

Farming Attitudes in Transition

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The political change of 1989 as the primary motivator of the transformation process does not function on the basis of identical motivations in an urban or in a rural environment. For the village farming has a determining role. The reason is the land-centred thinking of the peasantry that has been revived because of the political transition.¹

The liquidation and transformation of the Farmers' Co-operative and the privatization all entailed the change of the peasants' work-system. The past, the value-system, the structure, the hierarchy and the prospects of the local society determine the direction of change, offering several alternatives from traditional strategies of production to modern farming. The new social groups emerging in the village society may become confronted with the accepted norms, especially when giving positive answers to external influences that differ from the model of change preferred by the local society (eg.: private entrepreneurs).

On the other hand the lands taken for family farming emphasize the role of the family as a work-organization. The determining factors of the developing farming strategies are the size of the land and the farming trend. New working teams and team-works come into being the frame-works of which are about to be established.

The essay aims to present some results of a revealing, descriptive research in process that investigates the influences of the political change on farming attitudes. The location of the research is some increasingly disadvantageous small villages of the Bihar region. In the followings I present the farming characteristics of the village Újiráz.

The aim of the essay:

- To map the impacts of the changes following the events of 1989 on farming.
- To show the farming attitudes of the present.
- To analyze the interrelatedness of the different strategies of life.

¹ Szabó, L. 1993: 148-150.

I attempt to grasp that change through the conflicts between the habits and mentalities creating the different strategies of farming. In other words I investigate the difference between the representatives of the "traditional value-system" and that of private entrepreneurs. This approach may lead to significant consequences because the way of coping with problem situations may indicate the changing trend of peasant farming. The village in the example calls our attention to the fact that during the research it is not enough to concentrate on the internal changes of the settlements concerned, but the determining external events should also be considered, since the particular strategies of adjustment of the region's settlements can only be compared while being fully aware of the forms of joining to macro-systems.²

Those family and peasant farms are considered to be traditional in which the farming activity is motivated by deeply rooted local customs and production is not market-oriented.

Those primarily market-oriented farming attitudes are considered to belong to private entrepreneurs where market demands and not traditional or other social interests take effect in the organization of work, in the time-table and in the use of money.

The essay is based on data collected by deep interviews during the summer of 1998. When choosing the informants with the help of local assistants I attempted to accumulate information from informants representing all the types of farming in the sample. I wish to describe and analyze the processes of the village on the basis of the collected material and the written sources.

The initial hypothesis was that the increasingly disadvantageous villages lying farthest away from the regional centre and having the smallest population are the remotest points of the urbanization process. The traditional elements of culture and forms of farming live the longest in the peripheral small settlements, because changes have hardly affected that region and the transformation after the political change can be followed there, from the most archaic forms.³

However, my researches, so far, have shown that the scale of adjustment is primarily determined by the villages' economic potential (where territorial and settlement conditions also come into play). That is why economic deprivation makes these small settlements incapable of living. Their social structure disintegrates, they become less capable of preserving their local culture than the larger

² Lammel, A. 1984.

³ Andrásfalvy, B. 1980:55.

villages capable of integrating changes on the local level.⁴ We cannot talk about corporal-like communities in the small settlements, neither. Individual strategies of adjustment come afore. This way the integration of the peasant society into the social, cultural whole is less to happen through the structure of the community.⁵

1. Characteristics of the external relationships influencing farming

REGIONAL, AREAL CHARACTERISTICS

The chapter of Várad founded Újiráz in 1912. The 100 settler-families coming from Békés consisted of landless people working on the lands of the chapter as wage labourers. The chapter provided plough-lands, inlands and pastures of 4 and half acres in total for each family.⁶

Before World War I this land was the lowland part of County Békés, the agricultural products of which were to provide for the East-Bihar region. The regional centre was Nagyvárad. After the Trianon treaty and the border-shifts, the village was cut off from its natural markets and it lost all those cities and towns, the attraction-areas of which it belonged to. As a result, its cultural and economic relations have changed. The separation of the region was enhanced by the county-system created in 1949-50 and the outcome is that the southern part of County Hajdú-Bihar now does not belong to the attraction-area of any cities.⁷ That also caused the pushing of Újiráz to the periphery of the county.⁸ The moving of villagers capable of working to the cities and towns started simultaneously. A gradual tendency of ageing became characteristic of the village by today.⁹

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EXTERNAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

The unskilled villagers are undesired investing agents for the capital investors who require competence. On the other hand the young, trained inhabitants leave the society of Újiráz, because the opportunities of the settlement do not meet their expectations formed during their training years, or there are not any suit-

⁴ Kunt, E. 1987:13-15.

⁵ Steward, J. 1955.

⁶ Szekerczés, P. 1992:4.

⁷ Keményfi, R. 1994:84-87.

⁸ The chief town of the county is 80 kilometres away, while the nearest town lies 40 kilometres far. The chief town of County Békés is 50 kilometres far and the larger settlements are closer in Békés, too. Since public transport is organized county-wise, the villagers cannot go to the towns of Békés directly. This enhances separatedness and makes commuting more difficult.

⁹ Süli-Zakar, I. 1996:11-29.

able works for them in the village. Hence these generations cannot help the local society's continuous adjustment to the changing conditions that would ensure the continuity of the village population's relationship with the macro-society. It is not only the village of Újiráz that the skilled people leave, but also often the "peasant existence" itself, only to become urban citizens. That weakens the remaining "peasant population", since the parents (who help the living of the young generations leaving the village with material goods) pump the remaining economic potential out of the village.¹⁰

The lack of adjustment is clearly presented in the relationship between the private enterprise and the market. The production technologies applied in the village today are not related to the modern methods keeping the market processes and environmentalism in view. At the present, farmers consider those intensive methods desirable that have environmental drawbacks but are characterized by the increased exploitation of the ground's fertility and by increased chemicalization. During the production of animal products they use obsolete technologies while observing low-level hygienic standards. This way they are unable to join to macro-economy, since they cannot meet the expectations of the market.

2. The influence of political change on local farming

COMPENSATION

During the process of privatisation, the village has lost significant lands since the political change. The compensation-coupons were sold and non-local owners often took the compensation-lands during the sales and auctions.

Parts of the former chapter-estate were taken by the neighbouring settlements, Csökmő and Komádi. There are four factors that played very important roles in losing those lands.

INSUFFICIENT INFORMATION.

The lack of information concerning privatisation was a general problem. It was a rumour told among the elder people that those who claimed back their lands would lose their pensions, and that refrained them from claiming their rights.

THE LACK OF LAND-OWNING TRADITIONS

There are no traditions of private farming in the village. During the settlement such day-labourers arrived here who had worked as wage earners before

¹⁰ An eclatant example of this general phenomenon can be seen in the neighbouring Magyarhomoróg, where the milking cows taken out from the collective are sold by the elder members to be butchered only to supply their children in the cities with money.

and who were given only small lands of a few acres to own. They were trained in cultivating the land but they had no experience in owning that too.

THE DEFICIENCIES OF THE COMPENSATION-LAWS.

It is characteristic of the "peasant" mentality that they do not claim other people's lands, having a strong ethics. They wanted to get back their own former possessions, but privatization was not supported by the compensation-laws.

THE CAUTIOUS ATTITUDE ORIGINATED IN HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS.

Újiráz is a Catholic island in a Protestant environment. Even at the time of its foundation the neighbouring villages (Csökmő, Komádi) protested against the village that would limit their claims to the land. That is why there has not been a harmonious relationship with the neighbouring settlements ever since, and why there has been several attempts for the liquidation and restraining of Újiráz. In 1947 they tried to deport the population claiming they were Slovaks, and from 1947 the common local government of Újiráz and Csökmő increased the marginalization of the village. These conditions made the villagers more cautious about external urges and a practice aiming to minimize risk was formed in them as well.

THE CO-OPERATIVE

The inhabitants of the village have never had an estate larger than a few acres, and by World War II only a few families could extend the 4 acres distributed at the start to 10-11 acres. Formerly they worked on the estate of the chapter, then the co-operative provided working opportunities for the inhabitants. The co-operative provided the continuity of the farming-organizing practice for the people of Újiráz have accustomed to communal production. Consequentially it is not the general archaic peasant mentality or attachment to the land that prevails here.

After the political change the formerly mentioned delaying attitude prevailed in relation to the liquidation of the co-operative.

Unlike in most of the neighbouring settlements, here the survival of the co-operative, here the survival of the co-operative was obvious, yet it could not preserve the dominant role it had fulfilled in the village's farming activity because it went through a significant transformation.

According to the co-operative-laws the lands that remained in the possession of the co-operative farm were to be distributed among the members. 14.67 golden crowns was the share of each member. Most of them left their lands in, and the

co-operative cultivates it and sells the produced crops. The 1000-hectares land of the pre-1990 era became 200 hectares smaller, but that is rented.

The present form is a provisional situation, since the owner-structure is not adequate. The decision that states that the co-operatives cannot possess lands will cut off the possibility of living and makes it inviable as well in the long run.

By their closing down the most important source of living of the village would dry up. The number of people working in the co-operative have decreased significantly by the present, only 10% of the inhabitants regard it to be the possibility and guarantee of a regular wage earning. (compared to the former 120 people only 78 works here now)

HOUSEHOLD-FARMING

Right after its foundation a special "system of double working" was developed in Újiráz. Its essence is that farming on the land received from the chapter provided for the living of the family, while the work on the estate provided for the monetary funds (such a method of production become general only in the '60s by the formation of household farms in the neighbouring villages). This resulted in the household farming of increased importance – compared to the neighbouring villages – typical of Újiráz, which was mainly characterized by producing chiefly animal products to the market. As a peculiarity: almost all the families raised animals.

In the socialist era such a form of farming have proven suitable to be followed using traditional instruments with the help of family resources and have proven to be suitable to do parallel with "money-earning", pension-guaranteeing forms of activities which could be done in official workplaces.

The transformed market conditions after 1990 were not favourable for the functioning of household-farms.

The decrease of profitability has sorely affected farmers, since lower incomes do not make the acquisition of the desired prestige-goods possible.

New forms of farming have not replaced household farming, which became inviable. Household-farmers respond to the uncertain situation of the transitional era by the use of traditional techniques, waiting for calculable conditions that also mean the retaining of production and consumption.¹¹

¹¹ Bíró – Gagyí – Oláh 1994. I/33.

3. The types of farming in Újiráz

The scholarly literature investigating the present-day agricultural production of small farms carries out analyses according to different aspects. Leaning on József Kotics's summary I would like to present some characteristic approaches only to show the contemporary tendencies of investigation.¹²

Tibor Tóth divides the Hungarian counties into 2 groups according to the nature of the small farm production. He defines groups on the basis of the size of agricultural land per an agricultural wage earner and the size of tilled land per an agricultural resident.¹³

Imre Kovách took the types of farms as basis. Although he constructed his typology to household farming in the 80s, his grouping is still applicable to the present conditions. He distinguishes between the following forms of agricultural small-scale producing farms: traditional self-sufficient small-farm; productional peasant farms and the agricultural small-farms based on entrepreneurship.¹⁴

According to Magdolna Fehérváryné Nagy, the changes of the economic attitude of the peasantry can be outlined more exactly with the help of economy-specific investigations. On the basis of her researches in Gúta, she distinguishes between three types: the self-sufficient peasant farm based on the balance of agriculture and animal husbandry; that where animal husbandry is emphasized and the productional peasant farm characterized by the emphasis on crop-production.¹⁵

Burgerné Gimes Anna, Keszthelyiné Rédei Mária and Mrs. Salamin were also considered the relationship of agricultural small farms and the market as the basis of their investigation. They found four types: household or hobby farming; the self-sufficient, the seasonally producing and the regularly producing farms.¹⁶

According to the structure of products and the structure of branches, István Harcsa distinguishes between mono-cultural – building on the predominance of one branch – and mixed farms.¹⁷

On the basis of the relationship with the market, Zsolt Spéder distinguishes between market-oriented farms, farms that produce for the market as well, and self-supplying farms.¹⁸

¹² Kotics, J. 2001:113-126.

¹³ Tóth, T. 1988:54.

¹⁴ Kovách, I. 1988.

¹⁵ Fehérváryné Nagy, M. 1990:43-65.

¹⁶ Burgerné – Keszthelyiné – Salaminé 1990:2.

¹⁷ Harcsa, I. 1994:24.

¹⁸ Spéder, Zs. 1997:11.

To group the farming strategies of Újiráz, I took the categories of Imre Kovách concerning farming attitudes and farm-types, and the analysis of József Kotics as the bases of my classification.¹⁹

As the refusal of the new entrepreneur-attitude posits conflict-situations into the centre, I distinguish between forms corresponding with the “traditional” farming habitude and forms differing from that. This way I split the farming strategies of Újiráz in two groups. The 2-2 sub-groups in the types accepted and non-preferred by the local community cover the local attitudes.

FARMING STRATEGIES ACCEPTED BY THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

1./1. Farming attitude unaffected by the market

Those self-supplying small-farms belong here which function as part of the household working according to the traditional conduct. Their aim is to produce the missing food-products. The conduct and order of production laid in the traditions determine farming based on experience. Partially disabled elder people and those giving up household farming belong here.

1./2. Farming strategies affected by the market

According Pál Juhász, members of farms set for the permanent duality of first and second economy behave as wage labourers in the first economy and as entrepreneurs in the second.²⁰ Such a practice never goes beyond the traditional framework: besides the job ensuring a safe income and a living, it aims to acquire material and status-heightening goods. Income from the second economy serves to ensure the family prestige and its position in the village society. On the other hand, the demands on the security of „standing on more feet”, the minimalization of risk are also typical of this group producing for the market in a traditional framework. In the background of this farming attitude there is such a form of farming organized for producing for the market, which strives for self-sufficiency concerning some of the food-products – similarly to the traditional peasant farming. They stick to the traditionally functioning techniques of production and products that they are able to produce with the help of their traditional expertise. The owner and his family do most of the physical work. However, in time of need they can ask for the help of their relatives, the members of the co-operative or can hire wage labourers.

¹⁹ Kovách, I. 1988:91-93.; Kotics, J. 2001:109-153.

²⁰ Juhász, P. 1976.

Some of the young people use traditional instruments to cultivate lands of 1-2 acres besides their full-time jobs. They buy 1 or 2 horses and use them for the smaller work-phases (to plough the spaces during the hoeing, to deliver the products to the house). But those part-operations more difficult to carry out (eg.: ploughing) were done almost exclusively by rented machines.

There are some who have their lands cultivated by the co-operative or by an agricultural entrepreneur. They produce the fodder-plants necessary for household-farming this way. The market-affected farming attitude is not that much sale-oriented to have its economic strategy and attitude change. Their market-orientedness is very much diverse, some of them sell only the product-surplus produced during household farming, while for others the aim is to produce for the market in order to acquire those goods elevating living standards. The deteriorating economic conditions make the production mood decreasing. People are less and less likely to be occupied with swine raising, milk-production and raising store cattle. Commuters and members of the co-operative belong to the gradually diminishing group of household farmers. Since such a farming attitude is only paying together with other sources of income, the decrease of official working opportunities meant the diminishing significance of that attitude in Újiráz compared to earlier conditions.

FARMING STRATEGIES NOT PREFERRED BY THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

2./1. Market-oriented farming attitude

This farming attitude is chiefly based on the earlier small-scale producing attitude. It is peculiar because of the searching-for-the-right-way attitude during its development, so the change is preceded by an era of endeavouring inside the given traditional framework. It is very often because of the failures inside the traditional framework that the individual is forced to change.

The duality of the market-oriented entrepreneur attitude and traditional conduct is an important characteristic of the full-time farming activity, the primary source of income for the household. They decide according to market prospects, but their mentality does affect their economic conduct. They have agricultural skills, because this farming attitude is mostly characteristic of entrepreneurs formerly working as mid-directors of the co-operatives. Because of the historical precedents, the family estate serving as the basis of the farm is rather small in this village (9-10 hectares). That should force entrepreneurs to co-operate, but at the present that only works on the level of relatives. The owner and the family attempt

to do most of the physical work by themselves. In time of need though they can count on the help of the relatives or they can hire wageworkers.

They are not familiar with the whole of the process of production and they do not check the whole of it, yet their production is dependent on profitableness. If market conditions desire, they are willing to change the products or the breeds. They do not stick to the crop-producing traditions of the region unconditionally. They are aware that they cannot have an insight in the macro-economic processes, they cannot affect the market, but they do not defend themselves with delaying, instead, they try to adapt.

2./2. Market-centred entrepreneur attitude

According to József Kotics's statement²¹ the modernization, motorization of the farm and the intensive commodity production chiefly characterize the enterprises of agrarian specialists. This statement is true in the case of Újiráz as well. The market-centred entrepreneur attitude is represented by a single proprietor, the former president of the co-operative. The farmer, who considers himself a "constrained entrepreneur", cultivates a land of 70 hectares. He started private farming with the help of the family. He attempts to develop the enterprise by taking credits. Since he already had certain bases at the start (eg.: the equipment park), this covered the credits taken. That helped him through the difficult times. He has always been attempting to modernize the farm. He is well aware of the fact that for a farm capable of living he has to invest, and that can only be done by repayable accommodations. His use of money is completely characteristic of that of entrepreneurs. He has a perfect insight into the whole of the processes of production and marketing. Among the present economic conditions other entrepreneurs cannot follow him.

Private farming requires a basically different approach to farming: the continuous search for the emerging opportunities and their immediate seizing, maximally mobilizing the available energies, experiences, and relationships. A certain amount of over-insurance is also required. The individual is forced to concentrate the reserves. A different moral basis is assumed than that of the employees of the co-operative.²²

²¹ Kotics, József 2001:145.

²² Bíró, A. Z. – Gagyí, J. – Oláh, S. 1994. I./29.

4. Presenting and analysing the relationship between the different life-strategies.

REASONS AND MANIFESTATIONS OF REJECTING NEW FARMING STRATEGIES

It is not the production process but the local relation-system that is important for the peasant family farm, as a social unit.²³ That explains the emphasized role of the household in the value-system of the village society. The official workplace is often remote, giving no chance for the local community to keep the individual under control. On the other hand household farming is carried out in the space of the village inside the family framework, providing the public necessary for judging the individual. Private entrepreneurs also work in the space of the settlement, forcing the public opinion of the village to increasingly face with their farming mentality diverging from the accepted norms. The local population experience it every day that the aim of these entrepreneurs is not to cover the needs of the family or the acquisition of the desirable goods of prestige, but to make profit. In order to do that, they take material risks, having a different approach toward farming, toward working. This opposes the general peasant mentality. While trying to adapt to the market requirements, they cannot escape confrontation with the traditional value-system. It is Pierre Bourdieu who shows the reasons of indisposition towards entrepreneurs. The traditional way prevails as long as it is considered not the best possible but the only possible way to follow.²⁴

Naturally, representatives of the traditional value-system also experience the inviability of the usual farming strategies, and it becomes apparent in the problematic situation of the co-operative and the household farms, yet they do not try to adapt, but are delaying. This tactical-like behaviour is manifested in the retardation of production. The income lost because of the cautious, risk-evading economic activity is compensated by reducing consumption and by an economical life-style.²⁵

Of course, when investigating reactions we can only talk about versions accepted by the majority, because the village society is not homogeneous. It seems statable that the local opinion supports such attitudes the most that require the least change.

²³ A. Gergely A. – Cséfalvay Z. – Lichtenstein J. 1990.

²⁴ Bourdieu, P. 1978: 333.

²⁵ Bíró A. Z. – Gagyí J. – Oláh S. 1994. I./29.

The rejection of the diverging attitude is manifested in activities and speech situations as well. The depreciation of entrepreneurs' private property is presented in symbolic attitudes too.

In verbal communication the people of Újiráz react with the under-evaluation of the expertise necessary for enterprising, while they emphasise the importance of hard, physical work. Many of them declare that in an uncertain economic situation only those individuals are able to succeed who employ profiteering, dishonest means and this way they become dishonest themselves.²⁶

The purpose of such behaviour is to withhold local people from the uncertain attitude, diverging from the traditional.²⁷

ENTREPRENEURS RELATION TO TRADITIONAL FARMING

The private entrepreneurs' opinion can be grasped on the basis of their image in their own eyes and by their relationships with the most important groups in the life of the village.

According to their judgement even among the hard-working inhabitants with family resources only those could be successful entrepreneurs who started it in the right moment, after the political change. Many emphasize exigency and the uncertain nature of the new kind of form of farming as the evocators of the change. Accentuating pressure indicates that entrepreneurs feel it to be important to justify their attitude diverging from traditional life-strategies. They attempt to give an explanation to the opposing public opinion about the necessity of their decision. On the other hand, they consider their survival a success in the new situation and that provides a moral ground for them to criticize the communal life-strategies that became inviable or difficult to follow among the new conditions.

They regard their role in the village life as important from the aspect of raising the economic potential of the local community. This aspect emphasizes the importance of the predominance of the individual in the relationship of the individual and the community, which is beneficial for the local population.

Since political decisions following the political change have directed the entrepreneurs to the way they chose they expect economic support (favourable

²⁶ Communal sanctioning is also manifested in that general view according to which the former president of the co-operative, who is also the owner of the biggest agrarian enterprise, could only reach results through damaging the community. Many people believed that as the head of the co-operative he used his power and influence to carry out his own aims. His expertise as the explanation for his efficient production is not accepted.

²⁷ Bíró A. Z. – Gagyí J. – Oláh S. 1994. I./33.

decisions of credit-politics) and moral support too from the government, because these are necessary to their perpetuance and development. On the level of the settlement they expect the local government to provide the background, since that is gate to the national politics functioning as "an external, upper element".²⁸ Private entrepreneurs regard the lack of local government supports (accommodations) as rejections. For them political change would become realized only with a change of approach in the daily routine, since that would legitimate their different conduct.

They explain the villagers' rejection with envy and with the fact that in Újiráz there have never been families with significant land properties and the people of the village are afraid that some of them would emerge from them by becoming richer than the others.

According to my experiences, the entrepreneurs compare their farming strategies to co-operative farming. While wording their opinions they do not criticize persons, but the deficiencies of collective farming and the unexplored opportunities of that are opposed to the advantages of private enterprises they represent. Since co-operative farming has traditions in the settlement, a fair amount of the inhabitants are interested in co-operative farming in some way, that is why conflict is manifested in the different approaches of the members of the co-operative and those of the private farmers. Entrepreneurs consider the members' personal approaches to work as the main problem of co-operative farming. They believe that the reasons of facile working morals and work-intensity are rooted in the fact that most of the co-operative workers were socialized for a wageworker-mentality from childhood.

They collect their information about co-operative farming during their everyday activities in the village space. During farming they can watch the production of the co-operative as easily as the co-operative workers could watch their farming. On the other hand, many of the entrepreneurs fulfilled leading posts in the Co-operative Farm of the past era. As they had the opportunity to influence the processes of team farming (probably that is why they watch it that much), they can see the differences, because they know both kinds of farming. In their opinion the present leadership of the co-operative could do something for the appreciation of the private property of entrepreneurs, since it is the leader's task to shape the view of the members.

In the relationship of the Co-operative and the entrepreneurs it is a peculiar circumstance that several entrepreneurs have interests in the co-operative.

²⁸ Wolf, Eric 1966.

Difficulties of the co-operative mean the opportunity for co-operation for some entrepreneurs despite the conflicts. That phenomenon indicates that their relationship is more motivated by economic interests than by emotions or passion.

According to the owner of the biggest enterprise of Újiráz, the co-operative has an essential role in the village, because the inhabitants cannot live on their 3-hectare lands separately. He believes that the future of the settlement is not the strategy, the private enterprise he represents, but such a working-organization unit functioning in a co-operative structure that could provide work for 2-3 members of each of the families in Újiráz.

The group of private entrepreneurs is not homogeneous, conflicts occur among them as well. Co-operation, solidarity characterizes entrepreneurs linked with ties of kindred.

Summary

A peculiar form of farming based on the co-operative and the household has been developed in Újiráz during the 80 years since its foundation. The historical background of the village defined its nature. The settlement starting to develop dynamically first lost its "key-settlement", Nagyvárád, then it was pushed to the periphery of the region.²⁹

By the political change the two economic pillars – the Co-operative and household farming - were impaired. At the same time a new form of farming appeared that had had no precedent. By applying strategies differing from the norms of the village the private farmers had to face with the rejection of the community. Household farmers who depend a lot on the external markets perform a traditionally peasant way of defensive behaviour against the unfavourable external influences, the strategy of the retardation of production and of reducing consumption, and pushing those reacting positively to the external influences positively to the periphery. Rejection was often manifested not openly but in symbolic forms. The changes of living standards also determine the relationships of the inhabitants of the settlement, because in graver economic situations conflicts are always sharper. The closed, inviable state of the ageing settlement also makes the adaptation to the transformed market conditions more difficult. The migration of the lively, young generations impedes the possibility of a gradual transition and that makes the community to react with disintegration, not with adaptation to the new situation.

²⁹ Süli-Zakar, I. 1996:22.

On the basis of the researches I believe that private enterprise is not the offspring of the household farming becoming inviable, but it is basically a different form of farming, the development conditions of which have been created by the present, as the household farming should not disappear necessarily, only it has to go through some kind of a transition to become capable of perpetuating.

Through the economic transitions of Újiráz one moment of a process can be seen. Its actors are not bad or good, positive or negative, only their attitudes are motivated by different life-strategies.

My information contain only the surface layer, maybe the main directions, of the interactions between individuals. The exploration of deeper motivations is a task for further investigations, where I intend to pay attention to a network of relations determined by relative ties, religion, origin, sex and age unexpressed during everyday speech-acts that remains mostly invisible for external observers.

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