

PhD Dissertation Thesis

**INFORMAL ECONOMIC STRATEGIES AND EVERYDAY
POLITICAL PRACTICES IN THE BORDER REGION OF
TRANSCARPATHIA IN THE YEARS OF STATE SOCIALISM AND
POST-SOCIALISM**

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I. Dissertation objective and topic identification

In recent years, in the Ukraine the internal political tensions and the international conflict unfolding in the eastern counties since 2014 (the so-called Russian-Ukrainian hybrid war) have led to severe political, economic and social crises. In consequence, according to several indicators, the Ukraine can be considered to be one of those dysfunctional states – or in other terms used in the literature: „weak”, „fragile state” or „failed state”, „quasi-state” – where due to the crisis of formal control system (the instability of the political system, the deficiencies of legitimacy and the rule of law, a high level of corruption, increasing poverty and a crumbling social structure) the state cannot satisfy the basic needs of citizens.

At the level of everyday life, from the early 1990s the people living in the country tried to compensate the malfunctions of the Ukrainian nation state by numerous survival techniques, which simulated state functions. A good example of this is provided by the border region of Transcarpathia where the high rate of unemployment was countered by the countryside people by applying various informal economic strategies such as fuel, cigarette and human trafficking, black marketing, pension and health care tourism, labour migration, trading with second hand clothes and goods, producing food and goods at the so called dachas in towns. Owing to this, the Hungarian and other (mainly Ukrainian, Russian, Gypsy) ethnic communities living there could organise their labour market autonomously, relatively independent of the state, in the past few decades and they could more or less successfully counter the processes of economic marginalisation.

The aim of this dissertation is to describe – reflecting on what has been said above – the informal economic strategies developed beyond the (formal) organizational framework of the state, i. e. obligatory registration, control, and taxation, (such as black employment, illegal trafficking, smuggling, corruption etc.) in the border region of Transcarpathia and to analyse its characteristic types and functional role in detail by the methods of empirical social research.

Informal economic actions and the interpersonal networks attached to them have been analysed in two different political-economic contexts – the conditions of the Soviet political dictatorship and state planned economy, as well as the post-socialist Ukrainian nation-state and semi-peripheral market capitalism. Accordingly, the dissertation is focused on two historical periods: the second period of Socialism, the so called reform age (the 1960s) and the second decade after the change of the political regime (years between 2000-2010). A comparative-historical analysis of the two periods allows us to separate the system-specific („dependent”) and universal („independent”) variables, which may contribute with new research aspects to later anthropological research into the problem of micro-level political power.

The research sought answers to the following questions:

1. What are the most typical characteristics of non-state activities and informal economic activities in terms of their form and content in the border settlements of Transcarpathia – in a historical and synchronized dimension?

2. Is there any qualitative (content, morphological) connection between the economic practices formed in the time of state socialism – stealing, moonlighting, slowing down work, restraining workforce etc. –, and the contemporary (postmodern) informal techniques – today's human and cigarette smuggling, borderland trafficking – observable in the villages of the region?

3. What structural and functional changes did the informal activities and the interpersonal networks that provided their framework undergo?

4. In a wider sense: how did the relationship of the state and the individual change in these two periods especially in terms of the general attitude towards the laws of the state; in other words, what changes took place in the internal set of values and norms of local societies and in their mentality?

The doctoral dissertation consists of five structural units. In the introductory chapter I presented the object, aim and the site of the research, the sources and the theoretical-conceptual framework of the analysis (the paradigmatic approach of contemporary phenomena related to informal economy in the literature).

After that the historical context of contemporary informal strategies is analysed. Here I am examining the local and regional effects of the Soviet political dictatorship after 1945 from two aspects. The analysis is focused on the disciplinary techniques applied in the socialist collective cooperatives (punitive and rewarding ceremonies) and the social reactions to the Soviet political dictatorship (everyday resistance, cooperation).

In the third chapter the local institutions and practices of the political-ideological re-organisation of village society (the local programs of the Soviet identity and memory policy and power aspirations for the symbolic transformation of space and time) are discussed in the form of an empirical case study.

The next, fifth, chapter of the dissertation discusses the post-socialist era with special regard to the contemporary survival strategies (cross-border smuggling, trafficking, black market, labour migration etc.) observable in the Ukrainian-Hungarian border region.

In unit six of the analysis I presented the attempts made by the minority elite to construct a post-socialist national identity and a historical memory (new memorials, ceremonies for unveiling statues or memorial plaques, commemorating ceremonies, organising anniversaries and village festivals). Finally, the dissertation is ended with a summary of the experiences gained from the empirical, historical-comparative analysis of the informal economy.

II. An outline of the methods applied

The empirical corpus used for writing the doctoral thesis consists of various archival documents (kolkhoz and party leadership minutes, reports, economic plans, comprehensive annual statistics) and materials gathered during stationary and long-term fieldwork (biographical, focus group and thematic interviews).

The most important archival sources for the research of the state socialist era are the so called kolkhoz leadership minutes at the Archive Department of the Administrative Office of the Nagyszőlős District, from which the documents written in 1961 – 1971 have been processed by a quantitative statistical method. I have studied approximately 3500 pages during this work and I have managed to identify 243 disciplinary and 17 rewarding cases. This database constituted the core of the social and economic historical chapters of this dissertation.

Apart from the historical sources, the dissertation paid special attention to the everyday historical experiences of common people, the memories that enabled us to grasp the age of state socialism and to the analysis of the interviews with eyewitnesses. Between 2007 and 2012 I made narrative biographical and some more semi-structured interviews – which focused more on some problem segments of the research – with 35 people altogether (22 men and 15 women) out of the employees of the former collective cooperative. The people interviewed belonged to various segments of the internal hierarchy of the particular institution (members of the party or kolkhoz leadership, administrative staff, skilled workers, industrial workers, agrarian workers) and they also varied concerning their age, status and gender.

III. Location of research

The research was focused on the south-western part of Transcarpathia, especially on the empirical research of five villages in Tiszahát (Tiszabökény, Farkasfalva, Tiszapéterfalva, Tivadar, Forgolány), where the informal economic activities to trick the state were widespread practices both at the time of state socialism and in the post-socialist era.

This microregion is situated in the Nagyszőlős district, in the area surrounded by the rivers Tisza and Batár, approximately at the same distance (10-12 km) from the official Ukrainian-Hungarian and Ukrainian-Romanian border crossing points. Among the researched villages Tiszapéterfalva became a regional centre for four other villages (Tiszabökény, Tiszafarkasfalva, Tivadarfalva, Forgolány) from 1958 on due to the administrative-economic centralisation of the Tiszahát villages. After the Soviet takeover in 1944, and especially from the second half of the 1960s, one of the biggest economic plants of the region – the „Border Patrol” Kolkhoz of Péterfalva – in these five villages.

Owing to the dynamic development and modernization of the villages in Tiszahát and the introduction of new agrarian technologies and forms of work organisation and the higher than average standard of living of the people, the „Border Guard” Agrarian Kolkhoz became famous nationwide from the 1960s and 1980s on. From the 70s seven industrial plants, five schools, four kindergartens, four cultural houses, a music school, a modern community service building, an amusement park, a sports complex and a village museum were built from the income of the cooperative. Therefore, the village was exposed as a kind of „showcase village” by the Soviet political propaganda – due to the aforementioned developments – it was presented as a place of modern industrial production, socialist lifestyle, general welfare, in short, a utopia that has come true.

In the 1990s – after the kolkhoz ceased to exist – the possibilities of the Tiszahát villages for economic and social development were influenced by the fact that the villages concerned are situated in the „meeting point of multiple borders” in the Hungarian-Ukrainian-Romanian borderland area. With the disappearance of big state employers, and the industrial and agrarian cooperatives, the majority of the population created numerous alternative informal survival strategies owing to the proximity of the state border (smuggling, trafficking, transport, seasonal work force migration etc.).

IV. Listing of the findings as theses

Many researchers analysing the changes of rural village societies after the change of the regime seem to agree that in the contemporary patterns of economy, society, behaviour and attitude – due to the parallel existence of the old and new principles of production, work organisation and consumption etc. – the new elements are usually mingled with the pre-1945 traditional structural features and with those modern ones that were formed at the time of state socialism.

Nevertheless, despite the recognition of the importance of the historical aspects, in Hungary hardly any micro-level qualitative anthropological, sociological studies have been written, if at all, shedding light on the mutual relations of informal activities and behaviours formed in different political, economic and social circumstances, their connections in terms of mentality and social history or their unique features varying according to the local conditions.

In my research I have investigated informal economic activities in two different historical periods – during authoritative and democratic regimes –, which can be regarded a new approach, a methodological process filling in a void in the scientific discourse on this topic in Hungary.

In the analysis of the social functions of informal strategies I used the typology of Helmke and Levitsky, who argue that informal institutions can complement (1), accommodate (2),

substitute (3) or sometimes compete with (4) formal state institutions (Helmke –Levitsky 2006: 14.). According to the authors it is basically two factors, the controlling, punishing and executive capacity of the state (i.e. „the strength” of the state) and the modality of the official and informal institutions, the compatibility of their goals that defines which of the aforementioned types of relationship prevails between certain institutions out of the possible variants.

1. In my dissertation I have pointed out that in the Soviet political dictatorship, that is in those decades when the controlling capacity of the state was high – making an open opposition to the law too costly and dangerous for the citizens – and the formal (state) institutions affected in a direction divergent from social norms, the analysed rural villages were characterized by *accommodating informal institutions*.

Within the organizational culture of the analysed collective cooperative the informal techniques widespread among the political-administrative elite (faking production data, hiding plots of land and livestock) and the offences committed by the kolkhoz peasants (stealing from the workplace, causing damage, misconduct at work, careless, bad work, pretending to work, unjustified absence from work, migration for economic purposes) all belong to this category, with some necessary simplification. In the 1960s and 1980s these activities meant such alternative (folk) institutional solutions for the rural society, which created the bottom-up mechanisms of democratization, privatisation and marketization within the frame of the dictatorship, namely during the period of one party system, the state monopoly of property and state redistribution. The forms of everyday resistance described by me temporarily dampened total state control: by performative, repetitive micro-level practices they created those specific spaces, opportunities for action and situations where private sphere and the minimal rights to freedom necessary to survive could prevail. On the other hand, by evading, tricking or temporarily repealing the centrally controlled economy, the new (collective) property ownership, socialist mass production, the new forms of work organisation in groups, the system of wages and distribution based on work units etc., some subsystems of producing, consuming and exchanging material and symbolic products were created independently of the state distribution/redistribution.

2. In my dissertation I have pointed out that the various ideal-typical actions of the citizens (ranging from resistance to conspirative acts) and the disciplinary practices of a dictatorial state (rewarding, granting, deprivation, punishing etc.) constituted a dialectic system with elements not only responding to but also limiting one another. In this respect the functioning of adaptive informal institutions seems to have a double nature. On the one hand, by hindering collective production, they reduced the effectiveness of planned economy, questioned and undermined the authority of political power. On the other hand, they helped stabilize it as they did not only articulate the demands of local village communities, but they also had them fulfilled thereby

diminishing society's need for institutionalized changes (Ledeneva 1998.; Helmke – Levitsky 2006:17-18.).

3. After the change of the political regime, from the 1990s on, informal strategies and the informal networks attached to them underwent major changes in terms of their a) morphology and b) functions.

In Chapter 4 I described that (a) in the years of post-socialist transition, in the researched Hungarian villages in Transcarpathia, a number of new (postmodern) informal economic strategies were created (fuel, cigarette and human smuggling, over-the-border transports, trafficking, pension and health tourism etc.) that had no „immediate” historical predecessors or they were created without a longer series of gradual development. In this respect stealing at the workplace was the only exception, which, according to the research findings, was the most widespread technique of gaining income in the villages in Tiszahát both at the time of the socialist planned economy and in the first decade of market capitalism after 1991. However, in the first half of the 2000s this type of activity gradually lost its social importance after the privatisation, i. e. the strengthening or the restitution of private ownership; therefore, stealing practices (in their former popular forms) almost completely disappeared or they have been transformed into peripheral and illicit social practices.

Perhaps it is more important than the morphological discontinuation of subsistence strategies that b) in the Tiszahát villages in the post-socialist era, the increasing importance and bigger role of the so called *substitutional informal institutions* can be observed. According to Helmke and her co-author, this type of institution becomes strong in those situations when the capacity and effectiveness of the controlling institutions of the state are low („weak”), but the modality of official and informal institutions show in the same direction, in other words their aims agree (Helmke – Levitsky 2006: 16.).

4. In the dissertation I have demonstrated that in the past decade the functional deficiencies and the institutional crisis of the democratic Ukrainian state led to the appearance of new actors at different – international (transnational), regional (substate) and local – levels. With the infrastructure and the network of institutions operated by them, these external actors could take certain functions of the state in several areas of everyday life such as in labour market, or the social, educational or health care systems, filling those institutional voids that cannot be filled by the Ukrainian state in its present form. Based on the micro-level analysis of these parallel institutions I pointed out that in the villages in Tiszahát after the change of the political regime, rather complex models and patterns of the informal simulations of economic capital and the market were formed.

5. Analysing the micro-level internal power and economic conditions of the researched villages in Tiszahát we could see that the post-socialist rural elite (the former nomenclature-elite and the new economic elites that became wealthy due to black market trafficking) dominate the bigger part of the aforementioned redistributive and distributional systems, i. e. both the external (global market and global quasi state) and the internal (local formal and local informal) markets. All these triggered an exponential increase in the economic and social inequalities in the particular villages.

Due to the scanty local resources, the lower and/or lower-middle layers of the population in the villages in Tiszahát – namely the former kolkhoz workers who were the first to lose their jobs at the change of the political regime and were left without any significant property or capital at the end of the privatisation – were forced to apply the translocal strategies relying on external, informal markets and the state border. By means of these varied methods and techniques (finding jobs abroad, temporary or permanent emigration, borderland trafficking, marketing, trading etc.) the particular groups of society attempted to counterbalance local inequalities in a global framework through alternative economic sources whose production, consumption and redistribution do not have the structural prerequisites in the local society.

6. Concerning this, in my thesis I pointed out that the foreign (Hungarian) state-support provided for the Hungarian minority in Transcarpathia are embedded in these complex multiple informal market and distribution systems and their logic formed decades ago. Thus the transsovereign nation building practice of the Hungarian state currently provides financial sources to reproduce the already existing local economic and social inequalities, which, in the long term, may trigger, even unconsciously, the further erosion of the still existing rural small communities and the further degradation of the impoverished social groups and a new wave of their moving abroad, their forced emigration.

7. Two of the new („post-socialist”) translocal employment groups formed in the Ukrainian-Hungarian borderland (the subcultures of the fuel smugglers in Mátészalka and the agricultural seasonal workers in Kispalád) have been described in detail in my scientific work. The experiences of these empirical case studies go to show the economic activities of the particular groups and the foreign informal markets attached to them serve community purposes as they provide social services in fields where the Ukrainian state practically disappeared or at least it has minimal penetration into everyday life. (For instance in the villages where the workers come from they provide „quasi” normal workforce markets and thus relatively steady predictable means of livelihood and international financial flow under such macro-economical circumstances where official (state controlled) workforce markets are undeveloped, there is a high rate of unemployment and impoverishment, and the formal institutions ensuring business transactions are not effective.)

8. Comparing the state socialist period before 1991 and the post-socialist era after 1991, it can be stated that in the first period informal economic activities – from the point of view of ordinary people – played a role in the *deconstruction of the hyperfunctions* of the state whereas after the change of the political regime, in the *reconstruction of the dysfunctionality* of the state. The former reduced the function that was too intensive, i. e. the overfunctionality and overregulation of a dictatorial state, whereas the latter limited the disorderly, deficient (under)functioning and the institutional disorders of a democratic nation-state, which in both historical periods allowed the social construction of *hybrid local political regimes* – after all: states with hybrid structures and micro-level power conditions.

9. From this aspect, it seems to me that *the parallel, dialectic and combined* (adaptive and substitutive) *functioning of the formal institutions of the state and the informal institutions of the villages in Tiszahát contributed to the creation of a local balance.*¹ Informal economic exchanges and the social networks in which they were embedded prevented the clearly symmetric or clearly asymmetric relations from becoming exclusively determining or dominant between the state and the citizens and the different communities of the local society (the political and economic elites and the subaltern groups). From this point of view these informal institutions have played very important social functions both in the years of political dictatorship and in the time of post-socialism since they considerably reduced certain forms and types of structural inequalities: they counterbalanced the *vertical* (between the state and the citizens), and the *horizontal* (between the citizens, interpersonal) *economic, political and social dependencies*.

10. The analysis detected that the informal („folk”) economic strategies had a major social impact on the internal social functions and the structure of the Tiszahát villages researched here, whose characteristics show some differences in the time of state socialism and in the following years of market capitalism. In the first period the informal techniques applied in the kolkhoz (e. g. stealing from workplace or other practices) were based upon the trust and solidarity within the group, which created intensive internal (community) relationships, i. e. homophile and expressly local interactions. This type of social relationship was called bonding social capital by Putnam (Putnam 2000: 22–24., Putnam – Goss 2002: 9–12.). Local societies with such networks of relations are usually characterised by a smaller degree of layeredness and a higher degree of social cohesion.

As opposed to this, in the period after the change of the regime in the researched village the relations towards outside of the local community (migration, trafficking over the border, smuggling etc.) were dominant and the so called bridging social capital (Putnam 2000.) became

¹ According to my definition, the concept of „balanced situation” – following Li – is a system of forces mutually balancing one another and opposites appearing in unity (Li 2011.). The adaptation of this concept for the coexistence of different ethnicities (in Hungarian-Romanian relations) see: (Biczó 2013.)

more important. The propagation of these techniques was accompanied by intensive social polarisation and as a consequence by the total erosion and disappearance of village communities.

11. At the same time, it must be taken into account that informality is not exclusively connected to economic transactions and exchanges (Polese – Kovács – Jancsics 2016: 45.). Therefore in Chapters 3 and 5 of the dissertation I tried to grasp the asymmetric functional mechanisms between formal and informal institutions in a field outside the sphere of economic phenomena in its narrow sense – in the context of the symbolic use of space and the symbolic practices of constructing identities. The findings of this comparative analysis revealed that in both political regimes, power – the state, its institutions or the dominant political elites – for the legitimacy of its own political aims penetrates into the local spaces of the researched villages and makes attempts at the intensive physical transformation, the symbolic takeover or appropriation of them.

In the Socialist era it could be seen to materialize explicitly in two different tendencies. One of them was the initiative of village systemization and the reorganization of local landscape started in the early 1960s. As a part of it, power created completely new parts of settlements and streets (sports centres, amusement parks, community service centre, new village centre, industrial park etc.), which put an end to the former spatial embeddedness of the population living in the region (the physical displacement of the population, their settlement or removal), and led to the destruction of many traditional places and spaces (such as the 'old' cemetery of the village was built in, a radical reduction of the size of gardens in township areas). These practices were called the *disciplinary techniques of work* by Foucault comprehensively, considering the rationalisation and enhancement of economic production and the maximization of the strength of human body and its use as their teleological target (Foucault 1992: 46.). From the 1970s on – at the time of the strengthening of collective production and political institutions – another practice appeared, but this was not based on discipline. In contrast with the previous one, this was not aimed to control the economic behaviour of the whole population, it was much more focused on the individual, the subject and on the transformation and elaboration of the particular identities of the citizens (their „historical” consciousness). The formation of certain spaces at the village museum (the museum room and the open air folk museum) constructed in the villages in Tiszahát, where the new norms of power were naturalized, historized and ritually practised and the local past of the communities in Tiszahát was re-interpreted (actively separated from personal remembrance, „destroyed”, „frozen”) reflected this political aim, in my opinion.

After the change of the regime, the post-socialist rural and cultural elite defined itself against this power discourse and historical representation, creating their own projects concerning the construction of their remembrance and national identity. Within the frame of the Ukrainian nation state, this elite of the minority emphasized the construction of a completely new picture

of the past and history by destroying the political symbols of Socialism and by the symbolic reconquest of public spaces (so as to create new places of commemoration, destroying Soviet memorials and political symbols, renaming streets, redesigning the concept of exhibition of the village museum etc.). I have described three discourses („anti-communist”, „nationalizing”, „local” and „sacral”) of these post-socialist practices to create spaces and memorial places in the Tiszahát villages, by which the local and regional cultural-political elite tried to bolster the recovery, the restart, the dynamisation and the historizing of the national historical past from the early 1990s on, which was metonymically frozen in the time of state socialism.

A common feature of Soviet and post-Soviet projects to transform memory and space was that – although in different degrees – they had low social embeddedness in both eras (Granovetter 1985.). The research findings show that besides these symbolic space politics there always existed an alternative local text,² which was constituted outside of the dominant political representations, containing the subjective space representations of the citizens, their traditional strategies to use space and their reporting practices.

² The expression „local-text” is a paraphrasing of Michel de Certeau’s concept of „urban-text”. In his work called *The practice of everyday life*, De Certeau interpreted town spaces as layered „texts” with contradictory meanings, which were created or „written in” public spaces by the individual performative practices of various actors (town designers, architects, simple citizens) by creating new buildings, spaces, architecture or by physically moving or walking among them or by simply talking about them etc. (De Certeau 2011.)

VI. Literature

Biczó Gábor

2013 Az etnikai együttélési egyensúlyhelyzet elmélete: a szilágysági Tövislát északi falvainak példája. 53–104. In: Biczó Gábor – Kotics József (szerk.): „Megvagyunk mi egymás mellett...” Magyar-román együttélési helyzetek a szilágysági Tövislátán. Miskolc, Miskolci Egyetem KVAI.

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PhD Publication List

Candidate: Sándor Borbély

Doctoral School: Doctoral School of History and Ethnology

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List of publications related to the dissertation

Hungarian book chapters (1)

1. **Borbély, S.:** Informális gazdasági stratégiák a magyar-ukrán határvidéken.

In: Hármaskorok néprajzi értelmezésben = An Ethnographic Interpretation of Tri-Border Areas. Szerk.: Turai Tünde, MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Budapest, 217-245, 2015. ISBN: 9789635670628

Hungarian scientific articles in Hungarian journals (4)

2. **Borbély, S.:** A diszfunkcionális ukrán nemzetállam informális alapjai - globális életvezetési stratégiák Kárpátalján a rendszerváltás után.

Ethno-lore. 36, 191-226, 2019. ISSN: 1787-9396.

3. **Borbély, S.:** Fegyelmezési technikák és adaptációs mechanizmusok Kárpátalja határvidéki régiójában.

Korall. 19 (71), 149-174, 2018. ISSN: 1586-2410.

4. **Borbély, S.:** A szovjet politikai diktatúra által konstituált történelmi múlt - a lokális időtapasztalat intézményes átalakítása Kárpátalján, az 1960-1980-as években.

Múltunk. 61 (2), 187-224, 2016. ISSN: 0864-960X.

5. **Borbély, S.:** "Az ukrán, utolsó cigány": a külföldi bevándorlás mikropolitikája egy határvidéki településen, Kispaládon.

Tér Társad. 29 (3), 3-32, 2015. ISSN: 0237-7683.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17649/TET.29.3.2708>

Hungarian scientific articles in international journals (1)

6. **Borbély, S.:** Az egyenlőtlenség politikája az államszocializmus éveiben - jutalmazási technikák a kollektív gazdaságokban.

Erdélyi Társad. 16 (2), 109-154, 2018. ISSN: 1583-6347.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17177/77171.219>





List of other publications

Hungarian scientific articles in Hungarian journals (2)

7. **Borbély, S.**, Ispán, Á. L.: Örökség, globalizáció és lokalitás.

Ethno-lore. 36, 9-24, 2019. ISSN: 1787-9396.

8. **Borbély, S.**: Időtapasztalat a terepen: A történeti (historikus) megértés módszertani paradigmája a magyarországi néprajzi kutatásban.

Ethno-lore. 31, 31-81, 2017. ISSN: 1787-9396.

Hungarian scientific articles in international journals (1)

9. **Borbély, S.**: Kompenzációs mechanizmusok és egyensúlyteremtő stratégiák egy vegyes (magyar-roma) etnikai összetételű határvidéki településen.

Erdélyi Társad. 14 (1), 191-216, 2016. ISSN: 1583-6347.

The Candidate's publication data submitted to the iDEa Tudóstér have been validated by DEENK on the basis of the Journal Citation Report (Impact Factor) database.

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VII. Further publications of the author of the dissertation

Sections of books in Hungarian (1)

10. **Borbély, S.:** Az olvasás „retorikája” és a szöveg jelentésrétegei Dr. Fazekas Mihály ’56-os naplójában. In: *1956 a néphagyományban*. Studia Folkloristica et Ethnographica 53., Szerk.: Bartha, Elek; Keményfi, Róbert; Marinka, Melinda, Debreceni Egyetem Néprajzi Tanszék, Debrecen, 226-238 p., 2009. ISBN: 978-963-473-4, ISSN: 0138-9882

Sections of books in foreign languages (1)

11. **Borbély, S. – Kotics, J.:** Ukrainian and hungarian cohabitation in two settlements of mixed population in transcarpatia In: *Materialy III. Mizhnarodnoyi naukovo-praktychnoyi konferencii, prysvyachenoyi dnyu slovyanskyoi kulytury ta pysemnosti: „Slovyanskyi svit: zdobutky, problemy, perspektyvy”*. Szerk.: Boltivecy, S. I.; Hrabovsyka, S. V.; Hlukhova, H. V.; Keveshliheti, O. V.; Olenych, E. I., Uzhhorod, Vydavnytvo Zakarpattja, 225-237 p., 2013.

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