

Theses of a Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

Changes in Rural Livelihoods between 1920 and 2020

Livelihood and Strategy Choices in the 20th and 21st centuries,
Illustrated through Case Studies of Four Settlements.

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I. Objective and Scope of the Doctoral Dissertation

The purpose of this dissertation is to provide an overview of a century-long period, primarily encompassing the 20th century, focusing on the examination of changes in rural livelihoods: from the society during the Horthy era, through socialism and post-socialism, up to the present day (up to the year 2020). The analyzed periods will be illustrated through examples from four settlements. Throughout this study, I will present and analyze the history of these four settlements, highlighting their varying situations during different historical periods, ranging from the spectrum of livelihood possibilities at the local level to the selection of individual strategies. I aim to present historical macro-processes on a micro-level perspective. Looking back at the 20th century, we can safely state that for the rural population in the examined villages, their relationship to the land, the extent of land ownership, and employment opportunities related to agriculture predominantly constituted the backbone of their livelihoods. Therefore, it becomes evident that the "land situation" takes center stage in every era. As a result, a significant focus of this study lies on the changes in land ownership throughout different periods, the processes of land policy, as well as the common people's connection to the land. Consequently, agriculture and the rural community play a prominent role. Additionally, various other forms of rural livelihoods emerge, which I will present in connection to each specific period within the individual settlements.

According to my hypothesis, the fate of individual settlements is influenced across generations and societal eras by previous conditions and livelihood patterns. Therefore, the current livelihood situation of these villages still carries traces of the effects from the interwar period. This suggests that the impacts of the conditions between the two World Wars can still be discerned in the formation of the present-day livelihood situation in these communities.

The selected villages are Tiszaigar in Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County, characterized as an agrarian settlement with a significant history of large land ownership. Gerjen in Tolna County, also possessing an agrarian livelihood profile, had a coexistence of large landowners and farming society. Milota in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County, located near the Ukrainian border in a peripheral region, had to establish its livelihood relying mostly on itself. However, with narrowing agricultural opportunities, finding new livelihood profiles has been challenging. Dudar in Veszprém County, on the other hand, enjoyed a favorable position in various eras and maintained a relatively stable livelihood background. Initially, supplementary livelihood forms provided by the natural environment sustained the

population's income. Later, it developed an industrial character, and the nearby industrial centers in the western Transdanubia region also offered opportunities.

II. Research Background and Structure of the Thesis

The fundamental characteristic of the thesis structure are the major chapters that present each historical period. Within these chapters, the first section introduces the macro-historical level: the nationwide historical and societal events and processes that are relevant from the perspective of the investigation. The second unit of the chapters involves presenting the villages I examined within the given era: looking from the micro level and reflecting on the macro level. In these smaller units, the discussion of each village showcases the local-level livelihood possibilities, from which individual strategies begin to take shape: who chose what strategy from the array of locally available opportunities. This choice was significantly influenced by the individual's habitus: a blend of their personality, ambitions, as well as inherited family patterns and mentality.

This structural layout (organizing the chapters by historical periods and presenting both the macro and micro levels within each chapter) is most suitable for guiding the reader through the history of each village, highlighting pivotal moments in the changes of livelihood circumstances.

In my previous research work, I participated primarily in OTKA research projects¹ organized by the Open-Air Ethnographic Museum, involving a total of 6 villages. The aim of these projects was to understand the 20th-century village. In these research endeavors, I turned towards investigating livelihood possibilities and strategies, initially focusing on the socialist era and later expanding the scope to cover the period of political transition and post-socialism. In 2012, as a student of the Department of Sociology at the University of Szeged, I conducted further fieldwork in Dudar. These field experiences formed the foundation of my research work, which I supplemented with additional fieldwork in 2018-2019, revisiting the 4 selected villages.

III. Presentation of the Applied Methods

¹ OTKA research program no. K 62412: A 20. század falusi építészetének, lakáskultúrájának és életmódjának változásai. 2006-2010.

OTKA research program no. 82103: Rurális építészet, lakáskultúra és életmód a 20. században. 2010-2014.

The field research methods I employed were largely considered classic social science methods: during participant observation and fieldwork, I mainly conducted semi-structured interviews. Within these conversations, specific topics were identified as the goals, which outlined the available livelihood opportunities in the village and the individual strategies that could be chosen within them. The discussions focused on areas where livelihood strategies could be well outlined. For example, supplementary income sources alongside the main occupation (subsistence farming, odd jobs), investment of acquired income (construction, modernizing housing, vacations, vehicles, children's education, future support, etc.).

The selection of interviewees was conducted partly using a snowball method and partly by intentionally seeking out certain types of respondents: local leaders, individuals with specific occupations, or those who played significant community roles during certain periods (e.g., representatives of the collective farm, members of the restitution committees, etc.).

As part of the doctoral research, I relied heavily on methods of document analysis. This involved examining the historical, sociohistorical, political, economic, ethnographic, and sociological literature relevant to each historical period. With these resources, I reconstructed the nationwide macro-processes necessary for my chapters. I complemented this with investigating and reviewing local historical literature to present the microhistorical level. This was done in parallel with the findings from my own fieldwork, allowing for a comparison between the two. In certain instances, I supplemented this information with data from the contemporary local press.

It's important to highlight that the research history of the selected villages is quite diverse. Among the villages, two of them – Tiszaigar and Dudar – have a significant research background. In Tiszaigar, the Ethnographic Museum's researchers conducted monographic research work in 1949-1950. Although the summary volume that combined the manuscripts prepared by various researchers was only published after the political transition, in 1997 (László Kardos: *Tiszaigar. A Biography of a Trans-Tisza Village, 1744-1944*), a few smaller articles appeared in professional journals. Subsequently, after the political transition, more works were published based on the results of these field studies. In 1982, a sociological research group also conducted research in the village, leading to another study volume (Edited by Zsuzsa Lengyel: *Tiszaigar. The Image of a Present-Day Hungarian Village*). Additionally, sociographic works further contributed as independent works on Tiszaigar (works by Katalin Tausz in 1981, 1982, 1984). This series of research was continued by the Ethnographic Museum and the Department of Ethnography at the University of Debrecen in 2012 (I also

participated in this research), and later supplemented with individual fieldwork in 2018 to create a comprehensive presentation up to the present in the dissertation.

The other village with significant coverage is Dudar. In terms of social science research, a substantial study was conducted in 1937, organized by the Szeged Youth Arts College with the participation of foreign sociologists (researchers from the London Institute of Sociology and Richard and Hilde Thurnwald). The researchers took their findings back to their home countries, and these findings did not enter the professional awareness in Hungary. Pioneering and groundbreaking work was carried out by Gyula Lencsés, who searched, translated, and organized the manuscripts, collection notes, and photos of the British researchers in the Keele University Special Collections and Archives.

Thanks to this work, Dudar – as it was in 1937 – has truly become accessible for understanding (Gyula Lencsés: *English in the Bakony Mountains. The Story and Documents of the 1937 Village Study by the Institute of Sociology*). Later, in the 1980s, several sociological studies were conducted in the village, but unfortunately, their results never saw the light of day. However, a documentary film was produced during the 1987 research titled "Málenkij robot," created by Gyula Gulyás and János Gulyás. Gyula Gulyás has continued documentary work in the village since then, with recurring fieldwork. On the 75th anniversary of the 1937 research, the Department of Sociology at the University of Szeged organized another sociological study in the village, in which I also participated. The results were compiled into a study volume (Gyula Lencsés – Gábor Feleky (eds.): *Past and Present. Social Researchers from Szeged in Dudar*). Later, in 2018, I independently continued the fieldwork, with the assistance of Gyula Gulyás, and supplemented it with investigations up to the present. Alongside these, there is also a comprehensive summary of local history published in the "Hundred Hungarian Villages" series.

IV. Enumeration of the Scientific Results of the Dissertation

1. Through this dissertation, I aim to contribute to the research history of the presented villages. For the two mentioned villages with significant research backgrounds (Tiszaigar, Dudar), the results of this dissertation have allowed for an overview up to the present day. In the case of Milota and Gerjen, the smaller number of existing research findings can be expanded with the data collected in this dissertation.

2. When looking at historical periods, we can observe that due to the rigid social structure of the Horthy era, the "preserving power" of one's social status at birth was the strongest during this period and had a nearly lifelong impact. Statistical data illustrating the land distribution and income conditions of that era show that only a remarkably small portion of society shared the majority of land ownership and income. Almost 80% of those with land ownership possessed plots of land less than 10 acres, which, on its own, was insufficient for livelihood, necessitating supplementary income. Meanwhile, 80% of landowners collectively held only 17.7% of the entire land in the country. Hence, masses struggled with little land, while the wealthier minority had control over most of the land area. During this period, based on data from the 1930 census, 78% of Tiszaigar's population earned their livelihood from agriculture. Among them, 55% could be classified as the impoverished class (economic servants and day laborers), but a significant portion of the landowning class, an additional 34%, possessed land below 10 acres, requiring supplementary income. Therefore, almost 90% of the village's population lived in dependence on large landowners.

In Gerjen, 85% of the population earned their living from agriculture. Among them, 40% belonged to the group of economic servants and landless individuals, and an additional 11% owned land below 10 acres, thus requiring supplementary support. In contrast to Tiszaigar, Gerjen had a more significant farming population, with nearly 34% of those living off agriculture being able to sustain themselves independently. Similarly, in Milota, 86% were engaged in agriculture, with nearly half of them being landowners and the other half being landless workers. Dudar's census data also highlighted the prevalence of agricultural livelihood, with 63% possessing some form of land and only 37% being impoverished. Nonetheless, research from that period revealed the significant presence of supplementary activities for livelihood and the practice of communal grazing for pigs and cows (which also allowed for livestock to be maintained on smaller plots).

A telling national statistic is that the highest echelon of society, consisting of 526 aristocratic families, owned more than a third of Hungary's land. They were responsible for the livelihoods of 1.5 million people through their estates. Overall, the Horthy era can be characterized by the fact that a substantial portion of society barely had enough for mere survival, enduring conditions of destitution. Despite hard work, many could only attain the minimum required for survival. If one's life began in difficult circumstances, breaking out of that cycle was nearly impossible. One means of breaking out was emigration to America and seeking work for wages.

3. One of the most powerful agricultural transformations of the 20th century occurred at the end of World War II with the land redistribution, which forcefully allocated land to masses of people, establishing their own plots (alongside an increase in state ownership). This seemed to rectify age-old social injustices. However, life and politics demonstrated that this new situation wouldn't last long. Many new landowners struggled with independent farming due to lacking comprehensive agricultural knowledge, tools, equipment, and seeds. Furthermore, central authorities aimed to steer farmers towards collective farming. Initially, non-prospering smallholders voluntarily transitioned to collective farms. Later, however, many independent farmers, despite creating favorable living conditions, were forcibly coerced into collective farming. During the era of collective farms (TSzs), Tiszaigar became a cooperative community by the end of 1949. In Gerjen, until the nation-wide total collectivization, only a small-scale Cooperative Farming Production Cooperative (TSzCSs) operated until 1960. In Milota, several different TSzCs were initiated, but only from 1960 onwards did the cooperative membership become unified. In parallel with the collectivization in Dudar, a coal mine was opened, transforming the village's character into an industrial one.

The trauma of coercive collectivization was mitigated by allowing space for small household farms, where the previous autonomous peasant way of life could flourish, enabling individuals to pursue their ambitions and maintain their peasant independence at a small-scale, entrepreneurial level, albeit under severe limitations. This period offered a significant advantage in terms of predictable livelihood. The rural population could calculate with fixed activities and supplementary incomes for years and decades, which supported progress, well-being, and accumulation beyond the everyday subsistence level. Thus, the era witnessed visible results in livelihood through intensive labor and high energy investment. Although the primary peasant goal of increasing land and estate couldn't be realized to a significant extent due to limited conditions², considerable changes in living circumstances and lifestyle were achieved through predictable and substantial supplementary incomes. Substantial modernization occurred in housing conditions, construction, interior design, and electronics. Additionally, opportunities arose for car purchases, vacations, and supporting children's education.

² Purchasing land wasn't feasible from the income, but developing the farm in other ways was possible, for instance, acquiring milking machines, threshing machines, setting up greenhouses, constructing pens, barns, etc.

4. The sharp turn brought by the 1989-1990 regime change disrupted the decades-long predictability of rural livelihoods. The previously stable livelihood environment disintegrated, giving way to market conditions and demands. Large-scale agriculture also underwent significant transformation or ceased to exist. Attempts were made to reacquaint rural populations with land ownership through compensation and distributing cooperative ownership shares, but the end result was similar to previous land redistributions. Many new landowners lacked the capability to run independent family farms. Reasons often included the size of the land plots (similar to the 1920 Nagyatádi land reform), lack of agricultural knowledge, tools, infrastructure (as seen in the 1920 and 1945 land redistributions), and in this context, entrepreneurial aptitude was essential for success in the new capitalist market conditions. Consequently, a significant portion of short-lived small-scale farming operations restructured within a few years or decades, and land ownership reverted back to large estates.

In Tiszaigar, the TSz Cooperative transformed into a limited liability company (Kft.), and some members sold the land they received. However, a significant portion of membership remained attached to the cooperative's operation. In Gerjen, the TSz Cooperative continued almost unchanged after the regime change, gradually diminishing in size after members' retirements. State-owned farms divided into smaller units that continued to function as limited liability companies (Kft.). Thus, the transformation of large-scale operations was relatively successful in adapting to the new circumstances. In Milota, the significance of subsidiary branches could only sustain the TSz Cooperative, and with the discontinuation of these branches after the regime change, the cooperative went bankrupt. Despite almost everyone transitioning to small-scale production with the distributed ownership shares and land, the prevailing unpredictability of buyer demand led to the successive closures of small farms. In Dudar, the closure of the mine led to the shutdown of related industries, initially causing significant unemployment.

In rural living conditions and livelihoods, a period of uncertainty and existential insecurity took the lead for a long time, a situation that, in many cases and places, remains unresolved to this day. Instead of the former predictability, unpredictability became the defining characteristic for rural residents. During this period, the influence of regional location on the village's livelihood conditions began to strengthen.

5. Considering the current livelihoods of these villages, we can assert that the agricultural profile is no longer dominant. In most cases, the land associated with each settlement is concentrated in the hands of new, modern large landowners who manage the

necessary operations with a small team of workers and significant machinery resources. In many instances, the owners have no connection to the village, or the villagers are unaware of their identity. Occasionally, they might be prominent entrepreneurs whose primary field is not agriculture, but who have invested capital into this sector.³ In the realm of agriculture, it can be said that acquiring land is perhaps harder than ever before, as those who possess land strive to retain it and acquire more whenever possible.

Due to mechanization and large-scale operations, increasing land quantity doesn't proportionally raise production costs, and thanks to EU subsidies, it's still possible to have profitable economic years even if the purchase price of crops is lower. In those villages – among the ones I examined – where there isn't a significant industrial center or large city accessible on a daily basis, the main axis of livelihood within the village is public employment. However, this can hardly be referred to as suitable, stable livelihood; it's rather a situation strongly subject to local authorities that changes every few months or years. Escaping this scenario is extremely difficult due to the geographical, societal, and mental circumstances.

In Tiszaigar, the workforce of agricultural large-scale operations dwindled over time, and a major investor acquired the successor companies of the former state-owned farms, integrating them into their corporate portfolio. The Limited Liability Company (Kft.) that emerged from the agricultural cooperative now offers daily livelihood to only a few individuals. Former members still hold ownership shares, which entitle them to a portion of the year-end earnings. Additionally, the lack of a nearby economic center and the limited regional infrastructure hinder development. The rising generations mostly leave the settlement. For the remaining population, public employment is the primary 'opportunity' for livelihood, although it can hardly be called a true livelihood.

In Gerjen, ownership changes occurred in the large-scale operations during the 2010s: external investors acquired both the former agricultural cooperative and the state-owned farm from local members and owners. Despite this, the livelihood of the village is relatively stable nowadays (indicated by the low number of publicly employed individuals). The surrounding major cities, along with the service sector and the significance of the Paks Nuclear Power Plant, provide a satisfying range of livelihood opportunities. The expansion of the nuclear power plant is expected to bring further development to Gerjen.

³ Kovách 2016: 117.

In Milota, small-scale agricultural producers engaged in subsidiary farming were pushed out by the conditions of the free market, with unpredictability being prevalent, especially in fruit cultivation. As a result, most have already abandoned this practice, and only a few family farms continue to work on the limited land available in the region. Due to its geographical location, Milota is in the most disadvantaged position, and its challenging infrastructure makes finding employment opportunities extremely difficult.

Dudar is situated in the fortunate western Transdanubia region, providing a wide range of livelihood opportunities within commuting distance. Additionally, local employment options and businesses in the village are relatively diverse, rendering its livelihood relatively stable. The village aims to maintain its profile as a stable residence for commuters.

6. Looking back at the 20th century, nearly every transition between eras was accompanied by land redistribution and reconfiguration of land ownership. These processes shared common elements and consequences, unfolding in similar patterns. Both the land transformations of the 1920s and 1990s were characterized by the distribution of small-sized parcels that alone were inadequate to ensure livelihood for their owners. Common to the land reconfigurations of the 1920s, 1945, and 1990s was the fact that a significant portion of new landowners lacked the capacity for independent farming. They lacked the comprehensive farming knowledge and necessary tools to manage a farm autonomously. Another shared element across these transitions was their reliance on assistance due to their lack of resources. They were forced into "ángáriá" – a kind of mutual assistance system where labor was exchanged, often requiring two or three times the effort in return. By the end of the 20th century, mechanized work processes imposed substantial monetary costs on landowners, further weakening the variable income. Each process eventually pointed towards land concentration, though not in the same form.

In 1920, due to the limited number of people receiving land, the land sales resulting in concentration were not dramatic, particularly given the prevailing concentrated land ownership structure at the time. Post-1945 land concentration occurred towards large-scale cooperative farming. After 1990, the concentration process was the most pronounced: significant masses obtained relatively small plots of land, and for some, there was no intention of putting it to use. For others, while they may have attempted cultivation, in many cases, their efforts fell apart within a few years.

7. Among the villages I examined, we can say that two of them followed a relatively successful path (Gerjen and Dudar), while the other two struggled more to find their livelihoods over the various periods. Tiszaigar began its portrayal as an agrarian proletariat village dominated by large estates, where economic laborers and destitute laborers were present in significant numbers. With nationalizations and collectivization, the village population found livelihoods within large-scale agricultural operations, along with supplemental backyard businesses. Additionally, a considerable portion of the young generation chose commuting to industrial work. After the transition, the presence of large-scale operations persisted for a while, but over time, these diminished and today, only public employment remains as a significant option.

In Gerjen, there was already a strong farming community in the early periods alongside the laborers of the large estates. Even during state socialism, large-scale agricultural operations provided stable livelihoods, and post-transition, hopelessness did not become dominant. The large-scale operations, in changed structural forms, continued to be a part of village life. By this time, however, the surrounding industrial and infrastructural centers (Paks, Szekszárd) also drew significant labor force. Presently, the village's livelihood can still be considered stable.

Milota faces multiple disadvantages. It is situated in a peripheral region with fewer infrastructural and economic developments compared to the western parts of the country. The village's fragmented structure resulted in a limited agricultural area, which had to be shared among the population over time. During the Horthy era, an independent farming society was characteristic, and while there was a significant destitute class, supplemental income and the proximity of the Tisza River provided some balance to their livelihoods. During collectivization, the scarcity of land was effectively compensated for with secondary agricultural activities. Real livelihood problems arose after the regime change and have been deepening ever since. The reparation and distribution of cooperative assets initially motivated small farms to generate income from agriculture, sometimes as supplementary earnings. However, the market-oriented economic structure increasingly pushed many small farms out due to the influence of wholesalers and buyers. With the decline of agricultural opportunities, a new livelihood profile did not emerge, and by now, similar to Tiszaigar, public employment represents the strongest source of livelihood.

Dudar managed to establish a relatively stable and diversified livelihood even in its early periods, partly due to its natural attributes (proximity to forests and mountains, charcoal

burning, and wood processing) and its proximity to a market town. During state socialism, the opening of the coal mine brought significant infrastructural development and town improvement. After the transition, despite the closure of the mine and related facilities, the village was able to quickly adapt. Being close to larger cities where people commute for work provided a stable background in terms of living conditions.

8. From the overview of livelihood changes over the examined century, we can conclude that the hypothesis I proposed is taking shape: early ownership relationships and livelihood forms influence the shaping of livelihood possibilities in every era, up to the present day opportunities. I don't claim that these exclusively determine a settlement's prosperity, as in today's period, the proximity of cities and infrastructural centers has the strongest impact. However, the influence of previous conditions and the population's mentality can be observed: the agrarian-proletarian Tiszaigar struggles to find its place without the large-scale environment. In Milota, with its independent farming society, losing agricultural livelihood options also disrupts the balance. Gerjen had diversified resources previously: large estates, independent farmers, and relatively strong urban employment opportunities (Szekszárd, Paks, and across the Danube, Kalocsa), which continue to provide adequate living conditions today. Of course, it's important to note that Gerjen's current livelihood is significantly influenced by the presence of the Paks nuclear power plant and its expansion. Similarly, Dudar was a multi-faceted village, well-supplied with urban centers even in the past. In these last two settlements, characterized by stable livelihoods, there's a tendency towards stability in the mentality of the population: a wide range of businesses and various services (shops, construction companies, small-scale industries, convenience services, etc.) are present within the community.



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List of publications related to the dissertation

Hungarian book chapters (5)

- Balázs-Legeza, B.:** A mezőgazdaság falusi rendszerváltása: Ilyen volt - ilyen lett.
In: A "létező szocializmus" életvilágai : A vidéki miliók rendszerváltása. Szerk.: Mikó Zsuzsanna, Szegedy-Kloska Tamás, Tamáska Máté, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára ; Szentendre : Szabadtéri Néprajzi Múzeum, Budapest, 65-80, 2023.
- Balázs-Legeza, B.:** A szocialista korszak hatása a magyar paraszttársadalomra: Polgárosodás és paraszttalanítás.
In: Táj és kultúra 1.. Szerk.: Kavecsánszki Máté, Marinka Melinda, Debreceni Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar Néprajzi Tanszék, Debrecen, 160-165, 2018, (Studia Folkloristica et Ethnographica, ISSN 0138-9882 ; 63.) ISBN: 9789634900733
- Balázs-Legeza, B.:** A falu és a falubeliek élete a bánya működése idején (Dudar).
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Hungarian scientific articles in Hungarian journals (3)

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Ház és ember. 31, 131-144, 2019. ISSN: 0230-0044.
- Balázs-Legeza, B.:** "Hát abba' az időbe lehetett boldogulni.": A kiszámítható megélhetési stratégiák a szocialista korszak magyarországi falvaiban.
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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.14232/belv.2013.2.5>

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ISBN: 9786155586521

10. **Balázs-Legeza, B.:** Megélhetési lehetőségek a 21. század magyar falvaiban - esettanulmányok.

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Bálint Csaba, Földi, Péter, Kápolnai, Zsombor, Kovács, Csaba József, Nagyné, Molnár

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11. **Balázs-Legeza, B.:** A vidéki megélhetés átalakulása a poszt szocialista Magyarországon.

In: Tavaszi Szél 2018 : Tanulmánykötet. Szerk.: Keresztes Gábor, Szabó Csaba,

Doktoranduszok Országos Szövetsége, Budapest, 479-490, 2018. ISBN: 9786155586316

List of other publications

Hungarian books (1)

12. Arapovics, M., **Balázs-Legeza, B.**, Barátné Hajdú, Á., Beke, M., Brüll, E., Csonka-Takács, E., Fehér, M., Gulyás, G., Harkai, N., Kajári, G., Kleisz, T., Ládi, L., Németh, L., Péterfi, F., Tóth, M., Varga, K., Vercseg, I.: Közösségfejlesztés módszertani útmutató. Szabadtéri Néprajzi Múzeum MOKK, NMI Művelődési Intézet Nonprofit Közhasznú Kft., Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, 78 p., 2017. ISBN: 9789632006659

Hungarian scientific articles in Hungarian journals (1)

13. **Balázs-Legeza, B.:** Torockó, a néprajzi sztár.

Ház és ember. 28-29., 317-327, 2017. ISSN: 0230-0044.

Other journal articles (2)

14. **Balázs-Legeza, B.:** Tamáska Máté: Torockó felfedezései.

Ethnographia. 128 (4), 754-755, 2017. ISSN: 0014-1798.





15. **Balázs-Legeza, B.:** "A mi 56-unk": Az 1956-os forradalom 60. évfordulós rendezvénye a szentendrei Skanzenben.

Honismeret. 44 (6.), 41-44, 2016. ISSN: 0324-7627.

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