "local pickles").[23]

As I mentioned it above, the pastor who was active in the development efforts of the 1990s had similar plans and goals. With her failures this process stopped, but already in her lifetime certain individuals – members of the eco-community –, emerged who, taking a somewhat different direction, were eager to do something for the village. "We feel that since we have moved here, we must take responsibility for this village at some level." (J.A. 2010). This sense of responsibility led many to think about the future of the village (and thereby about their own) and under the impact of the newer in-migrants planning for the future gained a new momentum in 2014-2015. As part of the process, they held workshops at which every time one of the locals presented her ideas, thoughts about the possibilities for development which the participants then debated, or they invited outside speakers (community developers, rural developers, experts on social cooperatives, etc.) who spoke about their own experiences.[24] At other times they themselves went to other, similarly endowed settlements, where community and economic development was considered to be successful.

They attributed great significance to local heritage in building local identity, so they joined the so-called Register of Local Heritage and created a Settlement Heritage Committee. The goal of the heritage-program is to list national treasures,[25] identifying and listing heritage that the local community considers to be of outstanding importance.[26] At Kisfalu the list of potential

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[22] This kind of rural lifestyle can be considered part of what Keith Halfacree has named radical rural locality, which he defines as follows: "The radical rural locality identified revolves around environmentally embedded, decentralised and relatively self-sufficient and self-reliant living patterns." (Halfacree 2007: 132). People following this lifestyle express strong criticism of both society and modernity, as I have already shown elsewhere, see for example Farkas 2016.

[23] Bertalan Pusztai's work deserve special mention as it has been dealing with the question for a long time, ever since the first appearance of the problem. See his important research at Pusztamérges and Baja, Pusztai 2003, 2007a, 2007b.

[24] A very similar example of community development in Ukraine is presented by Kemble Walker and Mariia Plotnikova (Walker – Plotnikova 2018: especially p. 421.)

[25] See http://www.hungarikum.hu/en. Accessed 29 12 2022

[26] The lists are quite instructive as they show what a given local community considers to be valuable. However, it should not be forgotten that the list does not necessarily reflect the values of the entire community, rather it is much more a reflection of the values of the decision-makers or of those for whom the question is of

heritage items was rather long (which illustrated quite well how many and how varied were the items people valued.) Of these the Committee selected some and submitted them to the regional committee.

It is clear then that the inhabitants tried to educate themselves about possibilities for development. Although the planning sessions ceased after a while, aspirations in this direction continued in everyday life.

However, it soon became clear that the active participants of planning for the future primarily came from among the ranks of the in-migrants. They had significant cultural capital in this respect, they hailed from a variety of fields (agronomist, architect, social worker, teacher, university professor, ethnographer, handicraftsman, informatician, etc.) thus, had knowledge that could be useful for development. During the planning process competing ideas were clearly discernible, and from them the underlying ideologies became visible.[27]

The literature on urban-rural migrants is aware that "a recognizable group of the in-migrants arrives to rural settlements with a desire for communal life and accordingly they actively seek to create a community. A big part of this longing for rural community is the desire for premodern values and authenticity, which is manifested in the re-traditionalization of communal life, the re-interpretation of traditions" (Csurgó–Szatmári 2014: 36). It is also true for Kisfalu that because it was primarily the in-migrants who became civic leaders, for the most part it was their needs, tastes, and values that defined local community and cultural life. This is how the protection of the environment and nature, cultural activities building on traditions, and eco-agriculture gained more and more emphasis, and this is how local identity was transformed (Csurgó–Szatmári 2014: 36).

However, at Kisfalu, the ideas about rurality and the ideal lifestyle of the in-migrants differ from each other significantly. Consequently, their ideas about the possibilities and modes of development for the village are also very diverse.

If we examine how different people imagine the future of the village,[28] the following ideas emerge: 1) Workplaces must be created even if they are industrial; the mode of life associated with cul-de-sac villages must be escaped, the road that would make commuting to nearby Paks possible needs to be built; a pub and other venues for entertainment are necessary, etc. 2) The peace and quiet of the village must be maintained, it should remain a cul-de-sac village and tourism has to be developed based on these features (hunting, rural tourism, hiking, etc.); which can be made even more attractive with local products, a coffee shop, an active "culture house", puppet theater. 3) The peace and quiet of the village must be maintained, the village should remain a cul-de-sac village, tourism is not necessary, rather, they should concentrate on sustainable development that serves the needs of the locals. The culture house, the coffee-shop, the puppet theater, etc. are necessary but they should not try to appeal to the outside world, but

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importance. The Committee regularly posted the list in various list-servs and Facebook pages of the village in order to disseminate it to as many people as possible and to allow them to express an opinion.

[27] The place-based theory of rural sociology also calls attention to the fact that the points of view and interests of a given region or settlement are not uniform, some may be important for the entire community, and some may only serve the interests of a smaller community (street, neighborhood, social grouping, etc.) (see, Kovács, László 2018, Sorensen 2018). The concept of place here is not physical, but circumscribed by social characteristics, such as the street of the original inhabitants or of the in-migrants (often pejoratively referred to as 'gyüttment', newcomer of 'Gypsy Row', etc. Place-based thus does not merely mean a region or settlement, but also smaller communities with cultural or other kind of shared interests. (Kovács, László 2018: 7).

[28] I posed the question in interviews relating to motivations for moving here, as well as during informal conversations. It also often cropped up in the future planning meetings that I participated in.

rather try to serve the locals. According to my experience, we can't link clearly defined groups to these concepts. Perhaps it can be said about the first idea that mostly the "natives" would prefer well-paying jobs, good roads, and the modernization (urbanization) of the village. The other two ideas would be supported by a wide variety of local people. Moreover, these three examples only summarize the most characteristic ideas, naturally they also exist in varied combinations.

We saw above that endogenous rural development greatly relies on local cultural values and the active participation of local society. However, for all of this to lead to economic opportunities, provide inhabitants with a living, and the municipality with an income, it seems that a well-defined point of attraction, an "image" if you like, is necessary – this was a recurring theme of the planning meetings as well.

Thus, one of the important elements of aspirations for development included the creation of a brand, a symbol with which the village could identify itself, and with which the village could also be easily identified. However, finding such a symbol meets with serious difficulties precisely because of the – at times radically – differing ideas about the village, and about rurality among the inhabitants.

A very significant aspect of this is the relationship to the past: those living here at present (locals and in-migrants alike) do not have a common, local past, and they have an ambivalent attitude to the past of the village. Thus, ideas about the "true" past are rather divergent. Until the 1720s Kisfalu had a Hungarian population, thereupon due to the settlement project sponsored from above, the majority of the population was of German ethnicity. The Germans had learnt to speak Hungarian (what's more the Hungarians who had stayed on had learnt German), they fitted into Hungarian society, but the village became a typically Swabian village. This cultural milieu was quickly eroded due to the population exchanges after World War II. It mostly survived in architecture and material culture and the numerically dominant Hungarian population (only a few Swabian families managed to hide and later come back) "re-Hungarianized" the village. The people who moved in from Békés county in their stead had quite different economic practices and cultural features which – according to critical local opinions – ruined the flourishing agriculture the Swabians had built up and never attained the latter's cultural level.[29]

Some of the inhabitants consider the German heritage to be important and valuable and try to showcase it. The museum of local history serves this purpose, it was put together from the estate of a one-time German family (by a woman who had moved in during the 1980s), as does the façade-renovation project mentioned above (which, as we have seen, was also thanks to an in-migrant).[30] The female mayor, who has German roots, considers the preservation and passing on of the German heritage to be very important, thus, for example she would like to preserve

[29] A woman who had moved to Kisfalu at the beginning of the 1990s recalled that when they first arrived, the most important source of conflict was that between those from Békés county and Swabians (since at the time those concerned were still alive). Later, however, this changed, and "The despised people of Békés had by then improved themselves, and they became the team of "we are the true people of Kisfalu" (VJ 2016). The historically and contextually changing category of being 'gyüttment' would deserve a separate study, questions of ethnicity, locality, being categorized as intellectual-non-intellectual and ideological belonging all play an important role in such categorizations and frequently overwrite the complex web of identities and differences.

[30] In the course of her research on urban in-migrants Bernadett Csurgó found that often it is precisely the in-migrants who try to continue the local traditions (Csurgó 2013). This is so at Kisfalu too, but at the same time competing ideas manifest themselves in this process, too.

the characteristic local Swabian dishes for posterity. At the same time, she does not want to overdo these efforts, she is more attuned to the needs of the village and allows them to guide her attitude to the question.

While for some locals and some in-migrants the Swabian heritage is something to hold on to, for others it no longer has any meaning. Or they even think that it should be rejected: they are the ones who consider the Hungarian rather than the German heritage to be the important one and seek to legitimate this view by reference to the one-time Hungarian population of the village. This debate, these conceptualizations may be raised to an essentializing level, as in "Swabian perseverance, capacity for work and foresight should serve as an exemplar for the village." Or the opposite: "the German spirit still permeates the village and makes the people frugal and inward looking, this is why the village cannot advance." Or even "the village is overrun with Swabian and cosmopolitan forces." "The spirit of the Hungarians who had lived here before the Germans is more significant, the village can be set on a positive track by strengthening the spirit of the Hungarian ancestors." These alternative readings of the past can also be captured in such simple things as embroidery: some people consider it important to preserve Swabian traditions and therefore collect textiles and teach the knitting of a characteristic Swabian item of clothing ('tutyi'), and there are some who rethink elements of the Swabian costume and adapt them to contemporary wear. Yet others consider the preservation of Hungarian traditional costumes more important. Individuals who prefer the exclusivity of the Hungarian tradition are newcomers and followers of the so called "ancient Hungarian tradition", while the Swabian heritage is important for some native inhabitants, mainly with German ancestors and some newcomers who see it as the real cultural heritage of Kisfalu.

Debates about the "authentic" past surface on listservs, social media associated with the village, and at various village events. A good example of this is the 2015 "Village Day", which was held for the first time to commemorate Péter Huszár. Péter Huszár liberated the region from Ottoman Turkish occupation and as a reward in 1585 became landlord of Kisfalu – along with some other villages. When the planners were consciously looking for a suitable brand for the settlement not only objects and cultural items, but also historical personalities made it to the list, and this is how the heroic victor over the Ottoman Turks was included. The 2015 Village Day was organized around his character and the theme of defeating the Ottomans. In addition to the usual programs at such events (crepe-making, cooking contest and communal meal, cake contest, table football, chess, bazaar, a performance by schoolchildren, folk-dance troupe from the neighboring village, etc.) in that year the village was inundated with Turkish and Hungarian soldiers. There was an arms-show, bride abduction and liberation (the latter was the task of Péter Huszár), "Turkic" music, Turkish tent, horse show, drumming, a presentation on ancient Hungarian music, and so on. This time around, in addition to holding the customary evening dance party they also organized a jam session on the football pitch with shamanic drums, *koboz* [lute], 'tilinkó' [flute]. The Village Day was quite controversial: while earlier only the *locals* and the in-migrants formed separate groups (thus for example in-migrants were more likely to choose the 'táncház' [dance house], the locals preferred dance parties with electronic music), in this case further factions were formed. The most important differences in opinion were formulated precisely around the question of the German/Hungarian heritage: why bring in Turks and the vanquisher of Turks, why does not the most characteristic heritage of the village,

the German one, appear on this occasion?[31] But there were also voices, opinions according to which there were too many strangers at the event, it would be better if the Village Day only belonged to the locals.

Besides peasant traditions, the middle-class urban rural migrants generally also rely on religion in creating local identity, (see for example Csurgó–Szatmári 2014). The local Germans were Protestants, there were many practicing Protestants among those moving in, and we have seen that the woman who began the waves of in-migration herself was a Protestant pastor. Attachment to local Protestant identity and in theory to the German past (may) have a "natural" place, while their Hungarian identity, their attachment to Hungarian culture is also very strong. How these elements of their identity are activated and whom they connect varies situationally.

In some respects, protection of local, local (landrace) species of fruit that made it into the Register of Local Heritage is also connected to the past. The Fruit growers'-group in the village considers it important to preserve and pass on for posterity landrace fruit. They intend to give the use of resistant species (both fruit trees and produce) an important role in production for home consumption and sale alike and therefore according to them – and those who think like them – this could be an opportunity for development based on one of the already existing treasures of the settlement. In keeping with these considerations and as part of the agenda of the group they collected scions for grafting from old trees that were to be felled, thus preserving them for posterity. Or they tried to convince the owners not to cut healthy trees that were still yielding simply because they were old or in the way. This request at times elicited incomprehension, at other times downright animosity, and several people considered the preservation of landrace species a new-fangled whim.

Thus, the past is a very significant resource, its invention is important, and debates around the creation of a shared past are also manifest in discourses surrounding development.

Where are the locals in all of this? For the most part: nowhere. This is cause for perennial resentment and a topic of discussion among the in-migrants: the locals do not attend planning workshops, events, they distance themselves from communal activities, are passive, and so on.[32]

While the friendly and openhearted rural person is usually an important part of the ideal image urbanites hold of village folk, some of those who had moved in had modified their view - if they ever had one. The lifestyle of the inhabitants of the village does not really correspond to the expectations: while in-migrants long for community life and are attracted by the natural treasures, calm, peace, slow pace of the settlement and/or the peasant lifestyle, the villagers would be moving in precisely the opposite direction:

> It is my impression that many who were born here feel that they are condemned to live here, and they feel that they cannot escape this. For this reason, they do not like this situation and don't understand what it is that we love and choose and that we live the lifestyle they do not like to live (H.I. 2009)

[31] Beyond the German vs Hungarian question, the debate extended to the question of Who is at home here? which is especially interesting because in general such debates are between in-migrants – more precisely it is their voices that are heard. In this process "being at home" is interpreted from the point of view of a broader i.e., national identity that defines the local identity of individuals.

[32] The female mayor, who was of local origin, when time permitted attended these events, in part *ex officio*, in part because the future of the village seriously worried her as well.

At the same time this does not mean that the urbanites think that moving into the village has automatically made them into peasants, or country folks.

> We are urbanites living in a village" said a man in an interview and continued: "We cannot leave behind certain urban cultural values. This getting up at the crack of dawn goes totally against urban, and especially intellectual existence. For this you need to finish everything by 9 pm. No TV, no phone calls, no letter writing, no reading but just hit the bed and when the cock crows you can go mowing. It's a different kind of rhythm. (H.P. 2014).

And his wife added:

> I too feel that being in close contact with the land, that I see how it is ripening, what kind of processes take place, and to be in close contact with the land leads to a fuller life, so one's life is much more of a whole. But if I only do this, that does not give me that fullness either. Besides this, I must do some intellectual things that are different. (H.K: 2014)

Returning to the tension between locals and in-migrants: it surfaced in every one of my conversations as a fundamental problem and as one of the hindrances to the development of the village. The people of Kisfalu are aware of the fact – also emphasized in the literature on the subject – that "participating in local cultural communities and communally tending to cultural heritage is also of significance from the point of view of local social integration." (Csurgó–Szatmári 2014: 48). For this reason, many (not only in-migrants but also the mayor and other locals) bemoan the fact that a significant number of local inhabitants are inactive. At the same time the in-migrants are not uniform in this respect either: while some in the name of the principle of "community above all" see involving the locals as a kind of mission (and regularly meet with disappointment) others do not see the life of the village as hopeless, yet others consider such efforts to be overdone. One person (an in-migrant to boot) asked the question "if somebody just simply lives here, cultivates his land, his children attend school here, and so on, why isn't he a good enough citizen of Kisfalu, why is only a person who is there at every event considered to be a good citizen?" (B.T. 2015). No pattern or trend can be established based on length of residence either: we find militant community organizers and people with more easygoing attitudes among both those who have lived here since the 1990s and the newer ones.

But it can be stated that here too under the impact of urban in-migrants "the rules of daily coexistence have been transformed and two contradictory socio-cultural processes are competing with each other, urbanization and re-traditionalization, leading to transformations and conflicts in local socio-economic and cultural life." (Csurgó 2013: 15). With the appearance of the newest in-migrants, the new interpretative elites (see Szijártó 2008: 207) newer competing conceptualizations surface in both the developmental aspirations and the shaping of local identity of the village. The process is still ongoing. Finally, I present the opinion of a young woman, who in terms of the local – in-migrant relationship is in a liminal position: her family, her grandparents are from here, she herself was born in Budapest and moved back to the village as a child.

> Everyone who comes here wants to change the village, but things could just happen side by side, they could coexist. For example, whoever has been gardening this particular way until now, continues to do so, whoever has brought a new method she will do it that way. (V.Á., 2014).

She continued saying that she estimated that these processes will ease off in the future, as in the past, and everything will go on as before.

Summary

The paper examined the relationship of in-migration and development efforts in the life of a small Hungarian village. We saw that typically it is the in-migrants who take an active part in efforts to develop the settlement economically, culturally and in terms of community building. At the same time, it is important to emphasize that we cannot posit a direct correlation between the level of activity and local or in-migrant status, much more subtle distinctions are needed.

There are people in the village who imagine its future to be tied in with exogenous resources, they would even invite external companies to create jobs and thereby ensure better living conditions for the locals. More dominant are ideas that rely on endogenous development that fit well into Ray's culture economy model, that is to say, they envision development based on economic activities that mostly build on local human and material resources. We find supporters for all four modes of the functioning of culture-economy defined by Ray (see Ray 1998). There are those who see the future in finding a symbol or image typical of the village and its launching as a product or as an advertising tool. Others, however, would allocate a much greater role to the effect of local cultural heritage on integration,[33] and would direct development based on economic and cultural resources inward, towards the local community.

One of the key questions of the planning events was whether the village needed a symbol with which it could easily be identified and if yes, what should it be and how, for what purpose should it be used? This is not only difficult because these days it is quite hard to come up with something new and truly noteworthy, but also because at Kisfalu there are several competing local and specific cultural systems at play which marks the entire process of image production. The diversity of those living here, the fact that they hail from many directions and that there is no common past, no common tradition accepted by all that has been experienced through the generations makes the task of formulating joint conceptualizations difficult. This is how the German or the Hungarian past, the heyday of the village, religion or even nature as heritage become points of reference, discussion or even debate. When a certain idea seems to be more dominant it does not mean that everyone accepts it. In my experience which trend appears to be the strongest at a given moment greatly depends on the available time and energy of individuals and groups. During my longitudinal study, I have witnessed the appearance, rise and retreat of various ideologies and ideas. At the same time, I also saw that many people have recognized that it is precisely this diversity that can be the main component of their image, the main draw for the village.

[33] Just as Bernadett Csurgó and her colleagues found at Hajdúhadház (see Csurgó – Szatmár 2014).

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Réka Kurucz

THE ROLE OF VINE-HILLS/VINEYARDS IN THE AGE OF FORCED INLAND MIGRATIONS

A CASE STUDY FROM HEGYSZENTMÁRTON

This brief ethnographic case study uses the example of the vine-hill of Hegyszentmárton, part of the Villány area, the southernmost of Hungary's 22 vine-growing regions, to illustrate the impact of the persecution of affluent farmers and of collectivisation on the locality in general and on migration in particular. The territory of Ormánság lies directly next to the Croatian border, therefore it fell into the strictly guarded border zone from 1950 and its inhabitants were especially affected by the forced relocation of affluent farmers. Due to the ecological conditions of the area many people from the settlements of Ormánság district owned vineyards farther away, along the Western part of Villány Hills traditionally, on the vine-hills of Hegyszentmárton, and the neighbouring Diósviszló. Important facts are that these wine-cellars and vineyards lay outside the border zone, and were not expropriated, not nationalized. So the vine-hill of Hegyszentmárton gave home to grape and wine production by inhabitants of the villages of the Western Ormánság region, functioning in an extensive system of land ownership involving proprietors from a wide range of villages in the region right until the decade directly preceding the collapse of the communist regime and which persists, in traces, to this very day. This fact enables me to describe migration processes characteristic of the Ormánság starting in the second half of the 20th century from the perspective of the vine-hill of Hegyszentmárton. At the same time, I wish to draw attention to the way in which, even after the end of the peasantry in the classic sense of the word, small-plot vineyards functioned as sanctuaries in the lives of their owners and the social role they played in helping people preserve their identity and their sustaining community. The study aims to present the social and economic role of the vineyards of Hegyszentmárton in the lives of those who own the small plots from the 1950s to the present day, therefore also briefly addressing the process of estate concentration after the change of the communist regime.

Keywords: persecution of affluent farmers, forced relocation and return, migration, small-scale vineyard as a refuge, continuity of peasant identity (fragments)

Introduction

This brief ethnographic case study uses the example of the vine hill of Hegyszentmárton, part of the Villány area,[34] the southernmost of Hungary's 22 vine-growing regions, to illustrate the impact of the persecution of affluent farmers and of collectivisation on the locality in general and on migration in particular. The vine-hill of Hegyszentmárton gave home to grape and wine production by inhabitants of the villages of the Western Ormánság[35] region, functioning in an extensive system of land ownership involving proprietors from a wide range of villages in the region right until the decade directly preceding the collapse of the communist regime and which

[34] The wine-growing area of Villány is the southernmost of Hungary's 22 wine regions and lies near the Croatian border on the slopes of the Villány hill range.

[35] The Ormánság region is located in southwestern Hungary right next to the Croatian border on the northern bank of River Dráva. It can be divided culturally and geographically into two parts, western and eastern side. (Zentai 1978: 538)

persists, in traces, to this very day.[36] This fact enables me to describe migration processes characteristic of the Ormánság starting in the second half of the 20th century from the perspective of the vine-hill of Hegyszentmárton. At the same time, I wish to draw attention to the way in which, even after the end of the peasantry in the classic sense of the word, small-plot vineyards functioned as sanctuaries in the lives of their owners and the social role they played in helping people preserve their identity and their sustaining community.

It is not the goal of this paper to offer a detailed review of the history of the ethnic group of Protestant Hungarians living in the Ormánság region or the vine-growing and vinicultural tradition of the region. All we aim to do is to direct attention to the significant, yet hitherto unexplored connections between the migration processes which characterised the Ormánság region after 1945 and the social role played by small-scale vineyards.

At the same time, mention must be made of the fact that the Ormánság, this internal periphery, this backwaters within the country renowned for its practice of single-child families and its characteristic crisis phenomena (the single-child system, depopulation, disintegrating communities etc.) has been in the focus of the attention of the social sciences ever since the early 20th century. Located right next to the Croatian border, the region has based its farming practice on the floodplain which began to decline after the river regulations of the 19th century – a time when ploughfields were measured up and distributed, and the common use of forests, the very foundation of the life of the locals, became banned. Local Calvinist Hungarians reacted to the extremely difficult economic circumstances which had emerged by the second half of the 19th century, by adopting the practice of having only one child per family, in other words a regime of strict birth control, which led to the depopulation of the region. Although this social problem and demographic phenomenon has attracted the interest of contemporary social scientists and the broader intellectual circles of the age, and has been observed, recorded, and analysed in numerous times since the early 20th century, there have been few monographic works about the Ormánság region.

Sources and methods

As regards the methodology of collecting source material, in the first place I must mention fieldwork which I carried out between 2018 – 2022. During my research on the premises I sound-recorded semi-structured interviews, collecting my sample partly using the snow-ball technique and partly on a random basis[37]. I also placed high emphasis on becoming acquainted with the physical terrain, on observation and photo documentation. Field data are mostly referential to the present time, but based on the recollections of the older generation I was also able to collect information going back as far as the 1930's and 40's. The data and recent observations I collected during fieldwork were supplemented by processing several groups of

[36] Landed property registries from 1866 found in the archives of Pécs allow us to prove that farmers used to visit the vine-hill of Hegyszentmárton from exactly thirty nearby villages which were themselves unsuited for vine-growing. It also emerges from these sources that the vine-hill of Hegyszentmárton was cultivated by inhabitants of the Western Ormánság. (Source: National Archives of Hungary, Baranya County Archives, Landed property registries of Diósviszló and Hegyszentmárton, 1866)

[37] During my fieldwork I conducted nearly 100 interviews with 75 people over the past four years. Among them, 6 people were listed as 'kulaks', or their descendants, who were not deported, but a good part of their property was nationalized, and 11 people were displaced to Hortobágy as a child or young adult. My fieldwork is complicated by the fact that a large part of those whose forced relocated as adults are no longer alive or very old.

historical data and sources – archive and museum material, statistical data, (historical) maps, land registry data and the public part of the hill region registries.

Viniculture, landscape structure and identity (fragments) – the small-scale vineyard as a refuge for the continuity of farm property and expertise during the years of socialism

Continuity of property

The vine-hill of Hegyszentmárton is one of those small-scale farmers' vineyards in the Southern Trans-Danubian region of Hungary where small plots of vineyard formed an organic part of subsistence farms and never developed into a vineyard monoculture (Égető 2001: 594). The small-scale farm was a pivotal element of the ownership structure right into the 21st century. Besides local memory, this is also confirmed by historical maps,[38] archival sources[39] and statistical data.[40] Studies into the history of the landscape draw our attention to the fact that the landscape structure actually changed very little during the development of the small-scale vineyards, due largely to the fact that these plots were manually cultivated. This remained true even after the liberation of serfs in 1848, when the property rights of these plots were transferred into the hands of those who cultivated them, and even after the second major transformation of the territory, during the period of collectivisation (Gyarmati 2005: 1). Péter Illés interprets the role of these relic and remnant plots as a refuge and an anti-world overarching the ages. The part they played as a safe haven became particularly emphatic in the 1950's and 60's when village societies had to suffer the forced curtailment of autonomy via the restriction of the physical and mental spaces available to farmers (Illés 2013: 231; Ö. Kovács 2012: 402–405). Since these steep hillsides were unsuited for industrialised cultivation, they remained in the use of their owners in a practically unaltered form throughout the ages. They were usually considered as part of the 'household plots;'[41] later administratively re-categorised as 'enclosed gardens' (zártkert),[42] which allowed farmers a higher degree of autonomy in cultivation. Due to all these reasons, the

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[38] Cadastral map 1866: Hegyszentmárton (www.mapire.eu).

[39] National Archives of Hungary, Baranya County Archives, Landed property registry, Hegyszentmárton 1866, Községi Krónika [Village Chronicle] Hegyszentmárton: October 23rd 1975.

[40] Károly Keleti's statistics of viniculture from 1873 provide the number of farmers for each village, and this allows us to calculate the average size of land holding. In the case of Hegyszentmárton this shows a small-plot structure with each farmer cultivating, on average, 2880 m^2 of vine-growing land. (Keleti 1875: 274)

[41] The collective farms distributed 'household plots', backyard plots to their members to produce food for the family self-sufficiency. Because of the economic situation at that time people significantly depended for their livelihood on the backyard areas. This procedure in a lot of cases included the vineyards, if the owners have not waived it. (They usually did not do so.) An important difference compared to the 'enclosed gardens' that appeared later was that these areas could not be sold.

[42] The concept of 'enclosed garden' can be specifically linked to the Kádár era (1956-1989) and actually gained meaning with collectivization and the creation of collective farms as an area unsuitable for large-scale cultivation and designated for the perpetuation of personal land ownership. Private individuals could own land only here, the upper limit was set by law at 3,000 m^2, later 6000 m^2 per person. An important difference compared to 'household plots' is that these areas could be sold freely. The first wave of the categorisation of enclosed gardens and the appointment of new enclosed gardens took place between 1967–72. (Bali 2006: 156)

vineyards soon became safe havens of 'property continuity' for a peasant group of society otherwise forced into the constraints of collective farming. Owners had always been strongly attached to these plots on an emotional level, since all that they were allowed to keep from their former farmsteads was their house with its garden as an internal plot and the use of the vine-growing territories.[43] Besides, 'going to the vineyard' was a practice which offered a degree of space and physical freedom desperately needed for mental survival, as previous ways of using the land surrounding the villages could be continued here.[44]

1. Figure: Wine cellar on the vine-hill of Hegyszentmárton. Photo: Réka Kurucz 2022

Continuity of expertise and identity (fragments)

Forced collectivization was a source of several social deprivation. It destroyed traditional relationships, led to a decline in social cohesion and created new sources of conflicts. The

[43] It must be pointed out that the essence was in the use of the land. The communist land registry office never disputed the ownership of the landed property which members gave up to the co-operative in the course of forced collectivisation. The regime 'merely' restricted the rights to use and to alienate the land, thus guaranteeing the landed area required for large agricultural co-operatives. Thus, the emotional and, later, the economic significance of enclosed gardens was not so much in their property right as in the right of sustained use. Add to this the fact that from the 1970's onwards, under certain limitations, these enclosed gardens could be bought and sold, while trade in all other forms of landed assets was entirely frozen by the communist regime.

[44] After the reorganisation of agriculture, the right of use of the lands surrounding each village became restricted to forests, vine-hills and 'backyard' plots allocated near the village, while formerly the inhabitants of the village knew practically the total area surrounding their village, they would often visit it and generally move in a broader space. (Szuhay 1994: 348)

enduring negative consequences of collectivization include the lack of social relationships, weak social solidarity and civil society, lack of confidence. The social impact of collectivization includes a basic change in the approach to work, which involves the radical transformation of personal and family norms. For many, the traditional value of land and its cultivation was lost, writes Ö. Kovács (Ö. Kovács 2016: 233). The self-image of a peasantry which had already been deprived of its lands and means of production through collectivisation was further eroded by the communist regime through a whole series of steps consciously designed to smash individual and collective identity (the persecution of the 'kulaks'; forced relocations; persecution of the churches; criminalisation etc.) Nevertheless, the fragments of identity in the agrarian world found ways to survive in the practice of farming backyard plots and enclosed gardens (Ö. Kovács 2015: 223–225). As József Ö. Kovács put it, 'in the world of the peasantry, owning land, but even more the property right over that land and the quality of cultivation, are clearly the most important elements of the individual's self-image and the image which others construe about that same individual' (Ö. Kovács 2015: 223). During my fieldwork on the vine-hill I frequently witness the survival of these practices to this very day. Since traditional manual methods of cultivation have remained relevant in the field of vine-growing and wine production, contrary to other fields of agriculture, a 'continuity of expertise' has remained an important dimension of preserving the norms and identity of the farming community. It was particularly common from the late 1960's onwards for farmers to pursue their ambitions and goals associated to their vineyards which they could no longer fulfil via a full-scale farmstead. Typically, the efforts that families made in order to develop these small-scale production facilities, often to the point of self-exploitation, were in linear proportion to the size of the farm they had lost through collectivisation.

2. Figure: The vineyard of a married couple from Kákics on the vine-hill of Hegyszentmárton. They moved to Pécs in the 1960s. (Photo: Farkas, Sándor 1998)

Negative demographic and migration trends that had been characteristic since as early as the 19th century gained heightened momentum in the second half of the 20th century, and this has remained determining for the future of the region. While in 1900 the population density of the Ormánság was barely below the national average, and the actual numerical size of the population remained practically unchanged between 1870 and 1949, the establishment of the protected zones along national borders after WWII drove the population to migrate away from the region for a number of reasons. Between 1949 and 1989 the Ormánság lost one third of its population, so by 2005 its population density dropped to 33 persons/km^2, which is one third of Hungary's national average of 110 persons/km^2 (Kovács 2005: 38; Ragadics 2019). This marked decline in population size was partly due to a general trend of young people with a peasant background leaving the village driven by a sense of negative discrimination of this stratum of society and migrated 'en masse' to urban industrial centres in order to escape collectivisation (Ö. Kovács 2015: 224; Horváth 2020: 8). However, the fate of inhabitants in this region was finally sealed by the marked decline in relations between Hungary and Tito's Yugoslavia in the 1950's. In the five Hungarian counties bordering directly on Yugoslavia, the areas near the border were transformed into strictly patrolled border zones – the Ormánság included. Efforts were launched to construct a line of fortifications in the South (this became known as the 'Rákosi line'[45]), and the presence of the army and the ÁVH ('State Protection Authority', Államvédelmi Hatóság) was strongly visible and noticeable in the southernmost districts. Forced relocations commenced, evacuating families from the border zones, which led to grave deformities in a number of ways (Hajdú 2021: 18). On the night of June 23rd 1950, in one single night, the '2446 most dangerous individuals' were deported, along with their families. This forced relocation practically provided the manual labour force for the forced labour camps of the Hortobágy region on the Great Plain of Hungary (Nagy – Saád 2018: 8). Almost every village of the Ormánság lost at least one family. Besides, there were practically no industrial developments in the border zone (Hajdú 2021: 20); while commuting was also rendered impossible by large distances and an almost complete lack of tarmac roads in the area. Entering the border zone or travel to towns or villages 15 km from the national border was subject to special permission (Bencsik 2011: 4). All of this caused the most ambitious young people with a determination to make it in life to migrate away from an environment where their prospects had clearly been ruined. Essentially this area, just like Őrség in Zala county, was out of the urban development concepts of the communist era, which long preserved the unfavourable situation in the region, thus contributing to negative demographic trends (Ispán 2019: 79).

Such a negative migration trend was further strengthened when the 'kulaks' who were liberated from the labour camps upon Stalin's death in 1953 found that they were unable to return to their homes.[46] Far from being granted permission to settle, until the 1960's they were not even

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[45] It was a defence system. In fact, it is the Hungarian equivalent of the Maginot line. In the same way as the French defence line was named after André Maginot, in Hungary after the notorious communist politician Mátyás Rákosi.

[46] "The Committee issues the ruling which waives the obligation to stay confined to one location and the registration form for registering their current place of residence. Based on the Decree of the Ministerial Council, the Committee declares that they may henceforth choose their place of residence according to the laws binding for all citizens. This means that they may only reside in cities currently requiring a residence permit such as Budapest, Miskolc, Sztálinváros, Komló, Várpalota and all townships of the Southern and Western border zones if

allowed to enter the border zone, so they used to make clandestine visits via forest routes to pick up some food or visit their young children who had been sent home from the labour camp after the first year and were now in the care of relatives.[47] Their lands and homes had been nationalised. Most of them tried to make their fortune by orienting themselves toward the large cities (e.g. Pécs, the county seat) where they could settle without special permission. These families remained under constant surveillance right until the decade directly preceding the regime change. It was rendered nigh-on impossible for them to find employment – they lived in extreme poverty, changing jobs every days, weeks or months. Women were mostly permitted to work as auxiliary kitchen staff (dishwashing, kitchen maids' jobs), while men were forced to do heavy physical labour (mostly unskilled auxiliary jobs on building sites). [48]

One important fact is that such wine-cellars of the 'kulak' population of the Ormánság that lay outside the border zone, at locations such as the vine-hill of Hegyszentmárton or the neighbouring Diósviszló, were not expropriated. They were often in the care of relatives or friends, but mostly waited for their owners' return overgrown with weed. Many of the people affected applied for permission to move to their wine-cellars from their temporary residence in the city. According to recollections, the buildings erected on top of the cellars were traditionally oriented in such a way as to face the owner's village (in the border zone at the time in question). This view gained particular importance and even served as the subject matter of a powerful and dramatic poem by József Debreczeni, a 'kulak' landowner who had been relocated from Kórós village.[49] The poem was written in 1953, after he was released from 'Lenin-tanya'[50] and was allowed to move into a tiny cottage in Siklósbodony[51] village along with his family. (Debreczeni's poems inspired by the forced relocation experience were published by his family and the Traditional Ormányság Society in 2001 in a separate volume under the title *Hortobágyról zokog a szél* (The winds sobbing from the Hortobágy).

What remained of their vineyards was also crucial to these people, now in dire financial difficulties, from the point of mere sustenance. Whatever they could grow here did not need to be bought for money.[52]

By the late 1950's (after the détente of 1956), when dictatorial rule had become somewhat ameliorated and opportunities improved to a certain extent, many of the former large-scale farmers were rehabilitated, several 'kulak' families were allowed to return home, their landed

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they receive a residence permit. Applications for such permits are very assiduously weighed by the authorities, so it is best if they do not apply, as they will certainly not be granted leave to settle. The Committee also warns them not to apply to the authorities to restore to them their former landed or moveable property abandoned at their former residence and employed by others, because these will not be restored." (National Police Headquarters, Action plan for terminating the confinement of settlers in Szolnok County, 1st August 1955. Source: Hantó 2006: 409-410).

[47] Based on interviews I made with former inhabitants of the Ormánság affected by forced relocation and currently living in Pécs.

[48] Based on interviews I made with former inhabitants of the Ormánság affected by forced relocation and currently living in Pécs.

[49] Kórós is a village in Ormánság district, close to the vine-hill of Hegyszentmárton, but fell inside the border zone.

[50] 'Lenin - tanya' was one of the ranches in the Hortobágy region, where the forced relocated 'kulak' families lived for three years in closed forced labour camp.

[51] Siklósbodony, this small village lying right next to the vine-hill of Hegyszentmárton and fell outside the border zone.

[52] Based on interviews I made with former inhabitants of the Ormánság affected by forced relocation and currently living in Pécs.

property was restored and farming was recommenced. At the time, these families saw farming as their only possible future scenario, partly because they were firmly attached to every last inch of the land which they saw as their 'ancestral right', and partly because this was the only trade in which they were adept. However, few of them were able to tolerate the full-scale collectivisation which soon ensued. Most of them ended up selling all their landed property and leaving the villages for good. My view of the matter is that by this time they were fairly experienced at how to get by under changing and difficult circumstances, and this enabled them to react more speedily than medium-scale farmers or indeed anyone who was in the same walk of life but had not suffered relocation. By moving, the former large-scale owners also presented an example to others who often followed suit and tried their luck at county seat Pécs, particularly in cases where the party secretary appointed to control them used uncommonly harsh methods (e.g. at Bogádmindszent village).[53] Thus, a great many families left the Ormánság irrevocably during the early 1960's.

Lajos Dani, a schoolteacher born at Drávapalkonya village in the Ormánság region, wrote about this as follows, "The priests tried to find the solution, but with little success. The population of the Ormánság declined at a steady rate until about 1950. This was followed by a sharp drop. As for the reasons – first of all the forced relocation of the 'kulaks' to the Hortobágy. Most of them were unable to return home because their village happened to be in the border zone. Later the young people set out to work on the large construction sites of the country (Dunaújváros, Komló).[54] Driving out the population was crowned by full collectivisation completed by 1960" (Dani 2014: 128).

The case study on the village of Kemse in Ormánság, which continues the investigation of the village during the decades of socialism, also sheds light on the catastrophic migration processes. From the analysis of the demographic data, we can learn that migration was catastrophic, especially in the 1950s, when the village lost 154 people in a single decade, which was close to the 1949 population. It was an escape of such magnitude that it had fatal consequences for the village's future. The "sinking" of Kemse was not caused by the continuation of strict birth control, but by mass emigration rooted in general economic-social-political conditions after 1945 (Lehőcz – Dövényi 2020: 88).

Migration mostly affected the more highly trained young population, mostly the offspring of former large-scale farmers (Kovács 2005: 34), who were now able to find employment mostly in Pécs and primarily in industry (unskilled work at building sites; transporting or, since the people of the Ormánság work well with wood, having to shift the huge logs arriving by rail at the parquet floor factory) – alternately, in many cases they worked in the mines of the Mecsek hills. Entire streets and quarters of people from the Ormánság sprung up in the city of Pécs over the 1960's, particularly in the current Kovácstelep area (then Mecsekalja), as well as around Vadász street and the one time Kertváros. These were suburban areas at the time, where people were allowed to keep animals. They would buy plots of land at a low price, often taking out a mortgage with OTP Bank, build a house and keep livestock such as chickens and pigs. This was important not only from the point of view of maintaining an old, rural lifestyle, but also as a source of sustenance. Construction costs were usually covered from the sales price of property sold in their village of birth. For want of any other home or house, elderly family members also

[53] Based on interviews I made with former inhabitants of Bogádmindszent in the Ormánság affected by forced relocation and currently living in Pécs.

[54] At that time, these settlements were developing socialist cities, where labour was greatly needed due to constructions.

moved to Pécs in most cases, but they also spent months staying out at the wine-cellars on Hegyszentmárton hill, while family members in full-time employment would visit them over the weekend. They used to supply them with food and clean clothes and take care of the heavier, more demanding physical tasks around the house and plot. Inevitably there would come a time when the elderly no longer found it easy to supply themselves on the vine-hill of Hegyszentmárton (walk 4-5 km to the village shop for break on a weekday etc.), it was common for families to sell their vineyard and cellars there and buy a smaller cellar and vineyard at Pécs (Hársfa street, Gyükés, Postavölgy valleys etc.) where they could continue a way of life where some of their time was spent living in natural surroundings, growing produce to supply the family. Once the elderly also moved into Pécs, relatives found it easier to visit them, possibly several times a week, and thus ensure that ageing relatives were being taken care of. My interviewees described that often their parents, old people with their roots in a rural lifestyle, persisted in this way of life till their dying day.[55] In addition, from 1988, within the framework of the Reformed Parish of Pécs, the association was established that brought together people of Ormanság origin in order to save their identity. This 'Traditional Ormányság Society' operated until 2020. It organized trips home to Ormánság for its members, where they placed memorial plaques in their native villages, and took care of the graves of their former teachers and priests. In essence, they tried to play the role in the village that their social position would have required if they had stayed at home. From 1996, in their quarterly newspaper, they shared their memories of the forced relocation, or their villages customs and lifestyle of their childhood. The society was eventually terminated in 2020 due to the aging of the members and the covid epidemic.[56]

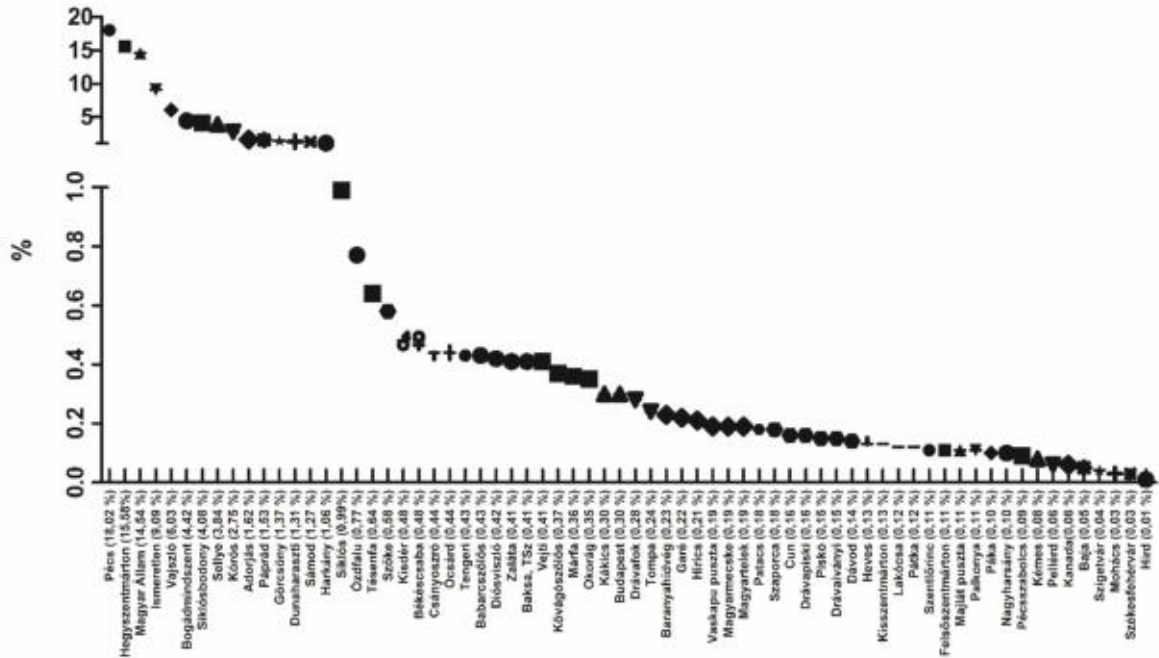
The migration processes that characterised the Ormánság in the second half of the 20th century can also be traced on Hegyszentmárton vine-hill, since these vineyards could and indeed did represent a physical and emotional refuge for those who had been deported or fled to the city to escape collectivisation. During my fieldwork on the vine-hill it became clear that this latter group was also considerable in number. The extent to which these migrants, who had left their place of origin, remain attached to the vineyards is shown clearly by reviewing the place of residence of the owners. While the landed property registry of 1866 shows that the vine-hill was home to the vineyards of only 30 villages,[57] data from the land registry book of 1986 testify that 69 townships were involved in vine-growing on the vine-hill of Hegyszentmárton.[58] The first places to be added to the list were Pécs and the surrounding villages. At this time, 18% of the vineyard areas of the hill was owned by residents of Pécs, which is more than the ratio (16%) of area owned by people coming here regularly from Hegyszentmárton. Villages that amount to a mere few percent of ownership include a number of small villages from around Pécs (e.g. Hird, Kővágószőlős, Pellérd, Pécsszabolcs, Szentlőrinc, etc.). The detailed list of these villages and the exact size and percentage of the owned areas are shown in the following graph (Figure 3) and table (Table No. 1).

[55] Based on interviews I made with former inhabitants of the Ormánság affected by forced relocation and currently living in Pécs.

[56] Based on an interview with the society's secretary in 2022.

[57] National Archives of Hungary, Baranya County Archives, Landed property registries of Hegyszentmárton, 1866.

[58] Landed Property Book, Vine-Hill, Hegyszentmárton 1986.



3. Figure: Vineyard-owners by place of residence based on the land registry book of 1986, Hegyszentmárton[59]

Distribution of the vineyard areas according to the residence of the owners, and the number of the owners per townships. Based on the 1986 land register, in Hegyszentmárton Number of the owners: 784 people + the areas of the collective farms (in the table: TSz) Total area: 217.49 hectares i.e. 2,174,932.46 m^2							
Name of township	**Number of owners**	**area (m^2)**	**%**	**Name of township**	**Number of owners**	**area (m^2)**	**%**
1. Pécs	187	391915,9	18,01	36. Drávafok	2	6189	0,28
2. Hegyszentmárton	153	338839,8	15,57	37. Tompa	1	5222	0,24
3. Magyar Állam	-	316248	14,54	38. Baranyahídvég	3	4967	0,22
4. Ismeretlen	-	197751	9,09	39. Garé	2	4789	0,22
5. Vajszló	103	131201	6,03	40. Hirics	5	4648,6	0,21
6. Bogádmindszent	46 + TSz	96140,5	4,42	41. Szava – Vaskapu puszta	1	4207	0,19
7. Siklósbodony	40	88772	4,08	42. Magyarmecske	2	4190	0,19
8. Sellye	40	83567	3,84	43. Magyartelek	1	4056,5	0,18
9. Kórós	26	59808,2	2,47	44. Patacs	2	3969	0,18
10. Adorjás	11	35257	1,62	45. Szaporca	2	3924	0,18
11. Páprád	20	33252	1,52	46. Cún	2	3533	0,16
12. Görcsöny	6	29714,2	1,36	47. Drávapiski	2	3488	0,16
13. Dunaharaszti	9	28544	1,31	48. Piskó	2	3209	0,14

[59] Graph created by Dr. Fanni Gábris.

Name of township	Number of owners	area (m²)	%	Name of township	Number of owners	area (m²)	%
14. Sámod	12	27619,6	1,27	49. Drávaiványi	2	3169	0,14
15. Harkány	11	23027	1,05	50. Dávod	1	3121	0,14
16. Siklós	11	21600,6	0,99	51. Heves	1	2871	0,13
17. Ózdfalu	3	16648	0,76	52. Kisszentmárton	2	2768	0,12
18. Tésenfa	4	13840	0,63	53. Lakócsa	1	2645	0,12
19. Szőke	3	12586	0,57	54. Pátka	1	2604	0,11
20. Kisdér	1	10504	0,48	55. Szentlőrinc	2	2463	0,11
21. Békéscsaba	1	10443	0,48	56. Felsőszentmárton	1	2449	0,11
22. Csányoszró	4	9541	0,43	57. Majlát puszta	1	2357	0,10
23. Ócsárd	3	9486,5	0,43	58. Palkonya	1	2340	0,10
24. Tengeri	4	9460,7	0,43	59. Páka	1	2257	0,10
25. Babarcszőlős	5	9267	0,42	60. Nagyharsány	2	2131	0,09
26. Diósviszló	4	9122	0,41	61. Pécsszabolcs	2	1962	0,09
28. Zaláta	6	9004	0,41	62. Kémes	2	1762	0,08
29. Baksa,	TSz	8983	0,41	63. Pellérd	1	1408	0,06
30. Vejti	1 + TSz	8832	0,40	*64. Kanada*	1	1270	0,05
31. Kővágószőlős	4	8041	0,37	65. Baja	1	988	0,04
32. Márfa	5	7932	0,36	66. Szigetvár	1	869	0,03
33. Okorág	3	7594	0,34	67. Mohács	2	698	0,03
34. Kákics	4	6485	0,29	68. Székesfehérvár	1	605	0,02
35. Budapest	4	6456	0,29	69. Hird	1	320	0,01

1. table: Size and proportion of the vineyard areas according to the residence of the vineyard owners and the number of the owners per townships in 1986 on the vine-hill in Hegyszentmárton

Local memory has it that such large-scale expansion was mostly due to the fact that people who had moved away would often return to the vine-hill; descendants of the Ormánság after the 1970's also often purchased vineyards, and miners also appeared once again and bought plots of land to visit over the weekend.[60]

If we examine the place of residence of vine-growers who still cultivate their vineyards using small-scale manual methods at Hegyszentmárton, we find hardly any owners from Pécs. As regards the villages of the Ormánság, a declining number of farmers are still visiting from Vajszló and Sellye, which local central townships of Ormánság region, and a handful of owners from the small villages near the vine-hill (Sámod, Kórós, Hegyszentmárton, Siklósbodony, Páprád) are still cultivating their vineyards. An interesting feature is that the village mayors are

[60] Alongside the original vineyard-owners, now turned miners, other miners also began to buy areas after a while, mostly because they had visited their colleagues' cellars and taken a liking to this lifestyle. It was mostly in the 1970's that people started to buy the vineyards, after a small-scale trade in landed property was made legal in the form of what were known as enclosed gardens. This mainly served recreational purposes and the fresh air they provided was good against silicosis. The miners earned a good wage in the mines near Pécs, and since they could also sell their wine at a good price on a contractual basis, the vineyard itself was profit-making, so they could afford to travel there comfortably by car.

often the individuals who hold out longest, often up to the present day (e.g. Hirics, Páprád, Hegyszentmárton, Diósviszló, Ócsárd etc.). This is explained by the fact that, a further significant change brought about by the socialist era, the population of the Ormánság has been largely replaced, and a whole set of internal migration processes have been triggered. Large masses of the indigenous population of the area moved out in connection with the processes outlined above and were replaced by a large number of Gypsy inhabitants – mostly in the smallest villages with the least developed infrastructure.[61] After the Gypsies moved into the villages, the departure of the traditional population became accelerated, and also triggered a slow internal migration within the region toward the central townships of these sub-regions, such as Sellye and Vajszló (Kovács 2005: 38). The Gypsy population did not own vineyards and were little affected by the migration processes, and the same is true of former serfs and servants of the one-time landowners and their descendants.[62] Living alongside them, there remained a small local elite who had typically been attached to the village for generations and who continued to occupy most of the important local positions (leading roles in local governments and local enterprises). Traditional vineyard owners, this group continues to constitute the formal and informal leadership stratum of villages even with a Gypsy majority population (Ragadics 2019: 43). I find that the traditional value system which attached a high prestige value to owning a vineyard also plays a significant role in these families hanging on to their vineyards. In this connection we may observe a group of vine-growing farmers still active today who were fairly late to start cultivating and did not appear until the 1980's or even later. Descendants of former serfs to the one-time landowners were prevented from buying vineyards until the appearance of the enclosed garden vineyards, as were other poor people living in the villages. The general land distribution which took place after 1945 did turn them into owners of landed property, but this did not include vineyards. We may observe an explosion of ambition (Márkus 1991: 285–287) when long-coveted vine-growing areas suddenly became available after backyard vineyards were re-classified as enclosed gardens. "My poor Dad, he really wanted a little vineyard so that we could be among those who have them." Perhaps it is precisely this belated acquisition that explains why these people continued to cultivate their small plots with such pride, in many cases to the present day.

At the end of the socialist era, at the time of the political regime change, families with a small-scale vineyard were compelled to make a decision, no matter whether they stayed in the Ormánság or moved out, whether they were new owners or old. The reasons for this were partly to do with changing economic opportunities and partly with the fact that family members born in the 1930's and 40's had now grown old. These were the people who had become collective farm employees from free self-sufficient farmers. As their health declined, the younger members often took over the burden of the vineyard and went on to cultivate it in an unaltered form in order to reassure their aging parents. This was often a heroic struggle motivated by respect for the elderly and their attachment to the soil. "By the end I was only doing it because my father was so proud that we had a large vineyard." [63] After the loss of these old family members it was often felt that sustaining the cellar and the vineyard had become meaningless for the younger family members. It was in actual fact a costly enterprise incompatible with their way of life, their

[61] During the first half of the 20th century the majority of the Gypsy population still lived in Gypsy colonies in the floodplane forests along the river Dráva. In the 1960's and 70's they received support and financial assistance from local councils to buy the cottages that were left empty in the villages (Kovács 2005: 38).

[62] After the land distribution of 1945 this typically Catholic group finally gained what they had long coveted – landed property of their own. They were reluctant to leave the land behind.

[63] Excerpt from the interview with S. K. (1955) recorded in 2019.

job and their financial opportunities, and so today an increasing number of them are deciding to give up traditional small-scale cultivation. "I don't even drink wine. After my father died, we sold the vineyard."

Summary

To sum up – for people who had migrated away from this region, often the vineyard was the last thread through which they could experience their attachment to the soil, to agricultural labour and, often, to physical labour in general. Members of this 'weekend peasantry'[64] would travel to their vineyards from the city most weekends, often throughout decades, in order to tend to the vine. Beyond the drive to help their aging parents, some of whom had stayed in the village, while others moved into the city to be closer to their children, they have been motivated in this by an elemental felt need to connect with nature and the soil. A great many intellectuals whose roots tie them to the peasantry found, or continue to find, a way here to experience the self-image of someone involved in physical labour and expertly cultivation of the soil. They can prove to themselves and to their family that they are hard-working and diligent, in a culture which holds that 'it's not work if it doesn't make you sweat'. Vine-growing is in many ways more suited to provide such self-proof compared to some other areas of agriculture, as every vegetative season of the year demands some kind of manual operation which entails hard work, while the cellar-buildings provide an opportunity to stay overnight at the vineyards.[65]

It is quite rare for the third generation, i.e. the grandchildren of farmers turned collective employees, to take over the cultivation of the family vineyards. Although this generation had usually spent a great amount of time in the enclosed garden vineyards as children, they are usually wanting in expertise, and the almost daily presence required by small-scale manual cultivation is practically incompatible with their way of life. Apart from a few examples, emotional attachment is also not strong enough in the third generation as to inspire them to cultivate these predictably loss-making vineyards in the form of a small-scale family farm. Thus, many families have sold their plots. There are a handful of examples of families converting the cellar buildings into summer holiday houses and preserving them in that quality. The financial base for doing so is usually created by working abroad, and this enhances the value of 'the ancestral stock', the roots in the home soil. Although people in this predicament visit their wine-

[64] This sobriquet was given to this group by the present author – mostly visiting their vineyards over the weekends, these people nevertheless often defined themselves as peasants. At the same time, it should be considered that, following Andrei Simić 'peasant urbanite' might be a more appropriate name? (Simić 1973) This is confirmed by Andre Czegledy who named the group of urbanites who cultivate hobby gardens on the countryside as 'urban peasants', despite of the fact that they do not define themselves as peasants due to the negative connotations, although the culturally defined ideas and practices behind the group's activities are closely related to the peasant lifestyle. Among these, the most important is the tradition of self-sufficiency, which was the basic economic strategy of the peasantry. As a loophole against deprivation and to bypass the bureaucracy, the socialist state strengthened and even preserved it to this day, and its products have additional meaning within the framework of contemporary Eastern European social discourses (Czegledy 2002: 217).

[65] At Babarcszőlős, which is a village on the northern foot of the vine-hill of Hegyszentmárton, for instance, in the 1970's and 80's it was common on rainy weekends to see a line of parked cars stretching longer than the whole length of the main street – vineyard owners arriving from Pécs to stay over the weekend were prevented by the mud from driving any further and had to walk up the steep, slippery slopes of the Csikorgó to their vineyards.

cellar holiday cottages only once or twice a year, in their eyes it often embodies everything related to their origins.[66]

Summing up the present case study, we may point out that all the negative demographic processes which were triggered in the Ormánság in the second half of the 20th century by various political and economic factors showed their impact on the vineyards belatedly, often as late as the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. The number of vineyard owners at Hegyszentmárton who live in or had been born in the Ormánság had dropped considerably by the 21st century. Abandoning or selling the vine-growing areas has become the dominant trend. Some of the areas were overgrown by forest, especially the high-altitude, steep lands; but the concentration of landed property in ever fewer hands, a tendency which has been on the rise since the end of communism, has also affected these vine-hills. As part of the wine producing area of Villány with its excellent qualities, the vine-hill of Hegyszentmárton offers easy access to south-facing slopes that are well suited for large-scale, modern mechanised cultivation. Today the total area of re-planted vine-stock amounts to 150 hectares consisting of plots of 10-20 hectares each.[67]

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[66] '…but then the children, they have had the cellar done up beautifully and they go there regularly. Each time they are home from Finland, they go up there.' (Excerpt from the interview with Mrs. L. B. (1945), recorded in 2020.)

[67] Of the total of 5000 hectares of area registered in this vine-growing area as vineyard cadaster suited for vine plantation; of which, at present, 2406 hectares are actually used for cultivating vine, the area surrounding Hegyszentmárton contains altogether around 300 hectares, of which 150 are actually planted with vine. These are almost all in vineyard cadaster No. I, in other words vine-growing areas of the most outstanding quality. (Source, (Source: https://www.hnt.hu/statisztikak/termoterulet-es-termesmennyiseg/)

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Gábor Máté – Anja Moric

DEHUMANIZING AND REHUMANIZING THE COUNTRYSIDE

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF A HUNGARIAN AND A SLOVENIAN REGION (BARANYA, KOČEVSKA, 1945–2022)

The paper examines two regions, Baranya in Hungary and Kočevska (Gottschee) in Slovenia. It focuses on the cultural and societal consequences of processes of abandonment and their manifestations in both locales. First, the historical background of both regions is presented, followed by changes within the rural society after World War II, and the democratic change in the 1990s (i. e. depopulation, changes in ethnic structure and agriculture, etc.). Finally, we examine recent trends and current regional characteristics. The paper interprets the recent landscape as the manifestation of competing values and attitudes of rehumanization and rewilding intentions.

Keywords: Baranya, Kočevska, Gottschee, abandoned villages, migration

Introduction

The abandonment of landscapes reflects a post-war trend not only in Western Europe (Mcdonald et al 2000: 47, Szymanowski – Latocha 2021: 1), but also in Central and Eastern Europe. Despite the similar consequences (emptying of villages, disappearance of infrastructure, migration to cities, etc.), there are many remarkable differences between European regions. The case of Slovenia and Hungary offers an interesting comparison. We examine two regions, Baranya in Hungary and Kočevska (Gottschee) in Slovenia. The studied regions are different in many aspects (geographic background, agriculture, livelihood strategies etc.), although they hold similarities. Both regions were traditionally characterised by small villages and hamlets and can be described as mixed-language areas (see Judson 2006). However, ethnic composition or ethnic relations played an important role in population change and in the abandonment of landscapes in the 20th century. In both cases, it was the German population that was resettled, while the expulsion and/or resettlement processes triggered negative effects in the countryside. Baranya has been struggling with societal problems related to migration and population change since the 1960s, the Kočevska region was emptied during World War II in the winter of 1941/42. In our paper, we examine cultural and societal consequences of the processes of abandonment and their manifestations in both locales. First, the historical background of both regions is presented, followed by changes within the rural society after World War II, and the democratic change in the 1990s (i. e. depopulation, changes in ethnic structure and agriculture, etc.). Finally, we examine recent trends and current regional characteristics. The paper interprets the recent landscape as the manifestation of competing values and attitudes of rehumanization and rewilding intentions.

Approaches and methods

Between the years 2007 and 2015, Anja Moric conducted her research project, "The Maintenance of the Gottscheer Identity," among Gottscheers living in the United States, Canada, Austria, Germany, and Slovenia. She used a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods (a survey questionnaire with 166 Gottscheer respondents, followed by the collection and analysis of 62 life stories and reflections of Gottscheers from the above mentioned countries). Using methods of visual anthropology, she also made an ethnographic film about the Gottscheers in Slovenia and in the diaspora. Since 2007, she has attended several events organised by Gottscheer associations in Slovenia, Austria and the USA, and has visited several Gottscheer associations and individuals around the world. She lives in the Kočevska region and is very involved in the local non-governmental sector. Since 2016, she has been the director of the Putscherle Institute, Centre for Research, Culture and Cultural Heritage Preservation, where she also implements regional development projects.

Gábor Máté has been doing fieldwork in a small village in Baranya since 2005, where he studies landscape change from different aspects, focusing on the individual and settlement levels of change. His current research is based on semi-structured interviews, sensory detection, and visual documentation of the landscape. He also conducts historical research ranging from the late 17th century to the present. He mainly uses archival land use materials, manuscript maps, lawsuits, and archaeological fieldwork evidence to identify and measure the changes. He detects alterations in land morphology, land use systems, land coverage, village structure, and road networks. Besides the small village mentioned above, he is intensively engaged in the study of the settlement ethnography of the Mecsek Mountains, especially in Baranya and Tolna counties.

As part of the below-mentioned bilateral project, the authors have visited both locales; Baranya in September 2021 and Kočevska in September 2022.[68] However, the present study is mainly based on the two authors' fieldwork in the last 20 years, especially their visual anthropological observations and semi-structured interviews conducted in different parts of their study regions.

Baranya county and Kočevska region - ethnographic background

Baranya is a historical county located in southern Hungary. Before the Turkish occupation (1541-1687), the region was populated mainly by Hungarians, but under Ottoman rule, many South Slavic settlers reached the border area of the empire and settled here (Bunijevci, Sokci, Serbs). After the liberation, most of the lands were confiscated by the Habsburg Chamber and the estates were given to loyal noblemen and merchants. Extensive colonization began, and by the middle of the 18th century, a newly colonized area emerged, named "Schwäbische Türkei"

[68] The article was written as part of the bilateral project *"Rethinking the urban-rural relations/migrations in Europe"* (BI–HU/21-22-002) financially supported by the Slovenian Research Agency. From the Hungarian side, The project no. 2019-2.1.11-TÉT-2020-00175 has been implemented with the support provided by the Ministry of Innovation and Technology of Hungary from the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund, financed under the *"Anthropological study of rural-urban and urban-rural migrations in Central Europe: The case of Slovenia and Hungary"* funding scheme. The work was also supported by *"The Weight of the Past. The Heritage of the Multicultural Area: Case Study of Gottschee"* (J6-4612) and the research program *"Ethnological research of cultural knowledge, practices and forms of socialities"* (P6-0187), financially supported by the Slovenian Research Agency.

after the colonists. Interestingly, these were not only from Swabia but mainly from the southern and central parts of the German lands (Seewann 2012: 114–126), yet they were given the 'sváb' etnonym in their new homeland. Since the 18th century, Hungarians, South Slavic groups and Germans lived side by side and shaped the landscape by their work. Since the region is fertile, most of the serfs lived from agriculture, cattle breeding and winemaking. Especially in the Mecsek Mountains and in the forested floodplains (Danube, Drava), people were also engaged in forestry and woodwork (wainwrighting, tool making, charcoal burning, lime burning, etc.). As a result of the impopulation movements of the 18th century, the German-speaking population increased and reached 33% in the 1910 census of the county population (Kovacsics 2003: 47), with great importance in agriculture and industry. After the Potsdam Conference, almost half of the Hungarian Germans were relocated to Germany. Especially the poor and the workers in heavy industry had better chances to stay in the country. In contrast to the Slovenian case, the abandoned villages were immediately repopulated with Hungarian inhabitants of different origins. Most of the abandoned German houses were given to the displaced Hungarians from Slovakia and Romania (Seklers) (see Tóth 2005). Other houses were inhabited by landless Hungarians. Miklós Füzes named these turbulent changes twister-like processes (Füzes 1990). Not a single community was able to resist the forced or/and inevitable migration in the post-war period. After the "Communist turn" in 1948, the newly created political and economic system started to reshape the country life in Baranya. In the 1960s almost all the land was brought into socialist co-operatives. From 1968 farms, hamlets and smaller villages lacked financial support, unable to modernize infrastructure and maintain social and educational institutions. This resulted in huge migration to the cities (Kovács 2008: 5). The abandonment of the landscape started largely due to socialist settlement and agrarian politics, and not because of the war (Farkas 2009: 78). Nevertheless, migration also affected the connectedness to the land, because of the social disruption of local communities and the exchange of village inhabitants. Urban–rural migration was also notable, while it was mainly the poor, who moved into villages from cities, due to cheaper properties and living costs. In the 1970s the governmental and local authorities drove (sometimes forced) the Gypsy population to leave their forest dwellings and move to the emptying villages or to the suburbs of nearby towns. As a result of the period, many agrarian lands became a wasteland, forests took over large areas, while in flat areas the land was transformed into huge mechanized agrarian blocks, where especially monocultures (corn, wheat, sunflower, etc) were favoured. This resulted in depopulating, in some cases abandoned, villages. The abandonment is more clearly seen in the forested regions (Mecsek mountains, Zselic hills), where whole villages had become deserted. In this article, we focus more on these parts and not on the plain territories.

First traces of human settlements in the Kočevska region in southeast Slovenia can be found in prehistory, and other finds testify that the Amber Road passed through these places. Nevertheless, the area was not largely settled until the 1330s, when the Counts of Ortenburg began to settle it with their subjects from their northern estates. There are no reliable sources on the actual origins of the colonists. According to linguistic studies of the Gottscheer dialect they are said to have been brought there from upper Carinthia and eastern Tyrol (Hornung in Petschauer 1984: 87). According to the writings of Tomaž Hren, a bishop of Ljubljana (consecrated in 1599), after the initial stages of colonisation, 300 rebellious families from Frankonia and Thuringia were sent to Gottschee as well (Grothe 1931: 33). And the other part of the immigrants came from other Slovenian speaking regions – Stari Trg, Lož, Cerknica and Idrija (Petschauer 1984: 87–88) as well as Carinthia (Ferenc 2005: 31). From 1492 until World War II, the inhabitants who were mostly peasants, economically helped themselves with peddling, i.e. selling home-made products in the Austro-Hungarian lands. Peddling was a form

of social correction that enabled them to survive on the poorly fertile Kočevska karst land. Over the centuries an interesting linguistic area has evolved in the Kočevska area. The use of Gottscheerisch, a dialect that preserved elements of medieval German and at the same time adopted elements of the Slovene language, prevailed. *Gottscheer* has become an appellation for an inhabitant of that land (English and German: 'Gottscheer'; Gottscheerish: 'Gottscheabar'; Slovenian: 'Kočevar'; Hungarian: 'kucséber'). Before the spread of nationalism in the mid-19th century, the term was neutral and did not denote the ethnic origin of the inhabitants. National differentiation began with the arrival of foreign German-speaking intellectuals who sought elements of Germanness in the Kočevska region (Moric 2021). A period of the so-called "linguistic island" began when multiculturalism and multilingualism in the area was forgotten and Germanness was emphasized. Thus, Kočevska was also caught up in the "national battle" or differences between the Slovenes and the Germans. World War I and the downfall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire brought new political circumstances and a changed status for the Gottscheers, who became a minority in the newly formed Yugoslav state. The conflict escalated with the spread of Nazism and with the resettlement of the Gottscheers to Eastern Slovenia (near Brežice (Rann), then under German occupation) in 1941/42 on the basis of an agreement between Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. From there the Slovene population was deported. After the war, the Gottscheers fled from these areas. They sought new homes in Austria, Germany, the USA and Canada. Before the resettlement in 1941/42, 12,498 Gottscheers lived in the Kočevska region (Ferenc and Repe 2004: 148). After the war, less than 600 remained in Slovenia (Ferenc 2005: 269). However, economic emigration from the Kočevska region began long before the political emigration briefly described above. Already in the 19th century Gottscheers began to emigrate to the USA and Canada for economic reasons – because of large families, small homesteads, and lack of fertile land (Kobetitch 2000: 3). Due to emigration, the population of the Kočevska region steadily decreased in the years 1880–1921 (Drnovšek 2005: 15). Before World War II, there were more Gottscheers in the USA than in the Kočevska region (Ferenc 1993: 27), and according to the national cadastre from 1936/37, every third to fourth house was already abandoned or in ruins (Ferenc 2006: 416–417). In the 1950s new immigrants from other parts of Slovenia found homes in this almost deserted region.

Abandonment of villages, changing landscape and taskscape

So far, in both cases, we have seen the emergence of agriculture and small villages, along with the development of a mosaic ethnic background, which was also typical in the regions studied. As a result of various historical and social changes, there was a break in the relationship between the peasants (their descendants) and the land. In Slovenia, the socialist regime allowed peasants to keep their lands, but the Kočevska region was an exception since it was used as a model for the socialist administration of agriculture (Ferenc 2006). Thus, the situation there correlates to the situation in Hungary, where people had no individual access to the main agricultural resources; only 1 hectare was allowed to be farmed privately (the so-called 'háztáji' intensely cultivated and privately owned lands), but strongly tied to the socialist cooperatives (sourcing, sales, etc.). This resulted in the change of taskscape and the landscape as well. The taskscape – according to Ingold – is the pattern of dwelling activities, while the landscape is the congealed form of the taskscape (Ingold 1993: 162). The consequences are similar to the rural exodus elsewhere in Europe (Mcdonald et al. 2000), but within a shorter period of time, and together with the circulation of people from rural to urban areas and vice versa. According to the classical

structural approach in landscape studies, the landscape is a rich historical record consisting of readable layers (Muir 1999: 49–98). This means that one can read the landscape, survey it topographically, sort the identifiable elements on a time scale and measure the changes. In Baranya and Kočevska, especially in the more distant, hilly, forested areas, there are many remains of the old "private world" (before WWII): abandoned cemeteries, crosses, shrunken roads, farmsteads, water mills, houses (see photos 1, 2, and 3).

Photo 1: Fallen stone cross at the cemetery of Kán, Hungary. Photo: Gábor Máté, 2009.

Photo 2: Abandoned village site of Petőcpuszta (Viganvár), Hungary, with the bell tower (built in 1925). Photo: Gábor Máté, 2017.

Photo 3: An old house in Mrtvice, Slovenia, which was demolished shortly after the photo was taken. Photo: Anja Moric, 2021.

Total abandonment such as has happened in Kočevska (see below), however, is rare in Baranya, with only a few examples. Korpád and Gyűrűfű are the most famous cases, but other independent villages such as Kán, Gorica, Kisújbánya, Püspökszentlászló, Dömörkapu, Üveghuta and numerous attached (not independent) villages (called puszta, major, etc.) also died out. At the same time, the villages situated in hillier areas and in picturesque natural landscape gained importance and soon became popular with tourists, such as Kán, Püspökszentlászló and Kisújbánya. There are numerous marked hiking trails and tourist routes in the formerly inhabited hilly zone, and overall, the disappearance of settlements (or parts of them) is not as obvious as in the Kočevska region. Many houses have been renovated and preserved, and even whole villages have been transformed for purposes of tourism (Photo 4). In comparison, renovations are far less common in the Kočevska area where the last remaining pre-war houses are on a large scale being left to deterioration or replaced with new buildings.

Photo 4: A well-maintained and renovated peasant house at Püspökszentlászló, Hungary. Photo: Gábor Máté, 2022.

In Kočevska landscape changes took place on a much larger scale. The resettlement of the Gottscheers, together with the rampage of World War II, had tragic consequences for the region. The cultural heritage of the former settlers has almost disappeared. Only ruins remained of many derelict villages, most of which were burned down by the Italian army in an offensive in 1941 and were never rebuilt or repopulated. At the end of the war, up to two-thirds of the residential buildings were damaged, and the condition of the industrial facilities was similar (Ferenc 2006: 416). Kočevje was the second most destroyed town in Slovenia, as much of its architectural heritage was destroyed in the bombardments. After the war, especially in the early 1950s, as Ferenc (2005: 599; also Jaklitsch 2013: 31) notes, traces of the German presence in the Kočevska region were forcibly removed for nationalist reasons. In addition to anti-German sentiment, the reason for this devastating march was ideological (atheist) intolerance, which led to the destruction of most churches, chapels, and religious landmarks. Of the 123 churches and chapels that stood in Kočevska between the wars, only 28 remain. Of the more than 400 chapels and landmarks, only 38 still stand. The majority of the Gottscheer gravestones were removed. The German names of the villages were translated into Slovene, some places were renamed, many were abolished or merged, and some were newly founded (Ferenc 2005: 659–670).

Photo 5: Village house ruins were overtaken by the forest in the village of Stari Tabor (Alttabor), Slovenia. Photo: Anja Moric, 2018.

Part of the Kočevska area belonged to the so-called closed-off military area Kočevska reka, which was – especially after the dispute between Tito and Stalin – intended for military facilities of the highest Yugoslav political leadership. Movement was restricted there, sacral facilities were removed, the remaining residents were evicted, and strict silence was commanded. In addition, until the mid-1950s three penal camps operated in the closed-off area. After the war, the forests of Kočevska became a scene of mass killings or the authorities' altercation with political opponents. It was not until July 8, 1990, that the first reconciliation mass was held in Kočevski rog on the site of the mass graves.

Photo 6: Site of mass killings in Kočevski Rog, Slovenia. Foto: Anja Moric, 2011.

In Hungary, the Yugoslav border zone of Baranya county was also militarized, and a new defence system was planned to be set up strengthening the Drava river's line in the southernmost part of the county (but had not been finished due to Stalin's death). Movement was restricted here too, and many peasant families (the so-called "kulaks") were expelled and enclosed into forced labour camps in the Hortobágy.[69] Their example caused fear and urged the rest of the inhabitants to leave their villages, especially in the Ormánság region. The result was not the total abandonment of the countryside, but the acceleration of the migration processes (village to town, town to village, small villages to larger villages).

The taskscape has also changed throughout the communist era in both Baranya and Kočevska, which is recognisable in the shift of land cover. In more distant and hilly parts arables and meadows mainly became forests or pastures, in lower terrains meadows were transformed into arables or lakes. In Baranya generally, the good quality lands are in use since then, but the pattern has changed, big blocks of land are favoured instead of the strip-shaped pattern. The percentage of agricultural workers has dropped dramatically. Also, the spatial activity has changed, which can be measured and mapped in a quantitative sense (Máté 2009). But it is also recognizable in individual memory: "In the fifties, we used to go up to the fields in the holloway at dawn, nothing was to be seen, but you were able to hear others being there, people went to hoe and made sounds, and talked to each other. And we greeted each other without seeing each other. Now hardly any people are out there, only who go to steal." So not just the arrangement of man-made objects, but the traffic itself, the way of communication has changed with the changing lifestyle.

Even before the end of World War II, discussions about the post-war regulation of the economy in the Kočevska region began. Common to all was the idea of devoting the territory to cattle breeding, forestry, and collective cultivation, following the model of Soviet collective farms (Ferenc 2006: 416). After the war, the town of Kočevje became a distinct "industrial, workers',

[69] Large grazing area in North-East Hungary close to Debrecen, covered mainly with grassland.

designees' and school town" (Ferenc 2006: 423), and most of the buildings were state-owned (as much as 73% in 1950). The one- and two-family houses in the town, managed by the municipality, were sold in the mid-1950s, but the residential buildings in the countryside, managed by the state agricultural estates and forestry administrations, were not. If before the war private land ownership prevailed in Kočevska, the emptying of the area after the war allowed the introduction of a socialist economy on a large scale, "with a different method of cultivation that changed the shape, size, use, and ownership of land" (Ferenc 2006: 424). The property was mainly state-owned; the ratio between private and state ownership was as high as 1:10 (Ferenc 2006: 430). The main economic sectors were mining, agriculture, forestry and timber industry. Agriculture was dominated by animal husbandry, and it was the main provider of fodder for the animals. Postwar migrants were given land only for use without proprietorship. Relocation to Kočevska was possible only in the framework of the establishment of agricultural cooperatives as employment on the state agricultural estate and in the forestry industry. Private agriculture was in poor condition, as evidenced by the fact that in 1960 as many as 71% of farmers had no private property at all (Ferenc 2006: 425–432). At the same time, employment in forestry increased as the forest overgrew abandoned settlements and pastures.

Photo 7: Remains of water containers for cattle on state-owned pastures near Stara Cerkev, Slovenia. Photo: Anja Moric, 2020.

Rehumanizing and dehumanizing (wildening) the landscape. Changing and competing values and attitudes.

In Baranya, the retreat of human presence in the landscape is not so obvious at first sight, since the vast majority of small villages still exist. However, the social and economic dimensions have changed significantly. In some cases, the entire community has left the village and settled in nearby villages with better conditions. The most famous "lost village" in Hungary is Gyűrűfű, which was completely depopulated by 1971. The case represents the negative effects of

communist policies, while the abandoned village served as a memorial and symbol of passive resistance to the regime (Farkas 2009: 84). In 1991, a group of people, mainly intellectuals, re-established the village, creating the first ecovillage in Hungary. However, their example was not followed by other communities in Baranya. In the course of suburbanization, the population grew and the importance of other smaller villages near the county capital (Pécs) and near smaller towns such as Mohács and Komló increased. Since the regime change, the value gap between the town and the village residences has widened. As a positive effect of the pandemic, prices have increased lately, and even formerly unsaleable houses have been sold. The newcomers come mainly from the cities, especially from the neighbouring centres already mentioned. The landscape has not yet changed significantly as a result of the new urban-rural migrational trend, apart from the rapid reconstruction of old houses.

Large parts of the Kočevska region remain uninhabited to this day. This is mainly due to remoteness and lack of infrastructure. In the 1970s, there was a migration to the larger Slovenian cities. These were not farmers, but mainly factory workers and daily commuters to work in the capital, Ljubljana, an hour away. Since Slovenia's independence in 1991, the preservation of the remaining Kočevska tangible (material) cultural heritage was mostly present in the Kočevska area. New immigrants who moved to the Kočevska area after the war, some Gottscheers who had not resettled, and their associations made efforts to restore churches, chapels and monuments. Individual Gottscheers and some Gottscheer societies from abroad also contributed financially to the restoration of the monuments (Moric 2016).

Photo 8: In Koblarji, Slovenia, at the place of an old church of St. Stephan, demolished in the 1960s, a chapel was built in 2004. Photo: Anja Moric, 2020.

After Slovenian independence, with the formation of new Gottscheer organisations in the Kočevska area, work began on the preservation and restoration of the Gottscheer intangible cultural heritage as well. Classes of the Gottscheer dialect and cooking courses were organised, a number of publications and short collections were issued, etc. Gottscheer songs have been

sung for 20 years by the Slovenian choir Cantate Domino, and in 2015 the field of dance also began to awaken with the founding of the folklore group of the Gottscheer Altsiedler Verein in 2005. The knowledge of school children about local history is gradually increasing, as elementary schools participate in the project "I Love You Kočevska" promoted by the Municipality of Kočevje. Within this project, students learn about local history and heritage. In most cases, these are efforts of non-governmental organisations and individuals who themselves do not have sufficient staff or financial resources to more than fragmentarily ensure and promote the conservation of this heritage.

There is a long tradition of placing crosses at crossroads, i. e. building calvaries, which we can call the "sacralization" of the landscape, in both Baranya and Kočevska. Walking through the landscape, we find many crosses and sculptures in poor condition, especially at focal points, at crossroads, indicating that not only have people left the countryside in large numbers, but spatial activity itself has also changed greatly. In a sense, these are not only signs of a transforming world in the religious sense, but also signs of a changing attitude toward the land, and the changing presence of people in the landscape. If this process happened "spontaneously" in Baranya, the situation was "forced" in Kočevska in the first decade after World War II, when due to ideological (atheist) intolerance (see above), most churches, chapels, and religious landmarks were destroyed. We can call both processes not only desacralization but also dehumanisation of the landscape. In response to the dwindling presence, state-owned forestry in Baranya (which is responsible for the majority of the forests) has launched a project to renew crosses and chapels in its territory, placing and renovating old and new objects. In Kočevska the public institution Slovenia Forest Service also tries to maintain remains of cultural heritage overgrown by forest, such as remains of the water containers and orchards in some of the derelict villages (Kocjan and Konečnik 2019: 22). Tourism is stimulating not only the restoration of sacral heritage (in Baranya, but not in Kočevska), but also other infrastructure such as lookout towers, tourist signs and so on. While the infrastructure in the forests has been significantly modernised, the role of the forests and their future vision have changed. They are perceived as a natural habitat rather than a place for industrial activities. In the forests and even in the villages, the number of wild animals and their encounters with humans is increasing. In Baranya – according to the experiences of local hunters and farmers – especially the number of deer, roe deer and wild boars has increased. While other animals, whose habitat is more tied to the meadows and farmlands, are decreasing. This is causing the countryside rewilding, partly because of changes in the perception of nature, but more likely as a side effect of conflicting interests between hunters, foresters, farmers, private citizens, and tourists. In the wildening countryside animals cause damage in gardens, fields, and even accidentally in cars. That is why more and more people are fencing their properties with cable or wire fences. Inhabitants in the region no longer make their living from agriculture, and for those who still run farms, gardens, or vineyards, it is important to keep wildlife and even people out of their area. They make the access more difficult for people to enter with gates and stop signals.

Photo 9: Newly enclosed pasture, fence, and a gate, Nagymányok, Hungary. Photo: Gábor Máté, 2022.

In Kočevska tourism also took a turn towards natural heritage, which is more neutral or "less heavyly burdened" than the cultural heritage of the area. Today, the region is particularly known for brown bears, while cultural heritage is believed to be "non-existent", and therefore not (significantly) included in the tourism strategy of the area. Breaking the continuity of settlements disrupted the connectedness to the cultural heritage of the area, as there was no transfer of knowledge from the native inhabitants to the new immigrants. This is especially characteristic of tourism promotion which focuses mainly on recreational tourism like hiking, mountain biking etc. In recent years heated debates have taken place in Slovenia about the hunting of bears and wolves, whose numbers have increased due to protection and limited hunting. There was damage to sheep, which are sometimes the prey of wolves.

Tim Ingold underlined the importance of dwelling in understanding the landscape, and also states that landscapes tell stories. "For both the scientist and the native dweller, the landscape tells – or rather is – a story. It enfolds the lives and times of predecessors who, over the generations, have moved around in it and played their part in its formation." (Ingold 1993: 152). These stories are remembered with memorials, commemorating villages and villagers. Commemoration of the old village life and communities can be traced throughout the Mecsek forest in Baranya. Here we can see memorials for different reasons. The first picture illustrates the former Gypsy presence with a memorial on the site where their dug houses stood. While in Kočevska a collective forgetting of the heritage of the former inhabitants has taken place, the situation in terms of remembrance is different for the Gottscheers who live displaced in Austria, Germany, the USA and Canada today. The emigrants and their descendants, whose feelings for the homeland are connected to the Kočevska area (Moric 2018), search there for traces of their ancestors and their lost villages. Even the remaining Gottscheers, who refused to resettle, leave various traces in the area with the help of local communities, e.g. they put up memorial plaques, build monuments, crosses, information boards in abandoned villages, etc.

Photo 10: Memorial at the former site of Roma/Gypsy houses, Hetvehely, Hungary. Photo: Gábor Máté, 2017.

Photo 11: Memorial at the cemetery in Stari Log (Altlag), Slovenia. Photo: Anja Moric, 2022.

A tombstone-like memorial can be seen in a small village called Püspökszentlászló in Baranya, where all the native dwellers left the village, but the stone preserves the names of the former owners of the settlement, with the help of an engraved map. A similar example can be found in the Gottscheer village Pajkež, where one can see an inscription on the cleared-out ruins of the house of Sophia Stalzer Wyant, who resettled with her family in 1941 and now lives in the USA.

Photo 12: Tombstone-shape memorial, with the family names of the former inhabitants of Püspökszentlászló, Hungary. Photo: Gábor Máté, 2022.

Photo 13: Cleared ruins of the house of Sophia Stalzer Wyant, born in 1936, Pajkež, Slovenia. Photo: Anja Moric, 2016.

In Kisújbánya in Baranya, a treadmill was set up after collecting the local memories of this almost forgotten equipment. This farming tool regains the space from the green, wooded landscape, and warns tourists of the traditional use of the land and the legacy of the German settlers.

Photo 14: Renewed treadmill at Kisújbánya at the center of the East Mecsek mountains, Hungary. Photo: Gábor Máté, 2012.

Not far from Kisújbánya, a long-vanished settlement can be found, abandoned by its glass-making workers at the beginning of the 19th century. The local civil society helped the archaeological excavations, which perfectly uncovered the glasswork in 2018.

Photo 15: Archaeological excavations undertaken in a former site of a glass-work (glasshütte), Pusztabánya, Hungary. Photo: Gábor Máté, 2018.

On the other hand, not just the tangible, but also the intangible heritage is made visible. Still functioning communities are practising their traditional festivals, while others are re-invented, or invented, to celebrate their existence and/or to make themselves visible in the market of localities. For example, one of the oldest festivals in Baranya county is the firewheel-rolling festival at Óbánya, where the small German community each year celebrates the end of the

winter with the traditionally practised and re-introduced event. One of the good practices of preserving and reviving the cultural heritage of the Gottscheers in Kočevska is the event called *Days of Gottscheer Culture*, which has been organized jointly by 3 municipalities in the area of the (former) Gottscheer settlement: Kočevje, Semič and Dolenjske Toplice since 2015. In the festivity, a series of events (creative workshops, concerts, art colonies, guided tours, etc.) take place, presenting the history and ethnological features of the area and its former inhabitants.

Photo 16: Firewheel-rolling festival at Óbánya (Altglasshütte), Hungary. Photo: Gábor Máté, 2006.

Photo 17: Performance by pianist Erik Šuler and American Gottscheer bass baritone Steven Scheschareg in Kočevje, at the invitation of the Putscherle Institute. 5. Days of Gottscheer Culture. Photo: Anja Moric, 2019.

Conclusions

According to Ingold, "landscape is always in the nature of 'work in progress'" (Ingold 1933: 162). The example of Kočevska and Baranya shows that the desolation of the landscape is an ominous trend and has been a reality since the middle of the 20th century until today. While there are different reasons for the abandonment processes, and in our examples the rate and quality of the abandoned landscape also differ, nevertheless, there are two main similarities. People are leaving the countryside, especially the peripheral areas, and migrate to the cities and central settlements. The result is a dehumanization of the land, which means that fewer and fewer people use the area for economic reasons. Man-made objects are disappearing. At the same time, other groups of people are using the landscape as heritage or source of enjoyment, and even the local, native population is making efforts to "transform" the land into an intangible sphere. Others are trying to push humans out of the landscape by giving wildlife more rights and more space. Both tendencies (dehumanization, rehumanization) are controversial and compete with each other. On the one hand, the landscapes of both regions become more homogeneous, in Baranya by the new cultivation techniques and management forms, and in Kočevska by the afforestation, and on the other hand, they become more diverse in people's minds, in theory. So a mosaic of different landscape interpretations can be encountered in these areas.

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Ana Svetel

MOVING, RETURNING, STAYING: MOBILITIES OF RURAL YOUTH IN THE SOLČAVSKO REGION

In the article, different education-driven mobilities of rural youth in Solčavsko region in Northern Slovenia are discussed through the examples of two students in their twenties. Their lifepaths have been closely connected with the mobile practices, induced by their schooling phases. Albeit interrelated, the perspectives of education, transport and infrastructure, and housing issue and farm succession are examined as they shape the practices of moving, returning and staying in Solčavsko. Tourism, which is one of the main economic sectors in the region, is also taken into consideration as it co-creates expectations of remote and untouched Alpine environment, while at the same time influences the transport infrastructure and accessibility as well as the prospects of youth in the region.[70]

Keywords: mobility, rurality, urban-rural migrations, youth, education, transport, Solčavsko, Alps

Introduction

As in many places in and beyond Europe (see Wiborg 2004; Bjarnason and Thorlindsson 2006; Corbett 2005; 2013; Rye 2011; Petrin, Schafft and Meece 2014; Pheko et al. 2014; Bagley and Hillyard 2015; Zago 2016; Rosvall, Rönnlund and Johansson 2018), in rural Slovenia education-driven mobility is a wide-spread practice that co-shapes young people's experiences and perceptions of both their primary locations and places they move to as well as of urban-rural relations in general. The rhythms and patterns, but also physical distances of these mobilities usually lengthen and extend as people 'move along' their educational lines. Similarly, the means of transportation change and affect different contexts of sociality that emerges while moving. Mobility practices are thus an integral element of memories of school years for most rural inhabitants. In this article, I will discuss how these four aspects unfold among rural youth in the Solčavsko region in northern Slovenia. The paper thus places (rural-urban) mobility patterns within the educational context.

Through the cases of two interlocutors, Petra and Eva,[71] I will present how mobility practices are always intertwined with the other aspects of one's activities, pursuits, conditions, social roles, etc., as well as with the infrastructural settings, mobility affordances and the general socio-cultural dimensions of all the locations they migrate between. Petra and Eva are students in their mid-twenties, who currently[72] study at the University of Ljubljana and who regularly

[70] I wish to express my thanks to all people from Solčavsko whom I talked to for this article, especially Eva and Petra, and to the Municipality of Solčava for all the support. I gratefully acknowledge financial support from the Slovenian Research Agency (core funding P6-0187) and the project Anthropological study of rural-urban and urban-rural migrations in Central Europe: The case of Slovenia and Hungary (BI-HU /21-22-002) which was financially supported by the Slovenian Research Agency. This paper is also the result of the project DigiFREN – Digital Aestheticization of Fragile Environments, supported by MIZŠ, Slovenia; NCN, Poland; AKA, Finland; HRZZ, Croatia and RCN, Norway under CHANSE ERA-NET Co-fund programme, which has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme, under Grant Agreement no. 101004509.

[71] In this article, pseudonyms are used for all the interlocutors.

[72] In the academic year 2021/22, when the main part of the research for the article was conducted.

migrate between the capital and Solčavsko. Both of them grew up on farms which, although to a different extent, rely also on a farm-based tourism. Apart from a semi-structured interview with both, conducted in May 2022, the article is based on numerous informal conversations, with both of them together and separately, that happened at various occasions in 2020, 2021 and 2022, and on the informal conversations with other interlocutors from Solčavsko, who are either still in the process of schooling or migrated due to the educational paths in their past.

The ethnographic context that forms the foundation of the aforementioned conversations as well as the wider socio-cultural overview derives from the Ethnological Camp of the Three Valleys in 2020, 2021 and 2022. In these camps, the participating (primarily ethnology and cultural anthropology) students, as well as the organizers and mentors, conduct a one-week intensive ethnographic research in Solčavsko on pre-given topics, and publish the results after each camp (see Bajič, Svetel and Zavratnik 2021; Svetel, Zavratnik and Bajič 2022). At the camp we deliberately try to develop what we call a 'collective ethnography', which in practice means to conduct the fieldwork together (usually in groups of 2–5), jointly discuss the preliminary results and share all the ethnographic data with each other. This collective ethnography proves to be fruitful for our anthropological work but requires the emphasis on the fact that a considerable proportion of both the ethnographic materials and their interpretations is a result of a collective work and of, simply, being together in the field with my colleagues and co-organizers Veronika Zavratnik and Blaž Bajič as well as with the mentors and the students.[73] Collective ethnography, however, does not imply that all the involved researchers focus on the same topics or cover the same research questions (cf. Gordon et al. 2006: 6) neither that we would necessarily search for the unified interpretation of the ethnographic data. "A collective ethnography is composed of various stories. The subject 'we' was working as a resource and a reflexive surface for each of us in her own interpretations" (Gordon et al. 2006: 7).

In the next section, I will outline the region of Solčavsko and its ethnographic characteristics, relevant for the topics discussed further. The core of the article brings forth three perspectives, namely education, transport and infrastructure, and housing issue and farm succession. These perspectives are framed within the 'triality' of moving, returning, and staying. The narrations of Petra and Eva illustrate the intertwinement of the primarily individual and the more structural layers of each of the three perspectives. The concluding remarks aim to rethink the mobility practices of both interlocutors (and implicitly of the mobile rural youth in general) not as a deviation of stable, fixed, or desired lifestyle nor as a transitory life phase that needs to be 'resolved' in a non-mobile, either urban or rural, dwelling practices, but as a dynamic and ongoing process that allows Petra and Eva to transcend these very same oppositions. Furthermore, the seemingly clear demarcation of moving, returning and staying, indicated in the title, can thus be reconsidered, and understood in a more rhythmical (Lefebvre 1992) manner.

On the other hand, the complex set of factors that come into play in education-based mobility in rural areas, such as centralisation, educational and systemic directions, rural-urban dynamics,

[73] The participating students: Simona Zupanc, Vanja Germ, Žiga Korbar, Lina Troha, Tajda Jerkič, Tina Krašovic, Marko Senčar Mrdaković, Tara Milčinski, Eva Malovrh, Petra Goljevšček, Staša Sušjan, Sebastjan Brumat, Pika Kristan, Tina Mlinarič, Taja Ivanc, Nina Ošep, Pia Krampl, Neža Zore, Julija Zupan, Vesna Petrič, Polona Zabret, Matej Zabret, Sara Sakač, Ema Babnik; the participating mentors: Jaka Repič, Miha Kozorog, Boštjan Kravanja, Rajko Muršič, Sarah Ana Lunaček Brumen, Alenka Bartulović, Sandi Abram, Vito Hazler, Božena Hostnik, Barbara Klanšek, Saša Poljak Istenič, Tatiana Bajuk Senčar, Mateja Slovenc, Peter Mikša, Maša Čas Zajc, Saša Roškar, Elizabeta Vršnik, Andraž Magajna, Zdenka Sokolíčková, Katarina Žakelj, Marko Slapnik, Urška Lenar, Mojca Ošep.

as well as the students' family background, role of the gender, economic and social class, etc., will not be in focus as they exceed the scope of this paper. For more exhaustive study on the matter, however, these aspects and the nuanced conceptual differentiation between the mobility and migration (Bauböck 2021), would be indispensable.

Solčavsko

With the density of 5 people per square kilometre, Solčavsko is the most sparsely populated municipality in Slovenia and is geographically characterized by its location in the Upper Savinja Valley, at the Kamnik-Savinja Alps. It consists of three glacial valleys (Roban cirque, Matk cirque and Logar valley), Podolševa plateau and Solčava village,[74] and borders Austria. Up until 1894, when the first road connecting Solčavsko to other parts of Upper Savinja Valley was built, the region was difficult to access and relatively isolated (see Germ, Krampl and Krašovic 2022: 28; cf. Goljevšček, Krampl and Senčar Mrdaković 2021). Access to, and infrastructure of several homesteads remains challenging and lacking to the present day. Due to these facts, Solčavsko can be considered a remote area and infrastructural planning remains a challenge. However, the Alpine scenery, the 'pristine' nature and a romantic charm of 'remoteness' play a significant role in the tourism of Solčavsko, which started to develop in the 19th century (Korbar, Krašovic and Troha 2021). But due to environmental conditions and the regimes of protection (large part of Solčavsko is designated as a protected area), possibilities for mass tourism are limited. Like most other activities, tourism is seasonally tuned, with noticeably low winter seasons due to the absence of skiing infrastructure. With the exception of Hotel Plesnik in Logar valley, all accommodation facilities are family run tourist farms. Tourism, together with mountain farming and forestry, presents the main economic sectors of the region. This reflects also in Petra and Eva's family background as both families combine these three sectors. Petra and Eva are, at least partly and in some periods of the year, actively engaged in the tourist- and agriculture-related tasks at their homes in Solčavsko.

With an average size of 145 ha, the farms of Solčavsko are, for socio-historical reasons, much larger than the average farm in Slovenia (6.7 ha) and are also quite unique in the whole Alpine arch. Many homesteads in Solčavsko lie in high altitudes and farming is characterized by the mountain conditions. But as many of these homesteads also offer tourist accommodation, they employ both, the (romantic) image of rural, Alpine remoteness and inaccessibility, and at the same time accessibility to the extent that enables the visitors to come and move around in the area. Here, moving practices, such as hiking, mountaineering, climbing, cycling, cross-country skiing etc., are often at the core of tourist activities. Even though these aspects will not be discussed further, the interplay between the accessibility and remoteness (Luo, Oakes and Schein 2019), between the established routes along which the tourists, but also the local inhabitants and the seasonal workers, as well as the domestic and wild animals, goods and materials (e. g. wood, wool and agricultural products) move, and the plans or ideas for new or additional infrastructural solutions, are some of the key social contexts that co-shape the mobility practices to which we now turn.

[74] Some interlocutors use the word Solčava for the whole municipality.

Structural and intimate perspectives of education-based mobilities in Solčavsko

The question of mobilities and immobilities of the rural youth in Solčavsko will be approached from three perspectives. Educational brings forth the dimension of how the location of schools at different educational phases dictate the mobility practices in certain life periods of the generation.[75] The perspective of transport and infrastructure sheds light on how the existing modes co-shape the way the mobile practices happen and affect social interactions on the way. The third perspective is dealing with the housing situation and farm succession practices in the area. Even though this perspective might seem only loosely related to the scope of this article, it, as will be shown, influences the perceptions and prospects of staying and the dynamic processes of returning. All three perspectives are interlinked and can be understood as structural conditions that enable and disable the specifics of moving, returning and staying practices among the rural youth in Solčavsko. However, each of these perspectives 'translates' differently in individual, intimate practices, decisions, and narrations, and integrate in the affective lifeworlds as the cases of Petra and Eva illustrate.

Dynamics of moving: Schooling and education

As Solčavsko is scarcely populated and many families live in the high mountain farmsteads, there is a municipality-subsidized transportation that fetch the school children from Roban Cirque, Matk Cirque, Logar Valley and Podolševa and provide the transport to and from the primary school, which is located in the village Solčava. In Slovenia, pupils from 6 until 14 years old are enrolled in primary school, which consists of 9 grades and is compulsory. In some smaller villages, there are branches of a nearby primary school (for the Hungarian context see Kovács 2012). There, the education takes place to a certain grade. This is the case also in Solčava with the branch of the Primary School Blaža Arniča Luče. Luče is a bigger village around 9,5 km south of Solčava. The system of the dislocated units of the primary school enables that the first 5 grades are taught in Solčava, but in the 6th grade local pupils are relocated to Luče and merged with the pupils there. Consequently, the youth from Solčavsko experience the first school-related daily migrations at a fairly early age, at 10 or 11.

Petra remembers that at the end of the 5th grade they even had a small 'valeta,' which marked the end of the schooling in Solčavsko. Valeta is a ball and a school celebration which usually takes place in the last month of the 9th grade and symbolically marks the transition between primary and secondary education. In the aforementioned case it was 'copied' in the earlier grade to indicate the end of schooling in Solčava and, implicity, the new everyday (mobility) practices that the pupils were about to experience in their next school year.

After the compulsory primary school, the youth usually enter a new education-based mobility, as they move to one of the towns or cities in Slovenia to proceed with their secondary education in high school. This corresponds to Rosvall, Rönnlund and Johansson (2018: 43) who studied youth in rural Sweden and noted that after the compulsory education, "a move to more 'central' parts may be almost essential, at least for the time of their studies." In Slovenia, secondary education encompasses 4-year general ('gimnazija') or 2-4 year vocational and technical

[75] For the ethnographic account on youth and music in Solčava, see Jerkič, Korbar, Mlinarič and Senčar Mrdaković (2022).

education (Taštanoska 2019: 29). In Solčavsko, students mostly choose high schools in either the main town of the Savinja region, Celje, or in the capital, Ljubljana, but some also choose Maribor and Velenje for various reasons. The decisive factors are the preferred school or programme, the economic situation of the family, or the relatives or siblings that either work or study in one of the potential cities and towns, which Rosvall, Rönnlund and Johansson (2018: 47) designate as social resources. In the Solčavsko context, many of the high school students stay in the dorms, but some, especially those who go to Celje, commute daily. Petra and Eva both went to Ljubljana to continue their education in general programme, 'gimnazija'. Petra remembers how this migration was accompanied by big expectations:

> On the one hand I had this notion of how great it will be in Ljubljana, being in the city among many people and among people who are like me. But when I came to the student dorm, the first two months were very stressful. That was the biggest transition.

Furthermore, she points out that after having a room of her own all her life, suddenly sharing her personal space with three other girls was something she needed to get used to. Eva, who, on the other hand, did not move to a student dorm, but lived in Ljubljana in an adjoined flat owned by her relatives, recalls: "It was a problem for me, cooking for myself when being only 14 years old."

However, they point out that their elder siblings and other students from Solčavsko helped them getting accustomed to Ljubljana. As youth from Solčavsko who moved to Ljubljana for high school established, at least temporally, strong ties with each other, the division between those in Ljubljana and those in Celje started to appear. As Eva explains:

> I think that we've made this experience easier for ourselves. I find the difference between high school life of those who attended high school in Celje and those of us who were in Ljubljana, interesting. I think we had a completely different experience. We saw each other [in Solčava] during the weekends. Those who were in Celje were spending all the time together, and I only came for the weekend, which resulted in a very specific relationship between us, because for nine years I have been coming home only for weekends, and they are together all the time. Even the experiencing of Solčava is a bit different between us and them.

As both interlocutors point out that their migration to Ljubljana was somehow more intense than of the ones who moved to Celje, Petra also recalls that she was recently called 'vzvišeno ljubljanska' (poshly Ljubljana-like) while she never heard anyone being called 'vzvišeno celjski' (poshly Celje-like). This correlates with Rye's notion that the "[r]ural-to-urban migration is about far more than moving in physical space, from one place to another. It is just as much a journey in social space" (2011: 170).

Both Petra and Eva are now students at the University of Ljubljana – in their case, the transition from secondary to tertiary education was not related to a new mobility practice. For some others, who went to high school in Celje or Velenje and continued at one of the three public universities in Slovenia (University of Ljubljana, University of Maribor, University of Primorska) this transition was marked with the movement to a new, usually bigger city and with longer distance

that required different mobility practices. This brings us to the second perspective, the one of transport and infrastructure, to which we now turn.

Dimensions of returning: Transport and infrastructure

Apart from the already mentioned transport provided for primary school pupils living on the farms scattered on mountains and valleys of Solčavsko, there is also a school bus that drives all school children from 6th to 9th grade to and from Luče, where they attend primary school after they finished 5th grade. The schooling-based mobility in the phase of primary education is thus organized at the municipal level. However, as the school bus to and from Luče and the transportation to and from the farms is coordinated with the school schedule, pupils who attend extra-curricular activities, sport trainings or other afternoon courses cannot rely on the organized transportation options. In these cases, the mobility practices are arranged by parents, relatives, neighbours, or others who drive pupils to and from the villages of Solčava and Luče, and, for some other afternoon courses, such as music school, also to villages further south in the Savinja valley, such as Nazarje or Mozirje.

As mentioned in the previous section, students that continue their education in high schools in Celje, which is 63 kilometres away, can take a bus which provides daily transportation to Celje and back to Solčava for workers and students. The latter have thus the option of commuting on a daily basis instead of staying in the student dorms. On the contrary, those who decide to enrol to high school in Ljubljana live there during the week and usually come home for the weekends. There is a bus operating once per day on Thursdays and Fridays from Ljubljana to Solčava and once per day on Sundays and Mondays from Solčava to Ljubljana. In the past, Luče used to be the last stop of this line, so the situation improved for people from Solčavsko, but Petra is quite dissatisfied with the scarcity of the lines as well as with the duration:

> I don't think that's optimal; I think that's catastrophic. There should be a line at least once daily all the way to Solčava. Every day. I mean, you really feel like you are in the middle of nowhere.

The notion of 'nowhere', being a result of the poor public transport between Solčava and the capital, can be understood in the aforementioned sense of remoteness. As remoteness is a relational category, it "is not simply a static condition found somewhere out there beyond the pale; rather, it is always being made, unmade, and transformed" (Harms and Hussain 2014: 362; see also Kozorog 2013; Saxer and Andersson 2019). The feeling of 'nowhere' that Petra expressed is not the given spatial fact, but the result of the, in her view, lack of public transportation which would connect Solčava with the capital.

On the other hand, both Petra and Eva emphasize the existence of other, less formal options, such as carpooling organized through the internet page prevoz.org or Facebook group Prevozi Savinjska. These two sites function as a search platform for those searching for a ride and those offering it. But my interlocutors rely even more on friends and acquaintances that commute weekly by car. They are often highly creative with their transport solutions. Eva sometimes uses carpooling to Vransko in Lower Savinja Valley, where she is picked up by a friend who regularly drives between Vransko and Solčava. This kind of 'patchwork transportation' is reflected also in

the way Eva summarizes her travel experiences: "If you decide to go home, you find a way." However, the limited public transportation does not only affect the locals who regularly migrate between Solčava and Slovenian cities and towns, but also many visitors, attracted by the 'pristine beauty' of the Kamnik Savinja Alps:

> We who study are not the only ones with transportation problems. Not to mention summer tourism. I remember when I worked in Rinka [Institute for tourism and sustainable development of Solčavsko] the guests were always asking via emails, how to come from Ljubljana to Solčava. And then there was an option to go from Ljubljana to Celje and then from Celje to Solčava, but that means waiting time in Celje, or they went from Ljubljana to Gornji Grad and then you had to reserve a taxi from Gornji Grad to Solčava. I mean, normal infrastructure for public transport – that's a must. I think it's very interesting that in Solčava you often hear how in Yugoslavia there was Zagrebčan [bus line], which went from Zagreb to Logarska [Logar valley – one of the valleys in Solčavsko], but nowdays you can't find a normal transport from Ljubljana to Solčava. This was my little rant. (Petra)

The fact that the transportation is a pressing issue not just among my interlocutors but also at the municipal level became evident during our ethnological camps. Each year we choose a few topics that the students focus on and, consequently, the following edited volume is strongly intonated by these topics or thematic fields. In 2021, before the second edition of the camp, the major explicitly asked the organizers to include the questions of transport in our scope. As most of the tourists come to the region by cars, the valleys get overcrowded with vehicles, which leads to tensions between locals, especially the land owners, and visitors, problems with parking, but also unsustainable and chaotic spatial situation in the area, especially during the summer weekends, when both Slovenian and foreign visitors search cooler Alpine valleys to escape the overheated urban centres (see Germ, Krampl and Krašovic 2022; Bajuk Senčar 2015). The transportation dimension therefore intersects both with the needs and practices of the locals and the visitors. Comments, indicating that the current situation is unsustainable and that something 'needs to be done' with the summer automobility overload, are widespread in Solčavsko. The possible solutions and views on future plans, however, varies. Some locals mention the need for a bigger parking space at the entrance of the Logar Valley, others would prefer to stop the cars already in the village of Solčava[76] or even in the settlements in lower parts of the Savinja Valley, while some are in favour of limiting a number of cars that can enter the Logar Valley per day.

Yet the question of transportation is related not only to the various kinds of mobilities of people who are, for several reasons, coming to Solčavsko and departing from it, or to the challenges that the local authorities face, but also to the affective and sensational dimensions that mobile individuals experience as they move. Eva and Petra reflect their weekly mobilities both through the means of transportation and through the specific sensations along the way. Petra points out that if she travels from Ljubljana to Solčavsko through Gornji Grad, "every time you start to descend, passing Nova Štifta, when this meadowy and foresty Alpine part begins, at this point

[76] Which now does not attract visitors who mostly drive through it on their way to the valleys and mountains. This reflects also in the words of one interlocutor: "In twelve houses [in the village of Solčava] live less that 15 permament residents, while every year, at least 150.000 visitors, who want to spend money for a good tourist offers, pass by."

I am always like: ok, now we have arrived to our area." Eva recalls that she starts to feel very homey when she drives across the Črnivec pass, at the point where the road starts to bend. The road is thus not just a bare infrastructure but is experienced and sensed in relation to various affective relationships and memories embedded in the landscape and in the mobility through this landscape, which echoes with various anthropological accounts (Dalakoglou 2010; Argounova-Low 2012; Árnason et al. 2015).

Possibilities of staying: Housing and farm succession

The last perspective, namely the housing and farm succession aspect, can be addressed through the question of interplay between returning to Solčavsko and resettling there after or towards the end of the education period (cf. Dyson 2019). Both Petra and Eva, as well as other young people whom I talked to during the previous fieldwork in Solčavsko, pointed out both pragmatic or 'objective' reasons for returning, such as the obligation to help at the farm (Černič Istenič and Knežević Hočevar 2013) or at the family-run tourist business, and affective or 'subjective' ones, such as experiencing nature, taking a refuge from the examination periods at the university, as well as spending time with their beloved ones.

When we met for the interview, Eva said: "Today I was thinking that I haven't been at home for 18 days – and May is the most beautiful month and I'm missing everything what is going on in Roban's cirque." Petra then vividly described the moments when she is back in Solčavsko:

> I like it so much, when, before it gets dark, I can go from our house to Jerneja, by the river Bela. At our place you can really hear water everywhere, because Savinja and Bela flow by. And then … and the sound, and it's just so fresh, refreshing, I really like going there, and when I get to Jerneja, Hopi [her dog] comes, and Cimika [her cat] follows him.

Both of my interlocutors noted that despite living in Ljubljana for nine years, they still perceive Solčavsko as home. However, the sense of homeliness in Ljubljana depends heavily on their different housing situation. Because Eva often moves in Ljubljana and has lived in many different apartments as a tenant, she senses a sharp contrast between the unstable and transient homes in the capital and the stability she finds in her family's farm in Solčavsko. On the other hand, Petra lives in a flat with her relatives and has created a more 'solid' home in Ljubljana as well. Nevertheless, both refer to Solčavsko as their 'real' home, which relates to the senses of belonging and attachment to a place, similar to those described by Agnete Wiborg (2004) amongst rural-urban migrants in Norway.

The location of their future living, however, is uncertain and highly intertwined with heirdom. Heirdom, as Petra sincerely puts, is a "stressful theme" for everyone involved. For both of my interlocutors this is a pressing topic and can be seen as a wider phenomenon in rural Slovenia (see Knežević Hočevar and Černič Istenič 2008; Knežević Hočevar 2012; Slovenc 2017). The decision which of the siblings will take over the farm and what future constellations this will bring, is still somehow unclear. But they indicate that this might change their migration patterns. It can be sensed also in Petra's commentary:

> Lately I often think about it. And it seems to me that the inheritance could be a burden, which would disable my potential life in Ljubljana. I know it has such a big value, but it is nevertheless a huge burden.

Eva admits that she sees her current weekly migration pattern as a way of escaping the preoccupation with the topic:

> I sometimes feel that I can escape to Ljubljana from this topic, which is constantly present at home. And for example, those who are at home [in Solčavsko] all the time are always dealing with it, but I come for the weekend to deal with this for a little while, and then escape again, and pretend I don't have to deal with these things.

Similarly to many young people from Solčavsko, Eva and Petra are not sure about their future patterns of migrating, staying, and returning. During the collective ethnography, mentioned at the beginning of this article, we sensed that, even though Solčava village is in fact nearly empty, the housing scarcity presents a big problem for many young people who wish to stay in Solčavsko and did or will not inherit the farm. Medica, the only area, where people could buy land and build new family houses, grew in the 90s and the first decade of the 2000. The shortage of housing forces quite some young couples and families to move south, 'down' the Savinja valley, where there is, quite literally, more space. The tourist sector, on the other hand, is often seen as the main option for young people who wish to return and permanently settle in Solčavsko. The potentials for further tourist development in the area function as a career promise for those that will not live off the (Alpine) land directly. This reflects also in Petra's commentary:

> Tourism offers a lot, but in an economic sense I do not see Solčavsko as an opportunity for me in the long run. It would be impossible for me to stay in my field [of studies]. If one wants to work in agriculture or tourism, it is possible [to stay in the area], but otherwise not.

But while the future – and the corresponding mobility patterns – for both Eva and Petra is unclear, they are both very content with their current situation: being able to regularly migrate between Solčavsko and Ljubljana, helping at home while also studying and pursuing their educational goal at the same time. "Yes, the way it is, is ideal," says Eva, "I like migrating the most. This way I can have half of the city and half of the nature."

Conclusion

Even though for a long time migrations have been perceived as a deviation from the 'normal', non-mobile state, as transitory and unstable situations to which people are, for different reasons, forced to, numerous scholars (Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Sheller and Urry 2006) have proved this assumptions wrong and, as indicated also in Eva's comment, showed that migration and the corresponding mobile practices can be the normal or the preferred state. Eva and Petra, who

started with their regular (micro) daily mobility to the village of Solčava as they entered pre-school and then the compulsory educational system and whose mobility dynamics, durations and distances expanded as they continued with the next schooling phases (higher grades of primary school in Luče, high school and university in Ljubljana), agree that regularly moving between the cities where they study and Solčava allow them to develop and maintain their connections with multiple places and enable them to dynamically move between different locations where they want or need to be. These locations, however, are not fixed and stable – in the autumn of 2022, when the new academic year began, both moved abroad to continue their studies there. Their mobility practices – now spread across at least three locations (Solčavsko, Ljubljana and the destination of their host universities) – added new layers to the complex textures of their moving lifeworlds. Their new, now also transnational mobilities, further confirm Eva's insight that education determines all her moves, or, as she states: "All my migrations are a consequence of schooling." This brings us back to the relation central for this paper, namely the one between (rural-urban) mobility patterns and the educational context.

Their mobility- or migration-related experiences shape their perceptions, views, and engagements with their rural homes as well. Because the rural, as Rye puts, "is both representation and location" (2011: 180) and because the same can be ascribed to the urban, the aspects of Eva's and Petra's practical and affective involvements with their multiple locations are not merely spatial but also underline a complex set of social relations.

Finally, the ethnographic materials which support the three perspectives of the mobilities of rural youth in Solčavsko, also reveal the interconnectedness of those perspectives. The education and schooling processes are directly related to transport and infrastructure, which determines the possible modes of education-based mobilities, but students also creatively combine different, public and private, formal and informal ways of commuting, which is evident in Eva's example of what we call patchwork transportation. The housing situation and particularly the farm succession can, in some cases, influence the educational path of young people from Solčavsko, but also in those cases where the farm's future is less clearly decided or in the cases of more academically-oriented youth (see Dalsgaard Pedersen and Gram 2018), the dynamics between the time spent in the family's farmstead, and the time in urban university environment, can mark the changing intensity of this "stressful theme". Furthermore, the education and the career paths that both interlocutors are building are not directly linked to tourism or agriculture or forestry, which might, in turn, become a decisive factor for their future spatial constellations.

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Barbara Turk Niskač

GOING BACK TO THE LAND IN SLOVENIA: AT THE INTERSECTION OF FOOD, LAND AND WORK

This article examines the back-to-the-land movement in Slovenia over the past decade through a case study of five families who decided to move from urban centres to the countryside and make subsistence agriculture central to their lifestyle. By going beyond the rural idyll as a pull factor, the article is being situated within scholarship on ethical food production and consumption. Three main reasons were identified for research participants' decision to move to the countryside, linked in the triad of food, land, and work. These include a specific lifestyle that includes work as meaningful occupation, and concern for human and more-than-human well-being in daily life.[77]

Keywords: back-to-the-land movement, food, land, work, Slovenia

Introduction

Counter-urban, back-to-the-land movements have a long history, dating back to ancient Greece and Rome (Tuan 1974; Farkas 2017a). They took many forms, but some scholars attribute them primarily to the rise of capitalism and the urbanization of everyday life in the 19th century. Since the 1960s and 1970s, these movements have often been associated with radical politics and represented social critiques that seeked to create alternative realities (Halfacree 2006; see also Farkas 2017a). While often employing radical rural practices such as self-sufficiency, environmentally sustainable building, and permaculture, back-to-the-landers also typically reject key features of modern capitalist societies such as consumerism, money, careerism, disposability, and ephemerality (Halfacree 2006: 314).

In Slovenia, members of the artist collective OHO founded the agricultural and artistic commune *Družina* (Family), which was active from 1971 to 1979, but the emergence of ecovillages has only been observed in recent decades. In addition to intentional communities, there are also a growing number of individuals, couples, and young families who are choosing to move from urban centres back to the countryside to pursue a more sustainable lifestyle, some of whom are also successfully marketing their lifestyles through social media. In this paper, I focus on five families who have decided to move away from urban centres to grow their own food and/or raise animals, putting sustainable food production at the forefront of their lifestyle. In attempting to understand the reasons behind the families' decision to produce food as a form of self-sufficiency through the concept of working the land, I also explore the specific dynamics of work and ethics that is inherent to such a lifestyle. I refer to Anthony Giddens who claims that under the conditions of high modernity we have no choice but to choose certain lifestyles. A lifestyle can be defined as "a more or less integrated set of practices which an individual

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embraces, not only because such practices fulfil utilitarian needs, but because they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity" (Giddens 1991: 81).

The participants in this study who decided to move away from urban centres to grow their own food and/or raise livestock chose a specific lifestyle that is very different from the one they previously had in urban centres. In such a lifestyle, working on the land to obtain food is inseparable from living.

Since World War II, the industrial agro food sector has become synonymous with profiteering, concentration, long-distance trade, high use of chemicals and fossil fuels, and unsustainability (Williams-Forson and Counihan 2012). The agriculture of today's global food system is consolidated into "large industrial concerns that invest in the control of the entire supply chain from seed to shelf" (Grasseni 2014: 52).

However, the predominant form of agricultural activity in Slovenia is still family farming, as natural and historical factors do not favour large-scale agriculture (Palang et. al. 2006). Family farms are predominantly self-sufficient with low economic productivity and often supplement the family farm budget with off-farm resources (Knežević Hočevar 2012: 66). The majority of Slovenian farms tend to be small; the average size of the farm in 2016 was 6.9 ha. Livestock households are also among the smallest in Slovenia, with 7.5 animals per household in 2016. Since 2000, larger farms have increasingly displaced smaller farms, and the number of farms with less than 10 ha and low livestock numbers has steadily declined (Slovenc 2017: 9-10).

Moreover, the distinction between rural and urban settlements and lifestyles in Slovenia is often blurred (Urbanc 2002: 47). Due to polycentrism during the period of industrialization and modernization in socialist Yugoslavia, Slovenia did not experience massive urbanization and displacement of the rural population from the countryside, which would increase alienation from the countryside. Moreover, food production for subsistence has a long tradition in both rural and urban areas. In this respect, I agree with other authors who suggest that it is not fruitful to think in terms of rural-urban polarization, but rather in terms of a rural-urban continuum (Nairn et al. 2003; Jehlička and Jacobsson 2021; Sovová, Jehlička, and Daněk 2021).

This study moves beyond seeing the countryside as a place for leisure and residence that serves the external needs of urban dwellers (Halfacree 2006) and is situated in research on ethical food production and consumption (Jung et. al. 2014). I suggest that the back to the land movement in the Slovenian context is better understood as a continuum of historically prevalent practices of growing food and keeping farm animals within the domestic economy of agricultural/semi-agricultural households, rather than as an alienated commodity, as is the case in industrial food systems. Other scholarly work on ethical food production and consumption also points to the importance of informal domestic food production in Eastern European countries (Jung et. al. 2014; Sovová, Jehlička, and Daněk 2021). Moreover, subsistence agriculture, which is at the core of the back to the land movement, could also be understood as resistance to the industrial global agro-food system.

In line with the case study presented, I agree that living off the land becomes the ideal after the separation between "everyday existence and the need to produce with our own hands the items necessary for our immediate needs" (Halfacree 2006: 309). Some of the research participants had direct contact with land cultivation as their grandparents lived on a farm or their parents tended a vegetable garden, while others had no role models in cultivation of land and/or animal husbandry. However, none of the research participants were socialised into such a lifestyle as is the case with traditional family farms.

A Case Study

The case study presented in this article is based on semi-structured interviews with five young families who decided to move away from urban centres and make sustainable agricultural production central to their way of life. My interlocutors didn't live in intentional communities or ecovillages as studied by Judit Farkas (this volume), although their reasons for moving to the countryside were consistent with reasons "to lead a better life in the moral, cultural, or ideological sense" (Farkas 2017b: 83).

While knowledge is passed on to the successors of traditional family farms through socialisation, I was interested in families who had no prior knowledge of land cultivation and/or animal husbandry and the reasons behind their decision to adopt such a lifestyle. I was particularly interested in the meanings and practises that these families ascribed to their new lifestyle in terms of food production and dynamics of work, and how they expressed their concerns about the world of neoliberal capitalism and its industrial food systems.

With two families, I conducted an interview with both men and women of the household, as both worked on a farm. With three families, I conducted an interview with only the women who worked on the farm or grew vegetables while their partners worked in nearby towns. Research participants were contacted through personal acquaintances and the WWOOF (World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farms) network. I have volunteered with WWOOF twice before and I also spent a week with one of the families participating in this study. This allowed me to get a better insight into the daily life and work of back-to-the-landers. The study was conducted from March to June 2018 and was made possible by four months long postdoctoral fellowship. In conceptualizing work, I also draw on my doctoral and other postdoctoral study, in which I examined children's participation in work and perceptions of work and play/leisure in childhood across three generations in Slovenia (Turk Niskač 2021; Turk Niskač in press).

Three of the participating families sold their produce, which was their main income, one family grew food for subsistence use only, and one family had a sanctuary for rescued animals from commercial and hobby farms and grew their own food. I assumed that these families were relatively affluent, educated, and urban families. Although the sample is small, it suggests that the urge to return to the land is not unique to the affluent urban middle class in Slovenia. The interviewees were born between 1988 and 1975. Only one of them grew up in the capital Ljubljana, three in the second largest city Maribor, one in the third largest city, one in a smaller town and one in a village. As for education, one had PhD, one MA, one BA and four had completed vocational school. Some of them had travelled extensively, lived abroad for a while, and almost all of them lived in the capital at some point due to their studies and/or work.

YouTube Farmers: Re-learning Skills

In a traditional family farm, successful succession depends on early and well-planned socialization of the successor (Slovenc 2017), but learning is also an incidental byproduct of social life, an almost invisible part of daily interactions (Gaskins and Paradise 2010: 85). Observational learning typically occurs in settings where children can observe and participate in the productive activities of adults on a daily basis. Moreover, ethnographic studies show that

when the family is an economic unit, adults build on children's early willingness to cooperate, slowly raising their expectations and gradually assigning more work tasks to children (Chick 2010; Little and Lancy 2016).

However, none of the study participants were socialised into such a lifestyle but chose to grow their own food and/or raise animals later in life. One of the study participants, Ana, grew up in a village where she was able to observe farm work, but she was not socialised to take over the farm. She went to study in Ljubljana, lived abroad, earned her doctorate, and was living in Ljubljana again when her first child was born. When she had children, she realised that she did not want them to grow up in the city, "on the concrete." So, they bought an affordable flat in a town of 1000 people, which Ana says is neither urban nor rural and is close to her home village. Although Ana grew up in the village, she was not taught to cultivate land. She was born in 1975 and grew up in a semi-farm household with 11 hectares of agricultural land. While her grandparents were farmers, her father earned a university degree, and both her father and mother were employed, with no affinity for working on the land. As a child, Ana always found farm work boring and wanted nothing to do with it. Only occasionally did she participate in farm work, but as she pointed out, "I could not even tell the difference between parsley and carrots." When her grandparents could no longer manage the farm, Ana's parents took care of it for a while with minimal effort and eventually talked about selling it. At the time, Ana was working in the field of social entrepreneurship and realised that this land was a valuable resource that should neither be neglected nor sold.

Without the necessary knowledge and skills, she had to reacquire everything by trial and error after deciding to take over the farm. This meant double work, as for example in the first sowing of millet:

> When I sowed millet, I cleaned the weeds and I couldn't believe that there were so many weeds. So, we plowed the field again and sowed millet again, and then it was the same weeds again. Only then did we realize that it wasn't weeds, but millet. You can't believe it; you do double work before you realize that's the plant you want.

Ana was the only one who could count to some extent on the knowledge of her parents, because she moved back to the village where she had grown up and where her parents lived. When she asked her father for advice, he advised her to go to the field and observe. However, Ana found that she was unable to observe, "I can observe, but I do not see anything." Now she is consciously learning to observe and see, because she wants to "be able to see".

Re-learning means consciously trying to grasp what would spontaneously emerge through socialization in a traditional family farm. Cultural anthropologist Cristina Grasseni coined the term skilled visions, which stands for "the apprenticeship of particular skilled visions that are specific to situated practices" (Grasseni 2007: 3) and "are embedded in multi-sensory practices where look is coordinated with skilled movement, with rapidly changing points of view, or with other senses such as touch" (Grasseni 2007: 4). Historically, children growing up in family farm households were told, "If you want to know how to work, you have to watch, you have to steal with your eyes" (Brumen 2000: 184), thus placing the responsibility for learning on the observer. Anthropological accounts abound with evidence of learning through practice and apprenticeship, but interest, enjoyment of practice, and a willingness to learn are critical to learning new skills (Bunn 2014: 177).

Without having been socialised into observing and learning the necessary skills, the research participants also faced the doubts of parents and traditional farmers in the area they had moved to, who viewed their practises with suspicion. When Vita's mother learned of her decision to plant a garden, she said, "You want to have a garden? What are you going to do with a garden, even your cactus died." Iva and Jakob said they moved to a village "without money, without knowledge, without tools, without anything" and called themselves "YouTube farmers." Their fellow villagers thought Jacob was an optimist and initially thought his idea of raising goats and making dairy products was crazy. But many of them helped them, as Jakob says: "They do not believe in us, and yet they believe in us and help us, which is fascinating."

On the other hand, back-to-the-landers also challenged traditional agricultural practices, often discarding well-established practices and experimenting with new agricultural practices instead. Although they faced suspicion and ridicule, Jana and Andrej experimented with different ways of growing potatoes, from planting them in a garbage can to covering them with leaves, straw, and compost. A lot of information comes from the Internet, and not all alternative solutions to conventional cultivation work in practice. However, when they do work, they also confront hierarchical knowledge and show neighboring conventional farmers that another way is possible, opening up possibilities for change.

Reasons to go back to the Land

Michaela Benson and Karen O'Reilly claim that despite the various motivations that might drive people to move to rural areas, from house prices, overcrowding, retirement, to the green movement, "the most documented motivation listed in the counter urbanisation literature is the rural idyll-that is the pull of the countryside as a way of life" (2009: 614). Rural idyll here represents peace, tranquilly, space, greenery, a stress-free environment away from the constraints of the city (ibid.), although back-to-the-land migrations often involves "a coalition between sociocultural constructions and more material priorities on quality of life" (Halfacree and Rivera 2011: 99).

In searching for the reasons behind families' decisions to move to the countryside and grow their own food, I have identified three reasons in this study, which I will discuss in more detail later in the paper: food, land, and work, which are interrelated because work on the land provides food. Although traditionally people have access to land first and produce food through work, this was different for the participants in this study. Concern about the type of food they eat was one of the main reasons for returning to the land, which they hoped would enable them to grow their own food through their own work. Another important reason for returning to the land in this study was the idea of work, which I will discuss later. However, in order to have a piece of land in Slovenia on which to grow one's own food, one does not necessarily have to move from the city to the countryside. This is illustrated by the example of Vita, who lived in Ljubljana and rented two plots of land of 150m^2 together, on which she grew enough vegetables to feed a family of four. She wanted her children to grow up in the city but planned to move to the countryside to continue farming the land once the children grew up and moved out.

Food

Among the interlocutors in this study, there was a great lack of confidence in industrial food production. They were all concerned about the type of food consumed, which they believed was directly related to their health status. This belief became even stronger when they became parents and wanted to provide their children with healthy foods. Living in the city, locally grown organic food proved to be costly, and there is no way to know how the food sold in supermarkets and farmers' markets was raised. Therefore, they gradually moved from being consumers to producers, which gave them ultimate control over the type of food they and their families consumed. For the families who sold their produce to consumers, this control extended to control over what they offered to consumers, as Ana pointed out, "Growing my own food gives me control over the food, control over what I give to myself and my children, control over what I give to the consumers who buy my produce." This is in line with the drive for ethical consumption, as there has recently been a growing interest in "high quality, locally produced food, healthy eating, and a balanced lifestyle in line with local opportunities and geography" (Godina Golija 2017: 375).

Mia's story illustrates how she first moved away from the capital with her family to grow her own food, and then gradually moved from self-sufficiency to founding a sanctuary for farm animals and advocating for animal rights. Back in Ljubljana, Mia worked as a journalist and, after having two children, did not return to the job market, partly because of the poor working conditions at her workplace. It was important to her that her family eat healthy food, but she soon realised how expensive locally produced organic food is. So, the family decided to move from Ljubljana, where they rented a flat to a house with a garden in a nearby village for the same price. She began to grow her own vegetables and was soon exchanging boxes of carrots and beans with her friends, who in turn gave her eggs, flour and salt. When her father bought her a chicken so she could also have her own eggs, the family decided to get a rooster as a joke. This led them to a chicken farm where they purchased one. After seeing the conditions in which animals live on chicken farms, Mia decided to start a nonprofit animal rescue and rehabilitation organisation and sanctuary for rescued animals from commercial and hobby farms. At the time of research, she had 80 rescued animals that she enabled to "live the rest of their lives in freedom, dignity and peace." She also became a vegan and has publicly drawn attention to the inhumane conditions in which animals live in capitalist food production, which is based on increasing productivity and farm profitability at the expense of animal welfare and dignity. This brings us back to the idea that industrial food is a contaminant, as Mia explained:

> When I saw the chicken farm, I thought I was going to puke. I did not know what that looked like, you walk into the shop, you see eggs and you say to yourself, oh, this is great. We are so cut off from nature; we have no idea who's laying that egg. If people saw the body of the hen laying the eggs, I do not think they'd ever eat eggs again.

Thus, the concern for eating healthy, high-quality food and having control over the type of food one eats also led Mia to care about and advocate for the welfare of animals in the mass production of food.

Land

Being able to cultivate land, work the land, and grow their own food gave the interlocutors a sense of freedom and autonomy that they valued along with contact with nature. Working on the land provides a physical connection with the soil, which gave my interlocutors the utmost satisfaction, as was the case with Mia: "It's that contact with the soil - it outweighs everything. Everything! I think that is the most important thing, the freedom and the contact with the soil." It is important to note that in the Slovenian language the word 'zemlja' is used for both land and soil (as well as for planet Earth - Planet Zemlja). The countryside offers many opportunities, as Jana pointed out:

> You can create something; you can start working on it. You put seeds in the soil, and you can grow your own food, that's a challenge. You decide your own destiny. Are you going to use the land or are you going to go to the shop?

Observing the cyclical nature of life and direct contact with the soil amazed the research participants. Growing their own food, they all watched a tiny seed grow into a plant, a tomato or a squash. While working in a field of blue flax (linseed), Ana suddenly noticed that all the flax flowers were closing and wondered what was wrong. She later discovered that the flax flowers only open when the sun is full until noon and then close, which she found fascinating: "It's really fun to see the dynamics of the plants, their life cycle and their power." The economist and economic anthropologist Karl Polanyi already claimed that

> Traditionally, land and labour are not separated; labour forms part of life, land remains part of nature, life and nature form an articulate whole. /…/ the economic function is but one of many vital functions of land. It invests man's life with stability; it is the site of his habitation; it is a condition of his physical safety; it is the landscape and the seasons. We might as well imagine his being born without hands and feet as carrying on his life without land (2001: 187).

This is consistent with a growing body of scholarly work that addresses the therapeutic aspects of gardening as a fully embodied experience that reconnects with "significant sensual aspects of being human through interactions with earth or soil, plants, and tools" (Jepson 2014: 148). In addition, much has been written about the mind-body connection in making (Ingold 2000, Bunn 2014). For farmers and artisans themselves, "it is the sensual material embodiment of ecology and craft that is satisfying" (Starr 2010:487).

Work

Finally, concern about the nature of food and access to arable land brings me to the issues of work. Freedom and autonomy on the land come at a price. They do not mean idleness and carefree rural idyll, but require daily physical labour and, for families with animals, hardly a day

off. For Jana and Andrej, the day started early, before 6 a.m., with milking the goats, and often ended late, after 9 p.m. As Andrej said, the day could be twice as long, and he would still have work to do. Yet somehow paradoxically, the interlocutors claimed that they found freedom despite working throughout the day, as Mia pointed out:

> Freedom, yes, that is freedom. The fact that you can organize yourself, that you can decide for yourself, that you can follow your intuition, that you can do what you think is right. That's the most important thing. And the contact with nature.

Ana also said that she had always appreciated freedom and nature. However, she did not see that her parents or grandparents considered working on the land as a pursuit of freedom; for them, on the contrary, it was a binding obligation, a burden. When she decided to inherit her grandmother's farm, she said, "I went back in my mind and said to myself, only if I can combine land with freedom will I do it." Her vision of farming combines agriculture with her other interests, such as academic research, travel and founding an education centre. By leading by example, she also wants to change intensive agriculture in her area and promote more sustainable, organic farming. Freedom, independence, and autonomy are also key concepts in the vocabulary of the ecovillage movement, where these terms are given an emic interpretation through critiques of contemporary consumer society (for a more detailed account see Farkas 2017b).

Dissatisfaction with work and often precarious conditions also contributed to the decision to move to the countryside. Before changing their lifestyle, interlocutors worked in all kinds of professions: from journalist to occupational therapist, they worked in academia, in the army, in wholesale, as freelance seamstress and sound technician. Regarding their decision to move away from Ljubljana, grow their own food, keep goats and make dairy products, Jakob said this was not their "first choice, but the last." Half-jokingly, he added, "Who wants to work every day, morning, afternoon and in between. You have to be a little crazy to wish for that". Before moving to the country, Iva and Jakob rented an apartment in Ljubljana; he was a sound technician and she studied and worked freelance as a seamstress. In the beginning, Jakob worked little as a technician and had a lot of money. When they had their first child, the situation reversed: He worked continuously, but his income dropped significantly. When they found themselves in a state of limbo, working only to pay the rent, they had enough and moved to a small town to Iva's parents with the idea of renting a field to grow their own food, for which they initially bought eight goats. Soon after, with the help of their parents, they bought an old house in a surrounding village and got into dairy production. Now they both work on a farm, selling their products and occasionally taking on other small jobs.

Nevertheless, working on the farm gave Iva and Jacob a different status in life. Compared to a normal job where they had to be present at certain times and constantly checked, they valued their freedom. As their own bosses, they could manage their time as they saw fit, they could rest over coffee whenever they wanted, and they spent more time together as a family, with the children often playing along while they worked. Although they were not completely self-sufficient, they were independent to some degree, as Iva pointed out:

> You have what you make. You don't wait for the wages. Yes, we also sell our products, but we have the basics: food and wood. If the power goes out, we still have a wood stove, we'll be fine.

Some of the research participants occasionally took small jobs or supplemented farming with other professional activities. Nevertheless, they all valued the freedom and autonomy to decide for themselves what they wanted to do. Despite different social backgrounds, none of the research participants perceived the physical labour of everyday life on the farm as a burden or something negative. On the contrary, the physical work and contact with the soil had positive characteristics for all interlocutors. They found it relaxing and clarifying for their thoughts, almost like a kind of meditation. They all preferred the physical work outdoors to the work in an office. It seems that the autonomy of action, the fact that they were working for themselves, and the direct contact with nature and its cyclical life gave the research participants satisfaction.

This view of rural work also builds on previous work experiences of my interlocutors. Mia specifically referred to modern jobs as "captivity" and said she preferred working in a field all day to being cooped up in an office. She said of her daily work at a farm animal sanctuary, "I love it. I would not trade it for anything in the world. I love working. I am muddy and dirty, but I have never been so happy in my life." In Slovenian, the term for a paid job is 'služba,' which actually derives from the verb 'služiti,' meaning "to serve" (Latin servire) - with slave-like connotations. The verb 'delati' means to consciously use physical or mental energy to acquire goods, to perform a task, to work as a source of income, to be actively involved in the creation of something, to give something a certain quality, to shape, to create as well as to act (SSKJ n.d.). The term 'delo' (work) has a much broader meaning, which is already evident from the fact that it is often used as a greeting in Slovenian. Instead of "How are you?" people often say 'Kaj delaš?' which in this context means "What are you doing?" and can also refer to activities other than work, including socializing or idling. Thus, 'delo' is strongly connected to one's identity and well-being.

Work as a Meaningful Occupation

Different values have been attributed to work itself throughout history and in the different social strata of Slovenia. In the family economy of the agrarian society at the beginning of the 20th century, work represented the highest value, to which all other values were subordinated. The survival of the family depended on the physical labour of all household members, including children. Even in lower-middle-class urban families, it was very important for all members of the household to work or have something to do. In contrast, physical labour was openly despised in the highest urban social classes, which employed servants and maids for the household (Brumen 1995).

The modernization and mechanisation of the agricultural sector and industrialization after World War II profoundly changed the way of life, social relations, and attitudes toward work. However, industrialization and modernization in socialist Slovenia were also driven by integrated farming economy, i.e., mixed economies of part-time farmers. These made their living through a combination of self-sustaining agriculture and employment in factories or other market-oriented activities (Sitar 2021). Moreover, well into the second half of the 20th century, it was common for both peasant, semi-farming, and working-class families in urban areas to

cultivate vegetable gardens and raise livestock for subsistence or as supplementary income (Kremenšek 1970; Ravnik 1981; Brumen 2000).

Attitudes toward work and its value have changed again after the 1990s, and recently there has been an intense identification of work and enterprise. Management discourse and entrepreneurship have created a new ideal for the functioning of individuals who "became entrepreneurial individuals striving for prosperity, excellence, and self-actualization" (Vodopivec 2012: 230). There has been a shift toward a new morality of well-being for the individual who must become a good manager of his or her life, thus ensuring competitiveness and innovation in the labour market, pursuing the direction of a healthy life, minimising illness, and maximising health status (ibid.).

I suggest that for the participants in this study work is not "time purchased from the stream of life" (Henricks 2015: 5). Therefore, these families also represent a counter-narrative to notions of family life in postindustrial societies, where work is excluded as a form of social interaction and learning and confined to understandings of work as a capitalist mode of production and, more recently, an entrepreneurial work ethic. They bring back Marxist notions of self-determined work that postulate human labour as an essential component of the human condition and enable individual self-actualization through work (Komlosy 2018). For the research participants in this study, rural work is better understood as a way of life that is interwoven with their lifestyle. It is work as meaningful occupation, an active process of daily living that relates to doing, being, becoming, and belonging, and also promotes well-being (Pollard and Sakellariou 2012). Work here can be understood as a counter-narrative to the capitalist appropriation of work, in which the worker is alienated from both his or her own activity and from nature. The generation of parents of my research participants who worked on the land just a generation ago would have a different attitude toward physical labour on the land. Perhaps, however, it is the difference between adopting such a lifestyle in the traditional farming family and consciously choosing it that gives rural work a special emancipatory character.

Discussion and Conclusion

All of the families originally chose such a lifestyle because of the well-being of their own families, and three families were also selling their products at the time of the study, mostly directly to consumers. Although income from sales was important, these families did not simply follow the capitalist logic of profit maximization in their practices. They took environmental considerations into account and aimed for organic and ecologically sustainable agriculture, even if this meant additional work, as in the decision to sell milk in returnable glass bottles and the decision to practice organic farming, which requires more work and a smaller harvest. Ana acknowledged that "everything is political, every action of yours is political. I want it to be political." She wanted to set an example for others, including conventional farmers, that it is possible to adopt more environmentally sustainable practices and change attitudes about conventional agriculture in their communities. She was aware that this would not be easy:

> Older farmers are afraid of physical labour. When you have an organic farm, you have to do a lot more physical work. You do not use hybrids that yield a lot and quickly.

According to Michele Micheletti, "political consumption politicizes what we have traditionally conceived as private consumer choice and erases the division between the political and economic spheres" (Starr 2010: 480). Everyday activities such as food decisions, both purchasing and farming, become politicized (Starr 2010: 480). Psyche Williams-Forson and Carole Counihan also argue that "where food is concerned, the personal is indeed political. The ingestion of food forces us to consider the consequences of what we eat for our bodies and environment" (2012: 5). I suggest that the alternative practices of research participants represent a critique of consumer culture and are concerned with environmental sustainability and non-capitalist economic relations (Grasseni 2014; Wilbur 2014). Echoing the work of anthropologist Cristina Grasseni, such local small-scale entrepreneurs and their potential alliances with local consumers, in the face of industrial mass food production, rival the mega-farms and multinational distribution that dominate the current global food system, preserving social, environmental, and economic diversity, as well as food sovereignty (Grasseni 2014: 53).

I was able to observe a compassionate relationship between the research participants and their animals on several occasions. Since the herd they had was small, each animal had its name and was given personal characteristics. On small farms, farmers take care of everything, helping with births, watching the animals grow, and dealing with illnesses and deaths, which is why they have an emotional connection with the animals. Jana confirmed the appreciation of the work of farmers who grow food: "even if you just put a seed in the ground, you have to wait and take care of the little plant." She drew parallels to goat farming and dairy production:

> It's the same with the milk, you have to take care of the goats and treat them like princesses, because they give you the material with which you can create something. And it's up to you how you treat them. If you treat them well, they will treat you well.

Research participants who did not sell their produce and grew it only for themselves shared similar concerns about mass food production. In line with Georgina Holt and Virginie Amilien's observation (2007), participants in this study observed that "we lost touch with the natural loops of farming livestock and crops in mutually beneficial circles." Mia, who ran a sanctuary for rescued farm animals and advocated for animal rights, explicitly saw her activities as "resistance to consumerism and capitalism." In her opinion, advocating for animal rights "goes hand in hand with human rights and human exploitation." She explicitly referred to the mechanisms of industrial food production as the same mechanisms that exploit humans:

> If we look at dairy cows in intensive milk production and chickens in battery cages and people working in factories under artificial lights-what's the difference? In the capitalist system, we are all exploited in one way or another.

Although I initially assumed that families choosing to return to the countryside would be affluent, educated, and urban, the sample in the Slovenian context (albeit small) shows that they come from diverse backgrounds, both urban and rural, with different education and previous occupations. Regardless their background, their everyday practices of growing food and/or raising animals were driven by the pursuit of a good life - not only for themselves and their

families, but also for the animals that lived with them, the nature that surrounded them, the land they cultivated, and their consumers. Based on the research participants' concern that they eat enough good food and that they have choice over the type of food they eat, as well as their ideas about working on the land, I linked the triad of food, land, and work into a specific lifestyle that includes work as meaningful occupation and where actions are based on a practical judgment of ethical concerns. Food, land, and the human capacity to work can thus represent one of the possibilities for change with implications for the good life for humanity as well as more-than-human world.

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