

Food growing practices in rural Hungary



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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	i
Abstract.....	iv
Keywords.....	v
Abbreviations.....	v
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Food production and food growing	1
1.2 Literature review.....	1
1.3 Objectives.....	3
2 Conceptual framework	5
3 Research methodology	8
3.1 Design.....	8
3.2 Operationalization	9
3.2.1 Data collection	9
4 The Hungarian case.....	13
4.1 From past to present.....	13
4.2 Balmazújváros.....	14
4.3 Recognized problems on national level	15
4.3.1 Social Land Program.....	16
4.3.2 Prettiest Kitchen Garden Program.....	17
5 Findings and Analysis	18
5.1 General information.....	18
5.2 Influence of commercials - external factors	20
5.3 Effects of urban environment and information sources.....	23
5.4 Health and food quality	25
5.5 Alternative food sources and food purchasing practices	30
5.6 Food growing practices	33
5.7 Overall opinion of different parties	38
5.8 Summary of the findings.....	42
6 Discussion.....	44
6.1 Hungarian studies	44

6.2 Reflection of research questions	47
7 Conclusion.....	50
8 Recommendations	51
9 References	52
Appendix	55
Appendix 1 Social land program full interview	55
Appendix 2 Prettiest kitchen garden program full interview	58
Appendix 3 Questions for the semi structured interviews:.....	63
Appendix 4 Comments on Lidl commercial spot	65
Appendix 5 Consent form	67

Abstract

The present thesis explores food growing practices in rural Hungary. This exploration is related to a much broader issue and dialogues with the question: How to feed the world? The debate around this question includes quality, quantity, environmental, health, social and economic dimensions. According to the literature households should be encouraged to practice food growing for self-provisioning in order to create a more sustainable and healthy food supply. In this research Hungary and the Hungarian country-town of Balmazújváros have been investigated. In Hungary, the tradition of home growing dates back to centuries and in rural areas is still very common phenomenon. Meanwhile in recent decades, changes regarding food provisioning practices are visible mostly in urban areas. The Hungarian society's relatively recent memories of home food growing are mixed with the new impact of westernization; market economy, supermarkets and consumerism. In this context the following research question has been investigated: What are the factors that influence food growing practices in rural Hungary? This study is qualitative in nature and has been examined through the lens of Social Practice Theory. For this study, a review of the current literature of food growing practices was carried out, as well as extensive data collection through interviews with government officers and residents of Balmazújváros. This study shows that food growing practices are still strongly embedded in rural populations in Hungary. Households are able to provide products such as: fruits, vegetables, eggs, chicken and in some cases pork. The research has revealed that in average 40% of food needs can be covered by being an active food grower. This percentage is considered significant especially in rural areas where incomes tend to be low and unemployment is high. Furthermore it has been strongly emphasized by interviewees that food products, like vegetables, fruits, and meat offered by retailers do not meet their expectations regarding flavor, taste, texture and perceptions of food safety (supply chain transparency). This mixed picture of Hungarian food related practices can contribute in expanding the discussion of how and why food growing practices are changing in other contexts.

Keywords

Food self-provisioning,

Furthermore: food growing, home food growing, kitchen gardening, domestic food production refers to the same concept.

Hungary,

Micro-livestock breeding.

Abbreviations

CEE - Central and Eastern Europe

SPT - Social Practice Theory

SWOT – Strengths Weaknesses Opportunities Threats

1 Introduction

1.1 Food production and food growing

There is an ongoing public and scientific discussion today; How to feed the world by 2050? This question mainly emphasizes concerns about the future; however our current food system is criticized too. Issues emerged on quantity, quality, health, price, environment, sustainability, distribution and exploitation of workers (Tilman, Balzer, Hill, & Befort, 2011). The several mentioned concerns can be originated from the very centralized, automatized agriculture, food industry and retail system (Godfray et al., 2010). Although the mentioned threatening trends of industrial agriculture and food system seem to be unavoidable, there are several different and already existing alternatives to avoid the increase of industrial production and its negative consequences. One of them is food self-provisioning (Jehlicka & Smith, 2012). Food self-provisioning means the use of available land around a house where residents can provide fruits, vegetables and practice small scale animal husbandry mainly to satisfy the needs of the household. It has been shown by researchers that; there is a huge potential in individual households for food self-provisioning, especially in rural and suburban areas. Several studies have shown that these practices provide an exceptionally sustainable food source and economic advantages (Jehlicka & Smith, 2012), furthermore dietary, social and cultural benefits (Kortright, Robin; Wakefield, 2007). One can argue if there is a wide range of scientifically proven benefits of food growing, then why the majority of people are still not involved in such practices?

1.2 Literature review

Numerous studies have been done in relation to local and global food systems regarding to their obstacles and advantages. For example, how can food demand be satisfied globally and what challenges are we facing by 2050 (Tilman et al., 2011)? Authors emphasize the importance of local food systems, bringing together small scale local farmers and urban citizens (Chinocel et al., 2010). The basic units of small scale food production are the households with allotment, and their role and importance is often overlooked (Jehlicka & Smith, 2012). In the era of socialism, food self-provisioning was a standard practice in the countries of the Soviet bloc (Hann, 2013). The concept of food self-provisioning is widely discussed in relation to CEE or post-socialist countries still as an everyday practice (Papp, 2011). And by

other authors; who do research on transition movements the same topic is approached as an alternative to mainstream industrial food system (Spaargaren, Gert; Osterveer, Peter; Loeber, 2012).

Twenty five years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, food self-provisioning practices still exist, but from a western neoliberalist aspect they are described as path dependency, backward, anti-modern, and hangover from the past. In addition the market economy could not recognize practices like, sharing or barter; exchange networks were rather categorized as tribal or peasant features. Models of food growing practices exist since a long time ago in CEE countries where households were involved also in non-monetary practices by sharing their products with family and friends. This resulted a non-monetized flow of food and social network which is less sensitive regarding to economic turndowns. Researchers from UK, Jehlicka and Smith (2014) claim the core importance of domestic food growing; their arguments are based on studies and experiences in post-socialist countries. They claim the indisputable role of food self-provisioning in food security under the communist regime and also in present times. Their research shows positive effects in social and local economic terms, also because food producing and sharing practices are also recognized as pure voluntary activity with an aim of feeling rewarded, when strong ties are maintained between relatives and friends (Jehlicka & Smith, 2014). Jehlicka and Smith (2012) also claim, that even western countries should consider food self-provisioning as one of the most efficient form of sustainable production (Jehlicka & Smith, 2012). In the Western world food growing as coping strategy is recognized for its impact, especially from the beginning of the world-wide financial crisis in 2008. The First Lady of The United States, Michelle Obama initiated a very symbolic and at the same time practical action to turn a part of the White House's park to a kitchen garden. By this effort she provided also an encouragement to poor, low income and unemployed people as a way to cut costs on food (Zypchyn, 2012). Clayton (2007) highlights on the social role of gardening as well, such as finding identity, belonging to a community and the increase of societal interaction. The active involvement in food production changes people's relation with nature. Food growers tend to discover easier natural phenomenon and feel interrelated and as a result become environmentally more conscious. For many households world-wide sustainability concerns are the most important. The relation between food choices, self-provisioning and environmental benefits are recognized. After gaining the sense and knowledge of interrelation among human and nature, people become more aware of environmental concerns (Clayton, 2007). Being environmentally conscious means that being aware regarding to reduction of food miles, packaging and reduction of the involvement of industrial agriculture. Small scale production ensures that, organic methods are easier to adopt and the amount of

water use can be more precisely controlled (Kortright, Robin; Wakefield, 2007). Besides the economic and environmental benefits, health is also often related to studies dealing with food growing. The nutritional value and the diversity that home grown products can offer is just one aspect. Schmutz et al. (2014) made a comprehensive study on other health related benefits of food growing. The well-being of the participants in general improved considerably and besides that, more specific healthcare issues were also investigated. The study have shown positive results related to obesity, mental health and horticulture therapy for asthma patients (Schmutz et al., 2014). Despite the previously listed scientifically proven benefits, policy making in general does not support and emphasize the importance of food self-provisioning. This political behavior is recognized by the academic world which has a critical opinion on that, as follows: *“All this might seem obvious. However, with tight budgets and many calls on their time and services, policy-makers often require scientific evidence to prove what we generally take to be common sense, and to make the case for such work to be prioritized and provided with appropriate facilities and funding.”* Tim Lang, Professor at University of London (Lang in Schmutz et al., 2014)

The literature review provided evidence how and why food production at home could benefit people in any kind of social and economic system. In the next chapter Hungary will be introduced and within it a town; called Balmazújváros as a specific example where food growing practice existed and still exists despite the changing economic systems and political regimes in past decades. This area will be very interesting because as a CEE country, Hungary has its food self-provisioning traditions but neoliberal characteristics are also dominant in recent years.

1.3 Objectives

The aim of the present research was to reveal the reasons in detail, why households decide to do or do not practice food growing in the 21st century rural Hungary.

The general research question is the following: What are the factors that influence food growing practices in rural Hungary? (given access to land and water)

Subsequently there have been two sub-research questions formulated.

One of them is: What conditions motivate people to become and/or remain active food growers?

And the second one is: What are the discouraging factors and reasons of not being active?

The relevance of the research

The scientific and public world questions the legacy of the current mainstream form of food production and supply which emphasizes less social action towards food growing, but rather technological innovations and production increase based on economic principals. The counterargument is to encourage small scale farmers to avoid social, environmental, health and economic pitfalls of industrial large scale food production. This mainstream scientific and public discussion deals with future issues as well in a form of a dialog large versus small scale farmers (Wegner & Zwart, 2011). Meanwhile, despite the fact that many countries have a long and successful tradition of food self-provisioning; it is still seemingly overlooked by those who lead the mainstream conversation; such as academics, experts and political actors. The traditional food growing practices combined with new technologies have the potential to establish a decentralized, safer food system for most of the rural population, and simultaneously could influence urban practices as well. In CEE countries food self-provisioning still exists and in the past survived different political systems and economic settings while benefitted not only the poor but all other parts of society by offering food security, social and financial advantages (Jehlicka & Smith, 2012). These undoubtable achievements are however understudied and do not get enough scientific attention. Meanwhile recent studies from countries where consumerism dominates, several authors claim the food security (Kortright, Robin; Wakefield, 2007), health (Schmutz et al., 2014), and social (Zypchyn, 2012) benefits of food growing practices. The only occurring difference is that in western context, home food growing is still studied as an alternative to industrial scale food production and in CEE countries these practices determine a large part of food production and are considered as normal.

2 Conceptual framework

This study uses a social practice theory lens. Social practice theory was developed by Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu. In recent years it was used by Andreas Reckwitz, Inge Røpke and Paul De Krom to study everyday life (Veen, 2015). Social practice theory is applicable to analyze routines and what people conceive as “normal” in their everyday life. Moreover the social practice theory moving the individuals and their decision making out of the center of the focus and rather emphasizes on the notion of doing (T. Hargreaves, 2011).

Practices are dynamic, consistent and frequent performances done by society. This lively relation between the components can result the emergence, the steadiness and ultimately the termination of practices (T. Hargreaves, 2011). Social practice theory uses three highly correlated and overlapping elements which are the following: Image, Skill and Material (Kuijer, 2014). Practices can be stabilized or changed through their repeated and more or less devoted performances by practitioners (Pantzar, Honkela, Nieminen, & Wallenius, 2008). Practices are made up of ‘images’ (meanings, symbols), ‘skills’ (know-how, forms of competence), and ‘materials’ (artefacts, technologies) that are actively and recursively integrated through everyday performance (Tom Hargreaves, Longhurst, & Seyfang, 2013). The Social Practice Theory deals with interconnected elements, which have the practice itself as common (Kuijer, 2014).

Social Practice Theory recognizes improvement and steadiness in social practices, such as cooking, showering, or driving, as consequential from the horizontal flow and assimilation of different elements of practice. The major emphasis within SPT, is on the ‘doing’ of the practices that result normal everyday life, such as shopping, walking in the park, or showering, on the elements of which they are contained, and on the ways in which these practices are organized by society. Practices are forms of physical activities, forms of mental actions, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know how, states of sentiment and motivational knowledge (Tom Hargreaves et al., 2013).

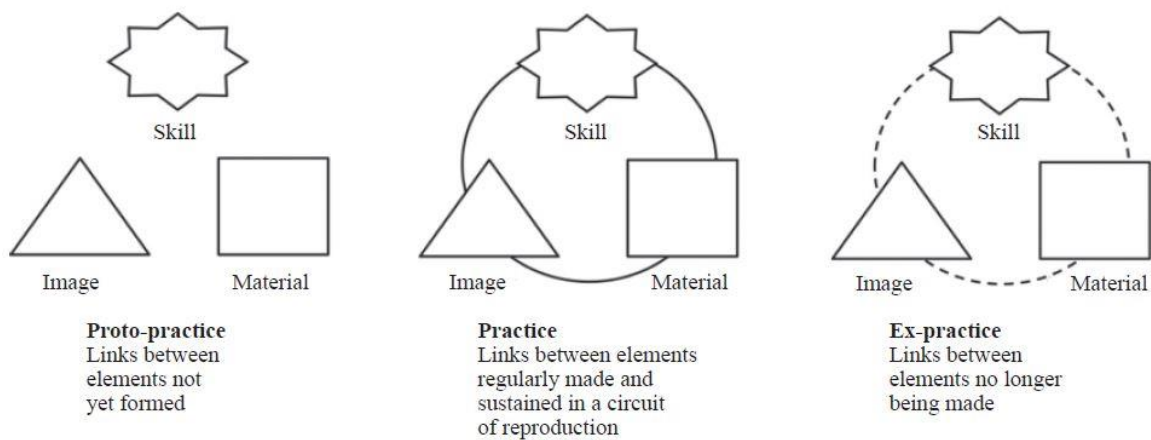


Figure 1 Phases of practice (Tom Hargreaves et al., 2013).
Proto practice (left), Practice (middle) and Ex-practice (right)

Figure 1 can be divided into three compartments. Left figure shows that, despite the elements are seemingly separate, the components of a single practice also appear to cohere and hold one another together. For example, particular materials (e.g. kitchen garden, tools) may become closely associated with particular implications (e.g. organic food) or skills (e.g. gardening). The middle figure shows the relations between entire practices as they come to form interrelated practice complexes or 'systems of practice', such as the combination of additional practices that arise in a single workplace or the relationship between cooking practices and food purchasing practices. The right figure relates to chronological undercurrents and path dependence, unfolding how present practices developed out of earlier ones and contain the seeds of forthcoming practice (Tom Hargreaves et al., 2013). In the case of food self-provisioning the practitioners are the households; the image, skill, and material are variables; and their change can effect practices like food growing, food purchasing.

The image determines how a household approaches to satisfy its food needs. The active food grower households have an image of using at least partly their own available sources, for example their garden. The image of a kitchen garden can be associated with traditions, food security or at the same time it can be related to healthy food and top quality products which are not only high quality but at the same time perfectly fit to certain expectations of a family. Similarly when someone has a picture in mind about food growing in general, the whole image can be represented as a time consuming activity which requires commitment and certain level of passion. However this image in the case of an experienced food grower supplemented by the feeling of fulfillment, self-realization, and recognition of values which can be shared with the family. On the other hand, the inactive food growers have an image of food

source in a form of a supermarket. A specific group of products, brands, shopping environment, low or high prices and a relatively standard quality will be associated in non-growers minds'. Furthermore a given time frame e.g. 2 hours weekly, logistic tasks, and an average required amount of money will be also the part of the entire image of food purchasing (Kuijer, 2014).

The necessary skills to fulfil the needs in the case of active food grower are: gardening skills and or knowledge of animal husbandry. Besides the latter mentioned skills planning, organizing, time management, and knowledge of the actual climate and its characteristics during the year are also essential requirements to become a successful food grower. Alongside the practical skills, the practitioners have to have the ability to recognize and understand the financial, health, social and other benefits of food growing. This recognition and understanding is mostly the result of empiric long term learning process and positive experiences often originated from practices started in one's childhood.

In the case of inactive households other skills are needed to be able to purchase the food products. Market knowledge, being familiar with prices, sense of quality and value rate are essential in everyday food purchasing. Furthermore maintaining friendly relation with growers, in order to be informed about products and as a serious client be able to experience and follow a transparent food source. Next to these mentioned skills other marketable, job related skills are also required in order to be able to earn money to pay with (Veen, 2015).

The required materials in case of active gardener households are: tools, water, land, seeds, seedlings etc. Materials can be seen not only as the latter listed elements but as the actual purpose of the practice. In these cases the food growing or food purchasing practices are essentially done in order to obtain food which is a material. The food as a material has different characteristics if it is produced by a household and differs in case if it is an industrial product. The required materials in the case of inactive household can be determined in a wide range (in order to earn money, have a job or be an entrepreneur) e.g. bike, car, van, fuel, tools, other equipment, raw material etc. Material as food can be also differentiated; the active food growers have their own products fresh but at the same time with cosmetic mistakes. On the other hand the products from the supermarkets are spotless, but in the same time transported and stored for days or weeks long before the purchase by the costumer (T. Hargreaves, 2011).

3 Research methodology

3.1 Design

The present thesis was intended to collect qualitative data in order to uncover which factors play major role in rural dwellers daily practices regarding to food growing. The frame of the Social Practice Theory unveils how the several overlapping practices affect each other in social environment. The dynamic relation between similar but still slightly different and overlapping practices, for example buying milk from the neighbor or from the supermarket; is the result of the continuous change of the elements, which are image, skill and material. These three building blocks of social practice have mainly qualitative characteristics that serve as the basic aspect of the research.

The research has been implemented in Hungary considering many historical, political and economic factors. A general overview of Hungary provides a starting point to recognize the basic conditions which are not only country specific but CEE-region characteristic features can be also found. Within Hungary this thesis was focusing especially on rural areas where food self-provisioning is still an existing practice. Hungary has been selected as the location of the case study for many reasons. Mainly because of the several diverse features which are present in the country. The represented features are a mixture of long and still living tradition of food growing, modernization and liberal market economy elements which already caused major changes in social practices. Furthermore the political and economic conditions of the country are placed below the EU average but still exceed many underdeveloped countries, therefore the findings can be considered as helpful material for global studies as well.

A rural-town, Balmazújváros has been selected to execute the actual fieldwork. This specific research area is a typical representative of Hungarian rural settlements. Despite the official status as a town, it still has several features of a village like; agriculture orientation, unemployment, low average income and exodus to urban areas. To start the interviews an existing personal network was available through my relatives. Prior to the fieldwork a broad literature review has been completed, regarding to the topic itself the food self-provisioning and to the theoretical frame the social practice theory as well. For a long phase of the research attitude and its' creation and possible relation to practice theory has been also considered as an important aspect of the study. However in a later phase it has been clarified that the

use of the two concepts attitude and social practice theory would result a very complicated study without the support of scientific literature of the assumed relation. During the implementation of the research at the specific research area, random sampling combined with snowball sampling was applied. In the very first round of selection the involvement of my relatives and their acquaintances provided a very useful opening for the fieldwork. The establishment of the questionnaires was based on the research questions. Meanwhile the social media publications from the internet have been also reviewed in order to design the specific research questions suitable for the interview. The interviews were designed in a way to be able to unveil the general life conditions of the respondents and to cover three related specific topics. First of all external factors about information-channels and flow, secondly their relation, involvement and views on food growing. Lastly, health related questions were asked in order to gain insight, how the interviewees relate health to nutritional practices.

3.2 Operationalization

The interviewing helped to gain insight to many other food related practices. Most of them were relevant for this research and food growing practices were often naturally explained without questioning. The direct and friendly way of interviewing was supporting the natural flow of the conversation. Besides the household level interviews, also semi structured interviews were designed for national level initiatives. The actual fieldwork was executed in a period of six weeks during the summer, from the beginning of July till the middle of August of 2015. In average 2 interviews have been made daily but in practice the number of interviews were varied between 0 and 5 a day depending on scheduled meetings or approaching random potential interviewees.

3.2.1 Data collection

3.2.2.1 Interviewing organizations

Based on the preparation phase, two national level actors were also interviewed in order to gain insight to the nationwide experiences regarding to food growing. The two national level actors were the Hungarian Ministry of Rural Development and The Prettiest Kitchen Garden program, which are highly involved in encouraging rural and even urban residents to practice food growing.

The social land program's sub-program was designed for people in poverty and segregation and originally belongs to the Hungarian Ministry of Rural Development. However another institution coordinates the project; the EMET (Emberi Erőforrás Támogatáskezelő) in English: Human Resource Subsidization Management. The goals of the social land program's sub-program are to support families below the poverty line with education, material and advisory service to stimulate food self-provisioning practices, like gardening and micro-livestock husbandry. On the official website a few information about the activity of the organization, e-mail address and telephone number was published. Despite of the government supported institution and the contacts for customer service, the direct approach was not possible. Alternative contacts via the Ministry were necessary to contact the coordinators of the sub-program. The officers however were not open for interview in person and neither telephone, the only possible option was to send them a questionnaire. The questionnaire was originally designed and intended to find out more about the objectives and experiences of the sub-program. The answers provided by the coordinators were well formulated and extensive. However the originally planned deep-interview with voice recording would have been more valuable for the research, with possible corrections in interpretation and follow up questions.

Subsequently The Prettiest Kitchen Garden program was contacted. The Prettiest Kitchen Garden program was originally a local initiative in Karcag (rural town in Hungary). Since 2012 it has been transformed to a grass root movement with several hundred participant settlements all over Hungary with the intention to promote traditional way of food production. The founder and also coordinator of the program was available to make a semi-structured deep-interview with voice recording. Her extended network and nationwide overview of food growing practices across Hungary resulted a very valuable and comprehensive interview.

Regarding to the specific research area Balmazújváros, previously of the fieldwork, as part of the literature review a SWOT analysis from 2004 has been reviewed. In order to be able to use the SWOT analysis for the current research municipality representatives have been contacted for update. However the update was not necessary because an Integrated Area Development Strategy Program 2015-2020 (Róka et al., 2015) of Balmazújváros has been recently published that contains also an up to date SWOT analysis. Having access to the SWOT analysis of a Balmazújváros allowed me to gain a general overview about the local demographical, economic and social situation.

3.2.2.2 Interviewing the dwellers of Balmazújváros

The actual fieldwork has been executed at the specific research area in Balmazújváros. Random sampling took place at first, with the involvement of available network (relatives) 4-5 subjects have been interviewed. At this stage of the interviewing as a form of trial the relatives were requested to give honest feedback, how clear the questions are. The first round of interviews allowed seeing what type of information can be obtained in practice during the upcoming interviews. Throughout the interviewing process the sampling was extended by applying snowball sampling. In total 50 interviews have been made.

According to the characteristic of the research, which highly emphasized the qualitative aspects of approaching the topic, semi-structured interviews have been designed in order to increase the comprehensiveness and the credibility. Two groups were differentiated food growers and non-growers. The distinction between the two groups was based on less quantitative and more on qualitative elements. For example someone who only has a couple of fruit trees, and at the same time he or she was very aware of nurture, harvest, and making jam, compote, deep-frozen products was considered as a food grower. In case when someone with the same amount of fruit trees, without considering the benefits of the trees, moreover being careless about the harvesting and processing the fruit was titled as a non-grower. The interviewees have been questioned not only by the present situation but also in an approximately 15 years of time frame. Moreover a specific question was also designed to uncover the respondents' childhood experiences. During the interviews as a special feature, a TV commercial spot has been shown and the message of the commercial was asked, how the respondents perceived the content of short film. Throughout the interviews, voice recordings have been made in Hungarian and later a shorter English transcript was made of each interview. The interviewees agreed that the interview will be used and will be stored at least for 5 years. It has also been stated that during the scientific presentations the anonymity will be guaranteed. These conditions were mentioned in a letter that explained what the interview is about, and what is the purpose of the research.

The random and snowball sampling with the involvement of relatives resulted an access to fifteen households at the first selection round. The overwhelming proportion of active food growers was useful to get to know their perspectives. The active growers were also keen to explain how and what they produce. The intention of the research was however to keep the random sampling random and avoid biases and assumptions also from the researcher's perspective. The following phase of the interviewing was targeting to approach people at public places, street, shops, cafés and pubs. During the day only a

very few people were on the streets due to the 40 degrees Celsius temperature and the working hours. And unfortunately the people on the street were not open for giving interview. Despite the heat, shops and boutiques were open, and the shop owners were approachable to make an interview with them. In total four shop owners were interviewed. Several pubs and cafés have been visited as well, but most of them were completely empty during the day. People went out mostly in the evening hours after dinner time with group of friends which made it impossible to approach them with the purpose of making an interview. Only one café was popular during the hot summer days, where representative mix of residents was present as guests. The strategy was to involve the “gatekeeper” in this case the barmaid and ask her opinion how approachable the guests are in general. Having her agreed to launch conversation with guests randomly and interview them resulted several interviews at this neutral but friendly environment. Some guests automatically developed the process to a snowball sampling, by asking their friends to give also an interview which resulted sixteen interviews in a couple of days. Further search for interviewees provided the idea to visit a few office buildings present in the town including the municipality and insurance offices. The administrative and other office workers with the agreement of the office manager were allowed to give the interview in their working hours and in total eight interviews have been made.

At this stage of the research it has been unveiled that the respondents were living in average or above the local standard. Local standard means that they earn around 300 EUR or more per month, every adult family member completed at least primary education and in addition some skill training furthermore their social status is solid. Regarding to the SWOT analysis and many of the interviews it has been clarified that there are also more vulnerable segregated groups of people in some cases minorities who live in Balmazújváros below the local standard of living. The local people suggested not to visit those neighborhoods of the town alone and to find some other alternative way to approach those families. Regardless to their social status these segregated households are also part of the social landscape and had to be interviewed to provide a comprehensive research. Therefore the municipality’s social department has been contacted and fortunately they had a broad overview on families who live below the poverty line. In Balmazújváros social community service exists which employs and educates people in underprivileged economic and social situation. The coordinator of this program provided access to make interviews with these people before or after their working hours or courses that they follow at the municipality. In total seven interviews have been made with households who live in poverty which represented the approximate proportion of the population considering the total amount of 50 interviews.

4 The Hungarian case

4.1 From past to present

Historically Hungary is a country with a very strong agricultural profile. In the era of the Habsburg Empire, from the 1870's Hungary was deliberately chosen for grain, mainly wheat production for export. This orientation remained for almost a century alongside the structure of the land ownership and the significantly high rural population; the peasant class. Hungary was also known as the "quintessential home of landed aristocracy". Powerful aristocratic landlords were the owners of thousands of hectares of land. A great part of the rural population was land and homeless day-laborers, which mostly worked and lived on the estates (Hann, 2013). The characteristics of this combination of agriculture and labor allowed landlords to store products (grains), speculate and participate in international whole sale. Typically the negative changes of the prices and losses were always transmitted to the generally vulnerable day-laborers. This stagnating low income and the agricultural structure resulted strong habit of home food growing (Kopsidis, 2006).

After the 2nd World War the aristocracy was persecuted and first land distribution started, consequently small scale farms were spreading. By the late 1950's soviet-style collectivization was executed through the establishment of kolkhoz like cooperatives. The private farms disappeared because the farmers were forced to join with the cooperatives. These new farming models were largely mechanized and the agricultural production was on industrial scale, focusing on monocultures; grain, dairy and meat (Kopsidis, 2006). At the same time the model allowed and also required that rural citizens were producing groceries and some meat and milk products for their own needs and also for the market (Hann, 2013).

The communist regime ended in 1989 and in the 90's a transition period started with the privatization of the majority of the state owned sectors including the agriculture, food industry and retail (Orenstein, 2009). The supermarket sector had a 5% market share, and it was characterized as luxury in the beginning of the 90's. The state played an important role in retail along with the parallel existing and also very important informal, private and small scale forms (Smith & Stenning, 2006). As a result of reorganizing retail structures new agents appeared and by the millennium the market share of mainly

western and some local supermarket chains reached the 50% (Dries, Reardon, & Swinnen, 2004). The new emerging supermarket chains set up a large scale supply and retail system that allowed them to offer products on a relatively low price. Meanwhile the state gave up its position to regulate the market, commercials and several other marketing tools were implemented (Lőrinczi, Krisztian; Bacs, Zoltan; Sz.Nagy, 2009). The marketing strategies were similar in the Soviet Union but back then the state owned and controlled the market. The new, mainly western supermarket chains offered more than only food products, such like DIY tools, clothing, gardening materials etc. (Orenstein, 2009). The bigger scale hypermarkets created a whole new experience of shopping, surrounded by little boutiques and in the store offering wide range of products from electric goods, to car accessories, clothing, household equipment, restaurant department and product tasting samples. The new way of shopping became combined with other activities and the assortment of products became very diverse compared to the years of communism. The constantly appearing new products always give a satisfaction for those who are attracted to novelty, furthermore time became more valuable. The several effects influenced society to shift towards a typical consumer like mentality. Thus this shift caused drastic lifestyle changes, most importantly less awareness of nutrition, healthy lifestyle, and home growing (Lőrinczi, Krisztian; Bacs, Zoltan; Sz.Nagy, 2009).

4.2 Balmazújváros

Balmazújváros is a typical country-town surrounded by rural areas. Agricultural feature is dominant and at the same time service and manufacturing are also present. The town inhabited by 18.000 citizens and the residential sites are very spacious, inherited from the traditional habits of animal husbandry and extensive kitchen-gardening. The area is characterized by a good climate and desirable natural conditions. Despite the advantageous circumstances from certain aspects, the unemployment rate is around 15% and 30% of the population have only primary education. Most of the available jobs are low-paid, causing that the working part of the population is also financially vulnerable and price sensitive. Notwithstanding the desirable climate and natural conditions but on the other hand the undesirable social and financial circumstances, two major supermarket-chains successfully run and supply a large part of the settlement's food demand (Róka et al., 2015).

In 2015 as a part of the Integrated Area Strategy 2015-2020 a SWOT analysis has been made which provided us a compact overview of the settlement's present advantages and obstacles (Table 1).

Table 1 SWOT analysis overview of advantages and obstacles

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
-very active sport life	-population decrease, exodus
-underground water sources,	-ageing population
-protected lakes and water streams	-undesirable and decrease of employment rate
- channels, irrigation possibilities	-incomes are below the national average
-there is no industrial waste	-lack of infrastructure
OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS
-projects for resettling and settling	-the ageing of the population continues
-projects for support families	- increasing relative impoverishment
-the use of cultural and touristic programs to increase community cohesion	-the lack of economic growth results remaining unemployment
-development of business infrastructure	-population decrease and exodus increase (also young people and intellectuals)
-promotion of cultural and natural heritage, growing tourism and increasing number of tourist accommodation.	-the exodus of people (workforce) results less opportunity for new/ or new coming enterprises

4.3 Recognized problems on national level

The earlier mentioned great changes in lifestyle and consumer behavior (see chapter 4.1) can be seen as the normal flow of modernization. However knowing that Hungarian minimal wages are only 1/4th of the average Western European minimal wage (Eurostat, 2015), while retail prices are similar or in some cases higher than in Western EU countries (Friederiszick & Kaluzny, 2014), the population with low income have often challenges to satisfy households' nutritious food needs. Particularly rural residents are more vulnerable and sensitive on increasing prices, because unemployment rate is higher and the incomes are the lowest there (Cervenski, Gvozdanovic Varga, Vasic, Zekie, & Ferencz, 2013). According to the Hungarian Central Statistical Bureau (KSH), in 2011 13,8% of the population (1,3 million people) had income under the poverty line. The poverty line was determined as the 60% of the average income/capita which resulted approximately a minimum EUR 220 as the critical level of income (KSH, 2013). The price sensitive exposed social classes were earlier recognized by the new Hungarian Government in 2010 and the Ministry of Rural Development aimed a new strategy for the period of 2010-2020 (Balázs, 2012).

The national social land program's C sub-program is specialized to support gardening and micro-livestock breeding. This way of domestic food growing is designed in order to lower households' cost on food, furthermore to encourage people on self-reliance in case of any economic turndown. The sub-

program aims to widen participants' experience in cultivating their own gardens and keeping up domestic economies. Activities can be targeted on setting up kitchen gardens or/and starting micro-scale livestock breeding (Ministry of Rural Development Hungary, 2013a).

4.3.1 Social Land Program

The Ministry of Rural Development in the mentioned sub-program provides tenders based on case studies and reports, for people in poverty. The municipalities together with civil organizations organize forums for locals in order to raise awareness about this possibility. During and after the forums a selection procedure is implemented to recognize who are in need the most, furthermore to persuasively explain the benefits of the program and the required co-operation. Generally these segregated households not only lacking of tools and materials to maintain self-reliance but also lacking of experience, knowledge and motivation. These mentioned elements are provided by the sub-program and families admit very early that they can benefit from cooperative participation. However in some cases, families in deep poverty run out of money. In order to save family members mostly children from starvation the planned program is aborted because the slaughter of the animals starts before it would be ideally planned. The execution of the program is planned and well controlled to maintain the motivation and supervise the progress. The organization lists the tasks that are undertaken in a time-schedule and according to this planning the family consultations are organized. Most of the time after 2 or 3 years in a row, families have enough experience and materials to progress on their own (see Appendix 1).

The amount of the financial support on national level is very moderate; in 2014 it was approximately 270.000 EUR. Normally the local municipalities or other civil-organizations receive the financial support and they coordinate the distribution, the planning and the operationalization of the projects. In average, a household receives around 100 EUR value in financial terms. The real value of the program is to educate rural families how to use and benefit from many available mainly agricultural materials and sources which are usually accessible in rural areas. According to the Social Land Program's estimated calculation 3000 families can be helped on a yearly basis (Hegedűs, 2015). The effectiveness of the program is based on prior planning and calculation; every applicant hands in planning about what are the indicators that they expect from the cultivation. These parameters are detailed, per crop or animal,

and the planning is implemented with the consultant agronomist (Emberi Erőforrások Minisztériuma, Ministry of Human Resources 2015).

4.3.2 Prettiest Kitchen Garden Program

The Prettiest Kitchen Garden Program also has its main focus on food growing, tradition and self-reliance. The Prettiest kitchen garden movement is recognized by the Ministry of Rural Development too, but separated from it. The program started in one town's municipality level, and as a grass-root movement other settlements joined from all over Hungary. The main intention of the movement is to recognize, raise awareness and reward people who are practicing gardening as a form of lifestyle (Ministry of Rural Development Hungary, 2013b). The initiative was taken for the first time in 2012. The first intention was to focus on Karcag (town located in East Hungary) with the goal to keep alive and promote the traditional practices and design; front yard: flower garden, backyard: kitchen garden, like it used to be in previous times. The traditional way of food producing is an example for a more holistic system (financially, ecologically, culturally, socially and health wise) and the program's aim is to follow this model. Elderly people are still quite active and their work should be appreciated. The Prettiest Kitchen Garden Program indicated that their knowledge should be gathered and organized in a system, which should be given to younger generations. The other important message of the initiative is that; the younger generations and middle-aged groups should be convinced with proven examples, that it is possible to have their own garden next to a fulltime job, and it is still beneficial for their family. Furthermore there is a competition part of the program which is rather symbolic because everybody who cultivates his/her garden is already a winner. The Prettiest Kitchen Garden program's team makes interviews with participant gardeners and broadcast them through the local media. The presented short stories of these local people remove barriers and create an educational effect; people start to follow the good example (see Appendix 2).

5 Findings and Analysis

5.1 General information

In the starting phase of the interview the first questions were intended to uncover general circumstances regarding to the interviewees' life in general. As for most of the researches in social science gender, health and age are also important aspects of this study as well. However, in order to create a more precise insight about the basic social conditions of the respondents; the amount of household members and their occupation has been also questioned. The collection of this group of information at the first stage provides a gradual transition in understanding their practices in general.

Gender

The research was oriented to gain insight in household practices and in general the gender of the interviewees is not supposed to be significant. Nevertheless the interviews were highly focused on food related questions and from this perspective the overwhelming majority of 38 female from the total number of 50 respondents might provide more clear perception how a household operates in rural Balmazújváros. Mostly because the remaining 12 male interviewees also indicated that their wife or mother or grandmother is mainly responsible for organizing food practices.

General health

Besides the visual observation; when the interviewees' age was questioned, right after or before some general health related questions were also examined. None of the 50 participants had complaints about his/her health. Most of them were physically active. Fortunately Hungarian costumes allow asking people directly about their health. By incorporating the latter explained element already in the beginning of the questioner, I was able to avoid observation based assumptions that all of the respondents are healthy and able to do at least moderately physically challenging practices around the house.

Age

Regarding to the ages, 6 groups were created; the two biggest age groups were people in their twenties and in their fifties. The sample group covered all of the adult age groups (table 2).

Table 2 Age groups of interviewed people

Age	Number of People
20-29	13
30-39	8
40-49	9
50-59	14
60-69	3
70+	3

Members of household

As table 3 shows the average household contains 2 to 4 members. Although the smallest unit of the community and the food growing is a household, strong relation network among households can be observed based on kinship, neighborhood, and friendship. Within family the flow of food products is mostly happening without the involvement of any currency.

Table 3 Number of people per households

Members of household	Numbers of households
1	3
2	10
3	19
4	11
5	4
6	2
9	1

Occupation

Regarding to the answers the result was a very diverse range of occupation. Nevertheless the characteristics of the jobs were different from linguist, to nanny, sales person, seasonal worker, cleaning lady. In the end it was possible to divide to 3 separate groups. The mentioned 3 groups were created according to educational level. Six people were highly educated, 25 received secondary education and 19 people had primary school as educational background and in most of the time complemented with some skilled training.

There has been no relation found between educational background and the rate of awareness on healthy food. Moreover those people who were ever involved in industrial scale agriculture and food production were even more suspicious and selective towards the foods from an unknown source.

5.2 Influence of commercials - external factors

In the following phase of the interview the questions were intended to uncover conditions regarding to what extent commercials influence the interviewees' life on a daily basis. The first question was aiming to unveil the common believe about the influence of commercials and the second question was intended to reflect on how a specific commercial's message is perceived by the interviewees. As commercials and advertisements can generate practices similarly they contribute in decrease of other practices.

Recognition of persuasive communication through commercials

For the question: Do you think that commercials influence you? Twenty three interviewees answered that they believe they can avoid to be influenced by commercials. The latter question however did not specify the form of commercials, and 10 respondents from the 23 follow the supermarkets' flyers and the special offers on them. Therefore it can be assumed that their answer was limited to TV commercials only. Twelve people admitted the effect on commercials on them, also if the effects are sometimes unconscious. Their opinion was that it is unavoidable. Ten people's immediate answer was that they hate commercials—and they often feel irritated by them. One interviewee especially liked the commercials. And 4 respondents reacted that it depends on the topic/theme/story of the commercial. Some are interesting or funny and some are annoying.

In this part of the research the different types of commercials are the resources of image formation. Furthermore the commercials can influence the desired material. In this stage the skills of selection and complex system thinking can help the consumers to decide if they really need those kind of products and if yes which one and how much is really necessary.

Perceiving the message of the Lidl commercial

During the interview a commercial spot has been shown to the interviewees. In the commercial a locally present supermarket chain (Lidl) was offering its products. In a traditional market like setting friendly characters were carrying and dealing with different kind of vegetables and fruits such as kale, courgette, grapes, peppers. The idyllic shopping environment was called the "Lidl market" and it was also supported by friendly music and a narrator was explaining that quality, fresh and healthy products can be found there. In this spectacular ad orange and apple were on sale moreover a gift card was promoted for loyal customers. The message of the commercial was crystal clear for all of the responders. And

although only the message of the commercial has been questioned most of the respondents commented their own relation and experiences with the supermarket chain. With the extra comments what unintentionally a much broader view has been accessed, on how people perceive and react on image shaping elements (in the commercial as a way of normal practice) and how in reality most of the people react on that or how do they shape the “standardized” practices to their own needs.

The commercial represented the complete picture of practice theory. The image of fresh products, and friendly environment was combined with required skills which are in this case; walking around with a shopping cart with ease and pick the products. Moreover the fresh and spotless products are part of the image and at the same time also represent the material. However these relatively new elements of practice in several cases confront with older, embedded, and functioning elements of older practices, such as: buying fruits and vegetables instead of growing, similarly careful nurturing and harvesting changed to industrial scale production which is not transparent. Moreover despite the friendly environment there was not possible to exchange products, and the shop assistants were not selling their own products. That can be the reason why many respondents were critical about the commercial spot.

Received messages of the commercial spot:

respondent 3: -“sales offers promotion, quality materials in the spotlight, happy music and setting”

respondent 7: -“sales promotion and offering healthy fresh products”

respondent 10: -“pleasant impression, to follow the offers and go there all the time”

respondent 11: -“buy the products from there, cheapest, good, and healthy”

respondent 22: -“attracts customers, advocates the club card”

respondent 29 -“beneficial to follow the sales offers (there is always something on a good price)”

respondent 50 -“market-like friendly environment is waiting for the costumers to buy fresh products”

The message of the commercial was clear, and we can conclude that there is a consensus among the responses about what the essence of the commercial spot is. However most of the respondents missed to answer the original question which was: What is the message of the Lidl commercial? But rather conveyed own feelings and experiences in relation to the supermarket.

Summary of the comments about the Lidl commercial

The overwhelming amount of negative comments refers to an image of a specific group of materials, which are; fruits, vegetables and meat products. Respondents possess very sensitive skills therefore they become disappointed while seeing the promising outlook of the products and sensing the poor taste, flavor, texture and quality at the same time. The supermarket chain is still an extraneous entity for the local community which has their own alternative and transparent food networks that the supermarket chain cannot offer. Many respondents remained suspicious because of the lack of transparency and the 100% monetized food supply from unknown sources. Furthermore as the area has been always involved in food production since centuries many respondents have concerns about a specific group of products such as meat, vegetables and fruits which were always available locally.

Dealing with persuasive communication in practice

Thirty six households do review always the flyers from the supermarkets. Ten completely ignore them and throw them away immediately. And in 4 households it varies. In this case an actual practice is embedded already in the daily routine of the people. Frequently reviewing the flyers which are provided by the supermarkets is able to form an image about available products, prices, outlook etc.

Practices influenced by flyers

In regard to the sales and special offers 28 households are being influenced by the flyers. When long shelf-life products are offered on a low price they often take the opportunity to buy a bigger amount of them for later. Twenty one respondent households do not react to any of the sales offers. One interviewee replied that sometimes, they go for the cheaper sales offers. In this stage the knowledge of prices turn to be a necessary skill, and the long shelf-life products represent the image of a reliable, storable food source. Furthermore price refers also on image for example: in case of an inexpensive or an expensive product, moreover price indicates the need of money as a necessary material for purchase.

Relation to practice theory

The image determines how a household approaches to satisfy its food needs. The active food grower households have an image of using at least partly their own available sources, for example their garden. On the other hand, the inactive food growers have an image of food source in a form of a supermarket. A specific group of products, brands, shopping environment, low or high prices and established quality standards will be associated in non-growers minds. Furthermore a given time frame e.g. 2 hours weekly,

logistic tasks, and an average required amount of money will be also the part of the entire image of food purchasing regarding to what the flyers offer. The flyers and the advertised products on them are the material part of the explained practices. Regarding to the flyers certain skills are needed e.g. filter persuasive communication, general understanding of the difference between actual needs and generated needs, furthermore knowledge of market and prices.

5.3 Effects of urban environment and information sources

The image determines how a household approaches to satisfy its food needs. The active food grower households have an image of using at least partly their own available sources, for example their garden. On the other hand, the inactive food growers have an image of food source in a form of a supermarket (T. Hargreaves, 2011). The formations of the mentioned images are complicated processes and built up from the combination of many different elements. In this research the following aspects have been considered and investigated as image formation components; family members who frequently go to the city, main source of information, dealing with persuasive communication in practice, practices influenced by flyers.

Family members who frequently go to the city

There were 28 households which had at least one member who frequently go to the city on a daily or at least on a weekly basis. And 22 households had no connection to urban areas on a regular basis. This question was intended to find out what urban practices can influence the households' earlier embedded food related practices. This aspect can be an important element of practice creation, in an urban environment different practices are perceived as normal and inevitably the components of the practices the image, the skill and the material are also different as well. The frequent visits of the urban environment might influence the involved originally rural residents as well for example acquire habits like buying everything in the supermarket. But this research showed that gardening practices were not influenced by visiting urban areas.

Main source of information

(The respondents were allowed to give multiple answers)

Another form of image creation is how the people get informed about their close environment and about the world. For the question: What are the main sources of information? Thirty three respondents mentioned internet as one of their main source from where they inform themselves and 20 interviewees emphasized that the internet is most used by them. Also television was mentioned 31 times, however only 9 times as the most used medium. And 4 respondents indicated that they only watch news on television. Nineteen times radio was named as important information source. Newspapers were mentioned 13 times. Furthermore family, friends, other people, grown up children and people at work were also indicated a couple of times.

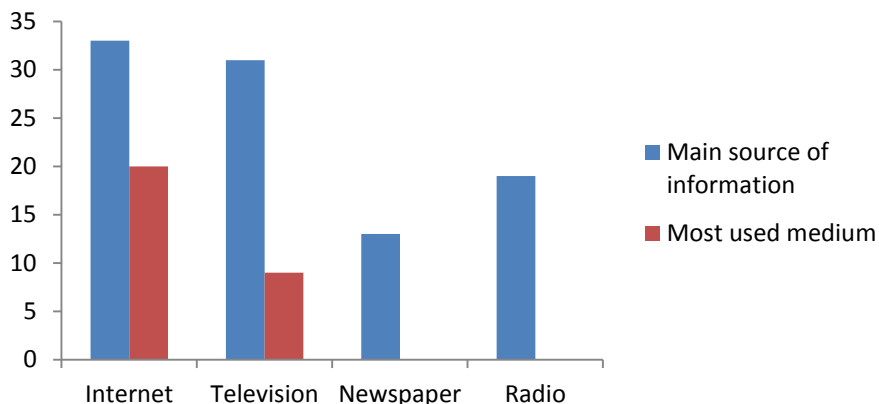


Figure 2, Main source of information

Relation to practice theory

People, who practice the latter mentioned daily practices and especially those who frequently go to urban areas to work, experience and create several images about how to attain food. In their original environment in Balmazújváros they experience more food self-provisioning practices but being in urban environment and using different kind of media channels they also see and in some cases adapt images which are more related to practices in urban environment. These various effects can result different outcomes by different households. For example, an image about how convenient is to buy everything from one supermarket, but regarding to the products (the materials) the home grown quality will be much more appreciated. In order to be able to visit frequently urban areas materials needed for transport such as car, bus or train. Moreover to receive information in digital or paper form other materials TV, radio, newspaper, computer and smartphone etc. are necessary. In this research it has

been shown that to some extent advertising influence the households' practices, however it's only limited to long shelf-life and dairy products and in some cases to exotic fruits.

5.4 Health and food quality

The health related questions were proposed in order to gain insight, how the interviewees relate health to nutritional practices and what do they mean by healthy nutrition, healthy food. Moreover the accessibility of the healthy products was also unveiled.

General awareness of health

After analyzing the answers of the interviewees for the question: Are you paying attention on your health, regarding to your lifestyle and food choices? it has been seen that from the 50 interviewees 5 were not aware of their health, which means that they admitted that they regularly consume alcohol, they smoke and they do not pay attention on what they eat. Five other interviewees answered that they are aware about their health regarding to food, but only on a moderate level and in some cases lack of knowledge and willingness can be noticed as well according to their answers to the same question. A few examples of people with seemingly little knowledge about healthy food:

respondent 26 “-A little a bit”

respondent 27 “-We use very limited salt and fat”

respondent 29 “-I am always checking the best before date”

Regarding to the same question, eleven interviewees indicated that they have special attention towards nutritional practices, which means that they were paying special attention on the food they are buying and they were also following various dietary guidelines such as; low-carb, vegetarian and paleo etc. however they were not mentioning physical activity. Nine respondents indicated that they have a very active lifestyle either by doing sport, being active around the house or by having a physical work, but without focusing on their nutrition. Furthermore 19 respondents have considered themselves aware from both perspectives nutrition and physical activities as well. Combining the 9 physically active and the 19 who are active and nutrition-aware respondents, the total number of physically active people was 28. However, from all active interviewees only 14 indicated that they do sport on regular basis.

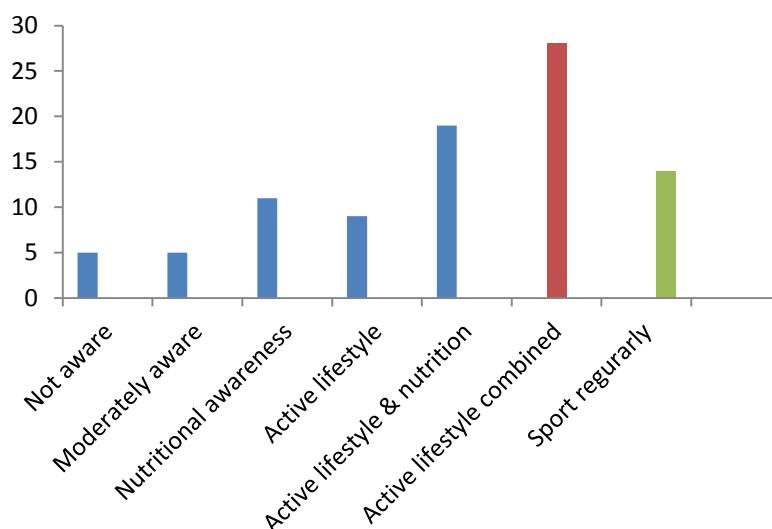


Figure 3 Attention on healthy lifestyle and nutrition

Description of Quality and Healthy food

In response to the question: What quality and healthy food means for you? A merged group of interrelated characteristics were mentioned the most, such as home grown or local products regarding to the source of origin. Similarly, the transparency of the producing, source and ingredients were also frequently mentioned as most important aspect of quality and healthy food in total 27 times.

Quotes:

respondent 1. "For me the real quality means that the I pick the products freshly from the garden and we eat them or process them within a day. By doing so I am completely sure about the quality, the origin and the technology that have been used. Our own products are free of any industrial intervention.

respondent 31. "I cannot describe it for you, but for instance yesterday I slaughtered my own chickens. My own chickens are healthy, I look after them they did not get any antibiotics or other chemicals. Those you can buy in the supermarkets are filled with several substances I do not really buy them. Moreover if I go to the market I only go to vendors who sell their own products and I know them well"

Moreover twenty one interviewees also emphasized the freshness in their response. The freshness was essential in relation to meat products and eggs, furthermore to fruits and vegetables. Twenty people mentioned as the crucial part of healthy diet, and these products can be considered as quality food In

addition it was mentioned as well that most of the raw products and part of the processed food are essential not to be old. According to the answers on question: How often do you go to the supermarket/grocery shop? (see Appendix 3) most of the respondents went to the grocery shop or supermarket on a daily basis to buy fresh bread and bakery products it shows also that not only the meat, vegetables and fruits have to be fresh but the latter listed foods as well.

Quotes:

respondent 23. "I make a lot of salad; I am trying to eat fresh veggies and fruits as much as I can and avoid heavy or smoked food."

respondent 45. "I eat a lot of veggies and chicken, these are mostly my own grown products and I can eat them in very fresh state. Of course sometimes I should preserve some products in the freezer but I still rather eat them than what they sell in the supermarket."

Eight of the answers highlighted on the importance of limited or no refined carbohydrate content in healthy quality products. The respondents emphasized that they consume rather products what they grow at home or have access through family such as fruit and vegetables than processed food.

Quotes:

respondent 9. "For me the healthy and quality food contains none or limited amount of refined carbohydrate. Furthermore it should be rich in protein. I use xilit instead of table sugar and I drink a lot of green tea to keep my digestion going."

respondent 34. "I eat a lot of veggies, and my carbohydrate intake is limited. I like meat as well even if it is a bit fatty but I do not buy processed food from the supermarkets."

The accessibility of quality healthy food (the role of price and supply)

Seven respondents immediately replied with their home garden as an obvious alternative as a way of accessing quality food. Five other respondents' reaction was that it is easy to attain quality/healthy food, as Balmazújváros is situated in a rural area where many people grow food. Thirty respondents mentioned price as an issue in case of purchasing groceries on the market, even though they are not necessarily buy those products. Regarding to the food prices in general, the interviewees indicated that the access to quality/healthy products can be costly, thus for many people with low income the

purchase can be difficult. Therefore home growing is the ultimate way to access affordable quality/healthy food.

The following quote by participant 4 was resonating with the previously mentioned 30 respondents: *“the supply is given but due to the price it is not available for everyone”*

Here are also some other examples how diverse is the way how people approach the question;

respondent 36 “This is a rural town, the supply is given. If someone looks after it, it is possible to find quality/healthy food for affordable price.”

respondent 40 “The best way is to access good food is through friends and family.”

respondent 45 “There are only two options to access quality/healthy food: to grow it for yourself or to pay more”

respondent 50 “It is possible to access food on moderate price. Better to avoid processed food, I rather buy raw materials but for sure I need to look for it.”

Sources of the quality/healthy food

(The respondents allowed giving multiple answers)

As the last question the interviewees had to conclude what are the sources where they consider the accessed food quality/healthy. The interviewees mentioned in total 6 different sources which they believe are the most trustworthy. The mentioned sources were the following: own products, other home growers, market, local butchers, local small scale farmers, greengrocers.

In 33 cases was the own product mentioned as the source of quality/healthy food. Furthermore 29 times interviewees emphasized other home-growers as the source of quality food. In the case of home-growers almost every time a strong personal long-term relationship was mentioned.

The products of the home-growers were mainly the result of overproducing or being able to grow slightly more than their own family needed. The home-growers often go to the market to sell their products and in many other cases milk, cheese or egg producers selling their products in their home to their neighbors. The home growers in general often support their broader family and friends and by that creating a network which is not necessary based on money but the exchange of different products and services. The respondents mentioned 23 times the market as a good basis to find quality/ healthy food. However the market in Balmazújváros has a different meaning than in western countries. Besides the western form of market where retailers sell products or the other way when farmers sell their own products (farmers market) the already mentioned micro-scale home growers are also significantly

present. Many of these micro-scale home growers were highly valued and referred as “The old ladies”. The “old ladies” real worth was explained by *respondent 4*: *“They do not produce in mass; they sell the same products what they provide for themselves or for their own families. Therefore they are a very reliable source of quality food and furthermore they live among us and frequently every weekend appear on the market as well. The close personal relationship is very important.”*

By 14 participants the supermarkets were mentioned as reliable source of quality/healthy food. However the responds to other questions clarified that supermarkets are able to provide only a fraction of the whole range of food products such as bread, milk, milk products, and long self-life products; flour, rice, pasta, sunflower oil etc. At the same time meat and fresh vegetables and fruits from the supermarket were often not considered as quality/healthy food. The purchase of exotic fruits at winter time was rather referred as a necessity to balance vitamin intake.

Butchers shops were also mentioned in response to other questions related to food-practices, and 9 times were also named as dependable way of accessing food. As it was already mentioned in the previous statement, people of Balmazújváros are very aware of spectacularly where the meat is coming from and how was it processed. Among the already mentioned sources, the green grocer shops were revealed also 7 times as being trustworthy. The importance of the personal relationship allowed them to be the only middle man between the small scale local farmers and the residents. The citizens’ significant involvement in food production and alternative food networks result that local farmers mainly focus on urban markets.

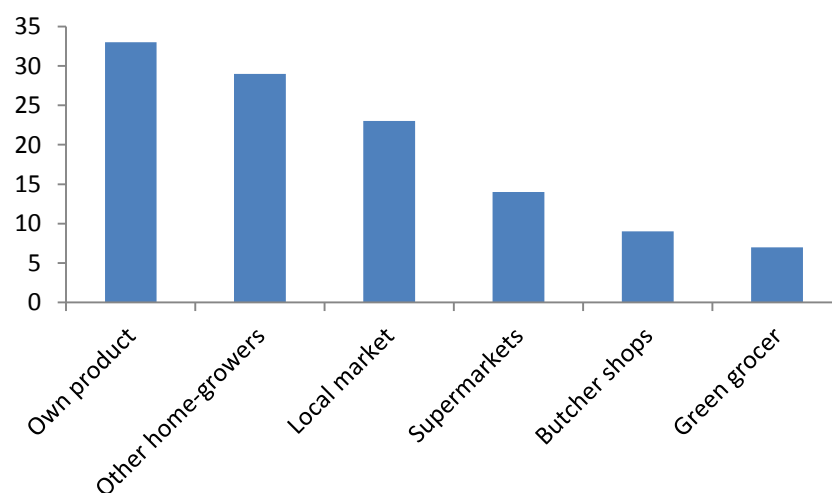


Figure 4, Sources of quality/healthy food

Elements of practice

According to the answers, the image of healthy lifestyle can be differentiated in three ways. For several respondents physically active lifestyle represents the image of healthy life. Another group of people were emphasizing the importance of the conscious food choices. And the third group's image of healthy lifestyle requires both the physically active part and the food conscious part as well. The respondents have an image of quality/healthy food which is local, transparent, and fresh, contains limited carbohydrate and home grown. Furthermore a strong part of the image is a close and long term relationship with another grower, butcher, "old ladies" on the market and greengrocers. Regarding to the skills certain knowledge of products and their health related effects are required. Moreover another very useful skill is to recognize and select the trustworthy products and their sources. Several healthy food products are locally available, transparent, low-carb, homegrown, fresh but still in case of purchasing the knowledge of market and prices are also a necessary skill. For many of the respondents one of the main sources to be able to attain the listed healthy food products is their own home where they can have plants as animals as well but for these activities additional tools, buildings, land, water are necessary. As physical exercises and sport were mentioned as important part of preserving health, tools, kits at the gym can be also seen as required materials.

5.5 Alternative food sources and food purchasing practices

Frequency of food purchasing

Thirty eight households go almost every day to supermarkets or grocery shops. One household goes 3-4 times a week. Three other households go 2 times a week. Seven interviewees go only once a week and 1 said there is completely no order how many times a week they do shopping. This very frequent nature of food purchasing was not expected seeing the amount of self-produced food products. However these frequent purchases are limited to fresh milk, bread and bakery products, and to buy them every day fresh is an embedded element of daily practices.

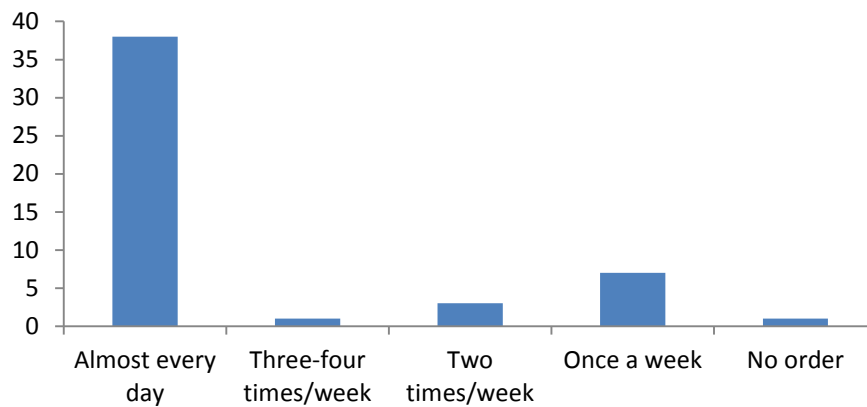


Figure 5, Frequency of food purchasing

Planning behind food purchases

Twelve respondents purchase foods without planning, when they run out of something they go and buy what they need. Thirty eight households however have some kind of order in food purchasing. These households have a so called “big shopping” when they purchase bigger amount from specific products depending on the size of the household they make a plan. Accordingly these “big shopping” events are always planned. Two households responded that they do “big shopping” 2 times a week. Six respondents do it weekly, 7 biweekly, 6 others do it once a month and 12 other interviewees referred that they do regularly “big shopping” but they did not specified. An observation which combines the results of the latter two questions indicates that 10 households are having a completely ad hoc relation to food purchasing. They do not do any planned “big shopping” and they go to the shops and supermarkets on a daily basis therefore they completely rely on retailers actual stock regarding to specific products.

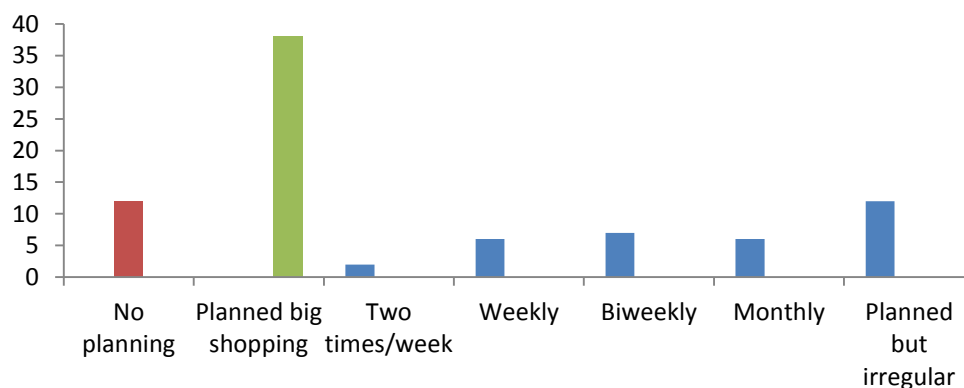


Figure 6, Planned big shopping

Non-industrial food sources

The original question: what are the alternative food sources where you can access food? was intended to uncover the alternative ways of accessing food. Besides the several alternative sources which are accessible through family, friends, neighbors and the local market with the familiar vendors, this question had a transition role as well to gently drive the conversation to the direction of food growing activities. Because this question was indicated prior the interviewees got informed that the research is strongly related to food growing practices at households. According to my expectations, most of the time the interviewees already mentioned at this stage their involvement in such practices. Twenty eight responses showed that households have direct access to food by producing it for themselves. Thirty two times the market was mentioned as an alternative food source and 20 times the other home growers. As it was earlier already explained there is an overlap between the market and the home growers because even the micro scale home growers often go to the market to sell the overproduction. Family was mentioned 10 times and 7 times of the 10 the younger respondents referred to their grandparents. This already showed to some extent, the importance of parallel family network besides the existing food network. The interviewees in 15 cases indicated the butcher as a reliable source of meat products. Furthermore friends, poultry shop, organic shop, small scale farmers, municipality grocery, organic farm and pizza ordering were also stated as alternative sources of food. Nevertheless the original question was aimed to uncover the non-supermarket and non-grocery shop food sources 10 interviewees found it very important to mention the importance of reliable source mainly in the case of butchers, market and home growers. They always referred to long term personal relationships, neighbors and friends.

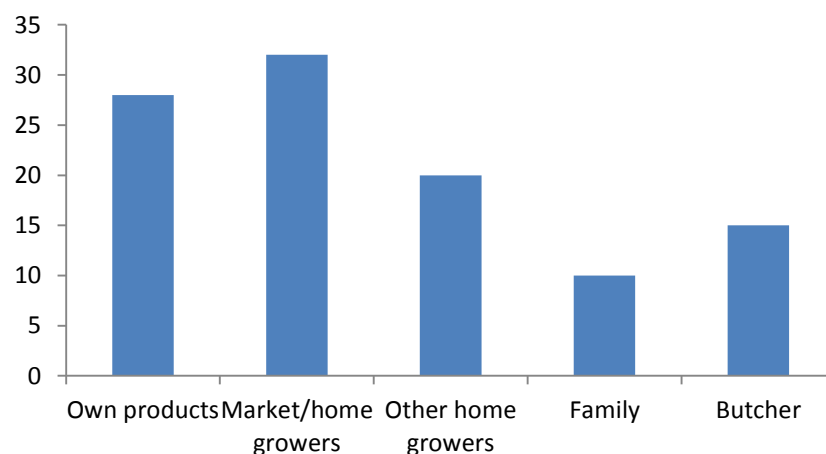


Figure 7, Non-industrial food sources

Elements of practices

The respondents have an image of food purchasing as an almost every-day activity. However the image of the products which are purchased on a daily basis are limited to milk, milk-products, bread and bakery products. Another image is represented regarding to the long shelf-life products which are mainly purchased on a monthly, biweekly or weekly basis. Alternative food source represent an image of food which is originated from outside the large scale food industry and retail system. The alternative food sources were related to the image of trustworthiness and the own products, butcher shops and the local markets were emphasized the most in this category. To be able to purchase milk and bakery products on a daily basis the skill of knowing the right sources quality and price-wise is essential. Furthermore since it is an every-day activity it should fit also time-wise in daily practices. The “big shopping” however requires skills like planning, logistics to manage transport and to know the storage capacity of the homes. Furthermore the skill like, knowledge of products their prices and the needs and expectations of household members should be also considered. In the case of alternative food sources the required skills vary, between gardening, animal husbandry, maintaining relation with trustworthy growers and knowledge of market etc. As it was already explained the different practices are related to different materials. In the case of daily food purchase the materials are fresh milk and bakery products. However in the case of “big shopping” not only the desired food (the long self-life products) count as material but also the necessary storage places and transport equipment as well. The alternative food products represent a different group of products as desired material, such as fresh local products and in the case of own products the garden, the tools, the stables for animals, machinery and plants and animals are also embodying materials.

5.6 Food growing practices

Relation to food growing

Forty respondents replied that they are active food growers and 10 answered that they are not involved in food growing on their household level. From the 10 non-food growers 3 mentioned that they stopped food growing because of various reasons. E.g. lack family conflict, moving, death of family member. Among the 40 active food growers 4 only started recently in the last 2 years. Moreover the 40 active food growers can be divided in three groups, 18 of them have only plants, 3 households have only animals and 19 growers have both plants and animals around their house. Significantly most of these 19 growers are able to provide more than 50% of their household’s food needs and some of them reach 70-80%.

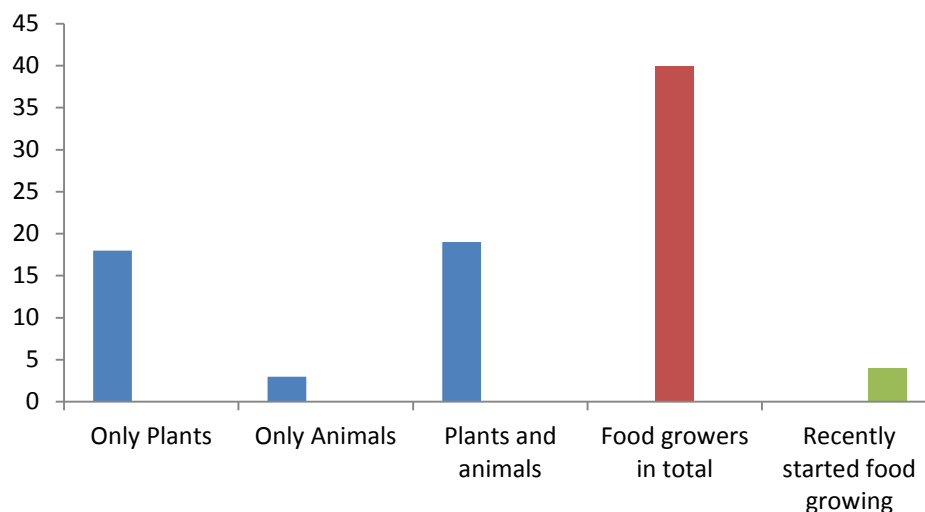


Figure 8, Relation to food growing

Benefits of food growing practices

(The respondents were not limited in the number of benefits)

For 12 interviewees, it was very important to mention as an advantage that they know where their food is coming from. In their answers they also indicated the importance of that they know the ingredients and/or the technology that was used. Providing food at home results that the households have direct access to real fresh food. The importance of this fact was recognized in 14 answers and it was also mentioned 10 times that their own produce is organic. It was 8 times stated that the own products are tastier and 7 times the own products were considered healthier. As a fulfillment of their passion 12 respondents indicated the gardening or animal husbandry as a beneficial activity. Many of the households process the plant and animal products on their own. Twenty interviewees found very advantageous that they process their own meat products, freeze the fresh vegetables and fruits or use other methods of preserving. They are 100% confident about the quality and the origin of the home-made processed food. Regardless to the input (working hours and materials) 11 people indicated that they have financial benefits. Some of them referred to the high prices in the supermarket in general and others highlighted on that the quality that they are able to produce would not be affordable on market price. By recognizing the financial, quality and health advantages 6 respondents enthusiastically explained that they can even support their family. Furthermore 6 times the aspect of recreation was mentioned. Stress release, peaceful environment, place to organize outside cooking or BBQ, were all related to the garden as the perfect place to be closer to nature but still in their own relaxing environment. Home food growing was 5 times referred as a very convenient way of accessing food.

Nevertheless 3 times the educational purposes and 2 times the possibility to exchange products were also stated as advantage of food growing.

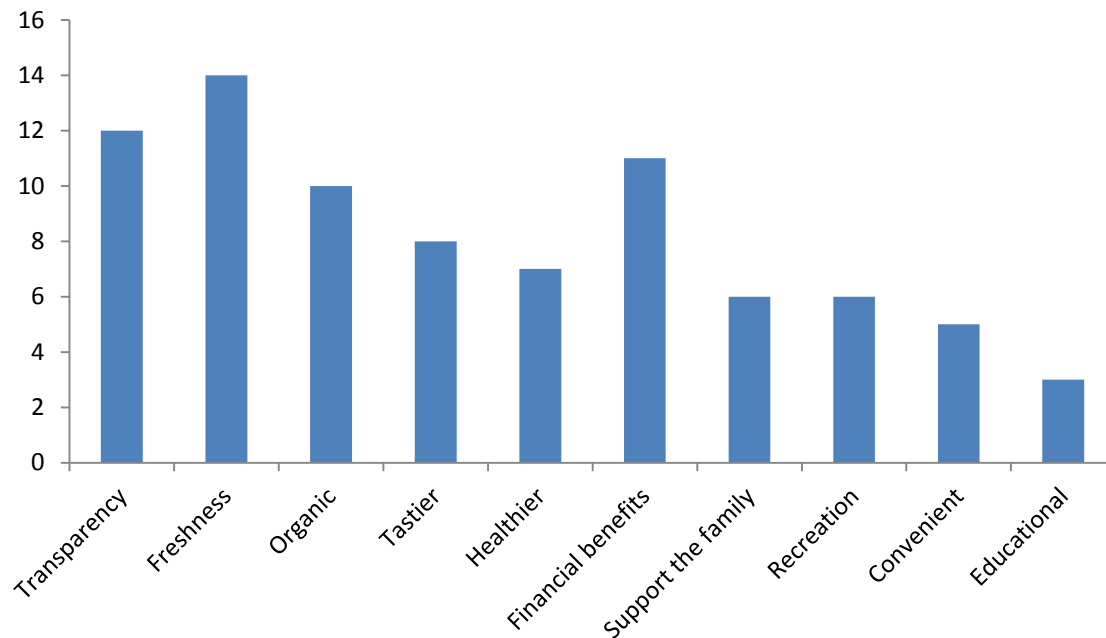


Figure 9, Benefits of home food growing

Quotes:

respondent 13. "We created a life-garden balance, we are productive on a recreational way. Moreover it is very beneficial to learn a lot and at the same time being able to help. Since I started gardening I developed a deeper understanding and relation with nature."

respondent 14. "I have almost unlimited access to fresh food what I am able to produce with a pleasant physical exercise. Nevertheless I can see the result of my work instantaneously"

respondent 15. "It is amazing to see how a seed becomes a plant by time. Besides I can support my children, grand-children and great-grand-children."

Discouraging situations and factors (reasons to stop)

Only 10 of the interviewees belonged to the non-grower category. The majority of them in total 7 were never involved in any food growing practices due to their upbringing and occupation in their adulthood. This question was intended to highlight on what factors can be the reason of stopping food growing

activities. There were only 3 cases when active food growers decided to stop which were; moving, death of family member or lack of family cohesion towards willingness grow food.

In several cases households did their yearly planning and regarding to those plans they scaled up or down their activity.

Households with ageing members were systematically down-scaling their activity regarding to their physical performance and health.

Co-operation within the family and among households

In 15 cases couples from the age 30-60 were doing most of the food growing activities just on their own. According to 13 respondents the whole family is involved in gardening or animal husbandry practices. 7 relatively young interviewees indicated that their grandparents are also participating in the process of food production. Furthermore 5 people specified that they are doing these practices alone. People who are in their early middle ages responded 5 times that their children are also contributing in food growing practices.

Quotes:

respondent 10. "Everybody is helping but the daily tasks are done by the grandparents."

respondent 26. "I take care of the animals with my husband and my daughter is doing the gardening."

Financial benefit of food growing

Thirty six respondents were able to give an approximate percentage of what they can save by gardening or animal husbandry or both (table 4). Households often co-operate with each other mostly within the broader family. They support each other in executing physically challenging tasks; furthermore exchange of products is also noticeable. And a food flow is also present from elderly to the direction to the middle age generation all the way till the younger family members in their 20's. According to the 36 households who were able to give an estimate percentage on how much can they save on food costs, an average 40% can be reduced by food growing practices.

Table 4 Savings by food growing in percentage is shown

Savings	Number of households
0-10%	2 households
10-20%	2 households
20-30%	8 households
30-40%	6 households
40-50%	6 households
50-60%	8 households
60-70%	2 households
70-80%	2 households

Quotes:

respondent 1 “We provide in total 30-40% of 9 people’s food needs”

respondent 8 “In co-operation with grandparents we are able to provide 80% of our needs.”

respondent 11. “We have only limited experience, we have the garden since 1,5 years and so far we ate everything fresh and did not really count what amount.(between 0-10%)

respondent 31.“ We just moved earlier in this year in February. Prior the moving we had garden and animals as well and we could provide 70-80% of our needs. This year we gave up gardening due to new the circumstances but we still 50% self-reliant.

respondent 35. “We support our family in total 10 people. We are able to satisfy their needs of eggs, and meat such as pork, duck, chicken, and pigeons.

respondent 43. “Until this year, we had garden and animals and we could cover our needs up to 70%, but we sold the animals because of moving”

Elements of practices

The practicing of food growing often results the basic image that, several food products can be grown at home. Every household have their own practice which means that the image of food from home can cover a very wide range of food but it can be limited only to animals or vegetables. The practice and the experience result the image of home grown food as fresh, tasty, transparent, healthy and cheap. The required skills to practice home food growing among others are gardening skills, animal husbandry skills, time management and planning. Depending on what kind of food growing is practiced different materials are necessary to practice food growing such as: garden, building and place for animals, water,

tools, seeds, animals, plants, and feed and in some cases chemicals. Practicing home food growing results an end material which is healthy food.

5.7 Overall opinion of different parties

General opinion on food growing (if never done it)

In this case, people with lack of skill and with a specific image in their mind were questioned how they see as an outsider the practice of food growing. Nine respondents shared their opinion about this question and 4 indicated that they are planning to have their own kitchen garden and or animals in the future. The other 5 interviewees stated that they cannot imagine themselves being involved in any form of food growing.

Two groups had been created, which were the growers and the non-growers. Subsequently the members of the groups were asked: What is their opinion about the other group? The growers and non-growers had to explain what can be the reason of being active or inactive grower. The growers listed numerous qualities, characteristics and reasons what could be the reason of inactivity. They also stated very useful comments what helped to understand the situation and shaping of opinions. Moreover the non-growers were also admitting that they see how growers benefit from this activity.

Growers on non-growers

The growers are able to practice food growing regardless from their other responsibilities and because of that they have a mixed opinion about the non-growers. They are very proud and happy because of their products and on the other hand partly empathic but still couldn't comprehend why non-growers not see the benefits and not growing food. The lack of time might be one of the main reasons according to the responses of 19 interviewees. However despite the seemingly congruent replies some growers stated that time is not really an issue.

respondent 8. "In my opinion there is no special amount of time or money required. I think people just simply do not realize how beneficial gardening can be. My grandparents had always garden and we have also since a year ago. Before we had our own garden we also did not realize how advantageous is to

have one. Now I am very happy that we are actively involved. I think other non-growers are in the same situation/mindset where we were earlier.”

respondent 42. “Lack of time, but actually I do not believe in this. The reason of stopping gardening and animal husbandry can be rather the ageing.”

Ten times the different upbringing was seen for not being active food grower and another 7 respondents plainly stated that people are lazy. Eight interviewees’ opinion was that people want comfortable lifestyle and seven reasoned with the lack of passion. But there were some other opinions regarding to financial benefits as well. Seven people stated that it is just simply not beneficial for them financially to grow their food while everything is accessible on a reasonable price in the supermarkets and groceries. The following aspects were only mentioned by a few people but they can be still useful in covering up how citizens in Balmazújváros think about practices and relate them to reasons; different values and times, different world view, lack of knowledge and skills, lack of family cohesion, lack of water, elderly people are getting too old, discouragement through failure, pests, weather.

Quotes:

respondent 2. “Despite her upbringing my daughter does not like this activity; she rather goes to the supermarket. I think this activity requires love and done with passion”

respondent 10. “I think people want to live a comfortable life. And the price of one kilogram product is seemingly cheap but in reality cheap products are illusion. “

respondent 11. “I think that almost everybody grows food in Balmazújváros, growing their own food make people happy and proud.”

respondent 35. “The pure economical calculation with people’s time and the prices might be misleading. The home grown quality would be very expensive on market price”

respondent 48. “Love and commitment is needed especially for animals, no weekends, no Christmas, these are secondary. Today’s people do not like that.”

Non growers on growers

The non-growers mostly recognize and admit the benefits of food growing. They experience through their kinship network what are the positive aspects of food growing, and in several cases they have

access to home grown products within their family. This access allows them to enjoy the benefits without changing their embedded routine and practices which are not related to food growing. Furthermore they are able to recognize the taste and quality differences. Despite the commonly admitted benefits, non-growers are unable to change because they often have the latter mentioned embedded sometimes rigid practices for example work duties, taking care of children or other social does.

respondent 9 "I think that home grown food is healthier, cheaper and tastier that is why so many people still grow their own. Personally I can immediately taste the difference between the chicken from grandpa and the industrial."

respondent 18. "I think other people grow food because they have patience and mood to do so"

respondent 20. "In my opinion other people can highly benefit from growing food on their own"

respondent 21. "I think many people grow food because it is very beneficial for them moneywise as well"

Reaction to Prettiest Kitchen Garden Program short film

The short film about the Prettiest Kitchen Garden Program represented an image, related to a certain way of living focusing on healthy food production in micro-scale on a household level. Forty seven interviewees gave interpretable comments about the Prettiest Kitchen Garden Program. Thirty nine respondents completely agreed with the short movie's message that traditional kitchen gardening should be practiced and promoted. Other 8 answered that they only partly agree and they see specific things differently. This means that the majority of the interviewees in Balmazújváros are having an image about healthy lifestyle and food growing practices which resonates with the message of Prettiest Kitchen Garden.

Comments on the short film:

respondent 9. "I think that the people have no time to get informed (and educated). And indeed the concept of the media and supermarkets suggest that in one given time the products are cheaper. But in my opinion in a yearly basis people would be better off to have their own products."

respondent 11. "In my opinion gardening is not beneficial in every case. People like the comfort and do not work if it is not necessary. It is always easier to go to the supermarket and buy relatively cheap."

respondent 18. "I agree with the film. But our situation is different because we always find affordable food. And gardening however would require teamwork (family cohesion) but unfortunately my wife does not like it."

respondent 19. "I think that strong commitment is needed and next to that some money. Furthermore it is good to have some success to maintain the right mood."

Upbringing

Forty of the respondents were involved in food growing already in their childhood. And 10 had an upbringing which was not related to gardening or animal husbandry. From the 10 people who had no connection to gardening 5 are non-growers, that shows a level of correlation between upbringing and current practices. Nevertheless 1 of the 5 non-growers was an active grower in her adulthood for many years but due to moving she recently had to stop her activity for indefinite time.

Elements of practices

This chapter was mostly dealing with image and skill elements of the practices. The growers and non-growers have their own image about the practice and also about each other. While the non-growers admit the value and effort of the growers' activity the growers often have negative image regarding to non-growers. Growers often associate non-growers with characteristics such as laziness, and lack of passion. The growers interpret negatively the latter mentioned characteristics. The notion of upbringing is closely related to the image formation and similarly to the skills as well. Continuous long term practice results very developed skills and at the same time deeply embedded image about how to attain specific food products. The strong bond between image and skill in this case results that the food as material is also being seen regarding to the embedded images, such as grocery products from own garden. Furthermore skills like e.g.: gardening skills and materials such as available sources like garden are also being seen by concerning the effects of upbringing.

5.8 Summary of the findings

In the starting phase of the interview was intended to uncover general circumstances regarding to the interviewees' life in general. Gender, health and age, the amount of household members and their occupation has been also questioned. The collection of this information provided a starting point in understanding their practices in general. By investigating the influence of commercials and external factors it has been shown what images determine how a household approaches to satisfy its food needs. The active food grower households have an image of using at least partly their own available sources, for example their garden. The inactive food growers have an image of food source in a form of a supermarket. Moreover a lot of natural overlap between the two. Flyers as advertising materials have an important role in shaping image and practices. Regarding to the flyers certain skills are needed recognize and filter the persuasive communication that they represent. People who frequently go to urban areas are influenced by several images about how to attain food. In their original environment in Balmazújváros they experience mostly food self-provisioning practices. However the urban environment and various media channels in some cases affect them to adapt images which are related to urban practices. For example, an image about how convenient is to buy everything from one supermarket, but regarding to the products (the materials) the home grown quality will be much more appreciated. For transport car, bus, train and to access various media channels communication devices: TV, radio, computer, smartphone and for paper media newspaper and flyers serve as materials. Moreover most of the listed materials require certain skills such as, car driving, basic IT skills etc. According to the answers, the image of healthy lifestyle can be physically active lifestyle, or maintained by conscious food choices or even by practicing both. The respondents have an image of quality/healthy food which is local, transparent, and fresh, contains limited carbohydrate and home grown. In order to practice healthy lifestyle the first and most important skill is to understand the importance of health and have a general awareness. Furthermore the understanding the relation between the lifestyle choices (including food) and health and regarding to that recognize and select the trustworthy products and their sources. The healthy materials such as local, transparent, low-carb, homegrown, fresh products should be consumed. And for food production at home garden, tools, seeds etc. are needed.

The respondents have an image of food purchasing as an almost every-day activity which is limited to milk, dairy-products, and bread and bakery products. Another image is represented regarding to the long shelf-life products which are mainly purchased on a monthly, biweekly or weekly basis. The alternative food sources were related to the image of trustworthiness and the own products, butcher

shops and the local markets were emphasized the most in this category. The skills of knowing the right sources, quality and price, furthermore planning, and logistics to manage transport are also needed. In the case of alternative food sources the required skills vary, between the growers such as gardening, animal husbandry, and buyers which skills are maintaining relation with trustworthy growers and knowledge of market etc.

Food growing practices result the basic image what is: food from home. The practice and the experience result the image of home grown food as fresh, tasty, transparent, healthy and cheap. The required skills to practice home food growing among others are gardening skills, animal husbandry skills, time management and planning. Materials are also necessary to practice food growing such as: garden, building and place for animals, water, tools, seeds, animals, and plants etc. The practice of home food growing results an end material which is healthy food.

The growers and non-growers have their own image about the practice and also about each other. While the non-growers admit the value and effort of the growers' activity, the growers often have negative image regarding to non-growers. The notion of upbringing is closely related to the image formation and similarly to the skills as well. Continuous long term practice results very developed skills and at the same time deeply embedded image about how to attain specific food products. The strong bond of image and skill in this case consequences that the food as material is also being seen regarding to the embedded images and skills and other materials such as available sources are also being seen by concerning the effects of upbringing.

6 Discussion

6.1 Hungarian studies

In this chapter Hungarian studies had been investigated which are somehow supporting the findings that have been unfolded as the result of the research. In the following studies the authors approach topics which are related to this thesis from many different and overlapping aspects. Topics such as nutritional needs, consumer behavior, and general awareness of health will be used to explain and support my findings from slightly different aspects.

Nutrition

Brosing (2000) differentiated seven food types which are present in Hungarian food demand. Such as protein foods (meat, fish, eggs) 32%, dairy products (excl. butter) 11%, fats and oils 6%, staple foods (grain products, potatoes, sugar) 20%, vegetables 6%, fruit 6%, other food (sweets, included meals outside home, pre-prepared dishes) (Brosing, 2000). Brosing's (2000) study supports the outcome which presented that the average households in Balmazújváros are able to cover their food needs in approximately 40%. That means that they produce protein foods ~30% (excluding fish), vegetables and fruit 6% +6% (see Table 4).

Some of the food products are part of the every-day dietary habits, regardless of the seasons they are purchased and consumed on a daily basis. The milk is one of the most popular products. Without counting with other dairy products it has been shown that in average 190 days of the year milk has been consumed. The other broadly consumed and even more popular products are the bread and bakery goods. White bread consumption is up to 312 days on a yearly basis and besides those, on 120 days additional bakery products are also consumed. Hungarians also consume in average 4-5 times a week meat products. The poultry is the most consumed meat type on 135 days a week and pork is also very important 120 days yearly but a significant downscaling can be observed in the last decades (Huszka, Polereczki, Szentgróti, & Bakonyi, 2008). The report from Huszka et al. (2008) shows similarly to my outcomes that there is a considerable demand on fresh bakery products mainly bread and milk. This is also the main reason of the almost daily frequency of food purchasing practices in Balmazújváros (see chapter 5.5).

There is no major difference occurred between the respondents regarding to their educational level. Regardless from some structural differences in nutritional habits, the consumption of meat, vegetables and fruit was very similar in the comparison of low educated and high educated people (Mozner, 2014). This latter outcome from Mozner (2014) is also supported by the findings of this thesis in chapter general information and occupation (see chapter 5.1).

Health

A research group in Hungary led by Szakály (2010) was using focus group discussion to find out how health awareness is perceived by Hungarians. Regarding to health awareness, nutrition, exercises, active use of body and furthermore peaceful and stress-free lifestyle were emphasized the most. Moreover in some cases the mental awareness was also highlighted as an important part of having a balanced lifestyle (Szakály et al., 2010). Regarding to the healthy lifestyle the healthy nutrition is also more and more in the focus. The motivation to consume healthy nutrition is relatively high, especially in families with small children. However a significant gap still exists between the rate of intellectual understanding of its importance and the rate of actual execution of following healthy diet. Many respondents think that their less healthy diet is the part of their rushing lifestyle which does not allow them to carefully select and prepare the healthy and nutritious foods. Szakály's (2010) findings about the rush lifestyle related to limited awareness on healthy diet, partly have been also found in Balmazújváros, regarding to food growing and lack of time as a reason of being inactive. The residents of Balmazújváros were also seeing the more hectic urban lifestyle why urban residents have less awareness on food related activities and origin of food (see chapter 5.6).

According to the study of Szakály (2010) *"there are two ways to follow healthy diet; if someone lives in the city, earns a decent income and has enough time to select the healthy products. And the other option is if the whole family moves to the rural area and grow the food for its own. In the first case they have access to healthy food through their wallet and wealth, but in the second case it is not even necessary, they just leave behind the industrial commodities and spend some of their time and energy to grow food"* (Szakály et al., 2010). The phrase in Szakály's (2010) study also shows the significant potential is already recognized about rural life-style. Moreover it is actually a very real and important source for rural population as my research also shows that around 80% of the households are involved in food growing practices.

The 80% of the respondents strongly believe that there is a strong correlation, between the quality of food that they consume and the ability to preserve their health. Seventy five percent of the respondents

agree that changing to healthy diet can reduce the risk of lifestyle diseases. The consumption of healthy food should be not only periodic but extended to someone's lifespan. Seventy percent of the respondents are completely aware of that the consumption of certain food products can increase the risk of developing diseases (Szakály et al., 2010). As stated in the research of Szakály (2010) 70% of the respondents were aware of their health, which has been similar in case of Balmazújváros where 80% of the interviewees were aware of their health. However only 60% showed high emphasis on nutrition as well the other 20% of the people were highlighting on active lifestyle lot of movement and sport (see chapter 5.4).

Food purchase

Nowadays, people while shopping in Hungary often do not make consciously planned decisions regarding to food purchasing but rather decide only at the place of the purchase. They habitually compromise themselves with interchangeable products in order to avoid visiting other food selling places (market, store, and supermarket) (Földi, 2013). The research in Balmazújváros was also examining planning and structure regarding to food purchasing and 25% of the respondents are not planning their purchases. This percentage is indeed relatively high in a rural environment like Balmazújváros where people traditionally plan their food related practices (see chapter 5.5 and 5.6).

Interestingly in recent years the value of the local and national products is upscaling. The consumers are getting more and more conscious about their decisions. With their choices they can maintain patriot style behavior towards, local and national products have been also observed during the research such as, respondent 28 “-I am trying to buy only Hungarian products”. Furthermore the awareness and resistance of GMO products is also high. However we cannot really separate nutritional habits from consumer behavior, but rather perceive as a whole which is also related to consumer culture as well (Kozak, 2009).

According to Szabó (2011); as a result of modernization food retail is getting more and more concentrated while simultaneously a growing demand for direct producer-consumer (short supply chain SSC) occurred. In 2012 the legislation changed regarding to the micro-scale and individual growers and less paperwork is required. With the simplification of administration requirements growers were tend to provide and sell more of their products which resulted an 18% growth in one year in SSC markets. This 18% market growth in a relatively short period also shows that there is a significant demand for home-grown products. The traditional markets have 5% market share of all conventional consumer goods and in average 30% of the respondents go to the markets on a weekly basis. The SSC style trade is deeply

embedded in Hungarian culture, however higher level of cooperation needed to maintain the old forms of SSC and to implement modern versions as well. The cooperation is required from three parties the producers, the costumers and the state as well. Nevertheless SSC is still a stable form of trade regardless to the spreading of global scale retailing (Szabó, 2011).

As in the findings of Kozak (2009) and Szabó (2011); The patriot style consumer behavior is strongly represented by the respondents in Balmazújváros, they often referred to the “old ladies” on the market, the local butcher, the neighbor grower but at least they definitely preferred the Hungarian products compared to the foreign.

The (post)modern consumers’ behavior is not linear neither monotone. It can vary regarding to life cycle or even within one day e.g. the healthiest for the morning, fast food for lunch and heavy family dinner in the end of the day (see chapter 5.4 and 5.5).

The rushing lifestyle does not allow practicing a one-dimensional consumer pattern (Kozak, 2009). The multi-dimensional consumer patterns similarly to Kozak’s statement (2009) clearly exist in Balmazújváros as well. Regarding to fresh, vegetables, fruit, eggs and meat a patriot style consumer behavior dominates and parallel to that the long shelf-life products, are perceived and consumed on a modernized way. The milk and bakery products represent a third dimension which is based on the traditional consumption of these foods and the supply of them is managed by traditional and modern ways combined. (see chapter 5.4 and 5.5).

6.2 Reflection of research questions

Answering the sub-research question which was: What conditions motivate people to become or/and remain active food growers? Furthermore, for the question: What are the material and immaterial benefits of food growing? I received various different answers.

There are several different conditions that can influence people to be involved in food growing practices. One of the most significant conditions also in Balmazújváros is the upbringing. The upbringing is a strong element of image creation and how people are acquiring skills. If the needed materials are accessible there is a big chance of continuing certain practices. Forty respondents indicated that they have grown up in an environment in which they have seen food growing practices. The 10 remaining respondents were not involved, and 5 remained passive and ignorant towards food growing practices.

However the 5 previously also inactive and unskilled interviewees explained that they got involved in food growing practices and became active through their partner.

Besides the upbringing there are numerous material and immaterial benefits that motivate people to keep on doing gardening and/or animal husbandry. The dwellers of Balmazújváros highly emphasized their image of food in general; the importance of knowing where their food is coming from and what is the real origin. In addition, by having their own garden and/or hen house or stable gives them an unquestionable solution to emerging issues regarding to food safety, food scandals, and use of chemicals. Similarly freshness was also highlighted and the respondents explained their practices; how convenient and obvious is to have many products around the house. Having relatively large amount of foods allow people to process and preserve many of their own products for future use, mainly for the winter period. People found very important to know what the ingredients of processed products are in general, therefore they find it beneficial that their own products are completely transparent and free from additives. In most of the cases, at least the limited use of chemicals and many times the organic way of food growing and processing was also highlighted. The avoidance of chemicals, additives and the known origin ensured the food growers that their products are healthier. Furthermore the interviewees referred several times on taste difference between the products from the supermarkets and their own products. The lack of flavor and taste of supermarket products, and the “strange” texture of those products also made growers realize what the real value of their food growing activity is. In economic terms by having their own products and compared with the market price, people calculated a significant amount of money that they can save on food costs. According to 36 households who were able to give an estimate percentage on how much can they save on food costs, an average 40% can be reduced by food growing practices. By putting the mentioned benefits and quality differences together, growers had realized that the actual quality and the benefits what they have through their activity would not be affordable for them on market prices which means that the value of their activity is not translatable to market prices, not to mention the hidden environmental and health costs as well.

Responding to the second sub-research question: What are the discouraging factors and reasons of not being active? There have been also many interesting replies.

The original intention of the research was to interview 25 growers and 25 non-growers. However the grower or non-grower status could not be discovered by simple observation. Furthermore to gain additional information and to avoid biases, the relation to food production questions were indicated after the general information and the external factors part. Therefore the relation to food growing was

mainly identified in a later phase of the interviews. This method of interviewing allowed me to gain deeper insight how world-view, the actual status of the household and practices are related. As a result 40 interviews with growers and 10 interviews with non-growers have been made. It is important to mention that the real small scale activity was also considered as active food growing, e.g. 10-15 chickens/hens, or only a couple of fruit trees. From the 10 passive households 5 non growers were completely detached from food growing during the entire course of their life. At this point we can refer to the role of the earlier already mentioned upbringing. Three from the 10 non-active food growers were earlier active food growers. The reasons of becoming inactive were in one case: the wife did not like gardening and the husband had to work longer hours, which indicates the lack of cooperation within the family. In another case the reason of stopping was the moving to an apartment complex, not owning a garden anymore. One respondent replied that her father was doing the gardening tasks and with his death they stopped gardening completely (lack of skills and decreased motivation). In several other cases households changed partly their practices. For example, due to moving some had to give up gardening but kept the animals, others could go on with gardening but had to sell the animals. Some middle aged couple made a whole year planning and regarding to the planning they cultivated the garden and/or kept animals. Furthermore, other households with ageing members were systematically down-scaling their activity regarding to the elderly family member's physical performance and health. When growers were asked, what is their opinion on non-growers they also referred to upbringing, lack of time and some directly stated that people are lazy. The new elements of modern comfortable consumerist lifestyle are discouraging to willingness of food growing. Several products are available on a relatively low price. The growers are also stated that passion and commitment is needed for food growing and especially in animal husbandry which requires time and effort every day. And many people are lacking that level of passion. The consumerist/modernized view which is broadly spread mainly among urban dwellers through the media is that; *respondent 11: "It is just simply not financially beneficial to grow food (and waste of time and energy) while everything is accessible on a reasonable price in the supermarkets."* However this statement was disproved multiple times by actual growers from financial and quality aspects as well. Furthermore growers could associate being inactive or becoming inactive with the discouraging effects of pests and weather, modernized world-view, lack of knowledge and skills, lack of motivation, aging of the elderly members of the family.

7 Conclusion

The present research has shown that the majority of the rural households are involved in food growing practices. In most of the cases upbringing played an important role how the households approach food self-provisioning. This lifelong everyday practice receives validation through its' three main building blocks: image, skill and material that construct other social practices as well. Growers have a strong image of food provisioning related to an image of healthy, tasty and inexpensive food as materials. The required skills such as gardening and animal husbandry are gradually learned during and since childhood and the learning itself is also part of the practice. The types of homegrown food are limited to vegetables, fruits, eggs and meat products. An average household is capable to provide its own food needs up to 40%. The products which are similarly good quality as the growers own homegrown foods are available through alternative food sources such as: relatives, friends, neighbors, other home growers and butchers. In many cases relatives, friends and neighbors maintain a non-monetized food exchange and as an embedded practice elderly family members often support their children and grandchildren with food products. Besides their positive image of their own and local products respondents are very critical towards similar products which are sold in the supermarkets. The image of the good looking materials; the vegetables, fruits, eggs and meat products often associated with lack of taste, poor quality and texture. The practitioners have to possess also skills such as, knowing the natural taste and texture of the products and basic understanding of financial, health and social benefits of food self-provisioning in order to be able to differentiate. Despite the fact the listed required many skills have a seemingly complex interrelation, during long term practicing benefits are recognized and skills are often unconsciously embedding in the actions of growers.

8 Recommendations

Further research of the relation between Social Practice Theory and Attitude should be implemented regarding to the similar qualitative characteristics of these two concepts. This thesis was not intended to unfold this relation, hence for a relatively long period the concepts were combined and their exact use was left open regarding to the direction of the research development. In a more mature phase of the study, it has been clarified, that the use of the two concepts attitude and social practice theory would result a very complicated study. This assumed relation has not been scientifically proven and discussed yet therefore supporting literature is not available.

As an extension of this research age specific aspects should be investigated in order to gain deeper insight regarding to intensity of practices regarding to age groups.

Social practice theory gives an explanation how practices are composed and built up however lacking the investigation of deeper explanation of the detailed behavior characteristics which would show why certain practices are being practiced.

For a long phase of the research attitude and its' creation and possible relation to practice theory has been also considered as an important aspect of the study.

The part of the interview which was aimed to find out how growers and non-growers think about each other's practices could be replaced with a focus group discussion. That would allow collecting more appropriate information during a real time argument. In case of focus group discussion a very authentic and lively conversation would represent the practitioners' opinion.

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Appendix

Appendix 1 Social land program full interview

In your opinion the demand of food growing is already recognized on the household's level or rather the municipalities or other organizations identify the need for that?

Every settlement is different, with different facilities so it is not possible to give a universal answer for that question. Most of the times the municipality or some other local organization together with the local citizens decide what they choose from the options what the Social Land Program provides. So far this is the best solution. The starting point is always what the tender could offer and the applicants have to shape their requirements to these principals. When we are creating the tenders we are highly aware of the citizen's needs. The case studies and reports provide information what is necessary to determine what the tender should include. Furthermore there are frequently controls and professional platforms to discuss and maintain the flow of information towards governmental bodies.

If the municipality takes the first initiative (because they recognize the actual need of implementation) what tools are they using to encourage people to participate and make them realize how important is for them to cooperate and participate in the program?

There are public forums where the civil organizations give information. The municipalities together with the local minor municipality choose the families which could highly benefit from the program. After that the personal persuasive consultancy is the core element to achieve further cooperation.

The program provides material and educational support for the participants. Besides the absence of these assets what other discouraging factors prevent these people to develop the demand towards food growing? Or for those who really want to start for their own what are the main obstacles?

Most of the time the lack of experience, the lack of materials and tools and in some cases the lack of motivation.

During the execution of the Tenders, what obstacles occur on family or household level?

The families admit very early that the program will benefit them and according to that they cooperate. The experience that most families although need help and attention but at the same time they are happy to participate, diligent and cooperate. They understand and experience that the program is

meant to help them. The main difficulties are on organizational level, often sharp deadlines of financial and field reports make the flow of the subsidies insufficient. The financial report practices should be developed on an institution level. However when a family in deep poverty runs out of money, in order to save family members mostly children from starvation the planned program is aborted and the slaughter of the animals starts before it was ideally planned. These kind of urgent solutions do not really help to develop and maintain a self-sufficient household. (It is not an ethnic specific problem but rather class specific; everybody would do the same in similar situation)

How is the agronomists' mentor, educator, networking activity implemented in practice?

The organization lists the tasks what are undertaken in a time-schedule and according to this planning the family consultations are organized. During the control, the list of participant families and the content of the realized educational section is also analyzed. Our experience is that the agronomists like to contribute with passion and commitment.

Are the participant families allowed to take part in the program in more than one year?

It mainly depends on the organization. However most of the time, we allow families to apply for subsidies in several years in a row. We do believe that the breakout from deep poverty is possible but only with consistent support, interaction what can take two three years in a row.

Is it possible to apply to more than one program in one year in order to shorten the period of implementation of food self-provisioning. (e.g. gardening and small animals in one year)

One family can only participate in one tender in a year.

In average, how long time is required for a family in deep poverty to reach the ideal level of self-sufficiency?

Most of the time after 2-3 years in a row, families have enough experience and materials to progress on their own.

In the case of an average participating household, to extent the amount of subsidy cover the actual realization of the aims of the program?

Most of the time, the subsidy fully covers the needs for the aimed goals. The motivation, and the participation and cooperation are the most important. The families do the daily tasks; they mainly need organized system, coordination and only a few materials, animals, seeds to start.

What are the actual measurement points of the program, how do you control the success of a program?

Every applicant hands in planning what are the indicators what they expect from the cultivation. These parameters are detailed, per crop or animal, and the planning is implemented with the consultant agronomist.

To what extent the SLP is able to satisfy the needs of rural population to support them in food self-provisioning?

Besides the SLP there is another initiative called agriculture START sample program they are present in more than 1600 settlements. Together the two programs are able to satisfy the most of the villages needs which are willing to grow food and need support. Some of the settlements are able to start their own program, and there are a few places/villages which do not want to participate in government initiated programs.

Appendix 2 Prettiest kitchen garden program full interview

1, The initiative was taken first time in 2012. What were the main reasons of starting the program? Did it come from your experiences of social changes, and changes in the media and life practices as a citizen or it was rather based on statistics, case studies and social research?

The First intention was focusing on Karcag. As a citizen of Karcag she have seen the changes in gardening practices through the years, and at the same time statistical data also shown that this activity is decreasing. The main motivation was to keep alive and promote the traditional practices and design ; front yard flower garden, backyard kitchen garden like it used to be in our parents'/grandparents' time. Furthermore to revive the belief, that is it possible to grow a lot of fruit and vegetables around the house. And to make use of available land instead of leave it abandoned. The program also encourages people to use their yard not only for recreational purposes but at least partly use them for food growing. The traditional way of living was a more holistic system (financially, ecologically, culturally, social, health)

2, What do you mean exactly when you claim the role of the media in this changing progress? Do you think that commercials and flyers are the more effective or the series which are representing a specific way of life?

Both are very true, people copy commercials, and behave in the supermarkets as they have seen on Tv. Often throwing the food into the shopping car. Also having the mindset about, how convenient is to buy everything and the belief is embedding in minds that it is not beneficial to grow food.

The products are looking good, but they are mostly grown according to industrial standards, anyone with a little knowledge of gardening can see, that the natural outlook, taste, texture is much different. The ripening works also completely different in nature. In the media the commercials are promoting this kind of products, and the younger generations tend to believe that this is the right, the only way to access grocery products. (the commercials suggest an easy, convenient, trendy way of life)

Nowadays the structure of retail is changing. People bought grocery products in the past as well, but back than markets, small retailers, small scale farmers and home growers all could benefit from the locally produced and consumed products. But I do believe that most of the people does not informed about, how the industrial standard grocery products are produced; technology, use of chemicals, transportation.

Furthermore the money flows away from local economy.

That is right, the money leaks away and will be invested somewhere else. But the main concern is still the health related issues through the technology what have been used. We have to consider besides the consumer price, the ecological and health related price as well especially on long run.

3, Is there a specific target group which receives specific attention in the program?

Such as: age, social situation, location,

Actually all of the age groups are target-groups are very important but all of them from different aspect. First of all the elderly people, because they are still quite active. Their work should be appreciated, admitted, their knowledge should be gathered, and organized in a system what should be given to younger generations. The middle aged group should be convinced with proven examples about, that it is totally possible to have an own garden next to a fulltime job, and it is still beneficial for their family. The younger generations are also very important because they have to take over the knowledge (it is also true for part of the middle age group). Their role is, together with the grandparents to involve the children in gardening from a very young age because it will determine their future world-view.

Is there any social or age group which has more demand for this activity?

The important role of all groups and their interrelatedness does not allow making a ranking. However the education of young children and teenagers can be core element of shaping the future.

4, What is your experience?

What motivates people more to join to the program?

A, The competition and the willingness to win and become recognized?

or

B, To be a member of the community?

Both are very important aspects, because so far no one admitted the value what gardeners created. Through this program they achieve occurrence in the media what makes them respected by their surroundings. They can proudly explain the story of their garden, what is often closely related to the story of their life. In many cases elderly people are isolated, and their existence and value creation is not recognized. The isolation can be also true in case of someone is unemployed or if a woman stays at home with her baby. However the movement and it's meetings create an opportunity to bring close

those people to each other. The movement generates a community what results to the creation of new gardening clubs what are very needed since the old gardening communities are drastically ageing. From a different perspective pure jealousy can also motivate people to join to the movement, when they see the attention what their neighbor and his/her garden get inspires them to join and compete.

And what about those people who do not want to compete, who do not want to measure themselves with others?

There is a big group of people who are quite humble, for them gardening is an evident activity. They do not even see any special in what they are doing. They do gardening for passion and it is completely imbedded in their daily routine. These kind of people have to be encouraged because they are the true representatives of this life-style, they should be followed. In the end the competition itself is not the main goal of the movement, everybody who cultivates his/her garden is already a winner in the end, because this lifestyle on its own very beneficial regardless from the prices. Every functioning kitchen garden has beauty and the beauty should be recognized and rewarded. In one vegetation season the jury visits the gardens two times (in May and in July) and the gardeners are happy to share their progress, struggles, and experiences.

5, How do the participants motivate their surroundings in practice?

We make Tv or radio reports with the gardeners, most of these reports are broadcasted through the local stations or through the internet. In many cases the shared stories give inspiration to other people who live in the same street, same village. The presented short stories of these local people remove barriers and create an educational effect; people start to follow the good example. The competition and the prices became secondary. A typical example a champion who won two times the national price, her neighbors became keen to have their own gardens, they try to learn from the previous winner. The followers became almost as good, and after a couple of years they have also a serious chance to compete and win, and that is how the value and inspiration spread. Many new ideas came from grass-route initiatives, the commitment and hard work of people have to be recognized and rewarded. Bronze and granite prices are designed what can be also placed outside, or on the fences to represent that the owner/gardener are participating in the program. The prices are more symbolic, the competition are more playful, this movement is more about taking care of each other, help each other and give attention and support for those who just start but also for those who are actively gardening in their whole life. Besides that the creativity and resourcefulness develop enormously.

6, What is your experience, what are the most encouraging and discouraging factors what influence people's attitude?

The main motivation can be the demand of organic, healthy food and more and more people realize that the best way is to practice the traditional home growing. At the same time people can benefit moneywise as well, furthermore taste and texture are way better than what is available in the supermarkets. Many people reasoning their inactivity with lack of time and the 30-40 years old age groups still receive serious support from 70-80 years old generations what makes them inactive in many cases. The lack of time, comfortable access, good visual outlook and relatively low price are all discouraging circumstances. Furthermore the people especially younger generations have an image of garden what is more like an ornamental garden, with geometrical forms what embedded image does not allow them to think about multifunctional gardening with the involvement of food growing. People often say how hard is to work in the garden, after a long day in their full-time work they do not have the energy and the mood to do anything than relax. However many elderly people with weaker physique claim, that the garden the active lifestyle keep them going and beneficial for their health. Some others from the younger generations realized, how beneficial is to spend some active time in their garden after work. They claim the stress release and other health benefits for this activity while they provide fresh healthy products for their family. In my opinion this program at least partly but definitely deals with several, society, financial, health, mental and well-being issues.

7, There is a main concern, which claims that financially it does not pay off to grow in micro scale for own consumption. Nevertheless many poor people say that they grow food because it is cheaper for them.

What is the main focus of the program?

**A, to represent this form of food production as a possible alternative to access cheap food?
or,**

B, the main focus is to highlight on non-economical values such as; freshness, health, creativity, own products, connection to nature, food and garden as a link between generations?

Actually both perspectives are very relevant, but first if we approach from the financial side we can claim that it is very beneficial moneywise. Next to that very healthy nutrition provided through an also healthy outside activity what maintains a long healthy life. Besides that all of the mentioned perspectives are very valuable and make it completely clear how beneficial this activity is.

As a counterargument we can make a calculation if someone only has lawn the costs, are even higher with no real benefit as if someone cultivate a piece of land.

And what do you think, how can be people convinced who are already influenced by flyers, the meme of cheap and easily accessible food?

The older generations approached gardening and food growing as an obvious activity, their mentality should be more promoted for them the question of : Is it beneficial or not to garden is a nonsense. If we take various economical calculations we can prove what we want, this is not the real, creditable starting point of this discussion.

8, What media tools and channels do you use to promote the program?

We use all of the media channels what we have access for, the mainstream media is not relay interested in us because we are not good for headline material. (no violence, no crime). Mainly a quite narrow media surface deals with us which is not a problem, our movement is a grass-root movement, it spreads with word of mouth and in this way it is much more powerful and authentic than any other over-promoted movements. Local and county radios, Kossuth Radio, Echo Tv, Ozon network, internet mostly those not typically not commercial oriented media channels which are representing real value and educate people.

9, Do you recognize a special age-group, or one or more specific group in society which is more open to hear, learn about and do this kind of activity?

Not typically but there is a stream of young generation which regardless to educational background is very open and looking for way to healthier lifestyle. The people with lower education possibly still have some childhood memories about this way of life. At the same time the highly educated people are absolute consciously searching for healthy ways of living and nutrition in regard to their educational level. The third perspective is that in higher classes it became a kind of trend to grow their own food.

Appendix 3 Questions for the semi structured interviews:

1. General info

- 1.1. Age, health and physical conditions in general.
- 1.2. How many members live in the household?
- 1.3. What is your occupation? (responsibilities)
- 1.4. Do you have any relatives, younger family members who live in the city?

2. External factors

- 2.1. Information source:
TV, radio, newspaper/ flyers, internet, friends/family, church
- 2.2. What is your orientation, favorite topic, channel, favorite program, website etc./Why?
- 2.3. Commercial spot, Lidl products (vegetables and fruits)/ What was the message for you?
- 2.4. Do you think that commercials influence you?
- 2.5 Do you often get flyers from Lidl/Penny/Family Frost etc.?
Rather ignore or aware?
- 2.5.1. if aware: Do you change your shopping list according to the discounts?
- 2.6. What is the most important characteristic of food: healthy/quality, price, taste? -
What is your preference, name the first three.
- 2.7. How often do you go to the supermarket, grocery shop?
- 2.7.1. Going to the supermarket is a routine for you (planned, organized) or occasionally?
- 2.7.2. From where else can you obtain food? Mention other alternatives.

3. Relation to food growing

- 3.1. Were you doing active gardening/livestock breeding in the last 15 years?
 - 3.1.1. If, still doing what were the benefits?
 - 3.1.2. If stopped; What benefits did you recognize? What were the reasons of stopping?
 - 3.1.3. Who else were involved in the practice?
 - 3.1.4. To what extent could you cover the needs of the household?
 - 3.1.5. If never, Can you explain what are your thoughts about gardening/animal husbandry
- Short film explains: Prettiest kitchen garden program. What is your opinion about that?

4. Health and quality

I already asked you about your health in the beginning and also about the importance of healthy food.

- 4.1. Is there any way how you are trying to keep yourself healthy?
- 4.2. How could you describe healthy food?
- 4.3. How could you describe quality food?
- 4.4. Is it difficult to get quality food nowadays, from the aspect of price and supply?
- 4.5. What do you think about other people, what is the reason why they are (or aren't) doing gardening?

Appendix 4 Comments on Lidl commercial spot

Comments:

Negative comments:

- the products are nice but tasteless, (all: fruit, veggies and meat),
- I am very skeptic, great to see the initiative but I do not trust in the source of products, however good music, good prices,
- they promote the grocery products, because they do not sell enough,
- Irritating, if someone is really aware of food the commercial is not needed,
- the commercial is trying to generate market, but I rather go to the old ladies in the market,
- the products look good but unfortunately a lot of chemicals poisoning the people,
- nice setting but in reality the products are not always fresh,
- I think that the consumers are really attracted to the sales offers,
- attractive but in reality the quality of the products is not that good,
- I am not impressed; at the Lidl I only buy milk products, sugar, oil, cat food.
- They want to extend the number of customers with the promotion of healthy food, but I am not convinced,
- I only see the business related interest,
- boring and not realistic,
- I am familiar with the commercials, the products are nice but I never buy them.
- I do not trust in the origin and quality of the products,
- I do not like the commercial,
- the commercial was rather meaningless,
- often missing the product what they promote,
- mostly industrial products are promoted,
- I only buy household chemicals from there,
- it is still very business oriented,
- they created a market like setting in the commercial, very attractive but not realistic.

Neutral comments:

- we have other sources of food; we mainly buy household chemicals at the supermarket. Sometimes we see the price volatility.

-primarily in the winter period we buy there the exotic fruits, but the commercial does not influence us.

-I only buy exotic food.

-I think; the commercial is realistic

Positive comments:

-I am satisfied with the products, I knew the commercial.

-I like this commercial very much, I collect the points.(club card)

-I usually follow the special offers

Appendix 5 Consent form

Information about the project

The aim of the research is to provide insight in social practices and how they shape by the time. The research has a special focus on practices related to food purchase and food production. Furthermore the role of the attitude will be investigated how it relates to practices.

Data storage and anonymity

You will be assigned a random number, and the data provided by you will be stored only with regard to this number to guarantee your anonymity.

Length of data storage and info on data destruction

Data will be kept on the server of the university and on the researcher's personal data storage. Data will be stored for five years, counting from the end of the study. Data will be made available to the supervisor after the study has ended. These data are made available to the researcher and can be made available to other scientific practitioners at request.

Participation

This research is for academic purposes only, and does not involve any commercial companies.

Participation takes about 45 minutes.

You may choose to stop participation at any moment during this time without consequences of any kind.

Completion of the interview and signing the participation list will constitute consent to participate in this study.

What will be done with data?

The answers you give will be analysed by a software programme and interpreted to address research questions. Analyzed data will be displayed anonymously and can be used for multiple scientific outputs.

If you have any questions about this study, feel free to ask Zsolt Varga or Georgina Villarreal and/or Prof. Han Wiskerke (Wageningen University – Rural Sociology Group).

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