

Rural Goods and Services and Their Role in Improving Rural-Urban Relationship

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Preface

The changing nature of rural areas has many different aspects from which traditional and new types of Rural Goods and Services (RGS) and the relationship between rural and urban areas being materialized through the provision of RGS are two of the most important ones. This volume presents two working papers of an international research project called RURBAN (Building New Relationships in Rural Areas Under Urban Pressure) in order to clarify the recent situation and tendencies of RGS and rural-urban relations in Hungary.

The overall aim of the RURBAN research project was to help actors in rural areas to provide Rural Goods and Services related to the landscape and to get compensation payments by new relationships with the urban society. During the three years long research period (2002-2005) research teams from Finland, France, Hungary, Spain and The Netherlands investigated two research areas in each country – a metropolitan and a tourist rural area – in order to discover the interacting actors such as consumers, intermediate actors and producers, and the rural goods and services consumed, mediated and provided by them.

The following studies can be regarded as the synthesis of the Hungarian research findings. The first study aims at analysing the capacity of producers to produce RGS and identifying recent trends in the supply of RGS, while the second one presents current characteristics and possible improvements of rural and urban relationships.

Rural Goods and Services in the Budapest Agglomeration and the Lake Balaton Region

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1. Introduction

The producers of Rural Goods and Services (RGS) can be defined as those actors whose activity focus on the rural areas and who produce or create goods and services that are consumed by non-local people. Primary definition of producers can show us the position of these actors, however it is difficult to draw an exact border between the different actors of rurality, during this analysis we try introduce the different types of producers as well.

According to the fieldwork made in the research areas, it can be said that those actors who can be defined as producers of RGS, in some case also can be defined as intermediate actors. We can separate characteristically RGSs that are produced and mediated by the same actors and RGSs that are produced and mediated by different actors. For example in the metropolitan rural area the local agri-food products, like dried fruits or wine are produced by local producers, but mediated by enterprises, which are owned and leaded by urban people as well. On the other hand in this area for example the cultural festivals are mostly produced and mediated by new incomers. In the tourist area we can find the same phenomenon, some products are produced and mediated by the same actors: like summer cottages, monuments or the different medical and beauty services, but others, like some agri-food product or some tourist services are produced and mediated by different actors.

Producers always have relations within the areas but they are not necessarily an organic part of the local society. The relation to the local society can be noted as a very important borderline in the groups of producers. Some producers have real roots in the local society; they work and live in the local economy and environment. During our fieldwork we tried to choose producers with different characteristics as interviewee in order to represent the attitudes of all kind of actors. Those producers who do not have roots in the local society and economy can also be important actors. For example in the metropolitan area the folk programs as parts of the cultural programme are produced by the locals, but the cultural programme can also contain performances made by outsiders. In the field of economy besides local producers there are some incomers who found out or developed a local speciality, or started a new enterprise that had no roots in the area but later it can be noted as a speciality as well. For example dried fruit production does not have tradition in the metropolitan area, but now it is produced there. In the tourist area the following examples can be noted. The real estate industry is located in the rural area, but in general its target group is the new incomers. All the construction companies and most of the mediator actors – agencies – are not local actors, however these companies influenced the local society and a local agent's presence has already started. The separation of the local and incomer producers can be recognised in the case of

accommodation. In the tourist area private accommodation is a typical part of the rural tourism and it is mostly run by local families. Generally they make their own house ready to dine and accommodate guests. On the other hand, hotels, hostels are more often owned by incomers, and we can say in this case incomers are the producers of the local products.

Consequently it can be said that our characteristic producer groups are the following: The first and the second groups are those actors, who have real local roots, produce traditional local product and either they are mediator as well, or they are just producers. The third and the fourth groups of actors in this case are those who do not have real roots in local society and economy.

If we combine the different sectors and the relations of the producers to locality we can describe some typical phenomena. A significant part of the agrarian producers is local producer. A significant part of the industrial producers is incomer as industrial investment needs larger capital. We can say that in the field of the tertier sector both local and incomer producers can be found. Mostly the nature of the product determines the type of the producer.

During our fieldwork we tried to find interviewees from each of the different producer groups. We made 40 interviews from which 20 interviews were made in the metropolitan area and 20 in the tourist area.

About the selection of the interviewees we can say the following. In the metropolitan area we made interviews with actors working in the field of culture, agriculture, community development, industry, tourism and services. Of course we tried to reach both local and non-local producers. In the field of culture we made an interview with the leader of a local non governmental organization who supervises those actors who work also in the field of culture but do not have deep local roots. The members of this group generally became local or almost local inhabitants as they spent a lot of time in the territory, however this does not mean that they will not leave for another place or work. Festival organizers mostly belong to this category as well as community development experts who can be paid by the different local governments. They belong to those types of producers who does not create any products or serve any services but make circumstances better for local inhabitants and incomers as well. For example, someone working for public administration or a kindergarten leader has this kind of position. In the field of economy we choose potential interviewees from the following groups. Primary agrarian producers mostly make product that is demanded by tourists, visitors. The best example in the metropolitan area is the wine-maker who grows grape and sells it in different tourist cellars. Service was not very significant part of the production in this area. However, as tourism is an alternative income source for the inhabitants, we could find producers who create and offer tourist services. Hence we made interviews with a horse-riding club owner, a hotel owner, a tourist wine cellar owner, a restaurant owner, a pub owner. In our tourist area, the producers of RGS mainly work on the field of tourist services. All kind of tourist RGS are produced, so in the West-Balaton region we made interviews with hotel owners, private accommodation owners, restaurant owners, a present shop owner. In the Valley of Arts the most important product, which is sold to the tourists or bought by the tourists is culture. In this case the producers are those organizers who programming the festival. During the work on this work package we made interviews with main organizers who set up the programme of the festival, private accommodation owners, pub and restaurant owners and with those temporary shop owners or craftsmen who work in the valley just during the festival.

2. Overview of the RGS and its providers

First of all we would like to summarize the most important characteristics of the MRA (metropolitan research area) and the TRA (tourist research area) with special attention on infrastructure and population dynamics. Then we will present, according the interviews, the most important RGSs and their providers.

2.1. The MRA

In the nineties Budapest lost 12 % of its population while the population of the agglomeration has increased by 18 %. The source of increasing population in the settlements of Budapest agglomeration was out migration from the capital. The urban upper middle classes moved mainly to suburban settlements in the agglomeration, urban losers of post socialist transformation settled down in non-metropolitan agglomeration. (Csanády- Csizmady, 2002) The economy and society of suburban settlements around Budapest has accumulated disadvantages in socialist era but Western agglomeration (on Buda side) was considered as the most prestigious one. The green area, public transport, highways, the smaller distance to metropolitan centre, direction to well developed Western counties all meant an outstanding status of the Western agglomeration.

Here we study five settlements in two different counties and sub-regions. In Pest county we examine Piliscsaba sub-region (NUTS 4), which includes Nagykovácsi and Páty villages (NUTS 5). The other county, a bit more far from Budapest is Fejér, in wich we can find the Bicske sub-region (NUTS 4) with Alcsútdoboz, Tabajd and Etyek (NUTS 5).

Table of RGSs found in MRA region

RGS	Main consumers	Main sellers or producers	The character of the RGS (exogenous / endogenous)	Possible conflicts
Agrifood products – dried fruits	Urban people	locals	Exogenous	-
Wine	wine-tourists	local producers	Exogenous	-
Monuments -wine cellars -palace ruins	Urban tourists	local municipalities	Endogenous	-
Folk programs	Locals and immigrants	local tradition keepers	Endogenous	-
Housing (land, plots, houses)	Urban immigrants	municipalities local people real estate agencies	Endogenous	x
Green landscape	Locals, Urbans	-	Endogenous	x
Music, or folk festival	Immigrants, Locals, Urban visitors	Immigrant artists	Exogenous	-
Peasant house	Urban intellectuals and middle classes	Local owners and Real estate agencies	Endogenous	-

The providers of RGS in this region are usually local people, and in special cases immigrants (folk, and music festivals), or outsiders (folk festivals, and real-estate agents).

In the analysis of the rural-urban context (WP1) we made different assumptions on the nature of services in the study area. Some of these turned out be true whereas others need corrections and further additions, as we wrote in the country analysis on consumers (WP2). Most RGS

overlap one another and certain formerly assumed elements cannot be found in reality. It is also possible to distinguish RGS analysed as supply from those that were identified as demand. In the process of analysing RGS we tried to go by our scheme created in the theoretical study, so we kept the original RGS groups to fill with content.

Conflicts

Defending the green land

The urban needs are determined by the natural dimension of rurality. Natural dimension contains fresh air, beautiful natural environment and green landscape.

Both those supplying rural and those demanding it consider natural dimension to be of great significance. Most of the local residents consider landscape and nature to be the most important factor of attraction and the primary reason of immigration. Rural idyll as RGS overlaps primary RGS explored above because tranquillity, green landscape, etc. are essential elements of the image and sense of rural idyll. Several dimensions can characterize rural idyll, mostly by natural and social ones. According to our hypothesis rural idyll is a kind of a middle class demand / need, which is based on the desire for peaceful life.

The consequence of out-migration is that the new conflicts have arisen between migrants and local residents as well as between groups of migrants, between different interest groups of residents.

The base of conflict between new incomers and “native” residents (including former out-migrants) is that their interests are similar: house with own garden, fresh air, closeness of nature, green landscape. Earlier migrants to the rural area do not want more incomers, they guard the “rural idyll”, tranquillity and whereas there are educated representatives in former migrants they can coin out ideology what are very often green ideas or traditionalism. In some settlements former settlers in coalition with native residents could resist in-migration and some forms of globalisation/urbanisation of local, culture while other villages have been urbanised – migrants gave the majority of local population and out-migration has transformed local culture. The economic/financial conflict divides native society into two parts. Free building site owners hope to commercialise their plots (building sites and arable land also) for investors and out-migrants while others desire to keep their own customs and lifestyle in their familiar circumstances. The infrastructure, local services like public transport rather were underdeveloped comparing to number of new home-buildings – it is also a possible cause of conflict.

The next interesting infrastructure question is the capacity of schools, nurseries and health services. Because of the radical increase of the number of residents the local governance can hardly follow the demands. As one of the experts told in a village near the capital about 100 nursery places were failing, unexpectedly.

Such problems cause conflicts not only between the old, and new residents, but between the agglomeration settlements, and Budapest, which has to maintain the hospitals, and secondary-schools, situated in the capital, but they don't get the money for it from the settlements, whose residents are benefiting from its services.

About traditions

On one hand rural tradition means active cultivation of the cultural traditions of a rural region. Besides, this tradition also means the usual, economic, cultural and tourist activities and programs related to them. The presence of cultural traditions is not a characteristic so far in MRA settlements (because of historical reasons) but in recent years there have been many

programs evoking folk traditions. The main purpose of these is to reserve or renew traditions forgotten due to the effects of socialism and also to build community. Sometimes these traditions and fests are bound to the immigrants. They are the one, who are eager to revive them.

Celebration days of village and other programs being part of the traditional and cultural image of settlements are common in the MRA. Opinions regarding the success of these differ. While organizers and local leaders usually rate them as great success, local residents and immigrants report about limited interest. The analysis of the interviews shows that the programs organized by local and immigrant intellectuals are not always interesting for wider range of social classes.

We could find no real appearance of NIMBY in the area, although it has to face several conflicts, and contradictory wishes.

The villages need the local-tax income, but the locals, and the immigrants would rather refuse shopping mall, or industrial investors. The residents don't wish them as well, although they need employment. If there were local opportunities, it could also decrease travel problems.

2.3. The TRA

In the late communist era the Balaton region was a favourite destination of German working class tourists. German families from the East and West met in the Balaton region, and spent their summer holidays here enjoying the relatively low prices Hungary offered them at the time. In the course of post-communist transformation consumer prices kept going upwards in Hungary, therefore current prices in the tourism sector do not differ significantly from the ones of other European summer tourist destinations (Italy, Greece, Spain and Croatia). This change impacted significantly upon the region's service providers (tourism agencies, hotels, apartments and family 'bread and breakfast' enterprises), since their economic competitiveness worsened over time. Foreign and domestic investment has, however, not been large and innovative enough to give a new image to the Balaton region, therefore currently the Balaton, the main tourism attraction of the country besides Budapest, is in a serious crisis as a summer destination.

In villages a significant proportion of houses has been bought up by non-Hungarian citizens (mostly of German and Austrian origin) and by urban Hungarian intellectuals who use their newly bought estates as summer cottages or permanent residence.

We have several levels of examination. First one is the county (NUTS 3) level. Related to lake tourism we examine Zala county, at the northern-western side of Balaton. Secondly, inside Zala county we have our sub-region (NUTS 4) named Keszthely, which includes the two settlements of the case study: Gyenesdiás and Zalaszántó (NUTS 5).

The Valley of Arts in Hungary is a good example of cultural tourism and of the presence of urban actors in the rural area. The born/creation of the Valley of Arts is a result of the restructuring and variegation of the rural. This is a part of the process of suburbanisation and anti-urbanisation, which has been started at the '80's respecting the urban elite and middle classes.

The studied settlements are the villages of the Valley of Arts: Kapolcs, Monostorapáti, Vigándpetend Taliándörögd, Öcs and Pula.

Table RGSs in Tourist Rural Area

RGS	Main consumers	Main sellers or producers	The character of the RGS (exogenous / endogenous)	Possible conflicts
House	Middle class, intellectuals, foreigners, artists	Local inhabitants	Endogenous	x
The Valley of Arts festival	Young urban intellectuals and middle classes	Organizer artists	Exogenous	x
Museums monuments	Tourists	Local institutions	Endogenous	-
Real estate	Urban middle class, intellectuals	Real estate agency (local or outsider)	Endogenous	x
Accommodation	tourists	Entrepreneurs (local or incomers)	Exogenous	-
Land	Foreign and Hungarian middle-class	Local owners	Endogenous	x
Catering	tourists	Tourist entrepreneurs	Exogenous /	-
Beauty shop	Foreign tourists	Local entrepreneurs	Exogenous	-
Medical services	Mostly foreign tourists	Local or outsider entrepreneurs	Exogenous	-
Lake Balaton	Tourists	Hungarian tourist agencies, Locals	Endogenous	-
Green landscape	Tourists, second home owners	Tourist agencies, real-estate agencies, tourist entrepreneurs	Endogenous	x
Spa	tourists	Tourist agencies, tourist entrepreneurs	Endogenous	x
Home-made product	Hungarian intellectuals and middle classes	locals	Endogenous	-
Agri-food	tourist	Local producers, tourist entrepreneurs	Endogenous	-
Peasant house	Urban intellectuals and middle classes	Local owners and real-estate agencies	Endogenous	-
Hand-made products	tourists	Hungarian entrepreneurs	Endogenous	-
Folklore	Urban Intellectuals, middle-classes	Folklore association, folk-art artists	Endogenous - ?	x
Gastronomy	tourists	Tourist entrepreneurs	Exogenous	-
Wine	tourists	Tourist entrepreneurs, local producers	Endogenous	-
Fish	tourists	Tourist entrepreneurs: restaurants	Endogenous	-
Sport	Tourist, urban higher classes	Tourist entrepreneurs	Exogenous	-
Experience	Urban intellectuals and middle-classes	locals	Endogenous	-

The main significant RGS in the region is the rural idyll. All important elements of the rurality are condensed in this RGS. Rural idyll appears both as urban demand and as rural supply.

Conflicts – threats

The Valley of Arts festival also has a strong economic dimension. The festival means a business activity for organizers. The Valley of Arts (VA) is a non-profit enterprise, there is a civil foundation which organizes it: Cultural and Nature Protected Association of Kapolcs, this civil foundation has been established by István Márta the main organizer of the festival and he leads it too.

Expenses of the festival are cost by the Hungarian Government and civil sponsors. The amount was 100 million HUF (it is about 4 million Euro) last year. The development of villages as a rural development purpose is in the budget, it means the incomes from the tickets are given to the local governments (Last year the cost was so high, that the local government did not get money from the tickets).

Traditional tourist services (accommodation, meal, etc.) during the festival are important investment possibilities for locals and incomers. The base of organiser team is from immigrant artists. The festival is a special cultural enterprise in the organisers' point of view. Rural inhabitants found a periodic job (or supplement of income) in the festival: making scenes, let their rooms, cleaning mean the main job for them. It is important to tell, that permanent enterprises cannot be founded on the festival, because one week is a short time for these enterprises.

The catering would be the best activity for local inhabitants, but there are lot of catering entrepreneurs from outside and the National Public Health Office (NPHO) banned the catering in their houses. The hard rules of NPHO and of the APEH (National Tax Office) had caused that the 80% of catering is handled by outsiders.

The festival as an economic activity may cause conflicts between rural and urban dwellers: who get the profit? As we saw urban incomers benefit mostly. On the other hand the profit causes the main conflict between inhabitants-organisers and visitors: local people and organizers are profit interested, the visitors say that the festival is expensive and the profit is not fits to the image of the Valley of Arts.

If we examine the RGS, offered by the VA, we see that the organizer of the festival bought his second house in Kapolcs in the mid-eighties. The first cultural event was in 1989, and it became the now all over the country famous VA. After it 5 more villages joined the VA, and several new cultural associations, choirs and drama groups were established in the villages. Nowadays these groups are playing, and performing on the events of VA, and all over the country. The mayor of the villages emphasized that the income made it possible to improve the living conditions of the villages. The mayor of Taliándörögd – one of the village of the VA – talked about that even the prestige of the settlements increased because of the festival. It can be reason, why the population of the villagers doesn't fall any more.

There are different opinions about the question whether the environment of the VA, could be attractive for the tourists visiting the Lake Balaton, which is lying near to it. A mayor supposes that the six villages are much more peaceful, and silent, than the over-crowded settlements, spas by the lake, so the amenity of the countryside could be found there, after and before the festival. Despite him, an organizer thinks, that the VA could be attractive only for its cultural programs, the environmental, or natural beauty are RGS of the Lake.

It is a general concern of several experts, how to extend the tourism, in time, and also in territory. The experts, searching the tourism of the Balaton Region, or trying to sell it abroad suppose, that the better use of green land, the goods deriving from nature, and the environment could help to longer the season, and to attract the tourist a little bit away from the shore of the Lake. The vineyards, and orchards should be used to attract tourist, and the gastronomy, and special occasions, like vintage based on it. The other possibility could be the thermal spas, and cultural events. Their opinion is similar to the organizer's opinion.

In this area we could find well established cultural RGS, which attracts thousands of people. It means threat to the residents of the six villages, and to the whole festival. It seems now, that the VA cannot welcome more guests, and the organizers (and some of the mayors) expressed their wishes to create a less popular program. Some of them just to fulfil his/her own taste, others to protect the villages from mass-tourism. They are also think, to longer the festival. It's true also in the case of the VA, but especially in the case of the other TRA, near Gyenesdiás, that the actors and providers can hardly find new attractive RGS. They cannot even use the old ones.

Figure 2.1. Nature conservation and economic development in the T-area

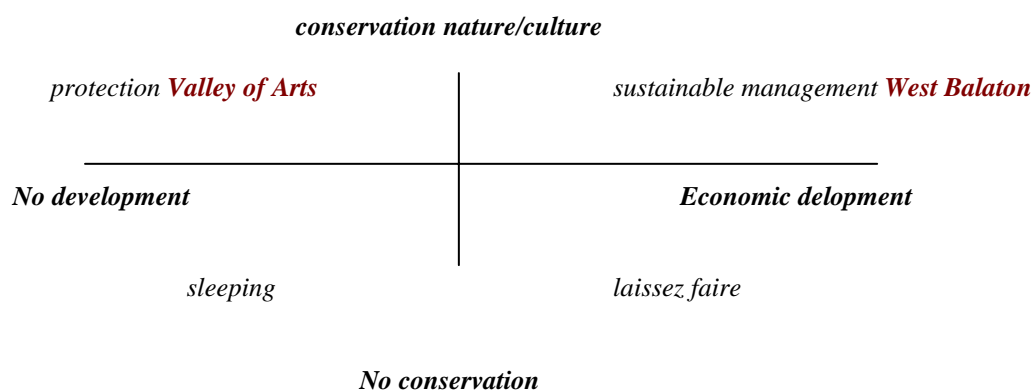
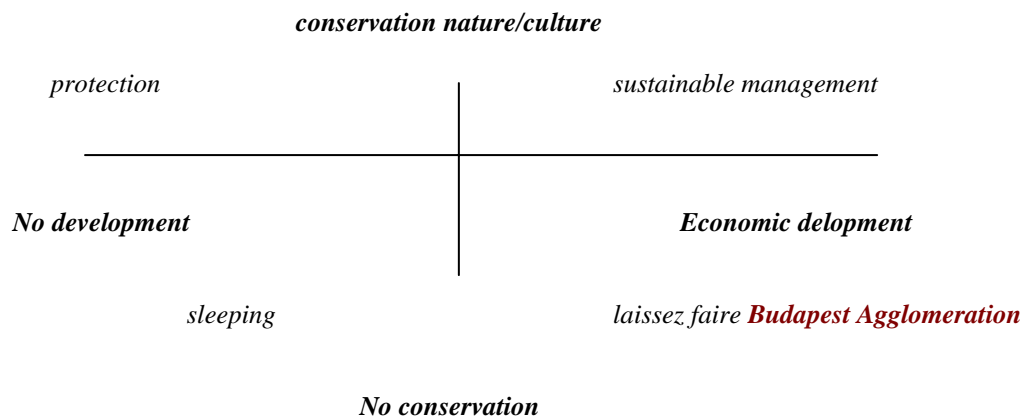


Figure 2.2: Nature conservation and economic development in the M-area



3. RGS as a new economy

3.1. New economy sectors as a system / cluster

After overviewing the RGS and its providers in each study area here we should try to find out the impact of the new rural economy in the regions.

T-area

In the table below we collected the RGS of the T-area ranking them according to their type and importance. First we describe the traditional RGS and activities then those that has the tradition in the area but it has been mixed with new elements in the recent few years. Finally we recite the completely new forms of RGS.

Table 3.1 Importance of RGS and type of activity in T-area

RGS	Impact on/importance in local economy	Type of activity
Summer cottages, second homes	high	traditional
Accommodation	high	traditional
Lake Balaton	high	traditional
Folklore	medium	traditional
Hand-made products (Pottery, table clothes, basketry, folk-art products)	medium	traditional
Catering	medium	traditional
Land	low	traditional
Museums monuments	low	traditional
Green landscape, nature	high	traditional/new
Gastronomy (Hungarian dishes, fish and wine)	high	traditional/new
Spa	high	traditional/new
Peasant house	medium	traditional/new
The Valley of Arts festival	high	new
Experience (pig-killing, grape harvest)	medium	new
Sport (water sports, horse-riding, hunting)	medium	new
Agri-food	low	new
Home-made product (meal, conserve)	low	new

In our case study area old leisure service sector is still essential for local inhabitants as they are used to live on it. But there are many signs that the old system can not be sustained. We already described this process in former working papers of the research (WP2 and WP3): local producers start to realize that they have to keep up with European trends to attract consumers.

One reasonable way to do this is to renew, modernize the traditional attractions and RGS of the region. In most cases this transformation requires strong financial resources but what is more: a change in the attitudes of the providers. Our T-area is actually in the early middle of this transition.

One striking example is the reformation of the Balaton wine region which has a long-time tradition. After the unambitious mass production of the socialist era in the last ten years individual producers started to make quality wine, trying to keep both the local traditions and the European standards.

The traditional RGS of green nature became to a field of new active tourism. These newly established activities (like bicycling on the new cycling routes) are also useful for the old tourist economy (accommodation, catering).

Spa tourism rather belongs to the new economy though it has strong traditions in the region. The spas were formerly used to medical targets, the real economical activity based on this natural value (i.e. exclusive cure hotels) is a rather recent phenomena.

The new segments of RGS are based on the growing ‘post-modern’ requirement for authenticity and experiences. Traditionally, even in the last decades events like pig-killing and grape harvest had been ordinary feasts for Hungarian people, rather than special tourist attractions, their appearance as RGS is a new image of them. Exclusive sports like sailing or hunting are just recently reachable financially for a significant group of consumers. Among the new RGS the most important is definitely the rural cultural festival in the Valley of Arts which totally reshaped the economy of the concerned area. It has preserved the cultural heritage while it has some provided employment facility as well. This is the only area – far away the streams of the old-fashioned tourism where we can talk about something which is similar to a new economy. But it can not be developed to a real working system for the new activities are almost limited to a short summer period. Moreover this new form of authentic experience is now turning to tantalising tourism due to the unsupportable amount of the festival visitors.

In sum, traditional mass tourism economy still holds its primal importance in the T-area while we can also observe ‘clusters’ of the new rural economy.

M-area

Table 3.2 Importance of RGS and type of activity in M-area

RGS	Impact on/importance in local economy	Type of activity
Housing (land, plots, houses)	high	traditional
Green landscape	high	traditional
Monuments: wine cellars, palace ruins	medium	traditional
Wine	high	new
Folk programs	medium	new
Agri-food products – dried fruits	low	new
Music festival	low	new

In the M-area, besides the old RGS economy (containing housing and green landscape) new RGS forms are emerging connected to tourism. Among them wine economy is the most dynamic and important one. One pioneer settlement (Etyek) recently succeeded to become widely known as wine producing village with strong cultural marketing. Nowadays more settlements regard wine tourism as a possible pulling power. Agri-food making has a relatively lower importance.

Cultural events are also gaining some importance but it is rather a bright spot than a systematic economical activity.

3.2 Level of interaction between providing actors of activities in the new economy

T-area

As we stated in the analysis on intermediate actors (WP3) referring to the marketing strategies, the level of interaction between providers is relatively low though they are just realising the urgent need for co-operation.

Hence, main problems of creating and operating an integrated marketing strategy - besides the lack of money – is the lack of cooperative ability and the improper way of information flow.

Many interviewees complained about the lack of strategy and even the lack of need for a strategy. There are rather random marketing actions existing instead of long-term planning and strategy. In cases of successful applications for money there are prompt and short-term marketing actions like printing and distributing leaflets and brochures.

In this region the entrepreneurs have strong power, and their interest is the development of tourism. For example the wine producers of the region established an association and organise professional programs. And try to sell together their products. They organise Wine-days all over the region, and the members of professional organisation can participate there. The membership means quality, and gives stronger position in the wine-market.

M-area

Co-operation among providers has just started in the M-area as well. The cultural-gastronomic producers (especially the wine-makers) created their lobby groups on the settlement level and on regional level too. Culture of Wine Club, Winetrip Association and many other are working, trying to co-operate with the other segments of economy and tourism industry. However the demand of shaping complex regional face is still on theoretical level. There are different sectorial initiatives, however they work separately. Deliberated communicational system working like a network has started in the past few years, however the real harmonisation of programmes, the integrated cooperation, the harmonised services haven't been realised yet. The tendency is heading for this direction. The possibility of getting complex information on the internet can be noted as future absence. There is no one common website from which all the services, goods, and possibilities like restaurants, accommodations or programmes would be available for the inquirers. It can be said that the marketing strategies focus on the individual productions, how to make them sellable, and basically how to make tourist products from the different local possibilities.

3.3 Forms of interdependence and interactions between the agricultural sector and the new rural economy

Agriculture is not a very strong sector in both case study areas. The tendency in which farmers or agricultural employers leave their land and the sector is very strong. Some of them started to join to the new RGS economy and agricultural land owners and farmers develop consumer oriented services also. Good example of this phenomenon in the Lake Balaton region is when tourism-makers who have agricultural land try to commercialize their agricultural production in their tourism business, and they sell their products (wine, honey, fruits, vegetables, etc.) as a special tourism service on niche markets. This does not cause conflicts between the old and new economy sectors because the different activities do not compete with each other.

Edutainment farming already exists in the wider region as well. Somehow similar but not by all means RGS producing activity the white-collar farming. Intellectuals are buying and renovating old peasant houses in some villages (especially in the Valley of Arts) and the most radicals of them are running farm estates as well. This mainly means animal husbandry and its target is primary to sustain the tradition of the landscape, not to make profit.

There is one more agricultural activity what can be considered as part of the new RGS economy: the Hungarian grey cattle husbandry. This animal originally lived just on the eastern part of the country. But recently, for tourist reasons it has been pastured near the Lake Balaton, too. The meal of these cattle is considered to be a hungaricum that is why it has some extra-value above a normal beef in the new rural economy.

In the M-area we cannot give an account of many significant agricultural activities. Animal husbandry has almost disappeared from the area. Wine-making is the only activity which can be considered agricultural. We will discuss its importance in chapter 4., concerning the providers.

3.4 Obstacles and support to RGS development

T-area

Joining the European Union, the amount of the reachable subsidies for the producers has grown. The regional Enterprise Development Foundation collects the information on national applications, and informs and helps the entrepreneurs how and for what they can apply. Mostly the Foundation writes the project plans. The Foundation inspires the entrepreneurs to cooperate. This civil Foundation has a strong connection with rural development managers and rural development project offices, they are work in the same sphere of development, the sphere of planning and application.

According to the interviews we can say that application system doesn't work effectively yet. As the actors do not have stable financial background they have to wait for the different applications to realise their conceptions. As the application system is quite new in Hungary the functioning of it is not exactly fluently. The occasionally supporting system cause unequal development. Some initiatives are more frequented; others do not have possibility to come into the light.

Concerning educational support, a private rural developing company organizes different courses on the field of green farming and integrated rural developing programmes on regional level. They educate entrepreneurs and different institutions how to make projects and proposals within the framework of the European Union. They provide consultation to municipalities, developing organizations and other institutions interested in development somehow. They also provide information on managing projects and grant opportunities. In summary their main activity is human resources training. The reason for emphasizing the activity of this organization is that they are not specialized in tourism on one hand and the dominance of cooperation during their work with several types of actors and organizations on the other. Their relations and cooperation with foreign regional organizations (Austria) helps development further.

M-area

Concerning the support system the situation is the same in the Budapest agglomeration: RGS producers often do not have the proper retention to apply. There is another strong obstacle to the new RGS economy as well: inappropriate municipalities.

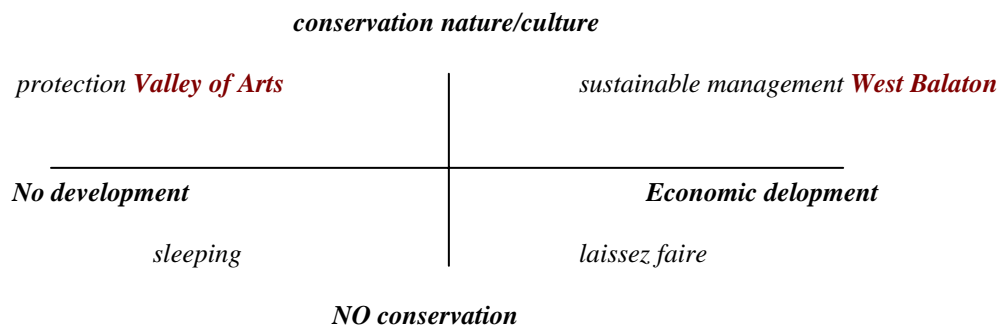
All the interviewees in this area complained seriously to the attitude of the local government. They feel no cooperativeness of the local committee to support them with long term planning and harmonized strategy. According to their opinion local governments go just for subsistence and corruption, instead of working for the community.

Moreover, two interviewed person (a wine-maker and an entrepreneur) expressed their aspiration to get into the committee and do something for the development of their settlement. This process has already been visible in the T-area where local entrepreneurs gained power in policy-making through local politics.

3.5 The economic prospects of the area, competition or combination with other functions and RGS

T-area

Figure 2.1. (again) Nature conservation and economic development in the T-area

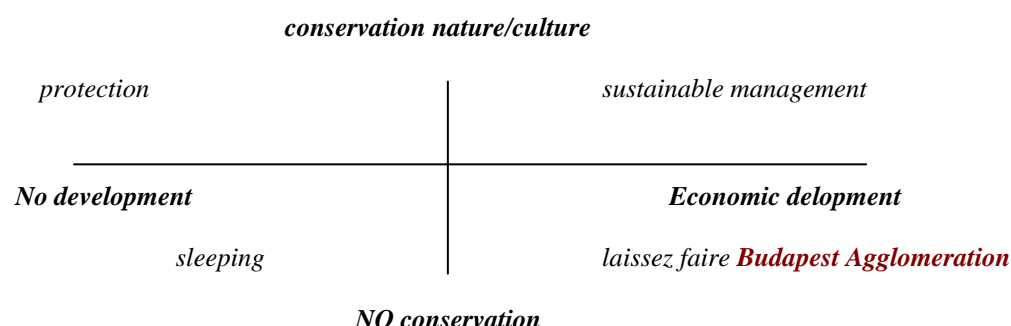


If we are talking about the economic prospects of the area we have to discuss the Valley of Arts and the Keszthely region separately. In the Valley of Arts, the main fear can be that the festival will not combine with other RGS, so it can not be an economic engine for the region. Though the urban festival organisers woke up the area from its sleeping, and made it widely known, the consequences are ambivalent. The nature conservation and the preservation of culture has been emphasised and this is definitely positive. But as the festival is based on the lagging rural character of the valley, it may hinder or at least does not help the investments and economic development in the area. This would not be negative if the inhabitants could live on the authentic character of their settlements but the situation is quite different. Tourism for itself does not make subsistence for the people of the valley (all the more for the festival organisers).

The West Balaton area is traditionally a richer, more developed region, especially the shore settlements. Economic development has been characteristic here decades ago. We classified this area to the 'sustainable management' cell because trends seem to be promising. Especially comparing to the M-area, preservative ambitions are visible. Economic development in this region has always meant tourism investments. The new trends make them more sustainable, environment friendly, more rural. Peasant houses instead of grand hotel are in fashion. This is more or less the result of the consumers' new demand for RGS, as we emphasised earlier.

M-area

Figure 2.2 (again): Nature conservation and economic development in the M-area



In the Budapest agglomeration area suburbanisation process is still too strong. Residential parks are multiplying like mushrooms. Urban outflow totally reshapes the employment structure of the agglomeration settlements. There is a village in the case study area where the 60% of the local women work as cleaning ladies in the houses of the new inhabitants. Economic investments like hypermarkets or the theory of the 'Hungarian Silicon Valley' are not for preserve or just live beside rural values. The only promising activity is wine making and wine tourism which can give an opportunity to maintain traditions and make business in the mean time. That is how new economy could gain importance in the area: as a secondary subsistence. But more state resolution against sleeping suburbs is needed.

3.6 Conclusions

T-area

Table 3.3 Opportunities and threats for RGS-provision in the T-area

	Opportunity	Threat
Interdependence with agriculture	Agri-food production as an added value in tourism White collar farming Edutainment farming	
Local innovation system	- co-operative applying - rural development programs	- unexploited supports - extra-profit for outsider developers
Economic prospects of RGS to combine with other functions of the area	- sustainable management of the tourist economy - creating a wide range of new RGS economy	- RGS for preservation and no development (V.A.)

M-area

Table 3.4. Opportunities and threats for RGS-provision in the M-area

	Opportunity	Threat
Interdependence with agriculture (see c)	-creating more agri-food enterprises	- traditional agriculture totally disappears
Local innovation system	- using the high cultural and social capital of the local entrepreneurs in innovation	- inappropriate municipalities - unsuccessful applying (too high retention)
Economic prospects of RGS to combine with other functions of the area	wine making combined with wine tourism – to develop into a new segment	the ‘sleeping suburb’ function of the area gains more importance and other activities decrease

4. RGS providers in a new economy

After the overview of RGS and its providers and the analysis of new economy system we start to analyse the profile of producer units in the new economy. This analysis is based on interviews. We are analysing our two study areas: Budapest Agglomeration (MRA) and The Lake Balaton Region (TRA) separately. We aim to understand the main characteristics of RGS providers in both areas.

4.1 RGS-providers found in MRA

4.1.1 The provider unit

We have analysed the endogenous/exogenous character of producers in Budapest Agglomeration

We can also find endogenous and exogenous producers in the region.

The main characteristics of endogenous producers in the region, who have started new business based on traditional resources is they have a strong connection with new land use system, mostly real estate business. These producers have started their business on the basis of new demand of urban incomers, who want to live in rural areas. This producers bear a relation to regional real estate business centres, there are some firms in our studied villages which are the part of bigger real estate firms in the region (with Budapest centre), but also there are independent firms. These businesses are very profitable. The building plots are the main product of the region. We can separate traditional an new type of demands of real estate: the traditional type is when consumers need building plots inside the village, like when they buy old peasant houses or something like that, and the new type is the residential parks. Both real estate businesses exist in the region. The residential parks are more profitable with high entrepreneurial capacity.

The next important endogenous producers with connection of land are the tourism makers who make their new businesses of the traditional resources of the region, like green landscape. And there is another type of tourism business also based on traditional resources: monuments. The tourism as a business in the region is in the beginning. Mostly the local

governments and some micro firms started and do this activity; they provide possibility of excursion, bicycling and so on. This is not profitable; its entrepreneurial capacity is low.

We can find two type of exogenous production, too. The first is connected to the land and agriculture but it means an absolutely new activity in the region: the wine production, and other new agri-food production: dried-food. The agriculture and agricultural production is not typical in the region nowadays. For example the wine-production has tradition in the region, but normally it means self-sufficient production with low quality level. In most of the villages of the region the agricultural land became building plots. So the preparation to revival of wine production means new activity, and means exogenous one. There are some bigger firms in the region: Wine Production Company in Etyek, and Dried-Food Company in Páty. They have national and international connection, too. These firms have important role in the employees system of the region. These are profitable. The nearness of Budapest is important factor for these types of producer units.

The other exogenous production is based on nearness of Budapest. This is an absolutely new business of the region: cultural activity like festivals, folk and other cultural programs. Some micro firms and with the assistance of local governments have started these businesses. This is a type of tourism. They provide cultural programs for urban people, mostly consumers from Budapest. These activities are in the beginning. There are some bigger programs which are profitable (like Wine festival in Etyek), but there are also programs lower profitability. These businesses can have more importance in the future.

Table 4.1 The provider unit

The provider unit	Type of activity (traditional/new)	Endogenous or exogenous	Profitability
Real estate business	traditional (land)	endogenous	high
Tourism	traditional (green landscape, monuments)	endogenous	low
Wine production	new	exogenous	high
New Agri-Food (dried food)	new	exogenous	high
Cultural activities	new	exogenous	medium

4.1.2. Forms of local resources

As we mentioned before the type of resources is an important character of provider unit. The main question is how the producers depend on local resources, and how they can use it.

The real estate providers have strong dependence of local resources as the land. The basis of this business is the land as building plots. The main good is the building plots, but there are many other services which also connected to the real estate business and depend on the local resource: land. Like construction, landscape gardening and so on.

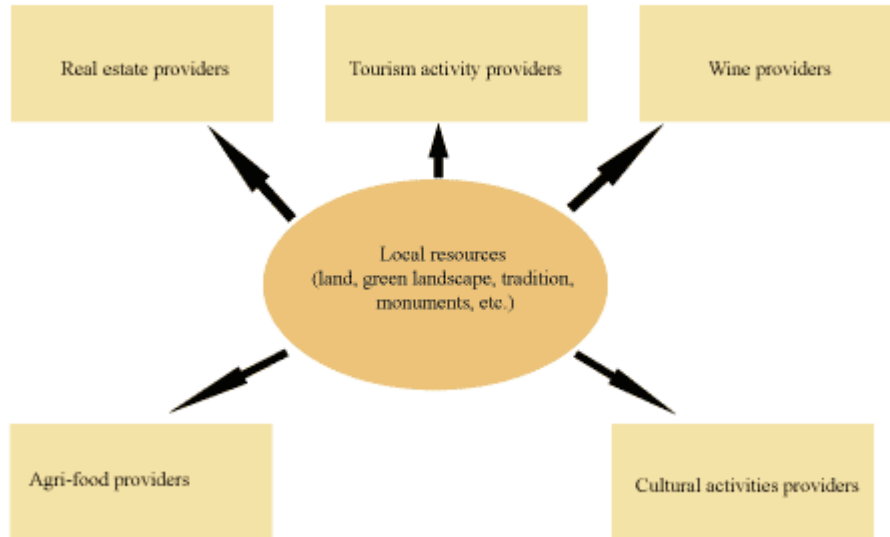
The tourism and its traditional forms: excursion, visiting monuments, etc. also is depending on local resources. The basis of that kind of activity is the local features: green landscape, local monuments and traditions.

The wine production as a new business is connected to local resources. It is a revival a traditional activity in new form. The image of the RGS also depends on local features, but the new business does not have real connection of local resources. The production is also depends on the national and international wine markets and the new consumer demands.

The dried-food business as a new agri-food business not depends on local resources. This is an international firm, and it use only one feature of the region as resource the closeness of Budapest.

The new cultural activities and its providers also not have strong connection with local resources. The main important features what they use are the closeness of Budapest and the rurality.

Figure 4.1. RGS providers and local resources



4.1.3 Product complexity and coordination

We are analysing the vertical and horizontal coordination of RGS providers in the region.

The real estate providers mostly integrated with similar providers. Sometimes it means formal organisation but mostly it is an informal cooperation. They have separated the territory, and respect it. So the vertical coordination is an important feature of real estate providers. These providers is also characterised by horizontal coordination. They have strong connection with other producers of the region like constructors, or landscape gardeners, but always only the producers and firms which belong to real estate business. They have not connection with culture or agri-food or tourism providers.

The tourism providers mostly stand alone. They try to find connection with similar producers in the region. Local governments started to make together sub regional conception and plan of tourism, but this process is in the beginning. The integration with other producers like catering entrepreneurs is very important. They have connection. So the horizontal coordination is better than the vertical.

Wine provider means only one big firm in the region, and the dried food company also has the same position. Because there are no more similar producers in the region, these firms are single, but they integrated with similar producers in national and international level. In the characteristics of horizontal coordination there are big different between these two firms. The wine company has strong connection with other RGS providers in the region and mostly in the village where is it. It integrated with cultural providers and tourism providers. The dried-food company stand alone. They have not permanent connection with other producers of the region. It only sometimes patronizes some cultural programs in the region. It have the strongest connection with local agricultural producers and the local government.

Cultural activities providers mostly integrated with similar producers in the region. They organise festivals together, and they try to make collective image and marketing. This process is only in the beginning. These providers try to find connection with other providers in the region. They have good connection with tourism providers, and they need the assistant of

entrepreneurs and firms of the region. So the horizontal connection is an important feature of the future of cultural activity providers.

Table 4.2 Coordination

The provider unit	Level of Vertical Coordination	Level of Horizontal Coordination
Real estate	high	medium
Tourism	low	medium
Wine production	low	high
New Agri-Food (dried-food)	low	low
Cultural activities	high	medium

4.1.4 Knowledge of consumers and the market

All of our interviewees know well the trends and characteristics of the region. They know the consumers and their demands. Immigration from the capital into the case study villages was the most important trend, which was mentioned in each interview we made. They emphasised that the main RGS in the region is the real estate, and all the others can be only secondary. Many interviewees emphasised the trend of cultural take over. So the tourism and cultural activities seems more and more important in the region as RGS. It have to be a limit of immigration so the local producers try to find new activities, like culture, tourism and the new form of agriculture (its good example is Wine Company of Etyek, and Dried food company of Páty).

So the trends what our interviews have mentioned are in order of importance:

- Immigration
- Cultural take over and tourism
- New forms of agriculture

4.1.5 Infrastructure

There are big differences between our studied villages in transport infrastructure as we have mentioned in the contextual analysis (WP1). There is only one railway line in the Budapest agglomeration. The Bicske subregion where are Etyek, Alcsútdoboz and Tabajd is lying, Budapest and Bicske are linked by railway line.

There are 29 trains a day Budapest to Bicske and there are 24 ones backwards. Most of the train are direct.

Bicske is the biggest settlement of the subregion and located 40 km from Budapest.

Budapest Agglomeration study area has 2 subregions: Piliscsaba and Bicske subregion.

Páty and Nagykovácsi belong to the Piliscsaba subregion in Pest County.

Nagykovácsi is absolute linked to Budapest. The Budapest Transport Company has a bus service (bus 63) to Nagykovácsi. This busline starts from one of the main bus stop in Budapest: Moszkva square. Nagykovácsi is the end of the line, the bus make 18 stops during the 17 minutes which is the turnaround. Both on workdays and on holidays buses run from 4 am till 11 pm. As you can see in the following table it can be said that this buses run very often during the whole day as the bus line belongs to the local Budapest lines.

Nagykovácsi is the only Subregion that belongs to Budapest. To reach the other villages there are coaches which characteristics are the following.

Between Budapest and Páty runs coach service only. There are 102 direct bus services from Páty to Budapest a day and there are 97 ones backwards. Páty located about 25 km from Budapest and the duration of trip to Páty from Budapest is about 40 minutes.

Alcsútdoboz, Etyek and Tabajd are in Bicske Subregion.

Alcsútdoboz located about 40 km from Budapest. Workdays there are 35 buses from Alcsútdoboz to Budapest and there are 30 ones from Budapest to Alcsútdoboz. From Alcsútdoboz to Budapest there is no direct bus service, usually have to change bus one or two times. From Budapest to Alcsútdoboz most of the bus services are direct. The duration of the trip is about 2 hours. Usually people go by bus to Bicske, from where they can go by train to Budapest. From Alcsútdoboz to Bicske there are 37 direct buses, and the duration is 21 minutes. Backwards there are 36 buses with similar duration.

The characteristics of transport between Budapest and Tabajd are similar than the Alcsútdoboz one.

The transport possibilities between Etyek and Budapest are much better than the other two villages of the subregion. Easy to go by bus from Etyek to Budapest, but it can be use the railway line from Bicske too, but it is not usual.

The soft infrastructure like educational unit is similar in our studied villages. Every village have only primary schools and also kindergarten, and there is no higher educational institute. The educational possibilities depend on the transport infrastructure, how the local people can reach the educational institutes which mostly are in Budapest or in bigger settlements (like Bicske).

There are differences in distribution channels too between the villages and their activities. There are many types of tourism and cultural activities as RGS in the region which are well promoted, but there many other which are not.

For example well promoted RGS are:

- Wine festival in Etyek
- Real Estate in the region
- Wine in Etyek
- Golf Club in Alcsútdoboz
- Arboretum in Alcsútdoboz

Low promoted RGS are:

- Cultural programs in the region
- Tourism possibilities in the region
- Museums in the region

So it means many RGS need collective strategy of marketing.

4.1.6. Innovation spirit

The innovation spirits and its success depend on the type of RGS. The real estate does not need too much innovation but for the providers the RGS marketing is very important. As we have mentioned in our country report on intermediate actors (WP3), the marketing is an important elements of real-estate business which is lead by intermediate actors, but the producers also play important role in this process. According to the representatives of real estate agencies interviewed there is a slight change in reasons of moving out of the capital in the last five years. While five or ten years ago urban people wanted to move to calm, green and clean rurality, today closeness to the capital is a more crucial factor in choosing new homes. They certainly want to get out of the crowded city; however, green and freshness are not the primary factors of settling down somewhere. For this reason agencies recently have

begun to emphasize closeness and the vital connection to the capital in their marketing strategy. Besides the fact of emerging new demands, after a decade of permanent moving into the agglomeration, marketing calmness and untouched nature is not a trustworthy strategy anymore.

Most of the constructors and real estate agencies use several platforms to market their products. They advertise themselves on posters, in conventional media, on the internet, in professional periodicals, etc. A few constructors figured that the efficiency of such a wide scale of advertising does not correlate with its high expenses. Therefore they prefer advertising in professional periodicals only.

The other RGS like tourism activities, cultural activities and new forms of agriculture need more innovation spirits. Tourism is not a characteristic RGS of the region, there are more and more rural developing organizations that consider tourism as the future of rurality. Some settlements with cultural activities such as theatres, monuments, museums, etc. support the idea of spending more than one day in the settlements. According to representatives of tourist offices the problem with these places of accommodation is the ineligible level of quality. Regional developing organizations as well as tourist offices and municipalities try to convince entrepreneurs letting out accommodations to improve the quality of their services. Most desirable would be to make these entrepreneurs participate in common projects in which their cooperation and mutual help is needed. Cooperating with others is not favoured by local entrepreneurs though. They'd rather run their own business alone. This type of behaviour can probably be explained by their socialization. They have not obtained the techniques and skills necessary for running a successful and high quality enterprise with multiple services.

Culture appears on the offered RGS' palette in complex way since all the foods of the region and the natural environment are the part of the culture. Cultural initiatives are coming from not local experts. One of the most typical products that can be realised as cultural phenomenon is the folklore. Etyek is originally Swabian village and this is one of the most important components of the cultural image of the village. Families who were resettled to Germany after the World War II they are coming back to their roots and relatives because of this ethnical character. However the Swabian character as original culture appears as traditional-keeping or relearned tradition, it has strong influence on other cultural programmes. It causes the presence of the cultural life in the region; it works as the generator of the local cultural life. The same phenomenon can be experienced in another part of the MRA study region. In the Vál-valley you can find tradition of elder growing, which became the basic of a small-region wide agri-food and cultural center. Connected to the local agri-food they organise a complex cultural festival where these producers can present their products while there are a lot of cultural programmes like folklore programmes, concerts as well as educational programmes. Some immigrant intellectuals have strong influence to the local areas and face, which is a rare phenomenon in the MRA areas. The patron of the above mentioned cultural programme that originally gave inspiration to the initiative was a famous public figure. He had strong influence on mass media to advertise the programmes like campaign. As a matter of fact this caused occasionally huge publicity and it had positive influence on the local initiatives. The basic method of distributing this cultural festival is making of different publications, and informational sheets as well as the presence in local radio and TV or newspapers. As a matter of fact almost all part of the study area have this kind of publications, however all the IA actors are offended by the lack of the complex marketing strategy, so they are definitely not sure that these publications can work with enough efficiency.

Wine as basic production of gastronomy characterises the face of Etyek in large measure. There are a lot of local primary producers being interested in wine producing, however just a few enterprises produce seriously onto the market. These enterprises are leaded by immigrant

or commuter experts who work on marketing strategy that focus onto their production. Because of the closeness of Budapest the region got the name of „Vineyard of Budapest”. This is the central idea of the marketing strategy: they try to create this image through the advertising and publicity in the media or press. In spite of this the wine-culture has not organic or organised just occasionally connection to the other local services.

4.1.7 Legal, educational and financial support

The RGS providers of the region mostly use public financial supports. They apply for support to local government or national government. Sometimes they try to get support from the EU, but the application system is new and difficult for them as they mentioned. Mostly they need the help of intermediate actors.

For the new producers like culture and tourism providers the main support is local support came from local governments and local entrepreneurs. Only the bigger firms are able to apply for support in higher level.

In the region there is no secondary and tertiary educational structure relevant for RGS development.

4.1.8 Networks

As we mentioned before, there are connection mostly between RGS producers in the region, but it not always means a membership in internal and external networks.

We can find examples for RGS providers who participate in networks, but there are also producers who do not.

The real estate providers mostly take part in producer channels. There is a strong informal organization between real-estate producers as we have mentioned before. They have connection with local government and local entrepreneurs, but mostly they are not integrated to local community and culture. These providers are mostly business oriented.

The tourism and culture providers try to make production channels, but there are some who are successful and there are some who is not. It depends on the products what they provide: with a bigger festival it can be easier to take part in networks than with a small local museum. Mostly these providers have strong internal networks. They are connected to local community, local firms and enterprises. But mostly they are not connected to external network channels, marketing and professional association, just the bigger ones.

The new forms of agricultural production providers mostly take part in supply chains, which mostly mean external networks. These are the members of marketing cooperation, these are connected to professional associations, but these cannot be characterised by strong connection to local community.

4.1.9 Future

As we have mentioned in the case of trends the main characteristics of the region is the immigration. The immigration of urban people determines the future of the region. Many local enterprises depend on urban incomers.

The new type of RGS like tourism, culture also depends on urban people. They provide their product for the same consumers who need green landscape and rurality like the real estate providers.

The new forms of agriculture production are also connected to urban consumers, but this connection is not so strong like in the case of real estate and tourism and culture.

So the economy of the region means RGS economy.

4.2 RGS providers found in TRA

4.2.1 The provider unit

We have analysed the endogenous and exogenous character of producers in The Lake Balaton Region.

We can find many types of RGS and its providers in the region. All of the producers connected to the tourism. The main characteristic of the region is tourism. We can find three types of RGS providers. The providers belonging to the first type provide the traditional elements of tourism in the region (like summer cottage, catering, Lake Balaton etc.), the second group of providers provides the new elements of tourism like festivals, experiences, agri-food etc, and there is a third category containing fewer members who provide traditional goods in new forms like spa tourism, green landscape, etc.

If we separate the producers of the region to the clusters of innovation we can find three types: strong endogenous, soft endogenous and exogenous.

The 'strong endogenous' means when the producers make their own tourism business in traditional way: for example to rent summer cottage, restaurant, hotels, catering, selling the possibilities of lake. These productions are based on the traditional resources of the region, and these resources are used in traditional way. There are many of this kind of provider units in the region. Nowadays, the profitability of this kind of business decreases. Many producers try to find new activities and possibilities because of it.

'Soft endogenous' means that the production is based on the local traditional resources, but they use it in a new way. For example, if the spa tourism means wellness tourism, if the green landscape is provided as a new experience of nature, etc. So it means new business in which local tradition appear. This kind of production is very profitable. The numbers of enterprises increase.

'Exogenous' means the absolutely new business in the region. When the RGS providers provide something new, this is traditionally not connected to the features of the region. The best example of it in the region is the festival of Valley of Arts. It came from outside and based on the rural characteristics of the place, but is not connected to traditional activities of the area.

Table 4.3 The provider unit

The provider unit	Type of activity (traditional/new)	Endogenous or exogenous	Profitability
Summer cottages, second homes	traditional	Strong endogenous	medium
Accommodation	traditional	Strong endogenous	medium
Lake Balaton	traditional	Strong endogenous	medium
Folklore	traditional	Strong endogenous	low
Hand-made products (Pottery, table clothes, basketry, folk-art products)	traditional	Strong endogenous	low
Catering	traditional	Strong endogenous	medium
Land	traditional	Strong endogenous	medium
Museums monuments	traditional	Strong endogenous	low
Green landscape, nature	new	Soft endogenous	medium
Gastronomy (Hungarian dishes, fish and wine)	new	Soft endogenous	medium
Spa	new	Soft endogenous	high
Peasant house	new	Soft endogenous	high
The Valley of Arts festival	new	Exogenous	medium
Experience (pig-killing, grape harvest)	new	Exogenous	low
Sport (water sports, horse-riding, hunting)	new	Exogenous	high
Agri-food	new	Exogenous	medium
Home-made product (meal, conserve)	new	Exogenous	medium

4.2.2. The forms of local resources

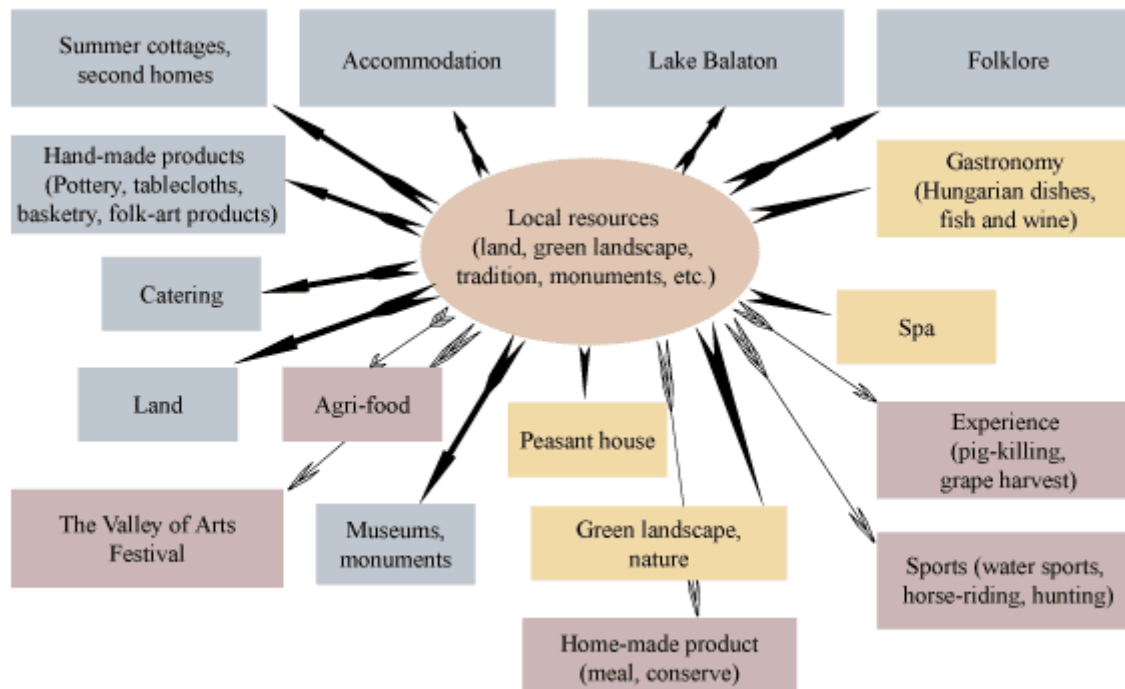
As we have analysed before, the connection with local resources is an important character of RGS providers in the region. Now we look through the connection of resources according to the clusters of innovation.

The strong endogenous provider units have strong connection with local resources. These kinds of RGS business are based on the natural resources and the traditional activities of the region. As we mentioned these are the traditional tourism businesses. Providers provide the traditional activities of tourism.

The soft endogenous provider units also have connection with local resources. The RGS businesses based on local features and possibilities, but these providers use it in new way.

The exogenous provider units are which doesn't have real connection with local resources. These producers only use the territory and its rural characteristics. The business based on a new idea, which is not integrated to local resources. These mean absolutely new activities in the region.

Figure 4.2. RGS providers and local resources



4.2.3. Product complexity and coordination.

The Balaton region is characterised by numerous RGS. Some RGSs are single like catering, accommodation, but mostly these RGSs are characterised by complexity. It means that the RGS provided by the producers contains more goods and services not only one, like the Valley of Arts festival, etc.

The complexity of products needs cooperation of producers. The traditional tourism providers have much type of organisations (like Tourinform Office, Civil Associations), these means horizontal and also vertical cooperation.

The new business makers also have connection with other producers of the region. Mostly this means the membership of traditional tourism cooperation while we can find new cooperations established by new RGS providers rarely. Thus, new business people can be characterised mainly by horizontal cooperation, but we can find example for vertical cooperation, too.

We can find some special RGS provider units with strong vertical cooperation, for example the agri-food and experience producers integrated with similar producers.

So the coordination and product is very complex in the region, depends on the type of the product and the individual experiences of producers.

Table 4.4 Coordination

The provider unit	Level of Vertical Coordination	Level of Horizontal Coordination
Summer cottages, second homes	medium	high
Accommodation	high	high
Lake Balaton	high	high
Folklore	medium	medium
Hand-made products (pottery, table clothes, basketry, folk-art products)	medium	medium
Catering	medium	high
Land	high	medium
Museums monuments	low	medium
Green landscape, nature	medium	medium
Gastronomy (Hungarian dishes, fish and wine)	low	medium
Spa	medium	high
Peasant house	high	low
The Valley of Arts festival	low	high
Experience (pig-killing, grape harvest)	high	medium
Sport (water sports, horse-riding, hunting)	high	medium
Agri-food	high	low
Home-made product (meal, conserve)	low	low

4.2.4 Knowledge of consumers and the market

The main trend in the region is the changes of tourism. The process is well-known by all of our interviewees.

As our interviewees have mentioned, the most important trend in the Lake Balaton region is the tantalizing tourism which appears as changing needs and interests of tourists.

Tourists have not settled down for the traditional facilities of the Lake Balaton. They criticize the quality and level of water, they need special activities. They are eager to pay extra money for extra services, but for the traditional services of the Lake Balaton region (for example one week vacation with normal accommodation) they are willing to pay less. They say: “if you can not give me extras, I don’t want to pay you extras!” Tourist agents at the coast of the Lake Balaton complain about tourists who prefer the spa tourism of their region. They are purposing to find new possibilities in their business, for example they start improving wine tourism and they supply their organic food products (for example honey) for visitors’ demand. Commercialization of local goods is an uneasy task because they have to work hard and their traditional services are not profitable enough.

The special example of the trend of tantalizing tourism is the case of the Valley of Arts. It is a very special activity in this region where during a summer week art festival combines elements of elite and traditional rural and folk culture for being attractive for crowd of visitors and providing non-stop cultural programs. The most important feature of the festival is that urban artists and intellectuals have launched and organized it for urban intellectuals and the middle class in a rural place.

The producers of the region know well that they have to adapt to changes. They try to find more and more possibilities which are shown by many type of new economy business of the region.

4.2.5 Infrastructure

For analysing the infrastructure of the region we have to separate to two main parts our T-area. There are big differences on infrastructure between the Valley of Arts and the West Balaton region.

The infrastructure is much better in the West Balaton Region than the Valley of Arts region. It means the better position of West Balaton region on transport infrastructure and also soft infrastructure.

About the transport which is determined the position of other infrastructural possibilities to: The centre of the Tapolca subregion is Tapolca which is also the closest city to the Valley of Arts. Railway lines can not be found in the Valley of Arts however Tapolca can be said as a small centre of the region's railway lines. From the capital Budapest you can travel just till Tapolca by train. Every day 23 train go to Tapolca from Budapest and there are 19 possibilities to go back to the capital. The average duration of this travel is around four hours and sometimes it is needed to change train once.

Settlements in the West Balaton region can easily reached by train, both the centre of the subregion and the one other settlement, Gyenesdiás. Zalaszántó can not be accessible by train. There are 15 possibilities from the capital to reach Keszthely which is the centre of the subregion and there are 14 for the way back. This travelling lost approximately 4 hours and sometimes it is needed to change train on the way. Gyenesdiás is 4 kms far away from the centre Keszthely by train. From Budapest there is no direct train to this village it is necessary to change train in Keszthely and the way from Keszthely to Gyenesdiás lost just 6 minutes.

Hungary is well covered by the bus line networks; as a matter of fact every settlement is accessible by bus. There is no reason to present the bus lines between Tapolca and Budapest because right on the way between these two settlements can be found the Valley of Arts. Three villages of the Valley of Arts are lie on the main road between the capital and the centre so all of them can be reached approximately during the same time, which is 3-4 hours. Half of the buses are running directly to the Valley of Arts from Budapest. Every day there are more than 20 buses depart from the centre Tapolca toward these settlements. The fourth village, Taliándörögd has a little bit separated location it is 5 kms far from the main road. Because of the necessity for the bus connection there are fewer possibilities to reach the village.

The West Balaton region is 200 km far away from Budapest. However the Region is closer as the crown files on that way, which run in the north side of Balaton it is suggested to reach the settlements on the South way. The half of this way is a motorway and the rest part of it is a good-quality motor road as it can be seen on the map above. Between Budapest and the West Balaton there are approximately 15 buses. The shortest time to reach Gyenesdiás lasts 3 hours and to reach Zalaszántó lasts 4 hours. There is no direct bus between the settlements and the capital.

The situation of the West Balaton region is better in the case of soft infrastructure and also distribution channels. There are only primary schools in the villages of the region but from there it is easy to reach the bigger settlements where there are higher levels of educational institutions. Because of the better transport infrastructure the producers of the West Balaton region easily can reach the information centres of the region.

The villages of the Valley of Arts is closed, the transport infrastructure is bad which is determined the educational possibilities of the inhabitants. There are only primary schools in the villages, and sometimes is very difficult to reach higher schools from the region.

So the West Balaton region which is a traditional tourist area has better infrastructural features than the valley of Arts region where the tourism and other business are in the beginning as the better example of new rural economy.

4.2.6. Innovation spirit

The changes of tourism and the demand of tourist need innovation in the region. So the region is characterised by high level of innovation spirit. The main element of the innovation is that how the producers develop and promote their products. The main question is what kind of marketing strategies they have and what kind of new images they use.

As we have mentioned in a former country report (WP3) there are some products like the castle of the region, which have been developed impressively in the last 5-10 years, but the development of other products has not happened yet. To widen the activity and range of developments a regional marketing organization came into being as the first company dealing with the marketing of products of regional development.

There are too many isolated RGS with no integrated face or aspect which could represent the image of the area. Tourists visit the region for the thermal spa of Hévíz or for being by the lake, etc., but not for the region having particular milieu and attraction. For having such a complex group of RGS and attraction all representatives regard the development of the following RGS to have primary importance.

4.2.7 Legal, educational and financial support

The producers mostly like in MRA apply for public support. They try to find possibilities to develop their business. The main supporter is the local and regional government and also the national government, they try to reach EU support too.

The education structure is absolutely relevant for RGS development. There is a strong connection with producers and experts. They make collective projects. So the cooperation is very strong.

4.2.8 Networks

The main network in the region is the tours network, the members purpose to develop the tourism possibilities, all of the other networks and connections are determined by it.

As we mentioned above, the producers have strong power in this region. There is a stabile network between local governance, rural developers, civil society and local producers, and this network leads all of the projects and activities belonging to rural development. As a result of this network a new institutional system was born here. The actors of the network and its institutional system are the following: local producers, civil association of local entrepreneurs, local governances, rural development project offices, (like Rural Development Department of the University of Keszthely) rural development managers, tourism offices, environmental institutions, and other civil associations.

4.2.9 Future

The tourism and its changes determine the future of the region. All of the production belongs to tourism, but the producers have to innovate their products. The success of the products in the region is determined by the new the demand of tourists. The urban demand is one of the important elements of the changing process of the region.

If the producer is able to adapt to new demand his business can develop and can be profitable, but the traditional form of tourism are not enough for the future development.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Swot-analysis

First of all we summarize our analyses and conclude it in a swot-analysis for both study area.

Table 5.1 Swot-analysis (MRA)

	Strengths	Weaknesses
Local resources	There are many types of local resources what can be the basis of new businesses.	There is only one strong local good which is determined the local economy. The land and the real estate. The other resources haven't had strong influence in the local economy yet.
Compatibility and coordination	The cooperation between real estate providers is very strong and successful.	The new RGS providers are not integrated to biggest producers of the region. They are mostly single, only with the connection with similar producers.
Knowledge of consumers	The producers know well the trend of the region and the demands of consumers.	The new RGS providers sometimes have problems to adapt to new demands because of financial problems.
Accessibility	The infrastructure of the villages mostly good (soft infrastructure, gas-pipe, etc.). Some villages have good transport possibilities.	Some villages have problems with transport.
Innovation spirit	There is capacity for innovation.	The innovation and marketing is not organised, there os no collective strategy.
Legal, educational and financial support	Most of the producers know the possibilities.	The main supporter is the local and national government. The producers sometimes don't know the other possibilities.
Networks, level of integration	The level of integration depends on the type of production. For example the network between real estate producers is strong.	The new RGS providers are only in the beginning, they start to build networks.
Future prospects of the enterprises	The traditional RGS (real estate) can be profitable in the region, and the producers can adapt to new demand.	The new RGS need more capital to develop and maybe can be profitable.

Table 5.2. Swot-analysis (TRA)

	Strengths	Weaknesses
Local resources	There are many types of local resources what can be the basis of new tourism businesses.	Some producers not believe in the possibilities of not traditional RGS.
Compatibility and coordination	The cooperation between tourism providers is strong. RGS of the region is very complex.	
Knowledge of consumers	The producers know well the trend of the region and the demands of consumers.	New urban demand cause deep changes in the region and for some producers the adaptation is difficult.
Accessibility	The accessibility is good in the West Balaton region.	.The situation of transport infrastructure is very bad in the Valley of Arts region
Innovation spirit	There is capacity for innovation. There are more and more good ideas.	The innovation and marketing is not organised, there is no collective strategy.
Legal, educational and financial support	Most of the producers know the possibilities and have experience to apply for support.	The main aim of development only the tourism.
Networks, level of integration	The network of tourism providers is very strong. The producers have strong position in the network.	
Future prospects of the enterprises	New RGS can be successful in the economy of the region.	The traditional producers can not be profitable in the future. They have to change and innovate.

5.2 Future prospects

As we mentioned before the traditional RGS (real estate) can be profitable in the M-area, and the producers can adapt to new demand. There can be some problem with the new RGS which need more capital to develop and maybe can be profitable.

In the case of T-area the traditional producers cannot be profitable in the future. They have to change and innovate and only the new RGS and its providers can be successful in the economy of the region.

5.3 Main differences between the two areas

The main differences between the areas are the type of the main business of the region. In the M-area the main RGS is the land and the real estate, which means traditional RGS of the region and this is the basis of the local economy.

In T-area most of the RGS belongs to tourism. But the traditional forms of production are not profitable, so the new business makers are successful in the region. The new economy determines the local economy.

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Possible Improvements of Rural – Urban Partnership

Budapest Agglomeration and Lake Balaton Region

Imre Kovách – Luca Kristóf – Eszter Kelemen – Boldizsár Megyesi – Ildikó Nagy

1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction to the project

This report is about opportunities for new relationships between rural and urban areas of Hungary in order to support political decision-making concerning land use planning and sustainable rural development on the one hand; and to support the implementation of agricultural policies to compensate Rural Goods and Services (RGS) to preserve rural open space, to search individual and collective interests of rural and urban participants, on the other.

As the technical annex defines research task for this working package (WP5) of the RURBAN research:

“Task 5 will analyze the opportunities to improve the rural-urban relationships by compensation payments and adequate, accessible and sustainable RGS. First, in each study area it will analyze the win/lose-win/lose situations between urban consumers, rural producers and intermediate actors on its opportunities to provide RGS. Second, it will investigate the contribution of rural-urban associations to provide relevant channels. Third, it will analyze initiatives for payment transfers where ‘urban’ pays for ‘rural’, to enhance a sustainable provision of RGS and the rural landscape.”

The Hungarian report is an attempt to evaluate, compare and synthesize potentials of the new rural/urban actors based on the analysis of a predominantly prepared study on the rural/urban interests and the contribution of consumers, producers and intermediate actors. As the methodology paper for this working paper requested, the report focuses on how new rural/urban relations can initiate, improve and realize sustainable rural development, what are the common development perspectives and interests to improve rural development and protect rural landscape.

Thus, our task was to find and analyze the most important rural/urban relationships in our study areas, and to evaluate the opportunities for improvement being resided in them. The report is based on the analysis of earlier results and a round table discussion (with producers, intermediate actors, consumers and regional town and country planners) organized in each of the study areas.

In the earlier reports we analyzed the rural/urban relations from the different points of view of the three groups of actors (consumers, intermediate actors and producers). In this working paper we should apply and combine the earlier approaches. We mainly used the earlier reports on consumers and intermediate actors to reconsider the improvable relationships. The basis of the urban contribution comes from the consumer approaches of WP2 on consumers, while the rural supply and sustainability issues are based on WP4 about the producers of RGSs.

In the tourist area external and internal evaluation was modified by the help of the participants from the local (Keszthely) university. During the discussion, local rural development officers presented projects that can help to improve rural/urban relations. These initiatives were built into our report as well.

In the metropolitan area representatives of the local government in Alcsútdoboz were the key persons in the round table discussion. In this study area we made individual interviews to map potential improvement opportunities in other case study villages as well. The round table discussion mirrored that local participants accepted and learned terms of the RURBAN project and approved scientist's views on possible development tendencies. They decided to prepare a strategy to resist negative effects of expected rural/urban relations in order to protect their open space and rural landscape and invited the research team for further discussion and cooperation. The round table was a most positive feedback on RURBAN project in Hungary.

1.2. Comments on the theoretical perspective

The distinction between rural and urban, comparing to the other four project countries (Finland, France, Spain and The Netherlands) has a peculiar meaning. Hungary is a new EU member state and the Europeanization of administrative structures is well under way but has still not completed. The rural population is much higher than in the other project countries; there is still a characteristic gap between living standards in urban and rural areas, that is, standards of living are significantly lower in rural areas. Both society and economy in Hungary is still divided into urban and rural parts and characterized by broadening regional disparities, which means in the same time two opposite conceptions of the rural/urban relations existing in scientific, political and other public discussions.

The materialistic concept of rural/urban distinction and relation reflects a special Central European condition in which ruling elites, time by time, have aspiration to introduce modernization programs in order to develop economy and society up to the level of modernization centres. As we explained in our former country reports, the modernization concept refers to how political decision makers give a preference to technical modernization as the determining factor of rural development. In this context 'rural' is a target place of development, therefore subordinated, underdeveloped area. This is a continuously existing concept getting through variants as communist industrialization, collectivization or post-socialist agro-lobbyism. The sub-urbanization/agglomeration concept in regional and statistical sciences and political discourses mirrors also materialistic and modernization aspects of rural development and stress that the essence of migration and economic development is sub-urbanization, though, as we see, sub-urbanization may contain some elements of ruralisation as well. Constructions of residential parks in Hungarian M-area or shopping malls for mainly urban consumers (but opened in agglomeration areas) are examples which appear in the modernization concept with very positive connotation. The regionalisation concept is a newcomer variant of materialistic development/modernization perception that dates back to introduction of EU type regional development system. The regionalist lobby developed an anti-rural ideology and, as they are arguing for, there is no need for specific rural development since it is considered as an integrated and subordinated part of regional development in which regional cities play key roles. Europeanization as a slogan is very often linked to regionalisation and intensely impacts the definition of rural and urban. In the last years rural-local societies developed some concepts to compensate urban pressure and to be more competitive on the market of development funds. The slogans, terms and concepts have materialistic orientation saying that poverty or underdevelopment indicates privilege of rural regions for special development funds. The positive perceptions of

rural/urban – focusing on expected outcomes of development – also stress materialistic, visible elements of rural development projects.

In Hungary, the dominance of materialistic approach of rural/urban distinction originates from an existing gap between the urban and rural standards of living, tradition of modernist development ideology, practice, considerations and needs of present EU conform development system, and also a still existing impact of Marxist ideology on ‘existence determines consciousness’. In this materialistic approach rural future is urbanization or sub-urbanisation and Hungary is a ‘one metropolis (Budapest) and its province’ kind European region. In Hungary the discussion about the definition of rural is more political than scientific or intellectual. The discussants aspire to influence the redistribution of development resources and their arguments represent different political interests and other lobbies (Kovách 2002).

Another component of the determinative materialistic conceptualization of rural/urban issues is that although the green, rural environment is a constant factor of rural images, it can be important only after the collapse of communist regimes concerning many special and “new” environment issues deriving from social, economic and political transformation, the changing ownership of land, effects of introduction of new “global” capitalism, the Europeanisation of administrative structures, newly emerging values around environment issues from protest movements and the creation of natural parks and new institutional actors at administrative and NGO level. Environmental issues are not involved in the first line of public policy; even they have secondary importance for everyday people who are still fighting with negative effects of the transitory period. Ecological movements from a general point of view seem to have typical positive and also negative features, but with almost exclusively materialistic orientation. (Kovách – Kucerova, 2004)

The Rousseauist or moral representation of rural/urban relationship in the Hungarian context is principally related to rural images; thus due to the transformation of the image of rural idyll and the transformation of rural peasantry as the source of national culture and demographic base of the nation, rural/urban relation mirrors negative rural images in which rural is a disadvantaged place where second class citizens are living.

With changes in political structures in the 1990s, the interpretation of ‘rural’ or ‘urban’ and of rural images are increasingly subordinated to the development system and policies as strongly as they were related to competition for development resources in the Communist period. Rural images have undergone radical changes in post-socialist times. The role played by the cinema, fine arts and social sciences from the 1950s to the late 1980s in rural image making has been replaced in the 1990s by mass media with the production of more realistic images of the rural, emphasizing rather negative and problematic aspects. Modern mass media and news magazines concentrate on overstated stories, in which the rural has negative meanings. The consequence is that the rural in mass media and in public opinion is taken to mean backward, underdeveloped, poor, disgraced and repulsive but from other side idyllic element of rural imagery as protected nature, tranquillity, closer intimate human relation and community life has got also some kind of reflection. The change of regime resulted in a vacuum in the media, later filled with elements of post-modern ideology, thus elements of existing rural images have been incorporated into post-modern image panels. In the post-modern mass media, rural images are diverse and contain various elements as Kovách (2002) identified:

“1. There are political images which serve political interests; this was particularly important at the time of the privatisation and market re-orientation of agriculture.

2. The language of smallholders often appears in the terminology of leaders of the second government party (from which the Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development was selected). This language and discourse combines elements of folk plays and operettas with light populism and nationalism.

3. There are also images of rural space as the home of simple, resilient folk, represented as inferior to urban dwellers.

4. Anti-urban feelings and sentiments are often found.

5. The rural can often be portrayed as an archaic society, a notion evident in the discursive strategy of the Church and the folk intelligentsia.
6. The rural may also be seen as a space for the improvements and activities of 'experts'.
7. The rural may be idyllic and bucolic.
8. There is also the rural as an area of tourism, often associated with specific culinary traditions.
9. The rural and the agricultural are often connected.
10. Nature can be seen as a source of recreation.
11. Caricatures of rural people in journals, television shows.
12. The use of charitable rural images has been the primary approach of liberals to rural minorities, particularly the poor, the women and the elderly.

All these rural images gained a new importance after 1996 when the system of regional/rural development was implemented after which the competition for development resources prompted local elites to search for ways of localising the use of development resources and putting into action new discursive strategies for the creation and elaboration of local/rural images."

The anti-urban approach is a widely dispersed concept amongst rural people but has never gain public support from intellectuals and politicians. Communism gave priority to urban development and nowadays urban life is still considered as better quality, while the really and openly anti-urban rightist political parties and movements tend to be crowded out from Hungarian political life and marginalize. The process of idealisation of the rural world as an archetypical, ideal place near nature, harmony, happiness and tradition is mainly attached to communities of Hungarian minority in neighbouring countries (3-4 millions) and their settlements. It is a contradiction: image-makers principally stress problematic, negative factors of rural life inside the Hungarian state while in the same time idealise rural world and tradition of Hungarian minority.

There is no doubt that in the Hungarian case intellectuals and members of the project class enhance rural/urban relationship models, while creation of rural images does not belong to the localities and rurality has weak representation in policy and culture. As it was summarized in a conference paper:

"The 'intellectualisation' of rural development, which ultimately may lead to reflexive modernity amongst rural people in the post-socialist rural environment, will strengthen the project class position in terms of refashioning the rural. (...) The culture economy problem is also linked to rural tourism, marketing and selling strategies, and the role of designers and experts in commercialisation of rural goods and services. "Commercialisation" or "marketing" are "simple" market strategies but the success of their application and skills in national, regional and European development systems can contribute to selling rural goods and services with more efficiency than using direct marketing or niche market actions. A majority of Hungarian villages have offers for urban visitors and tourists. They print brochures, make web pages, (re)create local images and traditions, and sell local food and wine. In the nineties more than twenty wine regions developed the overall image of their vineyards through the revitalisation of infrastructure and innovative selling strategies. The well-advertised wine routes are rather popular among visitors. The spa culture is frequently offered as rural (and urban) tourism and it was the old image for national tourist campaigns. Tourism was the focus of the economic part of the Széchenyi Plan 2000-2002 and the later National Development Plan. Hundreds of agencies, local governments and individual enterprises have been competing for development sources and designing project and images. Management of projects provide activity for hundreds of agencies and thousands of members of the project class..." (Kovács – Kucerova, 2004/2).

In Hungary 3000 agencies have been involved in rural development application, management and rural image making process. Local elite groups, local governments are also inspired to apply new development images and strategies but everyday rural actors rarely take part in enhancing new rural/urban relation in the consequence of powerless rural civil society. The actors involved in creation of new rural/urban relations adopted the individual types of relation.

In Hungary the rural/urban relation is mainly identified as development problem focusing on the introduction of EU agricultural support system and on rural poverty, therefore relationship has strong materialistic/financial implications in the consequence of competition for development sources and massive urban out and in-migration. The demographic component is also focused since population has been constantly decreasing; there are de-populating rural micro-regions as well as villages where underclass gypsy population is becoming dominant. Other rural regions are considered to be possible sources of positive demographic trends. Symbolic rural/urban relation, preference of rural idyll, or regarding rural as a receptacle or custodian of national culture and the demographic basis of the nation has even less attention than over the decades of the 20th century.

2. Current perspectives on rural/urban relationships in the metropolitan and tourism area

2.1. Description of examples

Former working papers of the RURBAN project (on rural context, consumers, intermediate actors and producers of RGSs) mainly dealt with the general rural/urban relationships rather than the opportunities of partnerships and responsible organizations. However, with the three different approaches (consumers, intermediate actors and producers) we managed to describe the existing relationships through the urban demand, the mediation process and the rural offer. We have identified the main trends and themes, the actors and their different kind of strategies. All the while we used the concept of Rural Goods and Services to apprehend the nature of those rural/urban relations.

In general, as the theoretical introduction mentions, most of the studied relationships proved to be voluntary, individual and dealing with material functions. This type of relation is characteristic, while there are some exceptions as well, that deserve more attention. Before analysing them, let us overview the current rural/urban relationships in the Hungarian study areas.

Table 1. The current rural/urban relationships

	Type of the relationship		
Land use			
Housing, real estate business	voluntary	individual	material
Nature conservation (national park)	legislative-contractual	collective	immaterial
Recreation/tourism			
Agri-food and gastronomy, hotels, restaurants, farms, tourist offices etc.	voluntary	individual	material/immaterial
Instruments and Public Relations			
Micro-regional Rural Development, Regional Marketing Associations	legislative-contractual	collective	material
Non-profit development	voluntary	collective	material/immaterial
Media programs	voluntary	individual	immaterial

However this is a general description fitting for both the metropolitan and the tourist study areas, the emphasis is different. In the M-area, the most important relationships are linked to the sub-category of housing, while in the T-area to recreation and tourism. The instrumental and PR type of relations have more or less the same importance in both areas, since the system is the same though the implementation and the state of development may be different.

Business relationships

There is a group of relationships that are based on business. These are typically linked to the real estate and tourism business. In the earlier reports we specialized the RGS of these relationships, most of them were material, like agri-food or accommodation but the commercialized immaterial RGS like rural idyll was not less important. So these are individual and voluntary, businesslike relations, both material and immaterial. The objectives can be described with the terms of the market. Conflicts are rising when supply and demand are not balanced. For example when the mass tourism RGS have not satisfied any more the urban clients in the T-area, or when the urban demand for immigration and housing is too strong, and the countryside can not bear it.

Improvements can be achieved

in the efficiency of the marketing and mediation, and with decreasing the inequalities between the market positions of the rural and urban actors.

Legislative relationships

Another type of the rural/urban relationships is linked to the state's participation, but the objectives of the civil development associations are also belong here. Nature conservation and rural development are the counterpoints of the business-type relations. Here the main actors are not individuals like producers and consumers, but instruments and administrative entities like local governments or national parks. The main actors in these kinds of relationships at the local level are the local governments, the local voluntary organizations, the local development

management and the urban developers. The redistribution of development funds has more arenas and levels, but on every level the political decision makers play the most important role. Every other actor is dependent on political actors. Here the ideology and objectives are collective, though individual benefits (unintended by the state and EU objectives) are also present for the so-called project class (D13).

Improvements can be achieved in
the efficiency of exploiting the resources and
the attitudes towards the conservation/development balance.

The virtual rural/urban relationship through the television belongs to the immaterial process of rural image-making. The nation-wide TV programme (“Main Square”) that popularises the curiosities, values and RGS of the regions of Hungary, holds a highly important position in the marketing of RGS. Each week the programme presents a town and the surrounding rural settlements, focusing on its heritage, cultural activities and gastronomy. The main purpose is to encourage inland tourism, but the “Main Square” also intermediates, constructs and reproduces rural images for urban people, thus it can have a role in improving the studied relationships.

2.2. Analysis of the selected relationships in the M-area

Housing

Immigration from the capital into the case study villages was the most important trend we found from the first work package of the research. This was mentioned in each interview we made – in most of them spontaneously, without direct questioning. The point of view of the interviewees – inhabitants, mayors, civil organizations – did not vary essentially. They regarded immigration as a quasi-natural, unobtainable process.

Immigration has had several waves. It began at Nagykovácsi in the 1980’s (this village is situated right next to the capital), and it has nowadays reached Alcsútdoboz, which is 40 km away from Budapest, already in the fourth ring of settlements around the city.

Although the inhabitants of the villages – including the immigrants – would like to conserve the rural character of their locality, there is a huge temptation for the municipalities to parcel out more and more new plots. The interviewees claimed that an ordinary Hungarian municipality does simply not have alternative financial sources to develop the settlement. A mayor talked about the ‘frantic spiral of development’ in this context. The price of the plots rises with immigration, and this causes a certain transformation of the inner structure of some settlements (e.g. Nagykovácsi). Native inhabitants sell their houses and are squeezed out to the outskirts of the village. Local youngsters are likely to out-migrate from the agglomeration zone if they cannot buy the expensive plots.

The settlements of the Budapest agglomeration possess thousands of marketable immovable estates. Actually there are just a few working residential parks in our study area, but there are blocks of lands parcelled out just outside the settlements, which are waiting for the constructors. One part of these is located in the heart of settlements; the other is at the boundary parcelled on former agricultural lands having been partly supplied with public utilities. A part of the marketed estates was in public ownership, another was privately owned. The concentrated process of purchasing estates has been a characteristic of rural agglomeration for 10-15 years, though it has slowed down in the last 2-3 years because of recent economic recession. Estates are generally intended to be used as permanent home by new immigrants. These immigrants are young, upper middle-class families with children. A part of the purchased estates are former agricultural lands without any buildings, another part

of them are estates with old buildings mostly in bad shape. There are also estates with small buildings made of wood formerly used as weekend-houses. New owners with few exceptions build new houses for their own needs. Some of these houses, especially those located within the boundary of the settlements fit in the rural image. Those situated outside the villages are huge, modern buildings satisfying the needs of families with children. Since these latter ones do not fit in the landscape the local governments have restricted the conditions of raising houses.

Initiates for tourism

In addition to housing, another rural/urban relationship that has gained importance in the M-area is tourism. Though the area does not have too many outstanding attractions, in the last few years, the settlements have realized that they have to call attention to themselves, and now they try to attract tourism. There are some successful attempts of rural image-building, frequently with the help of a famous inhabitant of the village. Some settlements in the area try to make economic and social advantage of utilizing their traditional, natural conditions as tourist services.

Nowadays there are many tenders with the target of development of rural tourism in Hungary. Thus, most of the settlements in the Budapest agglomeration apply for these kinds of projects. The main actors of these projects are the local rural development managers. They make cooperation between the important actors of the project.

There are more and more tourism projects in the region. Some of them belong to infrastructural projects: for example cycle tracks, promenade road, excursion road. Others are for the development of marketing strategies of tourism possibilities: making brochures, establishing home pages, connecting to Tourinform Offices. There are some projects as well for development of rural tourism as village tourism in the region, for example the development of accommodation possibilities.

In people's mind, cultural activities are still not really linked to the metropolitan rural area, that is why it is so hard to develop tourism there. People tend to consider the area – with a few exceptions – as a residential or even a 'sleeping' zone.

2.3. Evaluation of the selected relationships in the M-area

Housing

From the internal point of view, the interests of the rural and urban actors are practically overlapped. Despite the aim of resisting the pressure of residential park investors, the greatest investment opportunities exist in the real estate business. The municipalities would prefer to buy up and parcel out the land themselves but, due to their lack of financial resources, they must accept the presence of estate investors. There is a big game between authorities and investors in the agglomeration settlements. This game involves strong lobbying and sometimes corruption. Investors want municipalities to qualify as much land as possible as building area. Although local governments are legally forbidden to demand anything in return for the re-qualification of land, they are driven to negotiate with the investors. The latter want to increase the value of their own land and offer the construction of all infrastructure and public services. According to the interviewees, a successful local government is not one which resists investors but one which manages to receive important things in exchange for the land parcelled out.

Municipalities find it really difficult to balance. Our case study settlements were mostly successful (or, in the case of the most exterior ring, had not yet faced the problem). However,

interviewees told us about some other settlements who have stayed away from development. Although they may have the original village landscape, they do not have such an attractive natural environment. Consequently, they are ageing and dying.

From the external point of view, rural landscape is in permanent danger in the study area. In the Budapest agglomeration area the suburbanisation process is still too strong. Urban outflow totally reshapes the employment structure of the agglomeration settlements. Economic investments like hypermarkets or the theory of the 'Hungarian Silicon Valley' are not for preserve or just live beside rural values. That is why in the D13 report, our M-area has been categorised as a 'laissez-faire' area, with vivid economic development and not enough nature conservation.

Initiates for tourism

The interviewees realized the importance of rural tourism, but they are faced with some problems. Since tourism was not a significant use of RGS there are only a few places of accommodation in MRA. Some settlements with cultural activities such as theatres, monuments, museums, etc. support the idea of spending more than one day in the settlements. According to representatives of tourist offices the problem with these places of accommodation is the ineligible level of quality. Regional developing organizations as well as tourist offices and municipalities try to convince entrepreneurs letting out accommodations to improve the quality of their services. Most desirable would be to make these entrepreneurs participate in common projects in which their cooperation and mutual help is needed. Cooperating with others is not favoured by local entrepreneurs though they have not obtained the techniques and skills necessary for running a successful and high quality enterprise with multiple services.

Although tourism is not yet a characteristic of the region, there are more and more rural developing organizations that consider tourism as the future of rurality. This overlaps with the external point of view of the research. These organizations are usually made up of the municipalities of MRA. There are experts employed for working out development strategies and projects, informing municipalities about development opportunities, for organizing regional programmes and for uniting the forces of the possible actors of rural development. But the rural tourism, as a fashion, is not threatening the landscape so far, it rather helps to preserve nature in this area. Economic development and housing are much more present and dangerous.

2.4. Analysis of the selected relationships in the T-area

Changing West Balaton coastal tourism

The main fascinations of the study area are the closeness of the Lake Balaton, the spa – Hévíz – and the cultural festival. Among these, Lake Balaton is the main source of the recreation facilities. The lake offers bathing, sailing and casting possibilities. Traditionally the Lake Balaton was an important place of the kind of tourism that mostly focuses on the foreign guests from the west countries as it was cheap enough for them. But the golden era of mass tourism has gone. It has been a general trend that the costs have risen up but the quality of the goods and services haven't risen up at the same time. The water of the lake has gone dirty and the beaches dusty. Furthermore, nowadays the lake has to compete with the Adriatic coast. Consequently, the face of the tourism at the Lake Balaton has changed in the past few years. The number of the foreign guests is decreased and tourist services have started to build on the

local and national guests. Because of the tourist situation is contradictory, the developmental processes are not coherent.

Some years ago the idea of constructing hotels on the coast of the lake emerged. It surely would have attracted more people to Keszthely, the centre of the region, but it would have certainly affected the landscape so negatively that this idea was finally put aside. In place of this idea, projects and initiatives for specialized and more varied tourist alternatives are emerging.

Cultural tourism to the Valley of Arts

The Festival of Valley of Arts can be defined as one of the most typical rural/urban relation, which has articulated already in the socialist era in Hungary. The Valley of Arts, which is the name of a territory and of a cultural festival as well, is one of the important scenes of the urban exodus. Typical immigrant group of the urban territories was intellectual-artist society that appeared in certain places in smaller or bigger groups. On the territory of Transdanubia on the north part of the Lake Balaton several similar groups of immigrant intellectual-artists can be found so the concept of this kind of rural/urban relationship is definitely not a new one. The reason of being the most famous area is due to the initiative that has the most famous influence in the field of culture. The Valley of Arts offers varicoloured programme to visitors. For instance in 2004 during the Valley of Arts festival about 57 stages or places presented altogether 1090 performances on which about 3 500 professional or amateur artists played. It have to be noticed that the organizers take good care to observe the face of the festival as the Valley of Arts festival is visited by young intellectuals and university students. According to our interviews the most important reason for visiting the festival is its special atmosphere and the high quality of the programmes. This is the most important part of the image of the festival, and the basic message that is mediated to the public in the rural/urban relationship.

2.5. Evaluation of the selected relationships in the T-area

Changing West Balaton coastal tourism

Rural actors in the T-area realized the changing character of the tourism and modulated their strategies to it. They found that mass tourism is over; therefore it is time to develop high quality tourism with complex services. All organizations and actors interviewed in the earlier reports emphasized the need for a better promotion of tourist products in the area. There are much more products and services to be utilized in tourism effectively. It can be said that their common strategy is to make high quality supply out of single and simple products.

Among these, the spa of Hévíz as a natural facility of the land is the most successful service. According to our earlier research this is a tensile field of tourism, lots of developments or investments are focus on this field and onto the connected fields as the medicinal tourism or different services.

While the spa is successfully working, it would be essential to improve the service of accommodation of the settlements lying behind Keszthely and other coastal centres to help rural tourism.

Horse-, bike and wine tourism are also opportunities to be exploited and developed in the future and the construction of the airport at Sármellék is uniquely regarded essential. It could reduce the exclusive role of attraction of the capital of the country and base the possibility of widening the range of foreign tourists attracted to the region.

Cultural tourism to the Valley of Arts

However the organizers of the festival are especially fond of emphasize the high number of visitors – approximately 200 000 persons per year –, and the tourism as the most important influence of the festival, neither the image of the festival nor the face of the programme focus enough on the tourism as a potential. In this case the rural/urban relationship basically means the use of the rural territories by urban people. This use is strongly connecting to the ideological aspects as it recalls the central idea of the evacuation process: the basic of the physical and spiritual healthiness is the natural lifestyle in the countryside, which is the place of originality as well. Recently – of course – economic aspects also come into light besides the ideological points of view. The festival produces significantly more income for both the local and the central budget than outcome. Because of the cooperation of the local municipalities considerable infrastructural development can be noticed and the local intellectual stratum has widened a bit.

In the Valley of Arts three very characteristic groups of actors can be found: organizers, local inhabitants and visitors. It can be said that the local inhabitants are the most uncertain in the judgement of the festival as they are the most far away from any kind of decision-making, their life is mostly exposed to the users and they get the less profit from the Valley of Arts in general. As a matter of fact, between two festivals the valley seems to be an average subregion of Transdanubia, the everyday life of the local inhabitants has not changed in the meantime. To make diverse local economic life, to create sustainable economic initiatives the development could use the cultural attractive force and fame of the territory. However the tourism could be the second tool for the development of the area, the organizers still could not exploit this possibility. Presently several important infrastructural conditions of the tourism are missing from the area. Extremely reduced are the accommodation possibilities and this problem does not appear on the agenda. There are slight numbers of possibilities of meal. Year by year the biggest problem is the few number of parking places. Despite of the quality of services the prices are definitely high. There is no connection between the Lake Balaton and the Valley of Arts in tourism aspects, however there is a really small distance between these two places of tourism.

3. New perspectives on the rural-urban partnerships in the M and T area (with the rural and urban perspectives)

In this chapter we try to identify opportunities for new relationships, partnerships between the actors (consumers, intermediate actors, institutions and producers) representing rural and urban places.

In the metropolitan area we chose two opportunities related to sustainable housing and two examples related to tourism:

- the Village of Pensioners in Alcsútdoboz,
- the Main Street program of the region,
- the wine tourism project in Etyek and
- the nature tourism in the Duna-Ipoly National Park.
- In the tourism area, opportunities linked to alternative tourism were chosen:
- the development of bike- and thematic ways,
- the improvement of village and wine tourism and
- the extension of the Valley of Arts festival.

3.1. M- area: 4 opportunities to improve the rural-urban relations

The ‘Village of pensioners’ in Alcsútdoboz

The idea of the ‘village of pensioners’ was born some years ago in Alcsútdoboz when the local authority searched for additional resources above the central financing. According to the conception small houses will be built on one of the properties of the local authority which urban or even foreign pensioners can buy or rent and to which supplementary services (e.g. catering, medical supervision) will be provided. Due to the project, the local government could get the counter value of the real estate after its sale to an investor from which new investments were able to be initiated, on the one hand. Thanks to the expected inflow of the pensioners, the population of Alcsútdoboz will grow, thus the village will get to a more favourable category of subvention, on the other. Consequently, the village can obtain more money and also the project creates new workplaces to the inhabitants. In addition the ‘village of pensioners’ does not require the development of the institutional background (e.g. the education) so the expenses of the local government will not increase simultaneously.

Summarizing the problems and needs solved by this relation we can mention the lack of resources and the unemployment from the point of view of the rural actors, and the accommodation of pensioners in a peaceful place from the point of view of the urban actors. The cooperation is mainly based upon market relations, for example the sale of the land, the construction by entrepreneurs etc. during the implementation, or the sale and letting out of the houses, the provided services etc. during the functioning. According to this, the type of the payment transfers is also market-based – the construction and the operating are mainly financed by private capital and not by subsidies.

From the point of view of the local authority the ‘village of pensioners’ is a good investment which will probably bring a long-term prosperity to the village. The majority of the inhabitants will also benefit from this relationship as they can work locally and as their environment will improve. Likewise the urban actors (mainly the pensioners and perhaps their family) will take advantage since they will have an opportunity to settle down in a beautiful village near the capital. At the same time the villagers and the pensioners may suffer from this relationship as well: on the one hand the ‘strangers’ could dominate the life of the village in the future and on the other hand the pensioners could become ostracized. Thus it is evident that this relationship is important to the different actors in consequence of different reasons – the appreciations of the objectives are not the same from the aspect of the rural and the urban stakeholders.

As we have seen earlier the ‘village of pensioners’ has a lot of advantages from the different rural and urban actors’ aspect. Moreover, according to our interviewee, this relationship contributes to nature conservation also as the area of the ‘village of pensioners’ will be converted into a park and a special forest will be evolved where the pensioners and the inhabitants can go for a walk or do exercises. This accompanies naturally the decline of the agricultural land use, but probably this kind of land use does not damage more the environment than the agriculture. Nature conservation is an important issue from the point of view of the urban actors as well whereas one of the reasons why they move out of the city is just the closeness to the nature. Thus the relationship seems to be environmentally sustainable – both the rural and urban actors are interested in the protection of the rural landscape.

However, there is a question remained: Can the ‘village of pensioners’ and its forest park become an organic part of the rural landscape? If the answer is not, we can not say that this project provides a sustainable way of the improvement because the area’s main characteristic – the rurality – will get lost thanks to the relationship. However, the answer depends on the constructors and, of course, the local authority’s ability to enforce interests – if they want,

they can fit harmonic the ‘village of pensioners’ into its environment. Thus it is expected that during the period of planning and implementing the conciliation between the inhabitants, the local authority and the constructors will gain big ground.

Opportunities to improve the relation

The introduced relationship contributes to the improvement of the rural/urban relations in the study area in that way it makes necessary the cooperation between the actors and shows the rural values to people living in cities. However, there are some further opportunities to develop the present relationship in order to initiate more actors (consumers, producers, institutions and intermediate actors) in it. One of these possibilities is to improve the cooperation between the village (the local authority) and the transporting company (Volánbusz) that provides the bus service between Alcsútdoboz and Budapest. After a long period of negotiations the two parties agreed to introduce a direct line between the village and the capital on condition that the local authority pays some of the costs. However, this one line is not a choice for the commuting people because they can use it only early morning and late afternoon and in the other parts of the day they must change buses or travel by car. Thus the increase of the number of bus lines seems to be an important objective especially because the good public transport could intensify the direct rural-urban relations (e.g. the RGSs would be more accessible) and because the air pollution could be reduced by the more frequent utilization of the bus lines instead of driving.

The type of the cooperation mentioned earlier (and also the type of the opportunity to improve it by the public transport’s development) is mainly collective/public in the period of the implementation since the collaborators are the local government and organizations or companies. However, the farther functioning of the relationship requires the participation of individuals who demand and offer the RGSs, who live and work in the ‘village of pensioners’ and who constitute a community at last. Thus the social dimension of the relationship can be characterized by the urban consumers (pensioners) who are relatively rich to pay the accommodation and who form a demand for RGSs on the one hand; and by the villagers who prefer working locally to commuting and so who offer their willingness to work beside RGSs, on the other. The territorial dimension of the relationship results from the location of Alcsútdoboz to a certain extent: the three nearest cities, Budapest, Székesfehérvár and Tatabánya determine not only the target market of the ‘village of pensioners’ (the aged people of these three cities) but also the main markets for the RGSs and the direction of the claims to the public transport.

The urban interest and contribution

The urban objectives in the analyzed relationship are connected to the general values ascribed to the rural landscape on the one side, and to the special characteristics of the area and the relations on the other side. In the first case we can mention the objective of nature conservation or the maintenance of folk traditions and crafts because they represent a big part of the RGSs in all rural areas. However, in the second case we can find some objectives related exactly to the study area: the integration of the pensioners into the community of Alcsútdoboz in order to become organic participants in the life of the village, and the suitable professional qualification of the local workforce in order to get the best provision. According to these objectives urban actors demand fresh air, clear environment, well-educated workforce, good community etc. in exchange for which they are willing to pay and help to solve the common problems.

Supply of the rural society to enhance the rural landscape - the rural contribution

The supply of the rural actors in this relationship can be interpreted in a wider sense. The villagers as the sellers of the RGSs offer the utilization of their environment through the decision of the local authority, and offer their willingness to work that takes shape in agricultural products, in local services or work in the 'village of pensioners' in their own free will to benefit from the relationship individually as well. However, they do not probably want to put up for sale the participation in their community because they are afraid of the strangers' increasing influence. After all they have need of this relationship in order to the economic development of the village. Unfortunately they can not ask for a guarantee on behalf of the pensioners to avoid the 'takeover' – at most they can trust in (and develop) the strength of their community

The Main Street Program in the Central Region of Hungary

The centers of towns and villages in the Central Region came through a lot of changes during the last years: the through traffic increased, shopping centers appeared in the nearby cities (mainly in the capital), and thus the main streets of these settlements lost their appeal and their communal function. That is why the Regional Development Agency (Pro Regio Agency) launched the Main Street Program which is originally an American initiation. The objectives of this program are the economic revitalization, the strengthening of the local community and the preservation and reconstruction of the built environment, which means in practice the rebuilding of traditional commercial districts based on their unique assets. Through its functioning the Main Street Program can improve the quality of local services, create new workplaces, make the village or town more attractive to tourists and also to inhabitants, encourage community self-reliance etc., thus it can effect a long-term prosperity to the settlement.

During the period of planning and introducing the program requires a comprehensive cooperation – a partnership (according to our interviewee) between local authorities, contractors, financing organizations, central institutions and inhabitants. The type of these relationships is mainly market-based, but we can also notice a link between rural and urban actors (perhaps a kind of solidarity) as the originator of the program is not a local government but an urban organization. In most of the towns and villages where the program has already started now it is mainly financed by subsidies (e.g. Phare or regional subsidies) and by the sources of the local authority while in the future the private capital will probably gain a bigger ground (for example by the appearance of new shops), thus the type of the payment transfers is mixed.

The inhabitants of a settlement which implements the Main Street Program benefit the most from the relationship: their environment will improve, their opportunities for work will enlarge, the services of the town or village will be leveled up and probably their community will become more cohesive. In oblique ways the urban actors will also take advantage from the program as their broader environment develops, but they will not feel directly the positive effects of the relationship. Disadvantages can only be realized if the program do not succeed (if it is only focused on the renovation of the main street or if the program ceases because of the lack of sources or initiative), because therefore people would lose their faith in programs of development.

According to our interviewee, the Main Street Program contributes to the maintenance of the rural landscape as the whole program is based on the unique assets of the selected settlement (e.g. distinctive architecture, personal service, local ownership, special product line and a sense of community). A good example for the program's ability to preserve the rural landscape can be the following: a traditional product of the village can be offered in all of the

little shops of the main street thus tourists or through passengers can meet with this special RGS immediately as they enter the village and perhaps they will remember the place later as the village of – for example – the red-currant jam. Thus the rural image of the town or village can be retained or improved by the relationship and furthermore the common identity of the inhabitants can be strengthened as well.

From the point of view of the team the Main Street Program can help the sustainable maintenance of the rural landscape through its effects on the local community, the retention of the traditional products or services and the conservation of the built environment. Thanks to the program, urban actors can more easily explore the values of the rurality because the main characteristics of the local community will be ‘visible’ on the main street and RGSs will be more accessible to them as well. However, the real increment of the program is not the mediation of the rural values to the urban areas but the raising of the standard of living in the villages and towns through the simultaneous preservation and development.

Opportunities to improve the relation

The main opportunity for the selected partnership is to improve it towards durable market-based relations between rural and urban individuals (as we have seen earlier, the program’s most important result is the raising of the rural standard of living). This means that the Main Street Program can help grow the urban actors’ demand for RGSs since it makes them more attractive and available (the specialties of the rural area smile upon urban consumers from the windows of the main street’s shops). Moreover, the bigger demand for RGSs, the more certain maintenance of rural landscape as inhabitants can earn a living by producing traditionally rural goods and services.

In a narrow sense the type of the relations in the Main Street Program is mainly collective/public as it requires cooperation between rather organizations than individuals (this is also underlined by the high starting capital needed by the program which is too high to be provided by individual actors). Urban participators are mainly supporting partners while the real stakeholders are local inhabitants – they will benefit from the realization of the program. Thus, the territorial dimension of the relationship can be characterized by the central role of the developed village or town, and the relations between the capital and the developed area is mostly limited to the period of implementation. However, the mentioned opportunity to widen the partnership modifies the type of the relationships towards individual/private relations and expands the social and territorial dimension as well.

The urban interest and contribution

The urban objectives in the analyzed relationship can be divided into three categories. As we have seen earlier the collective/public relations are mainly based on the link (solidarity) between town living population and rural society or on market relationships (financing, construction etc.). Thus the aim of the urban actors is either the altruist support of the rural areas’ development or generating profit. In the case of private relations urban actors’ main objective is connected to the general RGSs provided by all of the rural areas and the distinctive characteristics of the village or town which appear in the main street’s image. The aim of the urban consumers is to obtain the RGSs and perhaps to feel a little rural nostalgia. Thus we can define the demand in the cases of the different types of relations: in the collective relationships urban actors demand the opportunity for cooperation on the one hand and the counter value of their work on the other hand, while in the private relationship urban consumers demand the special RGSs of the area. Their contribution to preserve the rural landscape can be expressed by their work during the program and by the financial transfers (either the subsidies during the implementation or the counter value of the RGSs they buy).

Supply of the rural society to enhance the rural landscape -the rural contribution

The rural actors mainly take part in the relationship as active participants when it is already operating, except the local authority which is the central actor in the Main Street Program, thus its contribution to the preservation of the rural landscape through the program can be interpreted in a wide sense (e.g. financing, organizing, promoting etc.). After the program's implementation individual rural actors become interested in the participation as well, since they can realize profit from the sale of the produced RGSs as shop owners or bakers etc. Thus the individual rural actors' supply is their work and the products and services produced by them. According to all of this, the most important opportunity of building new rural/urban relations connected to the Main Street Program is to encourage producing special local products and services by local inhabitants.

Wine tourism in Etyek

The village Etyek is part of the Etyek-Buda wine-region. The wine-region lies near to river Danube on the hills of Buda and Pilis Mountains. Once it used to be one of the famous wine-regions of the Hungary. Its grape was harvested also in the middle ages and its most famous wine was the Kadarka, a typical Hungarian red wine. During the centuries the grape species changed and also the wine region shifted a little bit to the south, farer from the river. Earlier it used to be a red wine producing region, but in the 19th century as the consumers' taste changed white wine became more popular also in this region. Because of the phylloxera disease in the 1890's the small vineyards disappeared and grape cultivation started to be dominated by bigger estates. The climatic and soil conditions make the area excellent for the production of the so-called basic-wine of which the champagne is made, thus after the concentration of producers the few large estates sold their grape to the famous Törley Champagne Factory and the region became the most important champagne-producing region in Hungary. Törley Champagne Factory was cultivating wine in the region from the 19th century, however, in the sixties bad-quality wine was also produced here by the nationalized successor of the Törley Factory. The nineties brought change again in the life of the wine-region, when the state wine export company – one of the biggest producers of the region and of Etyek was sold to a big German wine producer company. Since 1992 the Etyek-Budai Wine-region has wine-competition winning wines as well.

Etyek has a special situation in the wine-region. It is almost the only settlement in the region, where the phylloxera disease didn't destroy all the vineyards, and till today there have been more than 300 small cellars offering their own wine. Also in the neighbouring Páty there are famous cellars, but they are out of use. The character of the Etyek wine changed in the last ten years. As we wrote in our previous report in D9, the settlement aims to be the "Vineyard of Budapest".

There are several – about a dozen – famous family cellar selling their products in the capital in selected wine-shops, the bigger ones export their products. Beside of it, there are a lot of small-property owners. They are cultivating only half a hectare or less piece of land, but they also have their own cellar and their own characteristic wine.

The wine production and the tourism related to it are quite popular among the locals. They don't see any hazard which could be caused by it. As an inhabitant, a founder of the Friends of Wine said they are happy to meet new members anytime – although she knows that more then 60-80 people cannot visit together the cellars on the Saint George's day Fest. It is almost sure that if tourism, especially wine tourism will become more popular among townspeople, the old members will feel the lack of intimacy on the Hill.

The wine production can play an important role in the life of the village. As the mayor emphasized in an interview, Etyek also sold some building sites to new incomers. Most of these people use the village only to sleep there which is general in the agglomeration. In the

seventies almost everyone were working in the capital, while nowadays some people and families start to produce wine again. Even those, who have no wine, are visiting the events and festivals that help them to feel themselves in a community. Inhabitants are sure that wine tourism and wine production have only advantages. They hope that it supports creating and maintaining the community of the village. They find the wine itself a good product to sell and a good instrument for selling other products of tourism. Inhabitants consider the wine production and German nationality apart of their heritage. Also townspeople are thinking of Etyek as a place of wine-production. Regarding the mayor's estimation, more than fifteen thousand people visited the village on the first Wine and Cellar Festival organized by the settlement in spring.

Wine tourism threatens neither the agricultural nor the rural landscape. Although festivals may cause difficulties through the possible infrastructural problems, it couldn't be compared with the overload caused by the immigrants which is a great problem of Etyek as well as of other settlements in the agglomeration. In the ideal case the festivals would be based on the small and medium size vineyards, while the marketing of the wine of Etyek would be supported by the multinational wine producer company and also the medium size vineyards which could sell their wines in the shops and malls of the Hungarian towns and export them as well. The small vine producers have no possibility to appear on the shelves of the supermarkets, and have no possibility to advertise their products, but they can meet personally the consumers and sell them a glass of wine, or a bottle of wine linking it to the tranquillity of the rural landscape the beauty of the vineyard and the friendliness of the wine-maker. The third actor who is benefiting from this is the restaurant and pension owner.

Opportunities to improve the relation

Wine tourism and wine-production as a relationship between the rural actors and the urban consumers contributes to the improvement of the rural/urban relations in the study area in a very appealing way. The inhabitants of Etyek have the opportunity to introduce themselves to the urban consumers and to the visitors in a way they like thinking of themselves. They are presenting their village with charming cellars, sunshine, good wines and friendly people with a specific and prestigious folk-culture saved from the nineteenth-century.

As we wrote in D9 the marketing of the village is weak and not organized. The possible wine marketing-strategy – mentioned above – is totally accidental; no one noticed that they were intending to cooperate. It is a possible field of some improvement. Also the medium size vineyards could help the minors to sell their products, and also the small vineyards should cooperate in selling and marketing their wines. Also the cooperation with the restaurant and pension owners should be improved to introduce the wine of the small vineyards. The vineyards we called medium size are trying to make some improvement in order to be able to serve warm food for their visitors.

Most of the domestic tourists are visiting from the neighbouring capital, so they only spent some hours in Etyek, but there are visitors from Finland as well. They are always arriving to the same hotel (owned by a mysterious "Finnish"), to play golf in the neighbouring village, but they are visiting also the cellars and the village itself. It proves that it would be possible to welcome tourists also from abroad and Etyek doesn't have to wait only for the weekend tourists of Budapest.

The urban interest and contribution

Wine production and wine tourism refers to the most widespread rural images. It offers the townspeople tranquillity, recreation, green land, hospitality, friendliness and folk-traditions – which are the general thoughts of the urban about the countryside and which are the most important objectives of urban dwellers to visit the study area. Wine production and folk

tradition together with the German origins are creating the self-image of the village – it appears also in the festivals. Wine and folk-art are not separated in the festivals. The interest of the urban to take part of these (folk-art) events helps the inhabitants – both immigrants and natives – to feel them locals, to feel them the member of a community.

The urban actors demand beautiful landscape, hospitality, good wines and foods (even friendly community) and in exchange they are leaving their money in the settlement.

Supply of the rural society to enhance the rural landscape -the rural contribution

The villagers are offering their products, the wine, and the landscape of the vineyards, their workforce as hosts, or wine producers and their traditions, the folk-art, the cellars. They don't risk too much; they don't have to live with the urban actors just hosting them for a few hours. They are introducing the village with its traditions on a way they like also.

The selected and presented relationship is a good example of sustainable coexistence of the urban and rural communities. Urban demands may support the rural community, offer economic development and don't force abrupt changes either in the life of the village, or in the community.

The Duna-Ipoly National park

The activity of nature conservation in the M-area is exclusively done by the Duna-Ipoly National Park. National Park is a nationwide category for nature reserves. It belongs to a Department of the Ministry of Environment and it consists of many units in different regions of the country with local centres of control. Its resources come from the public budget, from entrance fees and from educational activities. It can also apply for grants on given purposes.

Organizing trips is a popular way of attracting tourists to the M-area. For attracting tourists it is necessary to build so called "learning trails" in the forests and mountains of the region. This is initiated by municipalities and the Duna-Ipoly National Park as well. While municipalities or tourist offices attempt to force representatives of nature reserve to construct trails as fast as they can, nature reserve offers tourists the chance for occupying nature more carefully and limitedly. The reason for this is the intention to preserve nature as well as possible and save it from vandalism and other damages. Of course officers and municipalities also have the aim of showing nature to tourists.

The dual strategy of conserving nature on one side and making it important as well as making inhabitants (and tourists) acquainted with it on the other, naturally implies many constraints. Other institutions being related to nature in any way do not take nature conservation into account at all. For this reason the nature reserve is permanently forced to make compromises.

The urban interest and contribution

The urban demand for housing and to decrease the territory of the preserved nature is very strong. As we mentioned above, investment possibilities proved to be good in housing, and the goals of economic development intercept the conservation issue. Theoretically, the rather strict state legislation is the same as in the T-area. Practically, one, who builds a house illegally anywhere, can be sure that he can come through with some fee and do not have to demolish the building. This is one side of the urban interest.

On the other side, environmental activist are mainly urban actors, who conflict with the rural society in nature conservation issues. Rural settlements want new routes to be built across the national park to relieve their own settlements from the heavy through traffic to the capital.

Supply of the rural society to enhance the rural landscape -the rural contribution

The national park has been developing its infrastructure for using nature for tourism. For this purpose they have formed places for camps and have been building out learning trails for tourists.

Since moving out and building new houses damage nature anyway, the national park attempts to moderate/reduce the amount of damages as much as possible. It usually uses compromising methods to reach its aims in order to keep good relations with municipalities, inhabitants and investors. It doesn't try to be an obstacle to investments even it could be officially, instead it tries to reach a compromise with them in order to have investments without damaging environment. An example worth to be mentioned here is the construction of an electric transmission tower by a mobile company in a natural reserve. The national park could have prohibited the construction of this tower officially but it rather gave instructions to put a cover made of wood on it instead of covering it with steel, etc. Finally they could have an agreement regarding the corrections with the investor.

3.2 T- area: 4 opportunities to improve the rural-urban relations

Development of bicycle- and thematic ways in the Keszthely-Hévíz Region

The development of “quiet-tourism” (e.g. rider tourists) is emphasized in the region. The bikeway around Lake Balaton is already built, but the network of radial bikeways (which should connect small villages, background settlements to Lake Balaton) is incomplete. The bikeway network around the fan of Small-Balaton lacks as well. The aim of the project is to establish the conditions of safe and comfortable cycling with the development of bikeway network, thereby favouring tourism. This is not only the interest of lakeside settlements, but background settlements are affected too which enhances rural/urban relations.

The measure meets with the strategic aims of National Development Plan, because with the development of the conditions of “quiet-tourism” the number of tourists and the income from tourism increase, thereby the income in the region increases as well, while the project also meets with sustainability requirements. According to these facts, the region counts on resources from the Operative Programs of National Development Plan.

The measure meets with the following specific aims:

Development of aerial infrastructure and settlements' environment

Encouraging rural employment and alternative opportunities for generating income

Improving environment-friendly traffic infrastructure

The project is a joint initiative of the settlements; it requires cooperative partners from both the economic and civil sphere. Local municipalities co-operating with concerned authorities, maintainers and owners, should coordinate measurements. Moreover the project must be harmonized with Directorates of National Parks and landowners. The project covers all settlements in the statistical region but it has regional (or even national) effects.

Firstly, bikeways will be built which are already planned, and with the help of former applications they already have deed of assignments and feasibility studies. Technical planning of Small-Balaton bikeway network, and Balatongyörök-Vállus distance was ready in 2004, the planning of Keszthely - Cserszegtomaj – Hévíz distance is in progress. After that, the planning of the remaining distances should be started (e.g. Vállus – Várvolgy – Zalasántó – Rezi) and simultaneously needs for further bikeways should be estimated.

Infrastructure development includes the placing-out of road-signs and markings, and other signs. The marketing of the established projects is necessary, e.g. with bicycle guides, tourist maps, web pages, etc. Besides bikeway infrastructure, the development of joint serving

infrastructure is also necessary (e.g. gist, buffet, bike rental, service and hostel). These all contribute directly to the development of profitability in rural areas.

Authorized local municipalities, landowners and handlers are equally chargeable for the operation and maintenance of bikeways. It is feasible to establish a consortium that combines actors from governmental, economic and civil sphere. Business-based services will be located besides the bikeways.

The urban interest and contribution

The planning and implementing of bikeway networks, the preparation of innovations is mainly the duty of cities, because small villages do not have sufficient resources and facilities. The Region Marketing Public Service Corporation and the micro region itself play important role in the increase of the number of tourists (marketing, brochures, and information systems). The economy of the cities is based on tourism, but the crowd of tourists in resorts and spas means a huge load on settlements and sometimes it is impossible to assure high-standard, long-term entertainment for them. Most of the guests are periodic; they want to familiarize with more and more places of interests during their holiday. When bathing is impossible because of unfavourable weather, tourists like going out. The building-up of tourist way network is essentially important for the urban society.

Supply of the rural society to enhance the rural landscape - the rural contribution

Thanks to the measure the profitability from tourism in rural areas will increase, and the service level in settlements will improve with the building-up of services connected to bikeway. However, the rural landscape will be protected. Several tourists will come to the settlements with bicycle instead of cars, and the quiet traffic facilities of the inhabitants will improve as well. The development of rural tourism's infrastructure combines several activities that contribute to the building-up of roads (necessary for "quiet-tourism"), road-sign systems, health services and other infrastructural buildings. Thus, the volume of sustainable tourism and the income of the rural population will increase.

General regional development concept in the Keszthely-Hévíz Micro Region

The aim of this project is to implement territorial development programming tasks, and to plan and prepare tasks connected to tenders of the newly formed multi-purpose partnership. The main aim of the projects is the moderation of contradictions between the cities (Keszthely-Hévíz) and background settlements, favouring villages, and the relief of cities from tourism within the small region. Small regional development plan (concerning each settlement within the small region) will be worked out within the project by using former program-documents of the three associations working in the small region. The territorial development plan will be structured on the base of Hungarian Territorial and Regional Development Office's directives. Such supporting and implementing planning activities are worked out in the conception (for development actions), which guarantees the successful cooperation of 27 settlements. Besides, four micro regional projects are prepared within the tender, with technical, financial and human resource plans, as it is required. These projects are completed as feasible tender documents and they can be handled in when appropriate call for tender comes out.

The preparation and implementation of the conception requires common action at governmental, economic and civil level. The three small region's associations in the area and the cooperation of the settlements have started several years ago, because small regions recognized in time the advantages of cooperation. The successful common projects, meetings, brochures belted the settlements and now they appear as a single micro-region. However, the

areas of former co-operations did not cover the workout of a single micro regional conception. The associations of the statistical region made their own territorial development conception in the mid nineties, but it needs revising in accordance with new directives in regional development, European Union's requirements and new borders of the region.

The selected projects accomplish area level integrated developments that improve the competitiveness of the region, the significant contradictions between background settlements, lakeside settlements and cities moderate. These projects concern more settlements, and municipalities have no financial resources to prepare them (14 from the 27 settlements are in disadvantageous situation).

The following projects are to be worked out within the development plan

Natural-Cultural Park in the frame of product development, connected with the comprehensive conception

Development of thematic ways belonging to location development (partly prepared)

Integrated settlement and regional marketing to help internal and external communication in the area

And finally, entrepreneurial consultant and information centre to increase territorial innovation and entrepreneurial authority

Besides these objectives, the project (product/location/communication/staff) indirectly contribute to the improvement of the regional identity and partnerships through supporting their evolution, organization and institutionalization in the region, which helps local experts to gain abilities to work out further projects for feasibility levels.

The newly established Keszthely-Hévíz Multi-purpose Development Association accomplishes the coordination of the project, but the work of West-Balaton Regional Development Consultant Body and Expert Cabinet and further experts must be availed. The partnership can be enhanced by marketing measures.

The urban interest and contribution

The objective of the city (mainly Keszthely) is to establish the institutional conditions of the project implementation and to coordinate the cooperation of the small region composed of 27 settlements. Because of its central and leading role, the city must be the collective representative of the small region.

The new challenges of social and economic environment, the increasing support opportunities, resources and the opposed territorial development, and deficiencies in resource-organizing capacities all constrain the municipalities of cities to rethink the necessity of building up territorial partnerships. Force for partnerships was evolved because of the more efficient maintenance of institutions and economic necessities.

Supply of the rural society to enhance the rural landscape -the rural contribution

Rural settlements suffer from lack of resources; they hardly can assure basic services and tasks. The proportion of unemployed people is high, living standards and education is poor, and the hazard of drift to the periphery increases because of frequent conduct problems. Rural areas versus cities contain additional supply factors (e.g. in the area of "quiet tourism") and there are significant estate and labour capacity. The significance of rural areas increases in the inevitable cooperation, and the equal appreciation of villages will be necessary.

Wine route in Rezi

The aim of the project is to build up wine routes (with resting-places, information boards) through the vineyards of Rezi, a village near to lake Balaton, to enlarge wine producers' opportunities. The initiative attempts to junction the new wine route with former wine routes

both on local and regional level. The project aims also to improve the market prospects and opportunities of local wine producers and to conserve and popularize local wine culture and traditional wine production. The project should fit the new wine route to the thematic tourism network of the area and achieve to mention it in regional booklets.

The planned wine route is approximately 3 km long and it will be built in the frame of an investment project. The route starts in the centre of Rezi, it goes through the vineyard to producers' wine-shops and it ends at Gyöngyösi Inn. It is easy to approach from the nearby cities (Keszthely-Hévíz). The estimated cost of the investment is 40 million HUF from which municipality of Rezi can finance 10%. The initiator of the project is the local municipality, but wine producers and landowners take part as well and they get professional help in the implementing from "Da Bíbere" Wine Route Association working in the Balaton Uplands. The most important item relevant to the project is to establish partnership among farmers, to make a successful tender, and to make information booklets and boards adjusted to market demands.

The project can be improved by involving organizations of wine producers, distributors and the Wine Route Association. West Balaton Regional Marketing Public Service Corporation and Keszthely-Hévíz Multi-purpose Development Association can help in the implementation of the project.

The urban interest and contribution

The role of Keszthely and Hévíz is mainly to direct tourists concentrated in cities to small villages, they should offer visiting Rezi as alternative programme for the guests. Because Rezi suffers from lack of resources, the cities should take an active part in some tasks (e.g. regional marketing, regional team of wine routes, and harmonization of meetings).

Supply of the rural society to enhance the rural landscape -the rural contribution

Viticulture and wine production has remarkable traditions in Rezi. The traditions of viticulture were established by Hunish people. Romans produced Pannon wines here which matched well with their home produced wines. Wine production in vineyards and uplands meant individual socio-economic integration in the past. Local buildings, press-houses and cellars were built due to the traditions – their shape and character have determined the image of the settlement, and coupled with the hospitality of wine producers, which has a special tourist value. There are several events connected to vineyard traditions (village day, vintage cavalcade, wine festival, cultural programmes). Wine tourism in Rezi – as in the case of Etyek in the M-area – is a safe and sustainable form of tourism, which does not influence the rural landscape in a wrong way.

The Valley of Arts Festival

The festival has one and a half decade old tradition; it is among the few giant festivals in Hungary, which has dominant role in the field of culture: not only in the field of art but in the field of cultural policy as well. The huge number of visitors, the special attractive atmosphere and all the relating economic, tourism, artistic and regional development processes has more advantages than disadvantages in the local area. According to the research the Valley of Arts festival produce approximately 400 000 Euros income. From this amount about 520 000 Euros come directly into the state budget, however the state support never exceeds 280 000 Euros per year. In this case the economic evaluation of the organizers is definitely positive and as the festival has more and more power in the field of cultural policy the social evaluation is positive as well. The opinion of the organizers is rather complex about the rural/urban relationship generated by the festival. Festival organizers have created the image

of the area, which basically can establish the right conditions for any kind of development. In this sense the engines of the new relationship (or the base of any kind of new relationship) are the festival organizers; however, besides the extremely wide-range cultural work, more diverse development activities should be initiated and managed by other actors.

From the visitors point of view the most important critique is the bad quality of the services in the Valley of Arts. In fact the organizers are worried about the process of commercialisation in the context of the cultural programme, which is understandable if they would like to keep the image of the festival and the stable audience. However, this can be an obstacle from the point of view of the regional development (e.g. improving infrastructure or setting up diverse economic circumstances). There is a latent antagonism between the rural and the urban actors' interests. The lack of 'professional' and profit oriented organizing work is ideologically explainable, although from the economic point of view it is not adequate. It can be said that basically the direct rural/urban relationship is accidental. Problems are solved occasionally and despite the great importance of the event the needed infrastructure of the festival is not available. Because of the various possibilities of problems the relationships are very complex, and mostly because of the high quality of programme there are a lot of people and because of the low quality of services at Valley of Arts the place can become uncomfortable for the visitors and inconvenient to the local inhabitants as the place of their life is simply used by the visitors without respect.

Opportunities to improve the relation

We can define the opportunities from the weakness of the rural/urban relationship in the Valley of Arts. The most important aim of the developmental process is to *involve more actors*. Although the area becomes colourful for the period of the festival, local inhabitants gain only periodic income from it. According to the organizers it is not their role to extend the development to the other parts of local life, even if they initiated the festival. The fame of the festival can be a good basis for the development of rural tourism. In the area we can find relatively few active and productive entrepreneurs in the field of services which provides possibility for big foreign entrepreneurs to appear in the Valley of Arts. The area is located in the Lake Balaton upland. The whole upland can be defined as one of the most various landscapes in Hungary and the tourism is relatively developed but in a quite separated way. There is not enough cooperation among the different initiatives and services as well as among the different regions. The Valley of Arts definitely has not built relations with other tourist initiatives in the surroundings however this could be the source of addressing potential urban visitors and involving local inhabitants.

The urban interest and contribution

In the context of the Valley of Arts the urban contribution to the relationship can be defined from two points of view. In the present relationship the most important influence is its financial impact. In the past one and a half decade urban actors appeared in the area mostly because of the festival, and huge amount of money flowed into the local households by accommodating the visitors or taking part in the work of the festival or into the local government but just in one period of the year. That's why the intensive rural/urban relationship depends on the festival and in this sense on the leaders of the organizing team. Further urban demand could set up a more complex relationship like the high quality accommodation facilities, the active and passive entertainment possibilities, or protection of environment. The rational and diverse developmental process could revalue the rural goods and services in the area. To developing satisfying conditions for the urban demand would be equivalent to giving great chance to the urban contribution.

Supply of the rural society to enhance the rural landscape - the rural contribution

In the context of the Valley of Arts one part of the rural contributions belongs to the general rural contributions. This is the values of the rurality: the green landscapes, the closeness of the nature, the experience of the community's life are the basic rural goods and services in the Valley as well. However, these RGSs are less advertised than the special local RGSs, like the cultural programme or the special atmosphere. It can be said that the rural contribution in the rural/urban relation among the local actors is quite passive. Since the beginning of the Valley of Arts festival the local actors, inhabitants, mediators and leaders have focussed on the festival in the context of any kind of development. The potential RGSs that are still not well used and well offered by the locals could be the basis of a wider local contribution.

3.3. The system of rural-urban partnerships

The relations between rural and urban places are not easy to systematise. As we mentioned in the introduction the ordinary character of these relationship is materialistic and individual. We try to analyse some exceptions, which can be improved in a more collective way. In businesslike relationships one can also find the opportunity for a sustainable development. Improvements of wine tourism in both study area exemplifies well this phenomenon. The M-areas examples of sustainable housing sign the exploitation of the *opportunity resides in the inescapable*. This may be the characteristic to emphasize from the rural/urban relationship sustainable perspective. Rural actors cannot stop the urban invasion; they do not even want it. But the improvement of the rural/urban relationship depends on them as well as the urban dwellers and they can learn from each other to make profit and preserve their rurality at the same time.

4. Conclusions

4.1 Conclusions for the M-area

In the M-area our case study settlements may be in better position than the average of the Budapest agglomeration. Situated at the western part of the Danube (the Buda side), their natural conditions and opportunities seem to be more hopeful than those on the Pest side. However, the expression of 'rural society' should be employed carefully to these settlements. The rural and urban collective and individual actors can hardly be separated and categorised. Because of the mixed interests, their definition is not always clear as we can see in the case of the main street program or the environmental activism. This fact indicates that maybe at some settlements it is too late to sustain the rural character; here the rural/urban relations can be marked with the urban preponderance. The opportunities in this area are strongly connected to economic development. As we summarized them in D9 report:

- Income of local governments from local taxes to be used for developments increases
- Development of the third sector
- Local entrepreneurs in certain branches (building industry) can satisfy the demands of immigrants
- Regional (NUTS 4) associations: long-term developments

Sustainability issues are underprivileged related to these characteristics of the area. Economic development without nature conservation threatens rurality with some serious consequences.

- Housing and further development in infrastructure will have negative consequences on green landscape

- Further housing lowers the appeal of settlements
- Difficulties in accessibility of certain settlements may set back developments (peripheral status) – unbalanced development
- No marketed plots in certain settlements may set back further development

Nevertheless, our selected opportunities in this report sign the better scenario, perhaps fitting for the farer agglomeration settlements. Here, according to our examples, sustainability issues gain more and more importance. Some changing attitudes have been recognised during the years of the research (and at one settlement, partly because of the research itself) towards the contradiction of conservation and economic development. A lot depends on the actors of the local governments, maybe more than on the legislation processes. Stability and planning capacity are still mostly requested to implement sustainable development.

4.2. Conclusions for the T-area

In the T-area the new urban demand has caused deep changes in the region, as we have seen it earlier. There are many types of local resources that can be the basis of new tourism businesses. Here the examples indicate the starting exploitation of these opportunities, not least because of the new EU and state policies, that supports these initiatives. For one part of the rural actors adaptation is difficult, they do not believe in the possibilities of non traditional tourism RGS. In this process, the role of the intermediate actors and semi-urban, semi-rural developers is dominant. Those, who have not prepared themselves for tendering operation, will be handicapped. Thus, the dominance of external – urban – actors may increase in the area.

The most important opportunities to improve in the area, as we summarized in D9:

- Development of background settlements
- Accession: more abundant resources through applications
- Attraction of economic enterprises aiming investment into the development of tourism
- Quality and sustainable tourism
- Regional (NUTS 4) associations: long-term developments
- Better exploitation of resources (e.g. airport)

To realize all these aims, actors need to carefully balance conservation and economic development, that is, not to subordinate the existing nature and heritage conservation to the interests of economic development. The healthy rural/urban relation also requires a decrease of the inequalities between the market positions of rural and urban actors.

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List of interviewees

- Ernő Kovács, University of Keszthely, rural development
- István Márta, Valley of Arts organisation leader
- Bálint Kassai, Valley of Arts watermill owner
- Erika Tóth, Local Government, Alcsútdoboz
- Gyula Fragó, Pro Regio Agency, Central Hungary
- Dávid Valkó, urbanist, market analyser, Home Centrum Agency