

THESES OF DOCTORAL (PhD) DISSERTATION

Depesantisation-embourgeoisement in a Sekler village

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I. The objectives of the dissertation and subject outlines

The purpose of the present dissertation is to analyse, with the use of qualitative methods, the process of de-peasantisation and urbanization in the Székely Region of Transylvania in a rural environment, looking at the lives of three age groups, one aged between 25-44, 45-74 and over 75 respectively. Research rests upon two pivots: on one hand we aim at disclosing the on-going processes of urbanization and de-peasantisation in the region and, on the other hand, by 'bringing home' the concepts of urbanization, depeasantisation and eradication of peasantry dealt with in the journal *Századvég* (issues 1-3/1990) we attempt to deepen our awareness of our own history in Transylvania. The present dissertation is an independent piece of work, one that respects the requirements of scientific ethics and the norms of author's rights.

The hypotheses and theoretical questions of the dissertation are as follows:

(1) the ways in which altering and diverging structural constraints—such as collectivization and decollectivization are changing the lifestyles and habitus of those occupied with agriculture among other things. An empirical question of the present research is the manner in which in Romania

(2) certain dimensions of the behaviour-patterns of micro-communities practicing the peasant way of life living in the Hungarian minority status in Székelyföld are transformed due to different structural and contextual influences or forces.

(3) the peasant-bourgeois habitus and way of life, which can be defined i.e. contextually determined as a combination of permanently fixed, conscious and reflected, yet structurally determined set of conditions;

(4) family farms of Gyergyóremete applying different dispositional patterns over time depending on the local effects of the macro conditions (alternation of national borders, powers and political-ideological-economic structures)

(5) on an individual level, the participants, depending on their life conditions, interpret the above alternations differently despite having similar experiences. Approaching the same issue from a different angle we see that in this homogenous environment radical changes have taken place in recent decades on the individual and social levels alike. As a result, the amount, the type and quantity of everyday tasks have also changed and taking responsibility along with making decisions constitutes real challenges.

Thus, in order to be able to prove our presumptions, we analysed the evolution of the embourgening, depeasantifying behaviour patterns of three age groups of Gyergyóremete (Remetea - Romania) in the contexts of archaic, industrial and post-industrial social conditions.

Our research area is exciting also because the three sets of contexts overlap even within an individual life path. These forces then cause a change in the specific dispositions and behaviour patterns while the basic model remains the same.

II. An outline of concepts, theories and methods applied

Countless authors make basic assumptions and important statements related to the central concepts of our research but they fail to formulate the meaning of peasant, citizen, embourgeoisement, depeasantisation, eradication of peasantry and their inter-connections in a unified way. In the Green Ring volume (2001) or in ImreKovách's overview of the debates in Századvég journal (1991), it is clear that these attempts to define these concepts cannot be considered as final solutions. The content of these

concepts unfolds on the macro level in its legal-political-economic contexts, which, in turn, manifests itself in our micro-level research against the background of the aforementioned facts and peasant traits such as flexibility, adaptation based on the desire to conform, compliance with market demands and, above all, the pressure to make a living and survive-all changing across time.

The terminological uncertainty highlights the fact that the concepts do not reflect processes of change- deliberately not referred to as development - that take place organically, where they would be assigned different adjectives by every age. Broadening their meaning, however, is also ineffective since the transformation of peasant life strategies can only be explained within the framework of the changes mentioned above. The concept of depeasantification introduced in the literature by Granberg-Kováč-Tovey (2001) has an even more uncertain meaning, which is intended to describe the external-superior influences (collectivization, socialist industrialization) that violently affected the process. This concept would suggest an image of individual liquidations instead of the change or gradual disappearance of traditional peasant features.

Amid these diverging approaches we seem to stand closest to Gyula Benda's attitude (2003), who urges social researchers towards the definition of processes instead of conceptual debates and points out the importance of long-term thinking at the same time. Experience shows that the process of transformation is uneven and can vary from one family to the other, even within the village community, bearing specific characteristics that can be pinpointed in economy, lifestyle, mentality and identity, reflecting relative local social conditions, which shows the impact of microclimate on the individual and his community.

The qualitative work method applied here is a research that aims at disclosing facts based on narrative and biographical analysis. Instead of expecting our findings to be representative, our intention was to interpret

The representation of peasantry in Eastern vs. Western European literature

The representation of peasantry in the Central-Eastern-European literature – Csajanov, Redfield, Erdei, Faragó	The representation of peasantry in Western-European literature – Friedmann, Ploeg, Ellis, Leonard–Kaneff
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cultural existence, collective customs and practices in the peasant world as part of society as a community institution; • the number of agricultural producers decreases while the number of those living in the country does not • the peasant constitutes a part of society as a whole without having a public-political organization, always tied to and subordinate to different groups. This in turn strengthens its ability to survive in the changing political-economic environment • a unique slice of society with a specific production style • the peasant who produces within the capitalist framework of production is a capitalist himself; • realizes a production surplus on his own land working independently; • the cultural framework of production is kept in balance and legitimized by social institutions; • instead of focusing on economic growth, they focus on social reproduction; • cultural traditions and the form of ownership were ideologically and centrally managed by the system; • the breakdown of the family management structure stems from altered cultural orientations and individual attitudes • the cooperative is part of simple reproduction is the cooperative, not driven by the logic of profit making; • de-peasantisation is the result of a change in the agricultural structure. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • theoretical-ideological debates that do not directly affect the quality of life of those concerned (rural environment, consumption, environmental problems); • the peasant in one who makes a living within the framework of family labour; • peasantry entering the world of integrated global economy by leaving behind the closed peasant world; • the central unit is the family farm, in which business constraints and production-consumption goals co-exist; • according to the aspects of time and change, market (family) farmers are not only peasants, but also industrial and wage labourers; • the alternative to the peasant is the farmer who produces rationally; • work is an economically rational type of behavior, a way of earning money; • the peasant characteristic (a method adapted to reproduction) can only survive marketization if there is no paid workforce involved; • by producing for the market respecting the challenges of the market, the feature of peasant reproduction is lost; • though its integration incomplete, its production is part of the economy; • less of a cultural norm.

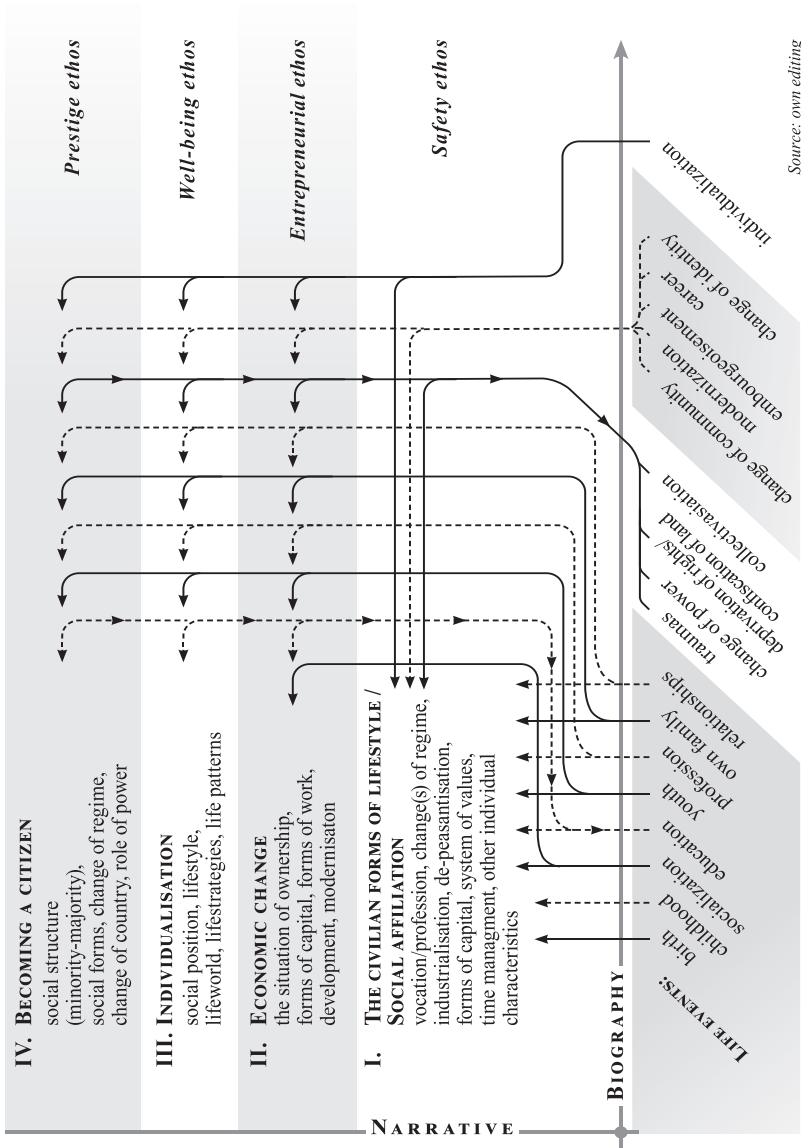
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the patterns of the place-specific de-peasantification, peasant-eradication, embourgening processes taking place in local micro-communities. The discourse part of the present dissertation has been divided into two major units and the interviews included have been analyzed using two different methods. One method involved the entirety of the text corpus resulting from the interviews to be coded with Atlas.ti text analysis software, and then interpreted. The other method involved analysis of the biographical life paths of the three age groups included in the research, following several in-depth conversations with some remarkable interviewees. With the help of this ‘hybrid’ method an attempt at reconstructing the realities revealed in the course of the interviews was made. The chart below is a summary of our findings following the combination of the two types of analysis.

III. Comparing the results with the research questions

In the elements of the life paths and life events of our triad age groups, they talk about the changing forms of existence, in which the importance of origin has been replaced by the consequences of seemingly free, but actually forced, decisions that affect the way of life. As a result of the narrative and biographical analysis of the interviews, a picture was formulated of not only the focused appearance of the respondents, but also their communities and reference groups, and the connections became interpretable. In general, it can be said about the examined terrain that agricultural work was never a fully self-sufficient form of existence there: it always needed to be supplemented. The difference lay in the fact whether the additional activity was realised as a main or part-time position. If we fit the changes of family farm elements such as property, work, individual skills, the impact of public investments on lifestyle, culture, habitus, identity, etc. -into Benda’s (1991) citizenship

Meeting points of biographical and narrative analyses and their relationship with the theory of Gyula Benda (1991) and Imre Kovách (1988)



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criteria system, we can construct a one-way process of variable intensity in the life paths of the age groups. We get to know life situations in reorganized spaces of movement, in which self-identity is repeatedly split or reinterpreted. If we connect the contexts of the patterns of the narratives to the theories, in the empiricism of the macro-micro relations we perceive the constraints of the social structures that determine the conduct of life, i.e. there is no pure social class, and there are short-term, temporary, diverse social phenomena:

(1) A rational producer who considers market conditions

The 75-year-old cohort with moral ties and a sense of security cultivated their land as landholding peasant doing physical work as a family. He had more children, as a way of “reproducing himself”. His family farm covered their own needs: they produced food, clothing, and most of their (work) tools at home. On his small and fragmented land market opportunities were limited and the productivity was low, therefore, the male or at times the female members of the family took on periodical work for additional income. It was together with their parents that the members of the middle-aged age group (45–74 years old) experienced the changes in all elements of the peasant world, the liquidation of their family farms, and the loss of their lands during collectivization. The experiences of a chaotic, emotionally and ideologically overheated world gave birth to socialism, the utopia of communism, which had the greatest impact on the examined process: it caused distortions in everyday reality, confusion in thinking heads and life worlds. Those interviewed had the opportunity to work in the local cooperative or commute to one of the factories of the socialist industry. In both forms, their participation in large-scale agricultural work following establishment plans provided for a forced livelihood and income supplement. The agricultural work of the members of the young age group (25–44 years) who farm on

inherited, purchased or leased land takes place amidst the risks of capitalization and market competition: they employ and make use of wage labour. They are profit-oriented using and providing services. They maintain economic relations and play a role in supplier and community sales chains. In our case, these farming characteristics can be considered peasant-civilian.

(2) Changes in mentality and individualization

The oldest age group in the research was the first generation of Hungarian-Romanian ethnicity, the we versus you space use and identity politics. This generation was increasingly shaped into a functional community due to being a minority. For them, land was still a status-providing vital element and at the same time the starting point of social hierarchy and human relations. The expropriations of land associated with the loss of existence, the reorganized ownership and labour system brought radical changes in their social relations, and created waves of migration among them. The conduct of life of their children, who can be classified as second generation, was made uncertain and distrustful by the socialized socialist dictatorship. The patterns and traditions brought from home were fundamentally changed by the new circumstances. The loss of their own land lived as a traumatic childhood and youth memory in their proletarianized life world. Centrally planned and manually controlled work associated with the elite exchange devalued the traditional work culture and work ethics.

The expropriation of objects and values, the relativization of acts, and the frugally done, “partial” work meant a new quality - not only in agriculture. In their case, solidarity proved to be even stronger than individualization, because difficulty helped maintain the cooperation among people based on reciprocity (the *kaláka* system). Their children continued their education in the socialist era; however, after the regime change

they did not have the knowledge required by the democratic patterns and the capitalizing system. They retired while still in good physical condition and began to work on the restituted land in the pre-collectivization way. Although the sign is different, the effect of the democratic (re)organization and the spatial and subsidy policy after EU accession is also similar: with limited alternatives, they hint at the limitations of the reverse processes. Consider the confusion and distortions of life worlds, the loss of identity generated by redistribution processes, or the family, friendship, economic formations and civilizational crises. Their individualization was aided by the introduction of land onto the market, the assertion of private interests above all else. Their children started small-scale enterprises, entering the market competition with a lack of capital, knowledge and manpower, and began to implement previously unknown methods for land use and labor-saving. Their “loneliness” associated with the concentration of property can be regarded as a specific urbanization process, even though they have a need for social occasions.

(3) Civic forms and values of lifestyle

The generation of grandfathers spent little formal learning time acquiring knowledge. They were the owners of inherited knowledge acquired in the family, which they deepened on social occasions or while working. This did not prove to be convertible capital of knowledge in the new social patterns. Both the men and women of this age group, the former during their employment far from their homeland, the latter during their work as servants, encountered such patterns of civilizing which they were able to put into practice upon returning home and starting an independent family life. During the lives of their children, these too were scattered, and instead new cultural norms were set as a model by the emerging socialist era. Instead of land, the house and its furnishings and consumer goods became the status-signifying ele-

ments. The ever-increasing needs accompanied the life opportunities created by public investments and modernizations. New ideas came to life in family planning and child raising, which became visible in the decreasing number of children, the increasing welfare and the expansion of further education opportunities. The workers of the factories and construction sites, regardless of gender, undertook part-time agricultural work, the extra income of which was used for housing construction, civilian home furnishing, car purchases, etc. Their children, parents, and grandchildren try to carry on with this welfare after the regime change. Their businesses mean constraints, a lack of capital, knowledge, time, and manpower all at the same time, since they have taken on employer roles on the market and pursue agricultural activities driven by the idea of being economical. The possibilities of the now market-based sectors, such as social, healthcare services, and tourism do not mean financial limitations, but their lack of free time does. It is important for them to consume healthy food produced on their own farms, but (for now) they rarely or never sell their produce on markets.

(4) Becoming a citizen

Becoming a (Romanian) citizen posed mental obstacles for the elderly participants in our interviews: they felt threatened in their identity. As a dominant social group, my older age group, which was still reproducing traditional culture, found predictable support for their goals only in the church as an organization and in their local informal relationships. They could not become a citizen in the “citoyen” sense of the word. The interviewees of our elderly age group became individual beneficiaries of the conditioned developments, who were offered the differentiation between leisure and work time, but, as they were moving along the forced paths of their life situations, could “decide” for the latter. As a consumer of culture, they enjoyed the (pseudo) bourgeois opportunities offered

by the socialist era, but were unable to become a citizen again due to the ideology of the era. Although the younger cohort did not have a direct role in the welfare processes (for them, owning and using a home equipped with public utilities and central heating is obvious and natural), the citizen habitus arising from convictions and values does not manifest. In their lifestyle and work culture, they continue the loss of culture, knowledge and tradition induced by the socialist era, connected to the land. In the process of urbanization being active players in the capitalist society, they are not “citizens” of the present social reality: they continue to produce goods parallelly with bureaucratic work, which in itself would not be an obstacle to this, but the volatile constraints of the redistribution processes, subsidy opportunities, tenders present in their way of life simultaneously remove them as active participants from the peasant and bourgeois world of life. With their work, they fit into the rational market economy, but they are not independent. They administer daily and have no daily contact with the land; their relationship with it is ambivalent. If they move out of this role, we can perceive the peasant features in their habits, rather than the bourgeois ones.

IV. Summary

Summarizing our results related to our theses, we came to the following conclusions:

(1) the habitus and way of life of individuals/families engaged in agriculture (also) are gradually shaped and transformed by the changing structural constraints characterized by beliefs and ideologies, but not in organic processes, with varying intensity,

(2) there is a relationship of varying content, quality and intensity between the behavior patterns of the micro-community (double minority) practicing the peasant way of life in the minority situation and the

different contextual effects. This was not what we assumed at the beginning of our research. Therefore, we had to modify our position: minority identity is a form of existence within which the dispositions of the majority society prevail.

(3) The theories that consider the peasant as a social formation (Kósa 1988), a social state (Kovács 2006), or an interrupted process (Szelényi 1988, Harcsa 1991) do not justify our theses. On the other hand, those who define the peasant-bourgeois habitus as a set of structurally conditioned conditions corresponds with this point of our theses (Erdei 2004, Márkus 1973, Kovách 2012), because the durability of micro-level processes of de-peasantization is shaped by global trends.

(4) The changing conditions “expect” different life strategies from the actors - the clichéd imperative of the analyzed interviews, “you have to live”, gives a general answer to our theses.

(5) The actors interpret the same experiences in different ways, depending on their life situation, - although we examined the actors of a traditionally model-ensuing society, in the case studies we could witness the uniqueness of the solutions depending on personality.

Overall, we can say that, over generations, the structure of land-use was unable to change the livelihood indicators of the families, or to move the social-economic-infrastructure development indicators of the settlement towards higher values. According to our observations, no one form of life has become dominant; permeable, parallel worlds exist side by side: the peasantry disappears in its original elements, but the bourgeoisie does not develop. Among the uncertainties of the processes, characters (agents) exhibiting a plural habitus try to find their way around, come to an agreement, and cope. The peculiarities of the phenomena of the investigated processes and the results of our research may also be suitable for analytical generalization due to their context. Our interviews are source material, contemporary documents that can

supplement theories as real-life examples or serve as a basis for comparative analyses. The revealed relational systems, dispositions, attitudes, role conceptions, and habits offer room for further reading. Following the generalizability, they can be cumulated and compatible with similar investigations and scientific works of other regions of Székelyföld or the former Soviet sphere of interest.

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1. **Laczkó-Albert, E.:** Polgárosodás - paraszttalanodás és a rurális közszféra érintkezési pontjai.
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