Edited by
Tímea Bata • Albert Zsolt Jakab

DEPARTURE AND ARRIVAL

Migratory Processes
and Local Responses from Ethnographic
and Anthropological Perspective

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Departure and Arrival:
Migratory Processes and Local Responses from
Ethnographic and Anthropological Perspective

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Sándor Ilyés
Albert Zsolt Jakab
András Vajda

DEPARTURE AND ARRIVAL

Migratory Processes and Local Responses from Ethnographic and Anthropological Perspective

(Papers of the 2nd Finnish-Hungarian-Estonian Ethnological Symposium, Cluj-Napoca, May 9-13, 2017.)

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On the Road:
Between Nations, Identities, and Cultures

The past 150 years have witnessed numerous migrations: individuals and populations, spurred by political, social, and economic events or lifepath changes, who abandon their homelands either temporarily, for extended periods, or even permanently. Affecting millions, human migration is not something limited to the past, but a phenomenon of considerable relevance to the present day. Geographically speaking, such movements fall into two distinct categories: those occurring within a single country, and those involving the crossing of national borders. An understanding of what people experience during departure, time spent on the road, and arrival, with consideration given to the distinction between voluntary and forced migration, can help us in several ways: to grasp phenomena such as the transferral and preservation of values; to comprehend which processes and practices work to integrate or isolate those affected; to confer perspective, whether on source and destination groups, or on the responses to the various situations encountered in new locations. To understand this multi-faceted phenomenon requires a multidisciplinary approach, toward which ethnographic and anthropological research findings may offer their own measure of support.

The 2nd Finnish-Hungarian-Estonian Ethnological Symposium[1] – an event organised by the Hungarian Ethnographical Society, Budapest Museum of Ethnography, and János Kriza Ethnographic Society, held 9-13 May 2017 in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), Romania – chose as its focus the topics of migratory processes – broadly defined to include such phenomena as emigration, immigration, resettlement, and work abroad – and the individuals and communities that participate in them, studied in various contexts and time frames from both the ethnographic and anthropological perspectives. The papers published for the conference

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1 The 1st Finnish-Hungarian-Estonian Symposium, held in Turku in 2013, treated the topic of *Landscape, Place, Locality, and Space*. (Its material is currently under publication: Lillbroända-Annala–Mäki–Siivonen eds. 2019). Attended by ethnographers, ethnologists, and anthropologists, the symposium was the successor of a ten-part series of Finnish-Hungarian conferences taking place between 1984 and 2009, with material routinely published in the form of volumes of studies: Lehtinen ed. 1985, Paládi-Kovács–Szarvas eds. 1987, Yliaho ed. 1992, Szarvas ed. 1993, Korhonen ed. 1995, Kodolányi ed. 1999, Korhonen–Ruotsala–Uusitalo eds. 2003, Cseri–Fejős–Szarvas eds. 2004, Korkiakangas–Lappi–Niskanen eds. 2008, Bata–Szarvas eds. 2010.

offer interpretive responses to the issues surrounding migration, historical and contemporary, and/or use case studies to elucidate its various stages, participants, and effects. The issues in question include the following: What factors prompt groups and individuals to take to the road? What challenges do they face both while on the road, and upon arrival? What traditions and objects do migrants take with them from their homelands, and what new meaning is imparted to such things in the process? And of particular importance, regarding how communities joined and communities left behind are portrayed: How do phenomena associated with globalisation affect the future lives of migrants and the communities from which they originated? How do local minorities with a historic past, as opposed to more recent settlers, shape the day-to-day lives and traditions of the communities they join? What factors might compel migrant groups and individuals to return home? How do various forms of maintaining contact with those left behind, or with others who have taken to the road (mail, Internet, personal visits), and ways of maintaining communal memory (family, local) function? What forms do cooperation between destination and migrant communities take? In what ways can individual and group identity be maintained within a new community? How are local landscapes, traditions, and knowledge shaped by migratory processes? At the local level, is it the demonstrable differences or rather the similarities that have the greatest effect in these processes?

The volume to follow is a collection of studies born from a subset of the lectures of the international conference, ordered into coherent thematic sections. Chapter 1 (*Departures and Arrivals*) includes two case studies that discuss changes experienced over the previous few decades. One of these is Helena Ruotsala's *Mobility over the Border. Departures and Arrivals in the Tornio Valley between 1945 and 2017,* which examines the migratory processes, border-crossing strategies, and ebb and flow of borders both symbolic, and real, experienced in the Finnish-Swedish Tornio Valley since the end of World War II. The creation of the border between the two countries constitutes one of a set of historic events that, while not actually interrupting existing family and work ties, did require the development of new strategies and practices on the part of both populations, i.e. changes in community border use which the study tracks over the period in question. The second study in the chapter, *The Social Integration of Refugees from the 1956 Hungarian Revolution in the United States (Experiences of Ethnographic Field Research),* presents the findings of a field research project by Balázs Balogh regarding the community of Hungarian refugees who settled in the Eastern and Midwestern regions of the United States following the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Balogh's study outlines the history of this group of people, exploring the questions of how Hungarian migration manifested in the geographical area under scrutiny, how Hungarian refugees and their families reached U.S. shores, and how they lived once they got there. The cases studied for the project focus on the topics of relations with American society, and successes and failures experienced during the integration process.

In Chapter 2, *Historical Perspectives and Examples*, case studies of a historic nature feature alongside pieces intended to illustrate the range of problematics under investigation as part of a research process. In *The Effects of Alcohol Trade among the Samoyeds and Ob-Ugrians in the Russian North and Western Siberia*, for example, Art Leete examines the effects of the 19th-century alcohol trade on changing perceptions of the peoples inhabiting Northern Russian and Western Siberia, using examples taken from relevant ethnographic and travel accounts. In his analysis of the source material, the author identifies the contours of several processes: how alcohol altered both the terrain, and indigenous life; how researchers used alcohol as a barter item for participation in interviews; and how, in the wake of trade, alcohol came to be incorporated into the ritual lives of various ethnic groups. A second study, *Migration and Social Mobility in Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) at the Turn of the 20th Century* by Attila Dimény, analyses mobility in a turn-of-the-century Transylvanian town based on data derived from civil wedding registers. The findings, obtained from an analysis of where individuals lived and how their social situations changed, permitted the author to demonstrate how social mobility in the age in question related primarily to the life courses of craftspeople and – to a lesser extent – participants in local commercial life. This is followed by a number of studies examining economic and social mobility in relation to border changes following the collapse of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire as they affected Hungary and Romania in the period after World War I and II. Emese-Gyöngyvér Veres's *Migration of the Brassó (Brașov) County Csángó: Impact of Politics, War and Economy*, for example, examines the case of the Brassó County Csángó, with specific reference to the topic of labour migration and its effects, including a discussion of the homecoming process and resulting changes. A study by Krisztina Csibi, for its part, deals with an under-researched period in the history of the Bukovina Székely people (*Consequences of the Resettlement of the Bukovina Székelys between 1941 and 1944*), examining primarily how a previously closed community managed, over the course of successive resettlements, to preserve its identity and incorporate changes into its day-to-day life. Also focused on the question of preserving identity amidst change was Erika Vass's *Migration Processes and Transformation of Identity in Hunyad (Hunedoara) County*, which examined the influx of Hungarian guest workers, a portion of whom never returned home, resulting from a surge in mining activities in a predominantly Romanian-populated county. In summarising her field experiences, Vass sketches out the advantages and disadvantages associated with workers' departures and arrivals, and with their new life situation. Finally, in the chapter's concluding paper, Ákos Nagy writes on both the forces influencing local and national identities, and the migrational responses to them (*Romanian Collectivisation and Rural Migration in Four Hungarian Minority Settlements*), additionally exploring the processes that developed after the political events of 1989. The paper places particular emphasis on the alternate type of lifepath that arose in the municipality of Jobbágytelek (Sâmbriaș), which was exempted from collectivisation.

Chapter 3, *Contemporary Perspectives: Migration and Identity*, offers an array of four case studies focused on contemporary circumstances, presented from three different viewpoints. The first, a study written by Albert Zsolt Jakab and Lehel Peti *(Migration and Ethnicity: The Czechs of Banat (Romania))*, analyses the causes behind the migration of Czechs from Romania to the Czech Republic and associated issues of ethnicity. In it, the authors compare the discourse surrounding locality and ethnicity among members of the current, largely elderly population of the villages with that of both emigrants, and the Czech tourists who "discovered" the Czech villages in Romania following the 1989 change of political systems. The collapse of villagers' capacity to earn a living due to isolation and economic decline in the post-1989 period, along with existential angst at the perceived impossibility of maintaining community life, is found to pervade attitudes toward locality on the part of both the remaining local population, and emigrants, who use their country homes only during summer holidays or when maintaining kinship ties. At the same time, the study finds tourist activity on the part of Czechs from the motherland to have contributed to a re-valuation of local Czech ethnicity. A second paper, Töhötöm Á. Szabó's *Managers, Workers, and Day Labourers. Mobility Patterns, Migration, and Renegotiated Social Positions in a Roma Community*, explores the process of bargaining that has shaped social developments and other changes in an internally divided Transylvanian Roma community, where tensions related to classification and recognition policy afflict the discourse both between Roma and non-Roma, and among different Roma groups. This is followed by Lilla Szabó's *Community, Memory, Returning. Home Attracting Strategies of the Transylvanian Hungarian Cultural Festivals,* which discusses the increasing popularity of festivals as a leisure time activity throughout Transylvania, noting that such events combine quality cultural programmes with both tourism, and – their primary organisational objective – community building. Finally, in the chapter's concluding study, András Vajda's *Migration and Digital Literacy: The Role of Digital Devices in Guest Workers' Communication With Home* analyses a triad of topics related to the use of digital tools and technologies in a Transylvanian rural community, including how they spread, how the technological environment surrounding communication has changed as a result of transborder migration, and what impact these phenomena have had in the areas of relations between family members (i.e. young people living far from home and the older generation left behind), routines and communication device usage habits, and modes of relating to the devices in question.

In the volume's closing chapter, *Special Approaches: Biology and Museum*, a pair of case studies depart from the reliance on ethnographic-anthropological fieldwork exhibited by the papers presented in previous chapters. In the first of these, Pekka Leimu's *Modified History and Genetics for Visitors: Turku and Russian Tourists*, the author discusses his findings regarding the veracity of a claim put forward in an article published in 2004 that Russian soldiers accommodated in Turku in 1809 (at the beginning of Russia's rule of Finland) had left

behind descendants of blood type B.   This is rounded out by Edina Földessy's *The Lives of Migrants With and Through Their Objects*, which introduces the reader to a range of exhibitions, research projects, and publications on the topic of migration from the history of the Museum of Ethnography. At the focal point of Földessy's paper is a reflective analysis of six projects – all conducted between 2011 and 2014 – that explore the concept of identity through the material culture of immigrants living in Budapest.

The studies presented herein offer compelling evidence for the relevance of the conference's themes to the investigation of topics of contemporary, as well as historical import. Projects that employed a historical perspective or based their discussions on historical sources (Leete, Dimény, Veres, Csibi, Vass, Nagy), for example, demonstrate how changes in domicile, whether temporary or permanent, stem in most cases from human need or, less often, from forced resettlement or some other inevitability: that behind migration lie motives related to the improvement of individual quality of life (economic opportunity, social prestige, cultural needs, etc.) (see Hatton–Williamson 1992, 2008). Those representing micro-historical case studies conducted in areas that have both received, and produced migration (Finland, the United States, Hungary, and Romania as per Balogh, Ruotsala, Leimu, T. Á. Szabó, Földessy, and Vajda) bring an understanding of the migratory processes experienced in both the modern world, and family histories, and explain various changes in our relationships to them. Finally, studies dealing with a subset of these practices – including ethnic migration (see Horváth 2012: 199) and certain aspects of contemporary tourism (Jakab, Peti, L. Szabó) – illustrate the potential of migration as a means for expressing and living one's national identity, or generating experiences of exoticism, and "time travel".

Translated by Rachel Maltese

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Úton országok, identitások, kultúrák között

Az elmúlt másfél évszázadban számos politikai, társadalmi és gazdasági esemény, egyéni élet-útbeli változás milliókat késztetett arra, hogy hosszabb-rövidebb időre vagy végleg elhagyja szülőföldjét. A migráció földrajzát tekintve külön figyelmet érdemel az országon belüli és az országhatárok átlépésével történő elvándorlás. Az önkéntes és a kikényszerített elvándorlás közti különbségtételt is szem előtt tartva az (el)indulás, az utazás közbeni lét és a megérkezés olyan jelenségek megragadására is lehetőséget kínál, mint az értékek továbbadása és őrzése, integrációs és izolációs folyamatok és gyakorlatok megértése. Emellett a kibocsájtó és befogadó lokális csoportok olvasatát, az új helyzetre adott válaszát is magában hordozza. A sokrétű jelenség megértéséhez interdiszciplináris megközelítés szükséges, ehhez a néprajztudomány és az antropológia eredményei is segítséget nyújthatnak.

La drum între ţări, identităţi şi culturi diferite

În ultimul secol şi jumătate numeroase evenimente politice, sociale şi economice, totodată schimbări la nivelul cursului vieţii individuale au îndemnat milioane de persoane să-şi părăsească – temporar sau definitiv – locul de baştină. În privinţa geografiei migraţiei trebuie să delimităm migraţia din cadrul unei ţări şi cea transfrontalieră. Ţinând cont şi de diferenţa dintre migraţia voluntară şi cea forţată, experienţa pornirii la drum, al călătoriei şi a sosirii la destinaţie oferă posibilitatea de a concretiza fenomene ca păstrarea şi transmiterea valorilor, înţelegerea fenomenelor şi practicilor de integrare şi izolare. Pe lângă acestea include şi atitudinea grupurilor emitente şi cele de recepţie, respectiv şi răspunsul acestora la noile situaţii. Pentru a înţelege aceste fenomene complexe, avem nevoie de o abordare complexă, interdisciplinară, la care îşi aduc aportul şi rezultatele etnografiei şi a antropologiei.

On the Road: Between Nations, Identities, and Cultures

The past 150 years have seen numerous political, social, and economic events, along with changes to the life paths of populations and individuals, that have prompted people to leave their homelands, whether temporarily, for an extended period, or even permanently. Affecting millions, human migration is a phenomenon that continues to the present day. From a geographic standpoint, a distinction must be made between internal migration and migration that involves the crossing of national borders. An understanding of what people experience during departure, travel, and arrival, with consideration given to the distinction between voluntary and forced migration, can help us grasp phenomena such as the transferral and preservation of values, comprehend which processes and practices work to integrate or isolate, and grant a perspective on both source, and destination groups and the responses to the situations encountered in new locations. To understand this multi-faceted phenomenon requires a multidisciplinary approach, for which ethnographic and anthropological research findings may offer assistance.

CHAPTER 1

Departures and Arrivals

Helena Ruotsala

Mobility over the Border.
Different Departures and Arrivals in the
Tornio Valley between 1945 and 2017

Introduction

"Actually our evacuation journey was like a golden age. We could leave the poverty behind and arrived to [an easier life]... Our journey lasted for three days; first we crossed the river to Leipiönniemi, to the Henrikssons, they were good friends with my mother ["mamma"]. A policeman, Uuno Jatko, who was a cousin of our mother, together with Oskari Lantto took us on a boat to the other side of the river. The next day, we went by bus through Pajala to Kainulasjärvi, where we slept. Then the brother of mother, Pärttil, took us on a horse to Narkken. There, grandma had made everything really nice. Just if we would have come to paradise. There, we lived for such a long time that I was even in the school for one year."

(A man from Pello tells about his evacuation journey to Sweden, where his grandparents were living, because his mother had been born in Sweden)

This quotation will take you to Tornio Valley, which is a cross-border area between Finland and Sweden in western Lapland. Tornio Valley has been an important place for departures and arrivals several times during the last two centuries. This quotation, told by a man, who is now living in Finland, in Pello, and whose mother is coming from the Swedish side, Narkken, is a typical example of the narratives told by people who were evacuated from Finnish Lapland to Sweden during the War of Lapland (1944-1945). It also tells about the history of this cross-border area and different events during these years.

The overall history, culture and language of a place are important issues to understand when assessing the visible history of many border areas in Europe, not to mention, e.g. Transylvania. A transnational everyday life has been a lived fact for the people who have been living in the border areas. People are used to departures and arrivals, to different bordering-, de-bordering and re-bordering processes. Sometimes even the border itself has become one of the hotspots in world history, and, after a couple of years, life has continued as it was before the

time the border became a hotspot. All of this is quite well suited to the cross-border area in the Tornio Valley, in northern Finland, where the border has existed for only about 210 years. The history and meaning of the place have always been very visible there, although there have been several changes over the years.

The Tornio Valley is a cross-border region, where the Tornio River divides the area between Finland and Sweden. It includes two large towns, Tornio and Haaparanta, or Haparanda in Swedish, and several smaller municipalities and villages both in Sweden and in Finland. The two towns, Tornio and Haparanda, together form a twin city, and today they have almost grown together to serve as a single regional city. In this article, I use the name Tornio-Haparanda for both towns, as it has been used in the marketing of this twin city. Foreigners do not always see the border there now, even if they know where it is situated. Of course previously, before joining the European Union in 1995, customs and border guards were positioned along the border.

Next, I will discuss mobility along the Finnish-Swedish border from a chronological standpoint. At the end of this article, I will discuss the contemporary situation. My focus will be on the time between the World War II and today, but first I will briefly discuss the time when the border was first created.

Main Concepts Used in this Article

Borders and borderlands have always interested researchers, especially ethnologists, who see the reality of borders in the everyday life of an area. Borrowing from Doreen Massey (2003: 73–74), I understand here borders as tools for organising social space and as part of a process whereby places and their identities are produced. Place should not be understood only in a physical or integrated sense, as separate and stable. Instead, the concept should be combined with ideas about a meeting place, in which connections, relationships, impacts and movements are intertwined. The Finnish cultural geographer Anssi Paasi (1986: 10) says that there is no central "essence" to borders, frontiers, regions or even nation-states, but that these are socio-cultural constructions that are constantly subject to change. Boundaries can be understood as part of a process by which territories and their identities and meanings are formed and renewed.

Transnationalism is a very important issue in the everyday life of border areas. It refers to those multiple relationships and interactions that link people and institutions across national borders and space. Cultural complexity is a central component of transnationalism. (Vertovec 2008: 27–29.) Besides transnationalism, multilocality is also a very concrete issue in contemporary cross-border areas. With multilocality, I am referring to the work done by my colleague, Professor Johanna Rolshoven (Rolshoven 2008: 17, 22–23), who defines multilocality as relationships and networks existing between many places. It is a strategy and a form of mobility for those people who are multi-local in orientation.

Brief History of the Border

The border that divides Finland and Sweden in the Tornio Valley is quite new, having existed only since 1809. There – just as in many other frontier areas – people have had to pay a high price for the demarcation of borders. Gradually, once people had adapted to the border, it became – and has been – a reality and fact of life. So this is not at all a unique case.

Until the end of the Finnish War of 1808–1809, this area – as the rest of Finland – belonged to Sweden, but after that to the Russian Empire, because Sweden lost Finland to Russia. The Tornio Valley at the time was a cultural and ecological entity in which the same languages were spoken, Finnish and Saami, religious faith was deeply affected by the same conservative evangelical revival movement known as Laestadianism and people earned their living from fishing, cattle herding and trading. In 1809, a new frontier between Sweden and Russia was defined along the Tornio River as a result of the peace negotiations. The Tornio River, which had previously been a uniting factor holding the area together, now became a border river. (Talve 1979: 407.)

The new 1809 border – which was drawn along the Tornio River, with the exception of the island of Suensaari, where the town of Tornio is situated – split a unified linguistic and cultural area into two. It split apart parishes, villages and farms, houses, families and kinship networks; it severed the bonds between kindred and neighbours and tore apart old trading areas. Almost all the parishes were split in two, thus causing a loss both in terms of territory and inhabitants. Even today, we find Kuttanen in Finland and Kuttainen in Sweden, Karesuvanto in Finland and Karesuando in Sweden, and, e.g. Pello in both countries. (Lähteenmäki 2004: 30–31, Teerijoki 2010: 144–145.)

Everyday life continued after the demarcation of the frontier on both sides of the river. Despite the new international border, life and contacts between the local people on both sides of the Tornio Valley continued, because in the beginning the border was only an administrative measure. People visited relatives, went to church or shopping, married, etc. The cross-border marriages in particular have been quite important in several ways, not least because the Finnish language has survived throughout the region. Also, the dead on the Swedish side were buried "in the soil of a foreign country" for years, since the establishing and organising of congregations and construction of new churches on the other side of the border was a lengthy process. (Teerijoki 2010: 144–145.)

After the construction of the new border, an intensive Swedification policy started in the Tornio Valley. Despite it and the various constraints placed on people, contacts and dealings with those left on the other side of the border continued to take place. The common language, religion and relatives, along with the old contacts, were the key factors that allowed people to maintain diverse and active connections. The local inhabitants refused to accept the border as a divisive frontier; rather, they emphasised the common history, language and culture of the place. (Ruotsala 2015: 39, Prokkola 2008.)

Tornio–Haparanda as the Eye of a Needle

The border between Sweden and Finland in Haparanda–Tornio has been a hotspot in world politics twice. The first time was a hundred years ago, during the World War I, when the border region played a large role in the world politics because Sweden was a neutral country when the world was at war. Haparanda and Tornio were the only places where it was suitable to exchange war prisoners and invalids between the eastern and western fronts. About 75000 prisoners travelled through this area to their home areas, from Russia to western countries and from countries like Germany and Austria via Sweden to Russia. At that time, the towns of Haparanda and Tornio were also full of agents, spies, reporters, solders, business people, artists, smugglers, and so forth, and everybody wanted to earn some money. These events have now helped produce a certain cultural heritage, and local people have been involved in producing it especially during the years 2015–2018. (Frykman 2011: 162–177, Svanberg 1973: 324.)

One well-known character who crossed the border over 100 years ago was Lenin. He travelled from Germany via Sweden through Haparanda and Tornio and all of Finland back to Russia and to start a revolution. Also Finnish Jaegers[1] crossed the border from Finland via Sweden to Germany to get military education and then come back to help Finland to become independent.

Departures and Arrivals
During the World War II and the Lapland War

War Children

The border has played a huge role during the World War II as well. Again Sweden was neutral and again the border helped save people's lives and put bread on their tables through smuggling. During the World War II, Finland fought against Russia. One of the biggest group of victims in war are always the children. A special notification was directed at children, who suffered quite badly during the war – e.g. because of the bombings, because they did not have enough to eat, were without homes or were war orphans. Society and different welfare organisations tried to organise a better place for the children to stay during the war. It meant that these so-called war children travelled across the border to Sweden and later back. The total number of war children was about 80000, and most of them were sent to Sweden, about 72000; the rest were sent to Denmark (4220) and to Norway (about 100). About 15000 stayed in Sweden or Denmark after the war ended. (Korkiakangas 2017: 150–154.)

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1 They were Finnish volunteers who trained in Germany during World War I and arrived to Finland to enable Finland independent.

Some of them travelled by boat from southern Finland to Stockholm, but most of them travelled by train and crossed the border in Tornio and Haparanda because it was the easiest way during the war. A statue dedicated to the war children in the *Tullipuisto*, Custom Park in Haparanda reminds people of this journey, which long continued and still continues for many former war children. The statue, which was erected in 2005 by the *Sotalapsiyhdistys* (the Association for War Children) also tells something about how the children themselves felt at the time, naked and crying in a foreign country – in the words of the sculptor Anna Jäämeri-Ruusuvuori (Kuusisto-Arponen 2008: 169, 180).

Some of the war children wanted to remain in Sweden after the war and become adopted, but usually the biological parents or Finnish law prevented it. Many of the children travelled this route many times, because they longer felt entirely at home either in Finland or in Sweden. But of course there were thousands of positive examples of war children returning home and finding their place easily and yet still maintaining contacts with their former Swedish parents and other relatives.

"Well, I have been a war child; I was there for long periods also as an adult, and even I participated in my [Swedish] aunt's birthday party when she turned 100 years old." (From an interview in Ruotsala 2017b: 27.)

But there are a number of different narratives, stories and destinies with respect to the war children, and this phenomenon has been studied in several publications. For example, the article by Pirjo Korkiakangas is based on the oral history of former war children. It seems that the life of some war children can be described as an eternal rite of passage. (Korkiakangas 2017: 159.)

The Lapland War and the Evacuated People

As I wrote at the beginning of this article, the shared cultural history and language and numerous cross-border contacts had a decisive role during the war years. The border area showed its importance once again when, in autumn 1944, after the World War II, the so-called Lapland War broke out as Finnish troops had to forcibly remove German soldiers, their former *Kameraden* in the war, away from Finnish soil towards Norway. Before that, all of Lapland had to be evacuated. Finnish politicians asked the Swedish government if they would be willing to take in a certain number of the evacuees from Lapland. It took only two hours to get an answer, and the answer was yes. The number of civilians who had to be evacuated from Lapland was just over 100000; over 60000 of them went to Sweden and the rest to Ostrobothnia.

It was easier and quicker to go to Sweden, especially for those who were already living near the Swedish border and had relatives and friends there. One of my interviewees, a woman born in the border village of Karunki in 1921, told of her evacuation: "I was just putting the children to sleep when my husband (he was a soldier) came and said it was time to leave, the Germans were coming. And then I had to leave. That lot were terrible, we had a two-and-a-half-year-old child, a little baby

and another on its way... [pause] But we were welcomed in well, yes, the Swedes welcomed us well. Some went to people they know, some wherever. We were in some relatives' house. And it was then when we were in Sweden in the relatives' house we saw from the window that there were Finns in the village and we went back. [...] I went home there first on. [...] The home had survived. Hay and other flammable stuff was piled up in the attic, but hadn't been lit. We got off lightly!" (Fieldwork, 2008.)

For instance, my mother, the author's mother and other relatives and everybody from my home village went on foot to Sweden. The distance to the border was about 120 km. The journey started in the autumn, so first young women or girls and boys walked together with all the village cows to Sweden during the course of several days. Later, other villagers arrived by foot with bags and boxes, all that they could carry with them. In Sweden, those who were living on the border also suffered when the German troops burned and destroyed almost everything, including their houses and even entire villages.

People could return to Lapland during the next spring; some villages had been burned entirely to the ground, with only ashes remaining, but, e.g. my (author's) home village was left standing because there was no road connection during that time. The contacts formed in the border region during the time of evacuation were useful in different ways during the peacetime years as well, as I will describe later.

The time of evacuation in Sweden has, unfortunately, been largely forgotten or marginalised in Finland and in Finnish history because the more substantial evacuation of the Karelian refugees across the revised eastern border of Finland has taken centre stage. Plenty of studies and publications only mention the Karelian evacuees when discussing the wartime evacuations. While far more people (400000) were evacuated from Karelia, which the Soviet Union annexed as well as parts of Salla and whole Petsenga area in the north. Only now is the Lapland evacuation being discussed more in public, and several articles and publications have been written about the evacuation (Tuominen 2016: 40–42). The Lapland War and period of evacuation are also an important part of the local history and cultural heritage of people living in Lapland, even those who are younger and did not participate in these events, but have heard and read narratives about them.

Smuggling, the illegal buying and importing of goods from another country helped Lapland to recover quite quickly – and the contacts that were established during the evacuation time became very important both for smugglers and other people. It was possible to buy or smuggle goods from Sweden and, it is true, the smuggling and the location near the Swedish border helped many Finnish people a great deal compared to the situation faced by people in other parts of Finland. There were both professional smugglers and their assistants and the common people who just bought or smuggled goods for their own use, because such goods were not available in their home country. (Ruotsala 2009: 31, 38–40.)

Smuggling and also the legal cross-border trade have here – as in every border area – always been very important and intensive, just as trade is also today very

important. Especially after the period of rationing, which ended in the 1950s, goods were bought from Sweden, but later the reasons for cross-border shopping were the price differences and the habits of personal taste. The differences in the prices were due to the relative value of money. When the exchange rate for the Swedish crown was low, it paid off to buy goods from Sweden, and vice versa. Devaluation either way changed the direction of the border trade overnight. On account of the habits of taste and the difference in the exchange rate between the Finnish mark/euro and the Swedish crown, people have continued to make purchases in the neighbouring country. So shopping tours have always been an essential part of everyday life in the border area. Now, there is IKEA in Haparanda and almost half of its customers are coming from Finland. (Ruotsala 2010: 396–414, Ruotsala 2015: 44–48.)

The Great Migration to Sweden

From the end of the 1950s until the 1970s, tens of thousands of Finnish people moved to Sweden to work. The reasons behind this emigration wave are, among others, the development or changes in Finnish agriculture and diminishing number of jobs, as well as changes in Finnish industry and the labour market. Especially people from eastern and northern parts of Finland left their home areas and moved to Sweden, which needed labour. An uneducated Finnish labour force easily found work in Sweden. (Snellman 2003, 12–15.)

The Finnish population found work at once in the industries of southern Sweden, but they could continue to speak Finnish because they lived and worked among other Finns. They spent their summer holidays in their former home villages, showing off their "new cars" and novelties to their relatives and other people who had stayed in Finland. This made it easier for others to move to Sweden, too. Also, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, a great number of students moved to Sweden to study in universities because it was much easier to get a place at a Swedish university. After graduating, they often stayed in their new home country. Also, Sweden needed then a number of bi-lingual teachers who spoke both Finnish and Swedish.

Later, those who moved to Sweden in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s came of age to retire. Haparanda became a retirement community for Finnish emigrants moving from southern Sweden nearer to their former native country in order to benefit from the Swedish retirement plan and Finnish language services, because Finnish is spoken in several places in Haparanda and Tornio is not far away. Often, their skills in the Swedish language have been poor because they lived their lives speaking Finnish in the industrial towns. (Saarivuori 2006: 203.)

When we think about the group of return emigrants, we can ask, what are the reasons behind their return to the Finnish border region? Are they economic, social or emotion reasons? What kinds of solutions have they found? What kind of contacts do they have with their children living in the south of Sweden in a more "Swedish lifestyle"? These return emigrants are a large and visible group in

Haparanda, although they do not require special rights in any proper sense of the term. By rights, I mean especially language rights, which have been part of Swedish law since 2000, when Sweden identified so-called administrative regions where people have the right to speak Finnish when, e.g. meeting with a doctor or a clerk. Persons also have the right to send their children to a Finnish day-care and later to go to school in Finnish.

There are more and more return emigrants, or just ordinary families who are either monolingual in Finnish or bi-lingual in Finnish and Swedish living on the Swedish side of the border. It is easy move around and not to take into account state borders. People choose their living place according to different benefits and how easy it is to find a job, house or flat or day-care. Finnish-speaking families can put their children in schools in Finland because there are no Finnish classes in Sweden. There is a joint school in Haparanda, which is called a language school. Half of the pupils come from Finland and the other half from Sweden. This school belongs to both towns. So, those children who go to the language school can cross the border several times a day. Even day-care services are possible in the other country, not to mention working possibilities and different hobbies.

When speaking about the multilocality of the return emigrants, in addition to social and economic facts, such multilocality is also characterised by deep emotional ties to the home area. Those Sweden Finns who have moved from southern parts of Sweden to Haparanda are a good example. But it also can mean that behind the decision to move there are economic realities, such as the pension, cheaper homes, better social services and better benefits. An important part of the emotional ties include a summer house somewhere in Finland, or for the Finns in Tornio, a summerhouse in the Swedish archipelago.

Autumn 2015, when over 30000 Asylum Seekers Crossed the Border

My last example of arrivals and departures in this border area took place in autumn 2015, when a large number of asylum seekers arrived in Finland via Sweden. Actually the number was not at all so large comparatively, but when over 30000 people suddenly come to Finland, which had not received large amounts of refugees earlier, the politicians and officials – and some of the inhabitants – became surprised. We cannot call it a refugee crisis, as some politicians and media outlets wanted to say, because a Western and wealthy country like Finland can easily handle this amount of newcomers. Actually, Finland is suffering from too low of a birth rate and also the number of working-age people should be larger compared to the number of old people.

But just what it meant to the towns of Tornio and Haparanda has been the subject of much animated discussion. Some practical solutions emerged as a result. So, autumn 2015 brought once again the cities of Haparanda and Tornio into the minds

of the people. As a border area, it became the focus of world politics, just as it had been a hundred years ago during the World War I.

During autumn 2015, people started to arrive in Tornio first in small numbers. They had travelled through all of Europe and did not stay even in Sweden, which was a surprise to Finnish people, because there are many more refugees and foreigners in Sweden than in Finland. So the people came, first by train to Luleå and then by bus to Haparanda, to a joint Swedish-Finnish bus station just on the border, but on Swedish soil. From there, people continued their journey to southern parts of Finland, where the newcomers might have had relatives or friends. This went on for a couple of days, and then Finnish officials created a new kind hot spot, a so-called organisation centre at an empty school in Tornio, to help people who had just arrived. It meant that all newcomers were taken first to the organisation centre, where their personality was assessed and other information was written down. They could stay overnight and eat there, and after their information had been written down, they were sent to different reception centres in several parts of Finland. At the beginning, when the first bus left Tornio for other parts of Finland, it was clear that the drivers did not know where to go because the reception centres had been established so quickly. Officials looked for any vacant sites to establish the next refugee centre. Even still, the work in the organisation centre was quite effective, and other EU countries have since sent representatives to look at the work that was done. It continued until February 2016, when new refugees were no longer arriving in Finland.

The refugees changed the look of both Haparanda and Tornio. The last refugee centres in Haaparanta and Tornio closed in March 2016. There have been both positive and negative attitudes towards the newcomers, but the positives attitudes have been stronger in both towns. At first, the big number of newcomers surprised people, but many people helped the asylum seekers in different ways, e.g. by giving food, tea and clothes already at the bus station. Later, different activities were organised in the local refugee centres; for instance, the local art museum (*Aineen taidemuseo*) has had different programmes, concerts and classes, and in Haparanda a musical was staged (with money from outside the town), the premier of which was in the summer of 2017. Both local actors and foreigners acted in the musical and it was staged in three languages, Finnish, Swedish and Arabic.[2]

In autumn 2015, demonstrations were organised in Tornio against the so-called free entrance or free border called "close the border". The same people organised and participated in demonstrations in several places in Finland, so the participants in the demonstration in Tornio were not all locals. Of course, some of them were local. Those who wanted to close the border also took pictures of asylum seekers

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2   Both local actors and foreigners acted in the musical and it was staged in three languages: Finnish, Swedish and Arabic. You can read more about the musical project at: https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=AVA0DX9-0LQ. It was partly produced in three languages: Jag är en sång mellan dina läppar – Olen laulu huulillasi – Ana bin shafeifak nagham [I am a song between your lips].

and people working in the organisation centre, but the police put a stop to this quite quickly.

Already in the autumn of 2015, they organised a "huge" demonstration (with about 150 participants) in Tornio against open borders and newcomers. So this demonstration also ran counter to the local way of understanding the border between Finland and Sweden as always open (except during the wartime). One example of such an understanding is the Nordic passport freedom established in the 1950s (1952 and later 1954). The border has become even more open after Finland and Sweden became members of the European Union in 1995. The border has been called the most peaceful border in the world – although only after the World War II. The street, Krannikatu, in English Neighbour's Street, has received funding from the European Union to help unite both towns and states. During the demonstration, the street was blocked off with a truck and by demonstrators. Also, the name Neighbour's Street is very symbolic and important. For some people, this area and the border will always remind them of the war years and evacuation time, how it was easy and possible to go to Sweden. It is part of the oral history and cultural heritage of the population in Lapland. Closing the street really offended many people and so a couple of counter-demonstrations were organised.

A film by Minna Rainio and Mark Roberts brought these two events quite close together. Their short film, entitled They Came in Crowded Boats and Trains, unites historical context with the present-day refugee situation and presents a different perspective on Finnish history, making northern Finland visible as a place that people have both escaped from and sought shelter in. Whereas the recent asylum seekers crossed the border from Sweden to Finland, about 70 years ago the stream of refugees flowed in the opposite direction.[3]

One final example concerning arrivals and departures. In autumn of 2015, both Swedish and Finnish border guards and customs officers started to control people who crossed the border. This was totally new for locals and reminded them of the time before the European Union and Nordic passport freedom initiative. As already mentioned, the border has remained open only with the exception of the war times, and people have become used to crossing it several times a day. Since 1980s and 1990s, people have been commuting over the border for work, school, hobbies and shopping and to visit relatives on a daily basis without showing their ID card or passport to the border guards. Now, people in cars, on bicycles or walking were stopped by officers who wanted to see their ID cards and asked them where they were going and why. Some of my friends and people whom I had interviewed reported that the officers asked such questions, which were forbidden, because the situation was new also for them and they did not know what questions they could ask. Soon, the locals learned to have their ID cards with them at all times. When

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3   The exhibition version of *They Came in Crowded Boats and Trains* premiered at the Turku Art Biennale on 16 November 2017. It was also awarded the 8th Turku Biennial prize for the film on 19 February 2018. See http://www.rainioroberts.com/they-came-in-crowded-boats-and-trains.

I travelled to Haparanda for a TV programme by Swedish Finnish Television, my friends advised me to take my ID card with me at all times.

Transnational Everyday Life

A constant identity negotiation and new interpretations are taking place in the cross-border area. The border between Haparanda in Sweden and Tornio in Finland has been open except for the war years. Cross-border mobilisation has been possible and people have used it for their own businesses and in their everyday life. Today, people even say that they are so-called border people precisely because the border makes the area so special, but at the same time they value how this area is border-less and they can take advantage of it in all possible ways.

The free border crossing is familiar to locals, and it is so important that when such freedom comes under threat, people resist the changes. That is why the free border and borderless everyday life had to be defended in autumn 2015, even if there were some things in this new situation, which could be thought of as negative. The asylum seekers who came to Finland in 2015 resemble people in Lapland in the autumn of 1944 and during evacuation time in Sweden. People recognise what has happened, and this has brought multiple memories to mind.

All in all, people living on both sides of the border have used different border strategies and have pursued different cross-border activities at different times, and there have also been "border migrants". Cross-border marriages, or "cross mating", both legal and illegal forms of commerce, smuggling and employment or going to school on the other side of the border have long been customary. The forms of borderless everyday life include, for example, day-care, school, work, shopping, hobbies, leisure-time activities and social networks. It is difficult to estimate the number of those who commute to work over the border, but one guestimate is that 500 people commute from Haparanda to Tornio, while the number of those commuting from Tornio to Haparanda is smaller; altogether in the whole border area the number is between 1000 and 1500 people. (Billing 1995: 6; Ruotsala 2015: 45–48, 2017a: 275, 281–283.) One good motivation today when choosing a place to live is the cheaper housing and social benefits in Sweden. It is easy to move across the border. School, especially high school, is chosen because of higher standards, which gives better possibilities in further studies in Finland, as one informant said: "When I was in the school in Haparanda I was a little afraid if I could speak enough Finnish to go to the school in Tornio. When you cross the border several times a day, the border is then for you not fixed" (an interview, which is not yet archived). You can choose it freely."

Living on the frontier brings its own flavour to the lives and everyday activities of the local inhabitants, even if this "is not grasped during the everyday affairs of life", as one of my interviewees expressed it. The idea of an open border has been a fact for most of the border's history, as discussed above. Bordering, de-bordering,

re-bordering and again de-bordering processes have been going on and often also simultaneously, but people tend to understand free arrivals and departures to be an important part of their everyday life. This is just as it was during the World War II, when, e.g. author's mother and other relatives escaped to Sweden to avoid the horrors and fears of the Lapland War.

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**Mobilitás a határon át. Különböző indulások és érkezések
a Tornio völgyében 1945 és 2017 között**

A tanulmány a Tornio-völgynél lévő svéd–finn határ használatát, a különböző átkelési gyakorlatokat tárgyalja. Összességében a határ mindkét oldalán élő emberek különféle határstratégiákat használtak és különféle határokon átnyúló tevékenységeket folytattak egy-egy adott időszakban, illetve megjelentek a „határmigránsok" is. A tanulmány a határon átívelő mobilitás második világháború és 2017 közötti időszakára fókuszál. A Finnország és Svédország közötti határ meglehetősen újnak mondható, 1809 óta létezik, amikor Finnország Svédországtól Oroszországhoz került át, de többször is gyújtópont volt az idők során. A közös történelem és nyelv miatt a Tornio völgyében élők nem kezelték határként az újonnan létrejött határt a hétköznapokban, hanem ugyanúgy használták a területet, mint korábban. A közös történeti és családi háttérnek meghatározó szerepe volt a második világháború után, amikor a térség és a teljes Lappföld lakosságát evakuálni kellett. Később, amikor a határon át történő csempészet fontossá vált, a korábban létrejött családi és gazdasági kapcsolatok meghatározóak lettek. Az 1950-es és 1970-es évek közötti munkamigráció idején jellemzően ezen a területen át utaztak a finnek Svédországba munkát keresni. 2015-ben nagyszámú menedékkérő érkezett Finnországba Svédországon keresztül, így a határ újra gyújtóponttá vált. Összességében a határon átívelő mobilitás lehetősége adott volt ezen a területen, és az emberek éltek is vele saját üzleti ügyeik érdekében, de a mindennapi életben is.

Mobilitate transfrontalieră. Diverse plecări și sosiri în Valea Tornio între anii 1945 și 2017

Studiul abordează utilizarea frontierei dintre Suedia și Finlanda din Valea Tornio, respectiv diferitele practici de trecere a frontierei. În general populația de pe ambele părți ale frontierei a folosit diverse strategii și a desfășurat diverse activități peste hotare în anumite perioade de timp, respectiv au apărut și „imigranții frontierei". Lucrarea focusează pe mobilitatea transfrontalieră între cel de-al Doilea Război Mondial și anul 2017. Hotarul dintre Finlanda și Suedia poate fi considerat un element destul de nou, căci există doar din 1809, atunci când Suedia a pierdut Finlanda în favoarea Rusiei, însă fusese în repetate rânduri un adevărat focar. Datorită istoriei și a limbii comune în viața de zi cu zi locuitorii Văii Tornio nu au perceput acest nou hotar drept o frontieră, ci au folosit-o la fel ca și înainte. Fundalul istoric și familial comun și-a dobândit un rol determinant după Al Doilea Război Mondial, când locuitorii de aici, dar și întreaga populație a Laponiei trebuia evacuată. Mai târziu, când contrabanda din zona frontierei a luat amploare, relațiile familiale și economice precedente au căpătat un rol determinant. În timpul migrației de muncă dintre anii 1950 și 1970 de regulă finlandezii traversau această zonă spre Suedia, în căutarea unui loc de muncă. În 2015 a sosit un număr mare de imigranți în Finlanda prin Suedia, în căutare de azil, astfel că această frontieră a devenit din nou un focar. În general mobilitatea transfrontalieră a fost posibilă în această zonă, iar oamenii s-au folosit de ea atât în scopuri economice, cât și viața lor de zi cu zi.

Mobility over the Border. Different Departures and Arrivals in the Tornio Valley between 1945 and 2017

The article discusses different departures and arrivals in the cross-border area between Swedish and Finnish in the Tornio Valley. Overall, people living on both sides of the border have used different border strategies and have pursued different cross-border activities at different times, and there have also been "border migrants". It focuses on the mobility over border between World War II and 2017. The border, which divides Finland and Sweden, is quite new, only from 1809, when Sweden lost Finland to Russia, but it has been a hotspot several times. Because of the common history and language, people living in Tornio Valley have not regarded border as a border in their everyday life, but they have continued to use it as earlier. The joint historical and family background had a decisive role after the World War II, when people from this area and whole Lapland had to be evacuated. Also later, when smuggling over the border was important, these previous contacts had a determining role. During the work migration from the 1950s to the 1970s, people travelled via this area to Sweden to find work. In 2015, large number of asylum seekers arrived in Finland via Sweden and made the border again a hotspot. Cross-border mobilization has been possible and people have used it for their own businesses and in their everyday life.

Pictures

1. People from Lapland have arrived to Sweden
(Photo: SA-kuva)

2. People and cattle are arriving to Haparanda from Finland
(Photo: SA-kuva)

3. The Finns have been shopping in Sweden, Haparanda, July 2010
(Photo: Helena Ruotsala)

Balázs Balogh

The Social Integration of Refugees from the 1956 Hungarian Revolution in the United States (Experiences of Ethnographic Field Research)

I began my research in the United States in 2006, and have returned regularly since then to carry out ethnographic fieldwork. My research focuses on the Hungarian communities of the East Coast and the Midwest,[1] starting from the great wave of emigration at the end of the 19th century. It therefore covers the attitude of later arrivals, such as the 56-ers,[2] towards the first and second generation of Hungarian émigrés, who arrived before World War I. In the course of oral history collection and in-depth interviews, I endeavour to address each generation, which involves an examination of the living environment and everyday lives (clothing, diet etc.) of the research subjects through the study of available family documents and photographs.[3] When discussing the American integration of Hungarian 56-ers in the

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1 Misleadingly, 'American Midwest' refers to the fourteen states (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota and Wisconsin) west of the East Coast states. Thus, one should not look for them in the western part of America.

2 Political refugees who left Hungary in the aftermath of the suppressed anti-Soviet uprising in Hungary in October-November of 1956.

3 My first defining experience with Hungarian Americans was in 1999, when I spent six months with my family in one of the largest and most robust Hungarian communities in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Between 2006 and 2009, I spent about two and a half years doing research in the Midwest through the HAESF (Hungarian-American Enterprise Scholarship Fund). As a research fellow at the University of Indiana in Bloomington, I conducted extensive fieldwork (primarily in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and West Virginia). Between 2012 and 2015, I returned on several occasions to do research as a visiting scholar, among others at Vassar College in New York State (funded by the Klebersberg scholarship), studying the Hungarian communities of the East Coast. Of course, in addition to personal history, history from below, and oral history methods, I also studied the materials of important Hungarian American archives. I spent months in the archives of the Bethlen Communities (Ligonier, Pennsylvania), the most important institution of the Hungarian American Reformed Church, and in the largest Hungarian archive, the Hungarian Heritage Center (New Brunswick, New Jersey).

present study, I try to make the model-type phenomena more tangible through the use of concrete, personal examples.[4]

In the United States, more than 1.5 million people claim to be Hungarian (as well), according to the latest census data.[5] It is worth briefly reviewing the main waves of emigration from Hungary to America, as well as the social background of immigration waves and the motivations for migration. As the majority of the 1956 refugees – more than 40000 of the 200000 Hungarians – settled in the United States, it is also important to outline the history of Hungarian immigration from the perspective of the recipient country.

In the decades preceding World War I, around 650000 to 700000 emigrants[6] of Hungarian nationality made up the first major wave of migration to America (Puskás 1981, 1984; Várdy 1985: 21), settling mainly in the Midwest and on the East Coast.[7] The earliest settlement locations – from the last two decades of the nineteenth century – were primarily coal-mining areas (Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia etc.), where the settlers worked at isolated mining sites (known as "pléz" in American-Hungarian usage – Wenks–Lauck 1913: 70). At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, "Little Hungary" districts emerged in the big cities of north-east America, such as Burnside in Chicago, Delray in Detroit, Hazelwood in Pittsburgh, and the largest of them, the Buckeye neighbourhood in Cleveland.[8] At the same time, Hungarian workers' colonies, numbering thousands of inhabitants, were established around the huge factories in several smaller industrial cities (McKeesport, Johnstown, Lorain, Youngstown, Akron, Uniontown etc.) (Wenks–Lauck 1913: 73–75). Members of the first Hungarian emigrant generation, with their peasant roots – comprising mostly landless farm labourers and small landowners – formed ethnic colonies in both the mining areas and urban

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4   There were initiatives in Hungarian American communities to collect data with the oral history method and through personal life histories on how the immigrants experienced the historical cataclysms and forced culture change caused by immigration. The Hungarian Communion of Friends recorded personal stories in the 1970s during their ITT-OTT meetings. In a series called Witnesses to their Times, the Bessenyei Hungarian Alumni Association asked people to give talks about their own histories. (Some of these have been published in a book.) The Cleveland Regős Scouts must also be mentioned here, who conducted personal life course interviews in and around Cleveland. The most significant material regarding Fifty-Sixers, however, comes from the interviews which on the 50th anniversary of 1956, was digitized in 2006 by the Open Society Archives as part of the Columbia University Research Project on Hungary.

5   U. S. Census Bureau: http://factfinder.census.gov (link is external) (2015.04.04) A very important feature of the American census is that multiple identities can be reported. One can select a total of four ethnic affiliations, i.e., the same number as one's grandparents. Thus, about one and a half million people find it important today to account for their Hungarian origins.

6   The wave of emigration at the turn of the century was a common phenomenon in southern and eastern Europe. In the five decades preceding World War I, 25 million Europeans migrated to America, including some 2 million Hungarian citizens (Jones 1992: 361, Brownstone–Franck–Brownstone 1979: 4–5).

7   In 1922, 427000 of the 474000 Hungarians lived in the north-eastern states of the U.S., most of them in New York (95400), Ohio (88000), and Pennsylvania (86000) (Souders 1922: 55, Várdy 2000: 244).

8   For the settlement types of Hungarian immigrants, see Várdy–Várdy Huszár 2005: 195–205.

industrial districts. Everyday use of their native language and daily social inter-actions took place in a relatively homogeneous Hungarian environment (Balogh 2008: 12). (A Hungarian shop in the Buckaye district of Cleveland displayed the advert: "We also speak English!")[9]

Another important and significant wave of migration from Hungary to the United States was the so-called dipi ("DP") migration,[10] following World War II. The term was coined from the abbreviation of "displaced person", referring to those – overwhelmingly political – emigrants who left their country after World War II, including around 110000 Hungarians who fled to America. However, the mass of people collectively referred to as "DPs" was far from homogeneous, while various strata were also to be distinguished in the American recipient com-munity. There was opposition between those who left Hungary in 1945, and the groups that arrived in 1947. The Americans themselves considered the former group to be guilty of war crimes, and the latter group as one that had under-gone a process of democratisation but had left before the Communist takeover in 1948. This kind of severe judgment was delivered mainly against the political and diplomatic strata: the 45-ers tended to be distrusted, while the 47-ers received a warmer welcome. According to the 45-ers "Any honest, decent Hungarian fled from the Soviets" (Várdy 2000: 458–462). Nevertheless, the "DPs" were typically intellectuals, state officials, diplomats, gendarmes, military officers, aristocrats etc., whose knowledge was difficult to "convert" into American society, while most of them were middle-aged, educated, and family-minded. These erudite, intel-lectual "DPs" found it hard to fit into the context of the simple, "old Americans" of peasant origin. In several of the recorded recollections, members of the peas-ant-rooted Hungarian communities who had become steelworkers or miners in the United States, stated: "Well, those gentlemen in their fine clothes followed us here, but we came here to get away from them."[11]

The third distinct wave of emigration comprised the 1956 refugees, who like-wise came to America from very different backgrounds and motivated by very dif-ferent reasons from the former groups of emigrants. The different waves of emi-grating Hungarians held (and shaped) a different image of the Old Country, came from different backgrounds, and therefore represented different values and atti-tudes. The following classic example is often mentioned by American Hungarians: the first wave of emigrants left an emperor behind in the Monarchy, and paid in crowns when they left. Those who left at the end of the Horthy era, or in the Szálasi period, left a kingdom with an admiral, and paid in pengő. The 1956 refugees, and later dissidents, left behind the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the

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9 The here presented information is the product of the fieldwork of the author.

10 Despite the fact that in Hungarian parlance the abbreviation "DP" is ambiguous, I am not averse to using it, because in the history of Hungarian emigration and in works dealing with it, it is a clear and precise term "conventionally" used in historiography and social sciences to refer to the post-World War II wave of refugees.

11 The here presented information is the product of the fieldwork of the author.

People's Republic of Hungary, and paid in forints.[12] (This summary in a nutshell of the changes taking place in the Old Country could be carried on into the period following the democratic changes in 1990.)

The universal model, according to which the identity construction of an individual belonging to a particular minority[13] can be placed within a triple-axis system of coordinates defined by the individual's relation firstly to the mother country (the Old Country), secondly to the host country, and thirdly to the narrower community, is entirely applicable in the case of the Hungarian Americans. It is worth exploring the question of the identity of the 1956 Hungarian refugees via this system of coordinates. The Hungarian immigrants of 1956 were the last great wave of "new blood" for the Hungarian American community as a whole. Although many dissidents left the country for America at a later stage, in the decades prior to the change of regime and after 1990, including both emigrants from Hungary and Hungarians living beyond the country's borders, this was more of a "seepage" than a wave. Following the 1956 Revolution, 38000 people had arrived in the United States by 1957, from the total of around 200000 refugees. According to some calculations, by the end of 1960 the number of 56-ers settling in the US may have reached around 47000. The appearance of the 56-ers further segmented and nuanced the already polarised Hungarian American community that consisted, at the time, of the "DPs" and the second, or even third, generation of "old Hungarian Americans". A minority of the 1956 immigrants had an upper- or intermediate-level education: they were typically intellectuals with degrees in the sciences or qualifications from technical schools, although the majority were skilled and unskilled industrial workers. The proportion of single people (mostly unmarried, young people) among the refugees is perhaps slightly exaggerated – according to some estimates it exceeded 80%. However, there is no doubt that the majority of the refugees were single, which in itself largely influenced the integration processes, from social mobility to marriage preferences.

The aim of the present study is not to focus on emigration to the United States in the post-revolution period, or following the change of regime in 1990, nor will it present the history of the 1956 emigrations. The various phases in the history of the flight of the 56-ers (life in the refugee camps in Austria and Germany, applications, permits, reception, journeys by air, arrival, accommodation in the Camp Kilmer Refugee Camp in New Jersey, registration, sponsorship scheme etc.) have been abundantly documented in lecture-based articles.

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12 I first heard this pithy phrasing, in the form I present here, from a retired Calvinist pastor (Balogh 2010: 153), but since then I have had the opportunity to hear it in different versions, its origin always attributed to different people. Thus, it is a true "textual folklore" product. For similar phenomena, see Jalso 2004.

13 The schema of factors shaping minority identity construction can be linked to Rogers Brubaker (Brubaker 1996), but even without the formulation of the model-making, researchers who studied Hungarian Americans have carried out their research according to the above-mentioned aspects (e.g. Várdy 2000; Nagy 1984; Fejős 1993; Szántó 1984; Papp 2008; Várdy–Várdy Huszár 2005; Balogh 2010, 2013, 2015).

When examining the 1956 emigration, it is impossible to avoid the question of what motivated the refugees to leave Hungary. Although some Hungarian 56-ers in the United States consider estimates that only 5% of 1956 emigrants had taken part in the armed struggle to be insultingly low, it is a fact that only a fraction of the 200000 emigrants fought in the Revolution. Besides escaping from retaliation, a wider circle of emigrants may have been driven by a longing for easier prosperity, better living conditions and greater freedom, possibly boosted by a youthful hunger for adventure. However, the personal recollections also reveal that grievances and bad experiences in the pre-revolutionary period in the 1950s may have contributed decisively to the mass scale of the emigration.

One example of the flight from injustice and persecution is the story of Kálmán Malmos,[14] and his wife Irma Gombás. I met them both in 2007, when they were living in the Reformed Church Bethlen Retirement Home in Ligonier, PA. Kálmán Malmos was born in 1928, and his wife in 1925. Although they were both from Pécs, they met in Salzburg, in the refugee camp. They both submitted an application for resettlement to the United States. They were married in Camp Kilmer in 1957, and during their journey they were drawn to each other by "the memory of many common acquaintances", their "mutual dependence", and, last but not least, the fact that they were from the same city, and shared "the common fate of being orphaned". In their parallel lives, they had both "been subject to ordeals for a decade" in their youth, before the revolution. Kálmán Malmos's father was part of the leadership of the University of Pécs under the Horthy system. After World War II he was declassed and harassed with increasing intensity. No longer able to bear the humiliation and degradation, he committed suicide at the beginning of the 1950s. Kálmán Malmos did not talk about this in his interview, nor did he mention it during our friendly personal conversations. It was only after his death in 2015 that his wife, Irma Gombás, told me the story of his father's suicide. As a religious woman, she told me as a great secret, explaining that even she had found out only after decades of living in America, and after a long marriage, that her father-in-law had committed suicide because of the "dirty Communists". Before that, she had only been aware that the Communists had been persecuting the family. It is hard to imagine the pain that Kálmán Malmos must have experienced, keeping the story of his father's death a secret throughout his life, without mentioning it to anyone, and sharing it with his wife on only one occasion. Irma Gombás told me the story in tears at the age of 90, after her husband's death, only at the end of an interview lasting several days in sessions of several hours at a time. It also turned out that Kálmán Malmos had been taken away and beaten up by the secret police in the 1950s. Irma Gombás also came from a "good family". Her "mutti" (Maria Thomas, 1889–1950) was Austrian, having been born in Gyanafalva (now Jennersdorf, Burgenland). Her father, Ferenc Gombás (1886–1970) was from Pécs and was an officer in the army until the end of

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14 Kálmán Malmos is a made-up name. I changed the name of my informant because I provide sensitive, family and personal information about his life history that precludes identifications.

World War II. Irma Gombás had a sister, Ida (1923–2014) and two brothers, Ottó (1926–2011) and Emil (1927–). All four of them earned degrees: the girls became teachers and the boys were both doctors. When the 1956 Revolution broke out, Irma Gombás was teaching at the Fiume Street elementary school in Pécs. She joined in the evening demonstrations staged by young people and university students. Since she had access to official stamps at the school, during the revolution she provided two of her colleagues with stamped ID cards when they travelled to the town of Pápa to take part in the "Committee of Freedom Fighters". Since the miners in Pécs needed paper to print flyers, she gave them communist books, thinking they would no longer be needed. Following the collapse of the revolution, she knew she had to escape. According to her recollections, she was brought before the People's Court and sentenced to five years in prison in her absence.[15] Their mother had been dead for six years by 1956, and the elder sister Ida decided to stay at home to take care of their 70-year-old father. Irma, however, and her two brothers, escaped from Hungary. From Austria they went first to Munich, then to Camp Kilmer on separate aeroplanes. Refugees could only leave Camp Kilmer if an American citizen promised to provide work and accommodation for them – that is, if they had a "sponsor". The "sponsor" of Kálmán Malmos and the three Gombás siblings was the former chief constable of Pécs, a "DP" who had left Hungary in 1945. In Milwaukee (Wisconsin), a distribution hub where many intellectuals, mostly doctors and engineers, were sent, Irma Gombás met up with her younger brothers again. The "family reunion" – that is, Irma Gombás's reunion with her brothers – was even reported by the local newspaper, as the press frequently published news of "family reunions in the free world" throughout America.[16] The two Gombás sons were first given jobs as hospital cleaners, although a few years later they were working as doctors. Kálmán Malmos, who was qualified in engineering and technology, was able to find work as an engineer at IBM in Phoughkeepsie, New York. In this small town, the Hungarian community had a Reformed church but not a Catholic church, and despite being Roman

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15 Irma Gombás remembers: "At that time, I taught at a large school of 68 teachers in Pécs (on Fiume Road). I enthusiastically participated in the evening marches. When the "Freedom Fighters" Committee was formed, we sent two colleagues to the city of Papa to represent Pécs. I provided them with cards with official seals since I had keys to everything because of my office. The library was also in my purview. In those days, the school received 5 thousand Forints' worth of political communist books, which I had to sign for, but they have not been accessioned yet, only stored in the hallway. The Pécs miners requested scrap paper for flyers. I gave these books to them for pulping, saying that communist propaganda would no longer be needed. After the revolution had been crushed, I was tried in the People's Court for these actions and, despite my absence, sentenced to 5 years in prison. But by that time I was already across the border, in the land of the free. Charge number 1: unauthorized use of seals; charge number 2: deliberately damaging the national economy. (Gombás 1997: 1–2.)

16 Irma Gombás saved the article "Refugee Sister, Brothers reunited" in her photo album. There was a photo with the article: "Dr. Otto Gombas and brother Emil greeting sister Irma". Unfortunately, Irma Gombás cut the article out of the newspaper without saving the name and of the newspaper and the date of publication, and she no longer remembers it, only that it must have been one of the local newspapers (in or around Milwaukee, Wisconsin).

Catholics they attended the Hungarian services rather than the American ones.[17] Having both left Hungary with such grievances, they never returned, not even for a family visit. In their retirement, they moved to Ligonier, to the Reformed Church Bethlen Retirement Home, to spend their old age in a Hungarian environment and community.[18] Their yearning for Hungary is reflected by the fact that they referred to the Pennsylvanian mountains near the retirement village using the names of the mountains around Pécs: they spoke of the closest as Tettye and the further ones as Zengő, Tenkes and so on. In remembrance of the 1956 Revolution, the refugees built a chapel at the northern border of the state of West Virginia, to which they brought a small sack of earth from each of the 63 counties of historic Hungary.[19] Many Hungarian refugees from 1956 use the site as a burial ground. Kálmán Malmos is buried here, and Irma Gombás also wishes to be laid to rest in this spot.

Other groups left Hungary in 1956 for reasons that differed from the prosecution of intellectuals, and the grievance-driven emigration of the Malmos-Gombás couple.

I have heard countless emigration stories in which ideological or political persecution played no decisive role, but where the motivation was rather a desire for adventure in the tough years of socialism, the quest for a way out of keenly felt seclusion, and, above all, the hope of better living conditions. It may well be that these recollections, which strike a somewhat profane note in the context of the fight for freedom, have increased over time, and that earlier a reference to idealistic motivation was a stronger "expectation" from society.

The recollections of a 1956 refugee who belongs to the Hungarian community in Elyria, Ohio, reflect this thirst for adventure and experience, which was the rationally inexplicable spontaneous motivation for emigration among many young people: "We were playing cards at home in the kitchen in Újpest,[20] and my sister's then date told us that a truck was coming that would take us to Austria, so should we go or not? We abandoned the card game, I was 17, we got into the truck just as we were, in trousers and a shirt, and off we went. We went because we could. It never crossed

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17 The Hungarian Reformed Church in Phoughkeepsie is still in operation today. Reverend Sándor Forró, the pastor of an increasingly assimilating and shrinking parish, is 80 years old; in 2015, there were only four of us at a week-day worship service that was celebrated in mixed English and Hungarian.

18 The Hungarian Reformed Church's Bethlen Communities, which was purely Hungarian for a quarter of a century, is rapidly losing its Hungarian character. When I first conducted fieldwork there in 2006, approx. a quarter of the residents were of Hungarian origin and I found 8-10 excellent informants. In 2015, apart from a few Hungarian members of staff and two retired pastors, only Irma Gombás spoke Hungarian.

19 The Alba Regia Memorial Chapel (Székesfehérvár Emlék Kápolna) is located in the woods on the northern outskirts of West Virginia, between the mountains, in an area past the limits of the settlement. Budapest Avenue and Tábor Street lead to it. The chapel and the cemetery were established by the Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Federation, an association founded by Fifty-Sixer refugees. The chapel can only be visited by appointment.

20 Újpest (New Pest) the Fourth and Angyalföld (Angels' land) is the Thirteenth district at the Northern part of Budapest on the Pest side along the Danube. These were former industrial districts with many factories and large residential estates of workers before and after the World War II and during the communist period.

my mind that I was doing it for the country, or anything else. We were young, we thought it would be fun! What did I know about the world at 17? Nothing. Or about what was waiting for me out there. Or even about where I was going. It made no difference. Then it was America. The others went, so I did too. We had the chance, they were expecting us, I found work and I've been here ever since. And a couple of friends who're still alive." I had a memorable encounter with Tibor Absolon, a Hungarian 1956 refugee, in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Absolon was a "tough guy" from Angyalföld, a workers' district in Budapest, for whom emigration, as in the previous story, had no element of consciousness. He went "because he could", and because he had a thirst for adventure. His story was compelling, because in Angyalföld he had frequented a club where my eventual father-in-law played jazz music. At that time, jazz was considered a "Western blight" that was to be perse-cuted, or at the very least tolerated, according to socialist Hungarian cultural policy. Absolon knew the author's father-in-law, "Füles",[21] from the Dagály swimming pool (Budapest), because "every tough guy from Angyalföld used to go there in the sum-mer". He reeled off the names of his old friends, including the author's father-in-law's nickname, including those who stayed behind and whom he never saw again. When I explained to Tibor that the jazz musician, "Füles", was my father-in-law, he opened up completely and we talked until dawn.[22] The story of Tibor Absolon, who left Hungary quite spontaneously, after only superficially weighing up the poten-tial consequences, is entirely in line with what my father-in-law told me about how young people – mostly "working class kids" – from Angyalföld experienced the events of November 1956. I learned from him that "trucks were coming and going" in 1956, taking whoever wanted to leave Angyalföld. He changed his mind at the last minute, deciding "not to get into the truck, when his friends went". "There was someone whose brother got into the truck, but he didn't. It was a split-second deci-sion and that was it. But it changed your entire life."

Having examined some concrete examples, and returning to the relationships between the various strata of Hungarian Americans who had emigrated at differ-ent times, we can state that the 1956 emigrants brought with them entirely different forms of social contacts than the earlier emigrant communities. Such things caused particular disgust in "DP" circles: forms of greeting, addressing the opposite sex informally, not knowing who should be addressed as "your honour", "your excel-lency" or "your grace", and failing to kiss someone's hand. Generally speaking – in the words of the "DPs" – it was due to this kind of vulgarity that – often in the form of a sweeping generalisation – they referred to the 56-ers as "proles". Indeed, the 56-ers were characterised by their indifference to social positions, and sometimes also by a lack of respect, which was scarcely acceptable in the authoritarian circles of the "DPs". The intellectual Malmos-Gombás couple referred to above, who came

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21 Tibor Fülemile (1929–2011), Liszt award winner, Artist of Merit, former member of the Hungarian Wind Quartet.
22 He acknowledged his trust in me by having me sit in his swimming pool until dawn, finishing off a bottle of wiskey.

from "good families" and who were "56-ers by identity", brought with them much of the pre-war Hungarian mentality.

Their "sponsor", who brought them out of Camp Kilmer, was the former chief constable of Pécs, whose help was given via traditional old Pécs family relations. Nevertheless, they are examples of how the 1950s changed the lives of the people of Hungary, and, although they found it hard to admit, their own lives too. By contrast, they were amazed at the extent to which the "DPs" had been preserved in the reality of the inter-war years by the American social context. In 1957, soon after leaving Camp Kilmer, they attended a ball in New York, where many Eastern European aristocrats were present. Along with the many Hungarian dignitaries, they remembered in particular a Polish count, who, with his beautiful red and white sash, ornamental tassels and all kinds decorations, was the celebrated center of the company. A few days after the ball, in Fifth Avenue, Malmos greeted them as he swept the street in front of a house in his worker's clothes. For a long time they found it hard "to come to terms with" such things. We can mention numerous clashes of value systems that emerged in the course of encounters between the "DPs", who had been "preserved" in America, and the 56-ers, who had "gone bad under communism".

After 1945, technical and scientific subjects were promoted in Hungarian education as a means of enhancing the building of socialism. The knowledge of the 1956 Hungarian refugees was therefore considerably more adaptable and marketable in America than that of the "DPs", whose qualifications were largely in the humanities. The "DPs" therefore often remained silent about their qualifications, since, as they admitted, there was no need for county bureaucrats, Hungarian lawyers or military officers, while the 56-ers slightly exaggerated their scientific and technical qualifications, and in many cases blamed their lack of language skills if they did not understand something from a professional point of view. While studying the language, they cleverly tried to figure out what it was they didn't know, and what they had to do to "grow into their new clothes".

Just as the different waves of emigrants each arrived from a different Hungary, naturally the host country, America, was also constantly changing. The Americans' image of the Hungarians evolved continuously, determining how the Hungarians were accepted into their new country. The 56-ers were in a highly favourable situation, as it was after the 1956 Revolution that, for the first time, it was good to be a Hungarian in America, as Hungarians were given special and positive attention. It is worth comparing this with the fact that the first generations of Hungarians who emigrated to escape from agrarian poverty were deeply resented by the wealthier Anglo-Saxon Americans who had arrived earlier. They were mockingly referred to as "Hunkeys", along with other immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe. At the beginning of the 20th century, industrial accidents were typically reported in the following terms: "Last month there was a factory accident involving five people and twelve hunkeys." (Feldman 1931: 148.) They were not even considered as humans. In contemporary works in the field of American social sciences, we come across such statements as: "These oxen-shaped people [the new immigrants] are

the descendants of those who were always backward... the new immigrants even look inferior...", etc. (Ross 1914: 286.)[23] During World War I, there was a genuine media campaign against the Germans, and against the Austro-Hungarians, and the Hungarians were often depicted as Teutonic in the American newspapers.[24] Letters sent from Hungary were opened and censored, and Hungarians were insulted. After World War II, Hungarians were once again regarded as war criminals, thus the "DPs" were also given a negative reception. In contrast, the Hungarians of 1956 basked in the glory of the struggle against communism. Their positive appraisal was further improved by other fortunate factors. In the second half of the 1950s, the United States was experiencing an economic boom, which provided extra work opportunities for the Hungarian 56-ers, while the exaggerated Cold War atmosphere elevated the 1956 Hungarian refugees into heroes in the fight for freedom. It would be no exaggeration to say that they were backed by a mass of sympathisers in America. In terms of their integration, it is important to emphasise that they received significant financial support from both the US state and the Hungarian community, in terms of both job opportunities and university scholarships. Factories, plants and companies needing workers could take their pick from among the Hungarian refugees.[25] For example the head of the labor office and the congressional representative of Lorain, Ohio, a center of heavy industry, travelled together to Camp Kilmer to bring back 82 refugees to Lorain.[26] According to church records from a little later, there

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23 The text was translated and published by Aladár Komjáthy (Komjáthy 1984: 162). Edward Alsworth Ross is the father of American sociology, his oeuvre consists of twenty-seven independent volumes and numerous studies. The book being quoted is full of apt observations of Eastern European immigrants, but he interpreted the social processes as a struggle of different races, in line with social Darwinism, the intellectual trend of his era. In this work, the values of old, Americanized Irish, English, Scottish, German, Scandinavian, and Dutch immigrants are juxtaposed with the vulgarity of the new immigrants, the Slavs, Italians, Eastern European Jews, Hungarians, Romanians, etc. He devotes pages to describing the "primitive" physical anthropological characteristics of Eastern Europeans while discussing negative personality traits and inferior behavioral patterns as ethnic specificities. (Ross 1914: 282–304.)

24 For example, an authorless article was published about which U.S. states have more than 4 million Teutons living in them. The day book. (Chicago, Ill.) April 28, 1917.

25 In records kept in Hungarian American archives, a number of entries testify to the financial assistance of Fifty-Sixer Hungarian refugees. For example, an entry in the Bethlen Communities Archive in Ligonier reads: "Beyond their means, the Hungarian Club donated $100 in support of the freedom fighters." 1957 entry in the Protocol of the Pittsburgh Committee (Minutes of the Grand 1957).

26 According to a report of the Reformed Church in Lorain: "Our Church has voted to donate nearly $2000 from its own funds and from the funds of its bodies, and through its members, it has contributed thousands more to help our Hungarian blood. On behalf of the Hungarians of Lorain, the pastor travelled to Camp Kilmer with Congressman Baumbart and Labor Secretary Ward Riley and brought 82 refugees to Lorain. Half of the refugees are Calvinist. Most of them have been loyal churchgoers ever since. The Calvinists were provided temporary housing by our members free of charge. Since then, all of them, without exception, have their own home and employment. For Christmas, we provided gifts to all of them from our non-denominational Hungarian Assistance Fund, and we paid for our refugees' food and rent until they had an income. None of them were left to fend for themselves, no one went hungry, no one had to go to a flophouse. The Roman Catholics provided similar assistance, and the pastor would like to thank FR Zoltán Demkó, the parish priest, that this work could be started and completed with mutual goodwill and in the spirit of brotherhood. Thanks be to our councils, the neighbouring American Protestant Churches, and our members, for the many gestures of love and help." (The 1956 Annual Report. 2).

were more than a hundred workers in the city who had been recruited from among the Hungarian refugees. They established their own club and keep in regular touch with one another. As the 1956 generation ages and dies out, the once regular gatherings of 56-ers are becoming fewer and farther between. In 2015, the 56-ers in Lorian still met every week. Although at first there were around a hundred of them, and 10 years ago over a dozen, nowadays only the four or five 56-ers who are "still alive and kicking" attend the gatherings. Among the 56-ers, the simple workers found themselves at home far more easily with the old Hungarians with peasant roots, who had become factory workers in America, while the intellectuals, after a couple of decades, "compromised" and were therefore able to better cooperate with the "DPs".

There is no doubt that, among the 56-ers' life stories, there are some real "success stories", of the kind not typical among the earlier groups of emigrants. As Béla Várdy aptly puts it, "the material, scientific, artistic or political success achieved in American society, and the social status associated with it, are directly proportional to the degree of acculturation and assimilation and, in turn, inversely proportional to success in remaining Hungarian." (Várdy 2000: 451.)[27] Professor of history András Ludányi made some harsh observations at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s about the weakening of the Hungarian identity among the 1956 refugees who were supported by university scholarships. In connection with the operation of the Association of Hungarian Students in North America, he stated that the association was merely a channel for a brain drain, and that it fostered assimilation through the Ford and Rockefeller foundations. Among the children of 56-er intellectuals who were awarded a special scholarship, "I can count on the fingers of two hands those whose children still speak Hungarian."

Unlike the former groups of immigrants, the 56-ers – especially the intellectuals and the younger generation – were the first to attempt to settle in large numbers in non-Hungarian neighbourhoods or their vicinity. They were less anxious about the idea of assimilation, and thus preferred to look for non-Hungarian spouses. However, in many cases the less well educated and older 56-ers with families found jobs with Hungarian help, and mostly settled closer to Hungarian neighbourhoods, thus blending in more easily with the old Hungarian Americans.

These impacts and processes within the Hungarian community can be detected in the community's organisational life, as well as in the associations. In order to maintain their national identity and pursue a community life, the Hungarian 56-ers, on the one hand, joined Hungarian organizations that had been operating for decades, and, on the other hand, founded a number of new organizations and associations – as well as political organizations – as they felt that the community institutional structure established earlier did not provide a sufficiently diverse and appropriate framework. The Hungarian associations founded in connection with universities play a significant role. The Bessenyei Hungarian Alumni

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27 Béla Várdy's findings are in line with the conclusions of Alexander S. Weinstock (Weinstock 1969: 98–106).

Association, which was established in New Brunswick originally for Hungarian students and teachers at Rutgers University, is an outstanding example of the organizations established by the 56-ers. Among the many others, the New York folk dance group and the American Hungarian Folklore Centrum, which were also founded by Hungarian 56-ers, are also worth mentioning.

The relationship dynamics between groups from distinct waves of emigration, and their relationships with the Old Country, tend towards the mitigation of conflicts among later generations. One good example is a family in which the daughter of a 56-er couple married the grandson of a 47-er "DP" – a former politician. After moving back to Hungary, their child became a star violinist on a Hungarian folk talent show.

Translated by János Hideg and Zsuzsanna Cselényi

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Az 1956-os menekültek társadalmi integrációja az Egyesült Államokban

Az Egyesült Államokban több mint 1,5 millióan vallják magukat magyarnak is – legalább egy magyar nagyszülő alapján – a legutóbbi népszámlálás adatai szerint. Jelentős részüket képezi az 1956-os forradalom leverése utáni menekültek és leszármazottaik csoportja. Az amerikai magyarok körében végzett kiterjedt terepmunkán alapuló tanulmányban a szerző megkíséreli felvázolni a mintegy 40 ezer politikai menekült, zömében fiatal értelmiségi és egyetemista, illetve szakképzett és szakképzetlen ipari munkás társadalmi fogadtatását és beilleszkedését az Egyesült Államokban. A vizsgálat tárgyát képezte, hogy az 56-os, újonnan érkezők, miként viszonyultak az amerikai magyar közösségi élet intézményhálózatát kialakító korábbi kivándorlási csoportokhoz. Az 56-osok eltérő integrációs stratégiáinak elemzése kiemelten hangsúlyos szerepet kap a dolgozatban.

Integrarea socială a refugiaților revoluției maghiare din 1956 în Statele Unite

Conform ultimului recensământ în Statele Unite există 1,5 milioane de persoane, care îşi declară identitatea maghiară, având cel puţin unul dintre bunici provenind din rândul acestei naţiuni. O parte importantă a acestora reprezintă grupul refugiaţilor revoluţiei maghiare din 1956, respectiv descendenţii acestora. În acest studiu bazat pe o amplă cercetare pe teren, autorul încearcă o schiţare a primirii şi a integrării celor circa 40 de mii de refugiaţi politici, în mare parte

intelectuali tineri și studenți, respectiv muncitori industriali calificați și necalificați, în Statele Unite. O atenție sporită a fost orientată spre modul în care acești noi veniți s-au manifestat față de grupurile care au sosit înaintea lor și care au format în prealabil rețeaua instituțională a vieții comunitare maghiare din Statele Unite. Un rol important este atribuit și analizei strategiilor de integrare diferite ale refugiaților din 1956.

The Social Integration of Refugees from the 1956 Hungarian Revolution in the United States

According to the latest U.S. census, around 1,5 million persons declare Hungarian or partial Hungarian identity based on at least one or more grandparents. A good portion of them had emigrated from Hungary as a consequence of 1956 revolution or they are descendants of '56-ers. In the present paper, based on extensive fieldwork in the U.S. among Hungarian Americans, the author tries to sketch up how the approximately 40 thousand young Hungarian students and industrial, blue and white collar workers, who arrived to the States as political refugees, had been welcomed. The attitude toward the 'newcomers' of earlier generations of Hungarian immigrants, who largely established the institutional network of Hungarian–American community life, is an issue to highlight. The analysis of various integration strategies of '56-ers to local pre-existing communities and networks are also crucial to this research.

Pictures

1. Tibor Absolon, a Hungarian Fifty-Sixer and his wife from Angyalföld,
Grand Rapids (Michigan), 2008 (Photo: Balázs Balogh)

2. "Hungarians of Chicago for a Free Hungary!" – demonstration in November 1956.
Chicago (Illinois) (Bethlen Communities Archive)
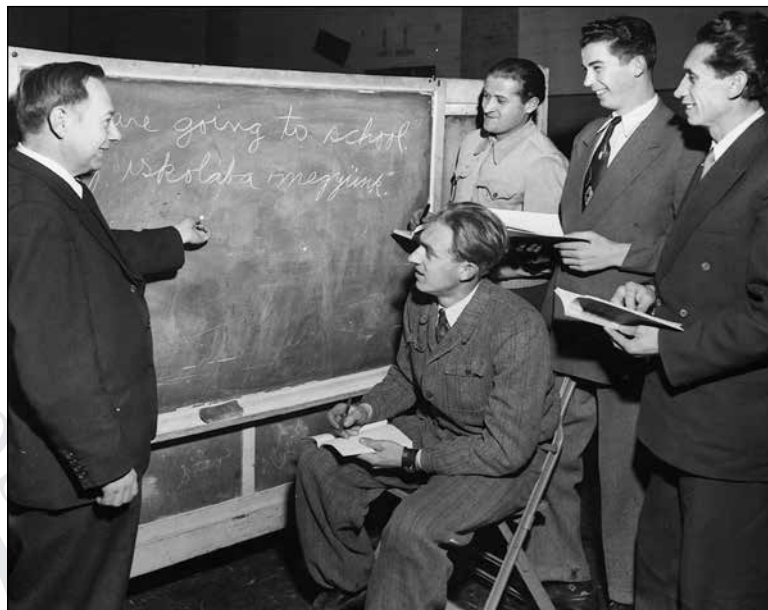
*3. Calvinist Reverend Árpád György holds an English language lesson
for Fifty-Sixer Hungarian refugee university students –
Chicago (Illinois), 1957 (Bethlen Communities Archive)*

*4. 1956 memorial run with a crucifix – Passaic (New Jersey). 1957.
In an athletic jersey with the inscription "Remember Hungary" and the
Holy Crown on it (Bethlen Communities Archive)*

5. Flag dedication – Chicago South (Illinois), 1957 (Bethlen Communities Archive)
"For God, for the Homeland, until Death – Refugees of the 1956 Revolution."

<p style="text-align:center">CHAPTER 2</p>

Historical Perspectives and Examples

Art Leete

The Effects of Alcohol Trade
among the Samoyeds and Ob-Ugrians
in the Russian North and Western Siberia

Introduction

Since the early modern ethnographic accounts, notions of migrants, travellers and even scholars using alcohol exchange can be found in travelogues and general accounts of the situation in the Russian North as well as in Western Siberia. During the 19th century, these descriptions became rather frequent. Many authors pointed out the predatory economic strategies of traders, as well as indigenous responses to emerging alcohol commerce in the North.

Alcohol has become a powerful and constant symbol of the process of long-term migration into the Russian North and Western Siberia. Indigenous groups have been regularly depicted as helpless victims of alcohol commerce (Pika 1993; Pivneva 2005; Leete 2005, 2015). However the other approach considers the social consequences of drinking and the distinctive rules that shape alcohol consumption (Dudeck 2015: 93, 109).

I aim to discuss this complicated relationship between rather steady ethnographic images of economic migrants and indigenous people, and evidence that indicates a more complex net of ideas and practices related to alcohol in the Russian North and Western Siberia.[1] I concentrate primarily on 19th century data as several important developments related to alcohol trade in the North took place during that period. My study remains somehow rough but in order to provide an overall picture of characteristic developments of the period, a certain randomness is inevitable.

I intend to elaborate on analysis of a few ways in which alcohol obtained an obscure pattern of 'cultural intimacy' (cf. Dudeck–Liarskaya 2012) for the northern natives in the Russian North and Western Siberia. I approach 'cultural intimacy' as a specific privacy of collective religious or ethnic space (cf. Herzfeld 2001). If alcohol transgresses cultural boundaries in the sphere of a worldview and rituals, it indicates that it has become an accepted element of those people's lives. At the same

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time, this transgression involves the motivations and practices whereby people try to move themselves, or are forced to move, into different cultural contexts.

Alcohol as a Necessity in the Arctic

The historians of Antiquity (Strabo, Tacitus) wrote of the destructive influence of civilisation on barbarians in connection with the spread of alcohol (Tacitus 1877; Strabo 1903; see also Honigmann 1979: 30). Other scholars of the period stressed that alcohol consumption probably spread in the northern areas where climate ('the winds') favoured drinking (Aristotle ICA, Hippocrates ICA). This idea of the inevitability of alcohol consumption in the north was carried over into the Middle Ages. Christian discourse involved the notion of the periphery of the oecumene as a region of sinful conduct, as confirmed, for example, by Eusebius of Caesarea from the 4th century (Eusebius of Caesarea 1903).

Principally, Enlightenment thinkers accepted a similar approach. Montesquieu associated alcoholism with colder climates, regarding its occurrence in northern countries as a 'national intemperance' that was warranted by natural laws (Montesquieu 1989: 204). On the other hand, it was also pointed out that the impact of cultural contacts played a considerable role in the spread and cultivation of alcoholism among the northern peoples, in particular towards the end of the period.

In the course the 19th century, a more socially complex understanding of indigenous drinking was developed. Many scholars and popular writers articulated the suggestion that alcohol addicted non-Western peoples were martyrs to the colonial relationship (see Honigmann 1979). The authors of the period generally contributed drinking malaise to primordial fondness of the indigenous groups for vodka consumption, according to philosophical framework elaborated over a long period from Antiquity to Montesquieu.

This mode of depiction of the northern indigenous peoples is also grounded in actual field encounter and cannot be considered just a kind of fantasy, repeated only on the basis of theoretical consideration. It is quite complicated to reveal a balance between theory and tangible observation in these accounts of Arctic drinking.[2] It was common knowledge among travellers and ethnographers that trade facilitated alcohol consumption and migration processes in the Russian North and Western Siberia.

Alcohol Trade in the North as a Vice of Civilisation

Accounts of alcohol as a characteristic article of trade in the Russian North and Western Siberia can be traced back to the early modern period. Alcohol reflects the side of commerce that was unbalanced and opened up the northern indigenous

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2   For a more detailed analysis of Arctic drinking stereotypes, see Leete 2015.

communities to specific forms of exploitation. The French explorer Pierre-Martin de la Martiniere reports in his travelogue that in 1653 he traded furs for vodka among the Nenets (la Martinière 1911: 59). In the 1660s, Dutch diplomat and traveller Nicolaes Witsen complains that the Russian officials, *voyevodas*[3], entertained the Khanty people with vodka and received in return "a few pieces of fur". Moreover, Witsen noticed that it was also a common practice among travellers to exchange tobacco and vodka for fish among the Siberian natives (see Kopaneva 2006: 262–263).

Several scholars and writers describe a specific process of infiltration of the Izhma Komi into the tundra area of the Russian North and to the Western Siberia. Travellers and ethnographers express anxiety at how, since the end of the 18th century, the Izhma had taken over large herds of reindeer and acquired furs from the Nenets and Khanty, especially through vodka trade (Latkin 1844: 33–34, 1853a: 106–107, 150, 1853b: 100; Castrén 1860: 146–147; Ermilov 1888: 77–79; Maksimov 1909 [1859]; Kozmin 1913: 15–18; Abramov 1914: 13–14). Vasilii Latkin even argues that vodka was "the most profitable currency" for Izhma Komi traders among the Tundra Nenets of the Russian North (Latkin 1853a: 121–122).

However, the problem was not related only to this specific case of Izhma Komi penetration into the tundra. The spread of alcohol was generally connected with professional traders who made dealt extensively in vodka. This caused various survival problems for the northern tribes, such as the escalation of debts to traders, regular instances of starvation and alcohol problems (see Slezkine 1994: 108–110).

In the mid-19th century the northernmost point of legitimate alcohol trade was Berezovo, while further north the trading centre in Obdorsk was established at the end of the century (Bartenev 1896: 31). Despite this, illegal trade flourishing everywhere as well as stories about the northern peoples as heavy drinkers who were exploited by Russian traders. Russians managed to deliver huge quantities of vodka to the tundra or trade it secretly during fairs and exchange it for anything they desired (Sno 1904: 10, 13; Castrén 1860: 135, 144–145, 180–182; Maksimov 1909 [1859]; Kozmin 1913: 16–20).

In 1822 the Russian government issued the Statue on the Inorodtsy for administrating all indigenous peoples in Russia, and in 1835 a more specific Statue About the Samoyeds. However, despite this the Russians and Komi found ways to get around the legal obstacles established by these laws, and essentially uncontrollable exploitation of the Nenets continued. Local officials admitted that it was impossible to control the actual conditions of trade across the whole vast tundra region (Latkin 1844: 16–19, 32–33; Castrén 1860: 146–148; Kozmin 1913: 18–20).

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3   *Voyevoda* – local official, holding both military and administrative power in Russian municipalities during the Tsarist period between the 10th and 18th centuries. From 1620 *voyevoda*s were prohibited from making trade arrangements, means that Witsen was describing illegal business deals.

Finnish ethnographer Uno Taavi Sirelius offered an aphorism that he contributed to the local Russians: "An Ostyak[4] will sell his soul for liquor" (Sirelius 1900: 13). In several ethnographic accounts it was noticed that between the Khanty, Mansi and Nenets, men and women, as well as old women, young girls and small children, were all fond of alcohol (Zuev 1947: 23; Islavin 1847: 21–22; Vereshchagin 1849: 263; Schrenk 1855: 283, 388–389; Veniamin 1858: 82; Castrén 1860: 118–119, 134–136, 148, 155, 194, 285; Maksimov 1909 [1859]; Sorokin 1873: 33, 50; Ahlqvist 1885: 171; Jacobi 1896: 268; Karjalainen 1983: 32–33; Sno 1904: 13; Dunin-Gorkavich 1995 [1903]: 84, 130–139; Anuchin 1916: 23; see also Lehtonen 1974: 41–43). This can all be summarised by Castrén's statement that "a general drinking malaise has taken hold of these poor people" (Castrén 1860: 118).

The indigenous inhabitants of the region were witnessed predominantly in bigger settlements, and those locations were the primary drinking scenes for the Nenets, Khanty and Mansi (when in the forest or tundra, alcohol was inaccessible – Ahlqvist 1885: 171). During the 19th century, descriptions of the natives' inclination for drinking were also associated with the overall idea that the northern indigenous tribes were facing extinction – alcoholism became a suitable element to illustrate this inescapable destiny.

In general, these relationships between the indigenous population and migrants form a background that has facilitated increasing consumption of alcohol among the northern peoples (Istomin 2016: 34). Over the centuries, alcohol trade has been part of relationship between state officials, traders, travellers, migrants and indigenous people in the Russian North and Western Siberia. Although considered generally undesirable, alcohol consumption was seen as usual practice for the Arctic Finno-Ugrians. It was considered normal to trade vodka with the indigenous population for anything local officials and travellers needed.

Alcohol Trade as Part of Academic Practice

Although in ethnographies the distribution of drinking was generally criticised as an evil among the northern Finno-Ugric tribes in the North, pre-World War I scholars also started to handle alcohol as a suitable article of trade that could be used to help achieve academic goals. Vodka enabled researchers to receive practical services and to document valuable ethnographic evidence that the Khanty, Mansi or Nenets revealed more willingly while intoxicated or when hoping to receive alcohol as a reward for sharing indigenous knowledge.

For example, botanist Alexander Schrenk travelled through the Russian North in 1837 and hired a group of Nenets to help him with his travel arrangements,

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4 Formerly, several indigenous peoples of Siberia (Selkup, Ket, Khanty and Mansi) were referred as the Ostyaks. In his remark, Sirelius points to the Khanty. In this article, I use the term 'Ostyak' as a synonym for the 'Khanty'.

offering them alcohol to motivate them to collaborate with him. Schrenk sees this as a normal practice that was justified by a practical need:

"We travelled already three days since the last Samoyed campsite. We were not able to meet any wandering reindeer breeders and our Samoyeds began to worry about their exhausted reindeer. In order to calm them down and let them feel that I am satisfied with their service, I arranged a feast. I entertained them with vodka and distributed some cheap items among them as gifts. My Samoyeds appreciated this and soon became amused." (Schrenk 1855: 347.)

Organising local transport in the tundra with the help of vodka was also a technique occasionally used by another scholars (see Castrén 1860: 134–135, 145–146; Maksimov 1909 [1859]). Moreover, Castrén paid one of his Nenets language guides in vodka every day of their linguistic work. Castrén allowed his Nenets co-worker to get drunk every time the fellow desired. If his Nenets interpreter continued to work poorly, Castrén also provided vodka to his wife (Castrén 1860: 139). In another cases as well, Castrén paid for his language guides in vodka for their services (Castrén 1860: 145).

Vodka was also used in other kinds of scientific exchange. On one occasion, Schrenk detected a chance to hear a Nenets songs and enticed local men to sing. After vodka was served, Schrenk's indigenous companions agreed to perform without hesitation (Schrenk 1855: 347–348). Schrenk also writes about a situation in which he used alcohol to entice a Nenets shaman to perform a ritual. Vodka was not part of the ritual: a shaman got a drink only after the ceremony (Schrenk 1855: 349–356). But this case indicates one more time that vodka was an item of academically applied spiritual trade. In another incident, Schrenk provides a description of a situation in which he manages to receive a Nenets idol for a single glass of vodka:

"I asked the Samoyed to give me the idol. Initially, he appeared not to understand me. But when a glass of alluring vodka twinkled in front of his eyes, he thought it over, scratched his ear and finally, as if he had managed to vanquish himself, said with confidence, 'take him!' At the same moment he reached out for the glass. [...] So that stupid Samoyed cheats his idol and sells himself, his freedom, for a tiny glass of vodka!" (Schrenk 1855: 317.)

For Schrenk, trading a spiritual figure for vodka is legitimate as the Nenets must take all the blame in this situation. However, not every traveller considered it appropriate to involve alcohol in ethnographic enterprises. If one accepts indigenous rules of spirituality, this practice turns into an academically doubtful exercise. For example, Ivan Ostroumov notices that it is impossible to obtain figures of Mansi spirits because people simply do not give them away. The possible ways in which Mansi 'idols' have ended up in museums were theft or trade for alcohol. Ostroumov describes a particular case of an Orthodox missionary, Pozdnyakov, obtaining a Mansi spirit-figure of a reindeer for vodka. The missionary gave that particular item to Perm Scientific Museum (Ostroumov 1904: 22).

The authors of the 19th century denounce the vodka trade carried out by traders and officials. But for scholars' and travellers' own academic purposes, similar

exchange was acceptable. In the framework of 19ᵗʰ century academic standards, it seemed that it was justified way to make a trade in the name of science. Castrén even calls vodka "a Siberian talisman" that helps the scholar get along among the indigenous inhabitants of the region (Castrén 1860: 325).

As we can see, 19ᵗʰ century scholarly practice involved trading alcohol for indigenous objects, faith, knowledge and friendship in the North. But it was not the only way in which alcohol was related to the indigenous cultural intimacy. Also to be found in the ethnographic literature are descriptions that connect alcohol and ritual behaviour in a culturally adapted mode.

Ritual Use of Alcohol

Alcohol trade had an effect on indigenous ritual practices, an example of which is how, from the 19ᵗʰ century, or possibly before, vodka was used during calendar celebrations and sacrificial rituals. This process indicates that from a certain period, vodka became culturally domesticated and was no longer only an indication of addiction.

Bartenev claims at the end of the 19ᵗʰ century that "[...] nowadays the religious imagination of the Ostyaks is moving towards monotheism" (Bartenev 1895: 490). Bartenev illustrates his point with the argument that "modern, more ideal gods" can do without tea drinking during a wake (Bartenev 1895: 490–491). At the same time, Khanty make sure to sacrifice vodka during a wake, and not only to their own gods, but also to the Christian god:

"On a summer's day, a group of Ostyaks, including men and women, are sitting on the grass by the church and drinking vodka. One Ostyak woman departs from the crowd and approaches the church fence, with the bottle in her hand. There she began bowing and crossing herself while pouring some vodka on the ground." (Bartenev 1896: 93, and also 1895: 491.)

This amalgamation of Christian and animist elements during prayer indicates that by that time, vodka had been firmly adopted into Khanty ritual practice. More recent ethnographic evidence confirms that similar use of alcohol has become common in Khanty sacrificial rituals (see, for example, Leete 1997, Balalajeva–Wiget 2004) proving that the example given is not random.

Schrenk (Schrenk 1855: 360–362) does not mention any consumption of alcohol during reindeer sacrifice among the Nenets in the 1830s.[5] Castrén describes Khanty collective reindeer sacrifice where the only drink offered to the gods and consumed later by participants was water (Castrén 1860: 131–132, 188–189). But Castrén describes a Nenets wedding where people did get drunk, sacrificed a reindeer, and continued drinking (Castrén 1860: 142–144). Latkin claims that the Nenets randomly

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5   Today, every reindeer killing is considered a ritual. Although during individual killings no alcohol is used in normal circumstances (Niglas 1997) alcohol has become an element of collective sacrificial ceremonies. The 19ᵗʰ century authors do not always specify what kind of sacrificial ritual they are referring to.

drank vodka during the feast that followed a reindeer sacrifice, although (Latkin 1853a: 118). These random notes seem to reflect the beginning of a change connected with reindeer sacrifice. Earlier, the reindeer killing ritual was performed without using vodka, while by the 19th century alcohol was slowly becoming part of these ceremonies.

Evidence of vodka use during shamanic séances is rather patchy in the 19th century ethnographies. For example, Maksimov claims that the Nenets shamans ask for vodka when performing healing rituals. And before a particular ritual, performed for Maksimov, a shaman consumed several glasses on vodka, received from Maksimov himself (Maksimov 1909 [1859]).

In the early descriptions there is also some data about a looser connection between religious practice and drinking (or avoiding drink). Kozmin reports the case of a wealthy Nenets from the Russian North who spent a month in Solovetsky Monastery, not drinking any vodka during that time (Kozmin 1913: 37). This indicates that sometimes the Nenets connected sobriety with Christianity, although it could also be read in the opposite way. Martynov writes about an Orthodox monk who was living in a lonely habitation (*skit*)[6] for a long time. He provided vodka (that he kept in his storehouse in huge quantities) to the Nenets who happened to visit his residence (Martynov 1905: 216).

Although the evidence presented is scattered, it still illustrates the emerging role of vodka in the Nenets and Ob-Ugrian religious practice in the 19th century. The infusion of alcohol into the indigenous religious sphere was possible only in conditions were alcohol trade functioned and vodka was available for negotiating rituals or other religion-related issues. Taken as a whole this reflects the embracing of vodka not only as substance of pleasure by the indigenous population of the North but also the adoption of alcohol as an accepted component of local cultural practice.

Discussion

At least since early modern times, alcohol trade has had an effect on Ob-Ugrian and Samoyed daily behaviour. Indigenous groups adopted vodka into their ritual practice in the 19th century. Alcohol also reconfigured local social scenes in the North. Officials and professional traders arranged the commerce, although at the same time travellers and scholars exchanged vodka in order to facilitate their own goals.

In earlier times, the reason for indigenous northern alcohol addiction was seen as the cultural backwardness of native peoples, while focus also fell on the syncretistic world picture of the northern peoples. Another way of looking at the topic of alcohol in the North was to emphasise the way in which officials and traders purposefully facilitate the spread of vodka drinking among the Arctic peoples in order to increase profit.

A number of scholars stress the special role of alcohol trade in infiltrating the Izhma Komi and Russians into indigenous areas during the 19th century.

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6 *Skit* – individual residence of the Russian Orthodox monks, established away from settlements. Historically, *skit*s appeared before monasteries as places for collective spiritual seclusion.

Particularly in the case of the Izhma Komi, vodka trade helped when negotiating property rights, enabling the Izhma Komi to take over the Nenets reindeer herds and thus establish a foundation for Izhma Komi economic growth in the tundra.

Notwithstanding the above, it is complicated to estimate the actual importance of alcohol trade in these economic and demographic processes. It is highly probable that the alcohol addiction of the Nenets and Ob-Ugrians was exaggerated in early ethnographies. This distortion of impressions was caused by the fact that travellers mainly met the indigenous people in larger settlements where the northern natives drank much more often than in their tundra or forest camps. Short periods of intense drinking caught the writers' attention and these impressions became fixed in travel literature. Secondly, the stereotype of the drinking native of the North, supported by long philosophical tradition, also justified alcohol trade and perpetuated descriptions of drinking in the Arctic.

In addition to this, ethnographers followed the conviction that the Izhma Komi and Russians were spoiling the authentic culture of the Nenets and Ob-Ugrians. Although the Komi also belong to the family of the Finno-Ugric peoples, in literature they were commonly treated as the most Russian-like (i.e. 'civilised') group with the smallest proportion of genuine Finno-Ugric cultural elements extant among them (see Sirelius 1998, Zagrebin–Sharapov 2008: 114). This principal idea could also promote the stream of reports about evils of alcohol trade in the area.

Despite these exaggerations, travellers and scholars still revealed the serious problem of alcohol addiction in the area and treated it as a possibility for the Izhma Komi and Russians to migrate into the Russian North and Western Siberia. However, one also needs to consider general economic processes in the area. In the case of the Izhma Komi, strategic circumstances (developing a more effective economic model for reindeer breeding) supported migration more profoundly and alcohol trade was just a tactical device used to achieve economic goals.

Although alcohol was adopted into several indigenous rituals and accepted into the Nenets and Ob-Ugrian worldview, it somehow still has an indefinite role in indigenous culture. Cultural intimacy, if it is reached through alcohol, maintains a kind of hesitant condition (for example in the case of rituals). There will always be an uncertain limit of absorption into wider society that indigenous people cannot transgress if alcohol is also attached to cultural practices.

By the 19th century, alcohol trade had become a widespread and established practice in the indigenous areas of the Russian North and Western Siberia. Vodka commerce induced change in the everyday lives of the Nenets, Khanty and Mansi as well as ritual customs. Over time, supplies of alcohol became regular and ever more extensive, causing indigenous alcohol addiction and facilitating a shift on the regional economic scene. At the same time, adopting alcohol as an element of indigenous ritual practice enabled some cultural adaptation by the Nenets and Ob-Ugrians and provided a way of coping with vodka commerce.

Translated by the author

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Az alkoholkereskedelem hatása a szamojédokra és obi-ugorokra az oroszországi Észak- és Nyugat-Szibériában

A tanulmány célja, hogy feltárja, hogyan kapcsolódott az alkoholkereskedelem az oroszországi Észak- és Nyugat-Szibéria területén élő őslakosokról alkotott kép változásához a 19. század során. Néprajzi leírások és népszerű írók útirajzai tanulmányozása alapján mutatja be a szerző ezt a jelenséget, az időszak meghatározó beszédmódja tükrében. Az alkohol okozta társadalmi lecsúszásra vonatkozó leírásokra koncentrált; arra, hogy a terepmunkára érkező kutatók hogyan használták a vodkát, hogy közelebb kerülhessenek az őslakosokhoz és azok tudásához, valamint arra, hogy a nyenyecek, hantik és manysik rituális gyakorlatára hogyan hatott a vodka megjelenése. Eredményei alátámasztják azt a következtetést, mely szerint az őslakosok esetében az alkoholkereskedelem leírása a regresszió diskurzusához kapcsolódik. Ez várható volt, mivel az evolucionista felfogás terjedése elősegítette az eltűnőben lévő „vademberek" néprajzi leírását. Az alkoholkereskedelem, mint a gonoszság egyik forrása, jól illik ebbe a rendszerbe. Ugyanakkor, bár a néprajzkutatók elítélték az alkoholkereskedelmet, nem láttak semmi rosszat abban, hogy az alkoholt az északi népek körében végzett tudományos kutatás előmozdítására használják. Fontos újítást jelentett, hogy az őslakosok rítusainak gyakorlatában a 19. században megjelent a vodka. Mindezek azt jelzik, hogy az alkoholkereskedelmet az előfeltételezett elméleti keretek alapján írták le az adott korszakban, de ezek a megállapítások ambivalenssé váltak az utazók helyszíni tapasztalatairól szóló leírások hatására.

Efectele comerţului cu alcool asupra samoiezilor şi populaţiei ob-ugrice din nordul şi vestul Siberiei ruseşti

Scopul autorului a fost de a descoperi cum a influenţat comerţul cu alcool imaginea populaţiilor indigene din nordul şi vestul Siberiei ruseşti de-a lungul secolului al XIX-lea. Bazându-se pe analiza descrierilor etnografice şi a jurnalelor de călătorie populare, autorul prezintă acest fenomen prin prisma discursurilor dominante a perioadei respective. El focusează pe descrierile legate de degradarea socială datorată alcoolului, respectiv pe practica oamenilor de ştiinţă de a utiliza alcoolul pentru a facilita accesul la cunoştinţele localnicilor, dar şi introducerea vodcii în practicile rituale ale populaţiilor neneţ, hanti şi mansi. Rezultatele sale vin să susţină concluzia că în cazul localnicilor descrierea comerţului cu alcool se încadrează în discursul regresiunii. Este un lucru de aşteptat, căci abordarea evoluţionistă a susţinut descrierile etnografice despre „sălbaticii" pe cale de dispariţie. Comerţul cu alcool, ca o sursă a răutăţii, se încadrează perfect în acest sistem. De asemenea, deşi etnografii au condamnat comerţul cu alcool, nu au văzut nici o problemă în folosirea acestuia pentru înlesnirea activităţilor academice în regiune. O altă inovaţie importantă a fost faptul că în secolul al XIX-lea băştinaşii au început să folosească vodca în cadrul ritualurilor. Toate acestea indică faptul că comerţul cu alcool fusese descris conform abordărilor teoretice dominante ale perioadei respective, dar aceste descrieri au devenit ambivalente datorită impactului descrierilor imediate ale călătorilor.

The Effects of Alcohol Trade among the Samoyeds and Ob-Ugrians in the Russian North and Western Siberia

The author`s aim was to explore the ways alcohol trade was connected to changing images of indigenous people of the Russian North and Western Siberia during the 19th century. He studied ethnographic accounts as well as popular writers' travelogues and analysed his findings in the light of dominating discourses of the period. He concentrated on descriptions of alcohol-induced social degradation, use of vodka by scholars during their field trips for gaining better access

to indigenous knowledge and infusion of alcohol-related elements into ritual practice of the Nenets, Khanty and Mansi. His findings support the conclusion that discourse of regression is dominating descriptions of alcohol trade among the indigenous population. This was rather expectable as emerging evolutionist approach supported ethnographic impressions about 'savages' who were supposed to die out soon. Alcohol trade as the decisive source of evil fits well with this vision about the order of things. At the same time, although ethnographers condemned alcohol trade, they did not see anything wrong in usage of alcohol as a facilitator of academic endeavour among the northern groups. Another important innovation was that indigenous people started to use vodka within their rituals during the 19th century. All this indicates that alcohol trade was described according to predominant theoretical approaches of the period but these reports remained ambivalent under the influence of travellers' immediate impressions.

Attila Dimény

Migration and Social Mobility
in Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc)
at the Turn of the 19–20th Centuries

In the present study I analyze the migration and social mobility of the inhabitants of Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) according to data gathered from the civil registry of marriages. One of the most important data-sources of studying migration and the social mobility closely related to it, is the civil register that became obligatory starting with the second part of the 18th century. The data gathered from the civil register is the most important source of information regarding changes in domicile or social status of an individual. Totalizing and processing non-nominative data makes possible the interpretation of the working mechanisms of a certain society. From the aspect of the data collected we can state that at the turn of the 19-20th centuries a significant immigration took place to the town where handcrafts and manufacturing started to gain ground against civil jobs.

Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) was an ever-developing settlement from the beginning of the 18th century until the end of the 19th century. Since its inception, it has been able to maintain its economic strength against the other market towns from the region, and 200 years long it was the second largest city of Székelyföld (Székely Land) after Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș). In the first two decades of the 18th century, considering the social composition of the four market towns of the Háromszék County, only Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) could be regarded as urban, since according to the data of the time almost the whole population had civil rights. With the exception of some *wandering and penniless*, no stranger has ever lived in the city. (Pál-Antal 2009: 296.)

From the archival research of Sándor Pál-Antal it was known that in 1713 there were 105 families in Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc), of which 66 were urban, 1 noblemen (armalist), 8 cottar, 18 wandering and 14 other categories. Nine years later, in 1722, were recorded 128 urban, 4 wandering families and 1 other socially-famished family (Pál-Antal 2009: 298). Looking at the Reformed Church records of Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) from 1734, we can see that the growth of the population of the town will continue in the next decades. In spite of childhood mortality, epidemics and wars, the natural growth of Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) was 1128 person by 1799. During the past 65 years, the four Calvinist pastors in the

town registered 837 marriages, 3750 baptisms, and 2622 deaths in the registers. Examination of family names shows that in this period a total of 168 names occur in birth registers. Taking into consideration the appearance of family names, it appears that in the second half of the 1730s in addition to the old family names new names constantly appeared. Among the 168 family names I have found some nick-names, that helped me getting trough the same family names, the number of these is insignificant compared to the fact that examining the birth data of the Jancsó, Kovács, Nagy, Szabó, Szőcs, Tóth ancient families it appears that within a family name for several years have been registered 5 to 8, sometimes even 10-12 births, so, many families with the same name lived in the city. The primary conclusion of the foregoing is that in the 18th century a significant number of foreigners settled in Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc), which justifies the city's economic attractiveness. (Dimény 2015.)

The progress continued in the 19th century. New guilds have emerged, at the same time, the number of crafts and craftsmen outside the guild increased. Despite of the great fire in 1834, the city was able to recover relatively quickly, which is proved by the fact that it had an important role during the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence between 1848 and 1849. At the beginning of the *Reform Age* the society of the town already had willingness, susceptibility to accommodate civilian ideals. In 1842 a Social club (later Casino) was formed, followed after 1867 by many other clubs and associations. After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867 the social, health and financial institutions opened their gates and the education network has also been expanded. At the same time, the former houses around the market square were replaced by modern, bourgeois-style brick buildings, giving the town a real urban character. (Dimény 2010, 2011a, 2011b.)

Despite the long and spectacular development at the turn of the 19-20th centuries Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) missed the race against Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfântu Gheorghe). In this paper I examine the extent of migration to the town and how the social mobility of the local population has developed. The deductible conclusions can help to get to know the period better.

One measure of urbanization is migration and closely related social mobility. In social sciences migration means the movement of individuals and families between different settlements, and social mobility refers to the movement of individuals and families between social classes and layers. Although in many cases they are examined separately, the two social phenomenon and processes are close to each other and have many similarities. (Andorka 2006: 233.)

In the second half of the 19th century, the cause of population decline was sought in whole Europe's mass emigration. According to Ferenc Kozma, hungry and poor people became the cosmopolitan soon. First of all, the advanced manufacturing industry in Western and Northern Europe has produced the gradually impoverished and penniless layer that has become mobilized for livelihood and, in the hope of better living, it has largely chosen America as the target of emigration. Along with the great emigration wave, however, there was always a constant internal

movement in Europe, which was mostly determined by the labor market of different countries. (Kozma 1879: 122–123.)

In the 19th century the leading layer of Székely society was also concerned by the issue of emigration. In the 1870s, the emigration of the population of the Székelyföld (Székely Land) was especially considered to be harmful to the national economy, and therefore the maintenance of workforce was primarily seen by the responsible thinkers in the development of agriculture and industry. In order to determine the tasks, it was important to study the Székely emigration, which resulted in the separation of three kinds of emigration. During the spring and summer agricultural works it took place a day laborer migration. At that time people from Csík County migrated mainly to Moldavia, from Háromszék County to Romania, while from Udvarhely and Maros Counties migrated to the inner parts of Transylvania. These masses primary goal was the obtaining the winter food, so in the autumn they usually returned to their homes. Another form of migration was the emigration of the servants, which is more characteristic of poor fate girls. However, most of the girls who went mostly in Romania or Transylvania's major cities did not return home. The Hungarian intellectuals soon complained that they were lost for the Hungarians when they married in Romanian territory. The third form of emigration is the final one, which took place primarily for political reasons between 1764 and 1848, after that final emigration had mainly business and industrial purposes. As his name suggests, immigrant people did not return to the country anymore, in the best case only their children were sent home to study. According to statistics, Székelyföld (Székely Land) was most left in the years of the *tariff war* between the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy and Romanian kingdom (1886–1893). (Buzogány ed. 1877: 48–55, Kozma 1879: 121–131, Nagy 2010: 417–443.)

From the second half of the 18th century until the end of the 19th century, the population of Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) showed an increasing tendency despite the emigration. The statistical data suggest that a significant number of people have settled in the city during this period. This indicator was negative only in the time of the tariff war with Romania. In 1896 János Dobay analyzed the town's population movements, saying that between 1881 and 1891 the population of Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) dropped from 5200 to 4700. In his view, when we compare the birth and death rates of the period, one can see that significant decrease was caused by a low number of births rather than frequent deaths. (Dobay 1899: 117–118.)

Dezső Dányi based on the census of 1910, summarized the civilian population present in towns of Hungary by their place of birth. From here we know that 2626 (44,6%) of the 5892 inhabitants of Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) were born in the town and 3266 (55,4%) were immigrants, 89 of them were not of Hungarian nationality. Judit Pál wrote in her work on the development of the Székelyföld (Székely Land) cities regarding the above mentioned data that they differ from the officially published census results, so *the rates of the mobile and quasi-mobile population must be treated with caution*. She also notes that in the case of Kézdivásárhely

(Târgu Secuiesc), it is impossible to know where the largest number of settlers was from. (Dányi 2000: 89–107, Pál 2003: 143, 350.)

The lack of data prevents us from getting an accurate of how migration to the city was in the middle of the 19th century. At the same time, it does not provide enough support for research into the social mobility of the population of Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc). However, the civil registration starting in 1895 provides a wide range of information about the registered individuals at the turn of the century. Looking at the data of civil registry books, I examine the extent of migration to the city, where did the settlers come from, and how the social mobility of the population Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) developed in the turn of the century.

An important source of research about migration and closely related social mobility is the compulsory registration from the 1830s. The data contained in the marriage registers provide information on changes of individuals' residence and social situation (Andorka 2006: 237). The aggregation and interpretation of non-nominative data makes possible to get to know operation mechanism of a particular society. In addition to matrimonial registers, it is important to examine baptismal and mortal registers as well, because they also help to make significant conclusions about a society. Birth records sometimes contain fewer or more information, so the interpretation of the records of the registers must be methodologically adapted to the dating habits of the given era.

In this paper I examine the migration and social mobility of the population of Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) based on the data of civil marriage records. The matrimonial registers available from October 22 1895 contain detailed entries for individuals by the end of 1906, since 1907 the birthplace of married couples and the occupation of parents were no longer included. Because of this absence of these, I was only able to trace the migration and social mobility of the city between 1895 and 1906. Knowing the parents' place of residence, we also get important information about the settlements earlier migration.

The available data therefore illuminate the processes that took place at the turn of the 19-20th centuries. During the examined 11 years in Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) were completed 377 marriages, which represented about 10–15% of the total population at that time. At least 23 and 45 marriages have been registered every year. In the attached tables I also listed the birth, residence and occupation data of men and women who married annually, but I used the aggregate data for 11 years to draw conclusions, especially since my research is mainly concerned with the general context of social phenomena.

First of all, I looked at how many people were born in Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc), how many in the region – in this case in Háromszék County – and how many were born further away (*Table* 1.)

Data show that 164 men (44%) and 278 women (74%) were born in Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc), 95 men (25%) and 61 women (16%) outside the town, but within the county of Háromszék while 118 men (31%) and 38 women (10%), were born in a remote location. The majority of both men and women born in Háromszék County

were from Kézdi Seat settlements, while the smaller part from the neighboring Orbai and Sepsi Seats. The proportion of those born in remote localities decreased by departing from Székelyföld (Székely Land) but remained mostly in Transylvania or within Hungary. Only 11 men were born outside the borders of the country: 3 in Romania (Bucharest, Galaţi, Brăila), 3 in Austria, 1 in Croatia, 1 in Bulgaria, 1 in the Czech Republic, 1 in Italy and 1 in Galicia. In addition to those born in the Kingdom of Romania, all of them were foreign nationals, but at the time of their marriage, all 11 of them lived in Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc). (*Diagrams* 1. and 2.)

The total number of people born out of the town, shows that 56% of the married men (213 people) and 26% of married women (99 people) were not local. Comparing this data with the residence registered at the time of the marriage it appears that 80% of men (301 people) already lived in the town and 20% (76) resided elsewhere. 97% of women (364 people) lived in Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) and only 3% (13 people) lived outside the town. Considering the difference between birthplace and residence, it can be said that in the years of the turn of the 19-20th centuries, 137 (36%) of the men and 86 (23%) of the women were born out of town already lived in Kézdivásárhely at the time of the marriage. (*Diagrams* 3. and 4.)

The parents' residence in 27 cases was in Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc),[1] but 59 women lived away from her family. Generally the parents of working, self-earning girls did not live in the city. Some woman moved to the city with her fiancé and ruled herman's household.

For both sexes, I found some families who, although they were from Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc), no longer lived in the town, but their children were married spouses from Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc). After founding a family men and women who moved in the town mostly stayed here, but a small part left the town after a few years. In almost all cases the men living and working elsewhere took their wives with them after marriage.[2] During the examined 11 years 76 (20%) women married to a man who did not live in Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc).

Looking at the social mobility of Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) I focused mainly on examining the occupation of the male community, primarily because at the turn of the century most of the women lived in family households and they were dependents on their husbands. From the 377 marriages of the discussed period in 260 cases of women were housewives. But 32 from them had different civil paid jobs, or had their own financial background for living. Most of them were teachers, some

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1   On January 27, 1900, a daughter of a photographer, who was probably moved from Arad to Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc), was married to a man born in Salzburg but who had been living in the town like equerry, who was supposed to leave the city shortly after marriage, because I did not find any information about them later.

2   In 1895, for example, one of the daughters of János Székely Calvinist pastor, was a certified teacher at an orphanage in Debrecen and married a teacher from Debrecen. The civil marriage was registered in Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc). But because of the absence of any later records, it can be concluded that they did not settle in the town. In 1899, the other daughter of the priest, who lived in parental household, married to a lawyer from Torda (Turda), and they also did not settle in Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc).

of them worked as governesses, nurses, midwives or office workers.[3] In a smaller proportion, mostly widows, they kept themselves as land-, house or mill owners due to the good family background. In 37 cases they got their own money with traditional women's work. Most of them were listed as seamstresses in the marriage registry, but they also worked as independent women's dressers, garments, white embroidery, bread and honey cake makers, as well as washerwomen. Fewer, 22 in number, were engaged in commercial or similar activities. Many of them worked as cooks, kept pubs or eating houses, some of them were merchants or worked in a grocery store or try to get their own earnings as simply marketers. The number of day laborers and servants was nearly the same as the previous three categories. 26 women have earned a salary in this area. As a summary, in this years 31% of married women were self-sustaining while others were dependent.

Contrary with women in men's society everyone had a job, because according to the social expectations of the age the family maintenance was primarily their responsibility. With cumulated data of the mentioned 11 years I examined the social mobility and migration of men's. The end result shows changes in social mobility at the macro level.

I compared the occupation of the marrying men's with the occupations of their fathers and fathers-in law. (*Table* 2.) I have grouped the occupations into four major types. In the civilian occupation category I classified intellectual, official, military, and wealthy people. In the handicraft category there are the people who working in traditional crafts, but I also included here the hairdresser, gardener, miller, baker, and riding master. Thanks to the industrialization, the driver, the wagon factory's foreman, the car mechanic and the factory worker also belong here, but their number was insignificant in the absence of local manufactures. Those dealing with trading were placed into the merchant category. Besides traders having a store, I also listed here some carters and photographers. Traders were between the civils and craftsmen, but through their good financial background they were closer to the town's civic community. The fourth occupational type is discussed as *other* category. I have grouped here first of all the farmers working in agriculture, the dayworkers, household servants and Roma folk musicians too.

117 (31%) of the 377 married men at the turn of the centuries were engaged in civilian occupations, 213 (56%) were craftsmen, 22 (6%) traders and 25 (7%) had other occupations. According to annual data about 7 to 12 men with civil occupations married per year in this period, only in in 1900 and 1901 their number was slightly larger. In the case of craftsmen, the annual average was between 14 and 25. The number of traders and other men in the category is much lower than the previous two. The data on the diagram shows that there is a gradual increase in the civil and crafts layer, while the number of traders and the number of people living in other jobs is characterized by stagnation. (*Diagram* 5.)

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3   In the 1902 year records figure an actress who married to her actor fiancé in Kézdivásárhely and they divorced in 1912 in the city. They probably lived in Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) for a short period of time, because I found only that amount of data about them.

Considering the occupation of fathers of married boys, we can see that 134 (47%) had civilian occupations, 178 (35%) were craftsmen, 17 (5%) traders and in 25 (13%) involved in other jobs. Comparing the professions of fathers and boys it is clear that the number of fathers with civil and other occupation categories is higher, while the number of handicrafts and merchant fathers is lower than the number of boys of the same social category. From the figures it can be concluded that at the turn of the 19–20th centuries, social mobility within the family moved primarily towards crafts and to a lesser extent to merchant trails. Interest in civic occupations decreased for the benefit of craftsmanship, while from lower social class they rise in a large extent among craftsmen. (*Diagram* 6.)

Considering the employment of the fathers of married girls, we can see that in 11 years, 119 (32%) had civilian occupations, 191 (51%) were handicrafts, 28 (7%) merchants and 39 (10%) involved in other occupations. On the basis of the aggregated data it appears that men with civilian occupations have chosen only women of the same social class. The craftsmen did the same thing, but in some cases they chose a wife from the traders and from the lower social class. (*Diagram* 7.)

48% of the settled men (66 persons) were craftsmen, while 31% (42 persons) of them had civilian occupation. I included in this category employees in various offices, the representatives of the public judiciary and education sector as well as the, wealthy landholders. Traders are treated as a separate category, because according to my research experience I saw that the society of the city was well separated from the former two classes. In the examined period merchant men accounted for 10% of the settlers (14 persons). The number of farmers, day-workers, maids and so on, whom I have aggregated within the other category was slightly higher, more precisely 11% (15 people). Men from the handicrafts layer and the other category mostly settled in the city from the near area, while those with civil occupations and the merchants usually came from far away. Looking at the residence of the parents of the settled men we can see that 85 % lived away from Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) and 15% in the city. (*Diagram* 8.)

Almost half of the 86 settled women, 40 persons (47%) were girls living in their parents' household, so they did not have paid jobs, some of them were widows having their own household. On the other hand, 12 (14%) women had civilian jobs, mostly in the field of education, as governesses, kindergarten or school teachers, but I counted here the nurses, postal staff and actresses too. Another 7 women (8%) were registered as merchants or private artisans, grocery or pub owners, and as independent seamstresses or tailors. Relatively many women, 27 (31%) worked as a day laborer and servant in the city. (*Diagram* 9.)

According to the yearly reports, we could get a much more subtle picture of migration and social mobility, although, the available database does not allow this yet. However, the conclusions that can be drawn from this matrimonial registers data can also be used to make the 1900 and 1910 censuses more accurate and streamlined. Based on statistical data, Judit Pál describes in detail the Székely processes in the first decade of the 20th century. Related to Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) she says that in a decade, compared to other cities, the number of people employed in the industry has barely

changed in the city. In 1910 almost half of the population was industrially active, but there were only two companies operating in the city which employed more than 20 workers. Facing the other Székelyföld (Székely Land) cities it was Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) where were the highest number of people (11%) who, besides agriculture were involved in industry too, has a supplementary occupation. In the industrial sector, there was only slight growth in the wood, clothing and food industry. The manufacturing industry, which appeared in the last decades of the 19th century, did not developed in Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) despite the fact that most distillers and breweries, the main basis of industry in other regions, were operating here. (Pál 2003: 215–227.)

According to the aggregated records it can be said that in the years of the turn of the 19–20th centuries the degree of migration to the city was significant. In my opinion this partly can be explained by the fact that the lack of skilled craftsmen emigrated in the years of the tariff war was primarily compensated by the admission of foreigners. However, if we consider settlements during the 18th century, it can be concluded that the current society of Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) was always positively related to the reception of newcomers. In contrary, in the present public consciousness of the old civilian population, still live the image of a closed urban community. Knowing the rules of guild life I consider that migration processes were characteristic of the city in the Middle Ages as well, and a lot of people from Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) have travelled to the world they knew. Research of guild documents kept in the *Incze László Guild Museum* of Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) can also add important data and knowledge in this matter.

Examining the social mobility of the population of Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) at the turn of the centuries, it can be concluded that handicraft occupations have enjoyed an advantage against civic occupations. So young people with civic backgrounds have chosen more artisan and craftsmen occupation than civilian ones. This trend could also be seen in case of young people from other categories, too. The children of several families living from day-to-day or other supplementary work have chosen a craft profession during the mentioned period.

Translated by Erika Dimény

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Annexes

Table 1.

Year	Number of marriages	The husband's birthplace			The husband's residence when married		The wife's place of birth			The wife's residence when married	
		Town	County	Further	Town	Elsewhere	Town	County	Further	Town	Elsewhere
1895	5	3	1	1	2	3	5	0	0	4	1
1896	36	11	13	12	28	8	30	2	4	36	0
1897	32	18	5	9	28	4	25	3	4	32	0
1898	23	14	5	4	19	4	18	4	1	22	1
1899	29	9	11	9	26	3	18	9	2	29	0
1900	32	15	8	9	23	9	27	2	3	32	0
1901	36	13	10	13	25	11	28	4	4	35	1
1902	36	16	9	11	33	3	27	5	4	36	0
1903	29	17	7	5	24	5	18	6	5	27	2
1904	35	15	9	11	30	5	27	5	3	33	2
1905	39	18	7	14	28	11	30	6	3	36	3
1906	45	15	10	20	35	10	25	15	5	42	3
	377	164	95	118	301	76	278	61	38	364	13
	100%	44%	25%	31%	80%	20%	74%	16%	10%	97%	3%

Table 2.

Year	Number of marriages	The occupation of the husbands				The occupation of the husband's father				The occupation of the wife's father			
		civil	handicraft	trader	other	civil	handicraft	trader	other	civil	handicraft	trader	other
1895	5	2	3	0	0	1	4	0	0	2	2	1	0
1896	36	7	21	3	5	8	15	1	12	4	22	4	6
1897	32	9	20	0	3	11	16	0	5	5	20	2	5
1898	23	7	14	1	1	9	11	1	2	8	13	1	1
1899	29	10	15	3	1	15	10	1	4	10	13	1	5
1900	32	14	16	1	1	15	13	2	2	10	18	2	2
1901	36	18	15	2	1	18	14	2	2	14	17	3	2
1902	36	9	23	3	1	11	21	1	3	9	23	2	2
1903	29	10	14	1	4	12	12	2	3	11	15	0	3
1904	35	8	25	2	0	14	16	3	2	17	13	4	1
1905	39	12	25	1	1	10	22	2	5	15	19	3	2
1906	45	11	22	5	7	10	24	2	9	14	16	5	10
	377	117	213	22	25	134	178	17	49	119	191	28	39
	100%	31%	56%	6%	7%	35%	47%	5%	13%	32%	51%	7%	10%

Diagram 1. The husband's birthplace

Further
118
31%

Town
Kézdivásárhely
164
44%

County
Háromszék
95
25%
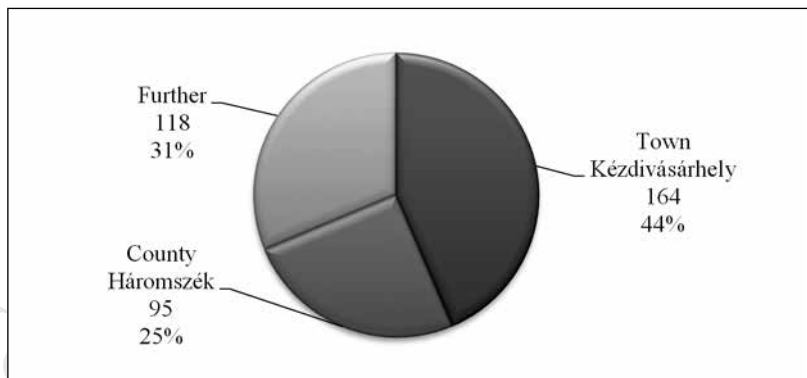
Diagram 2. The wife's place of birth

Further
38
10%

County
Háromszék
61
16%

Town
Kézdivásárhely
278
74%
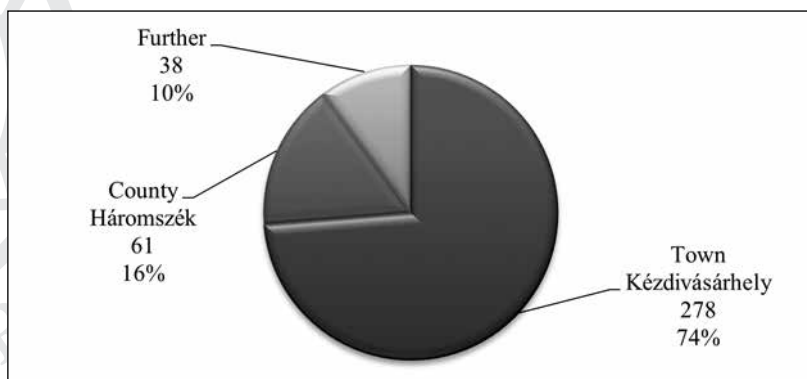
Diagram 3. The husband's residence when married

Elsewhere
76
20%

Town
Kézdivásárhely
301
80%
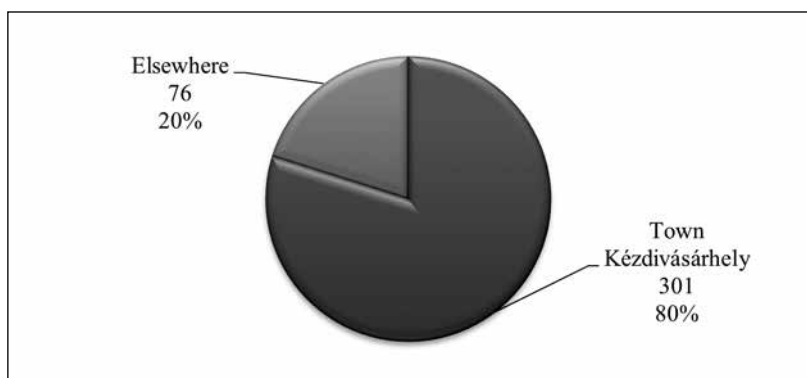
Diagram 4. The wife's residence when married
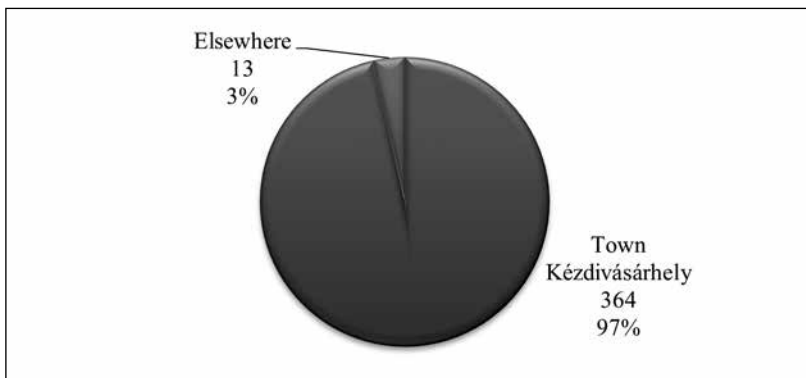
Diagram 5. The occupation of the husbands
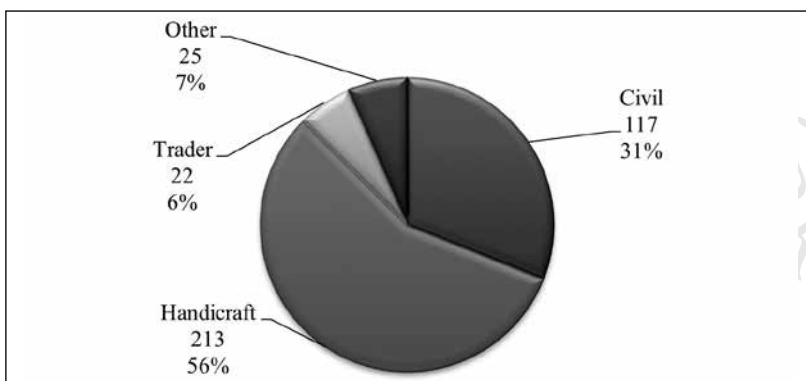
Diagram 6. The occupation of the husband's father

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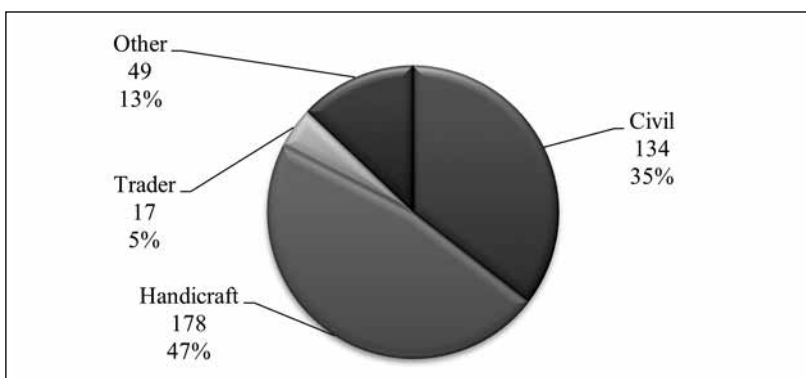
Diagram 7. The occupation of the wife's father

Other
39
10%

Civil
119
32%

Trader
28
7%

Handicraft
191
51%
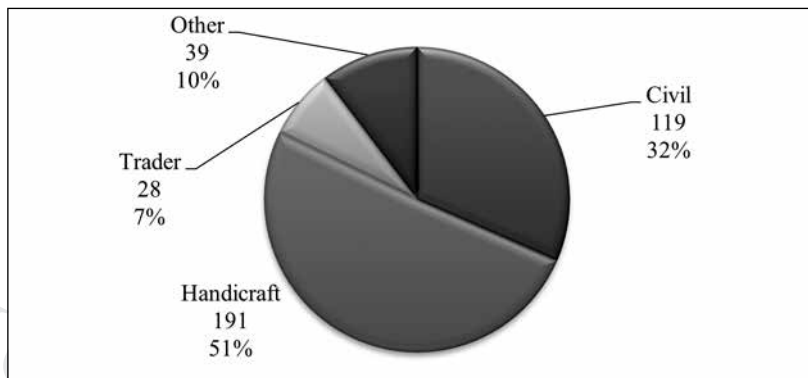
Diagram 8. The settled man occupations

Other
15
11%

Civil
42
31%

Trader
14
10%

Handicraft
66
48%
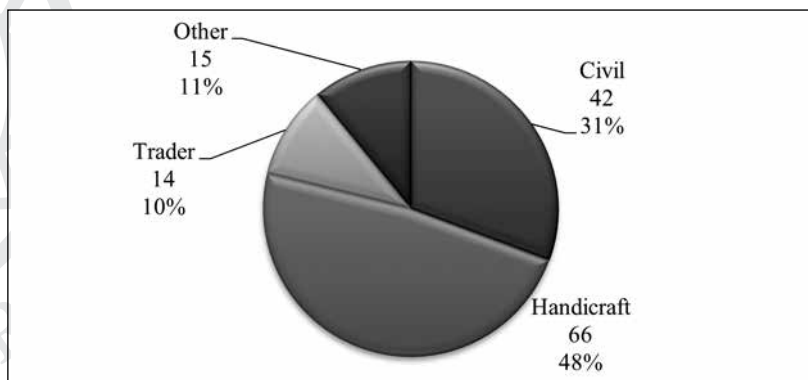
Diagram 9. The settled women occupations

Other
27
31%

Civil
12
14%

Trader
7
8%

Housewife
40
47%

Attila Dimény
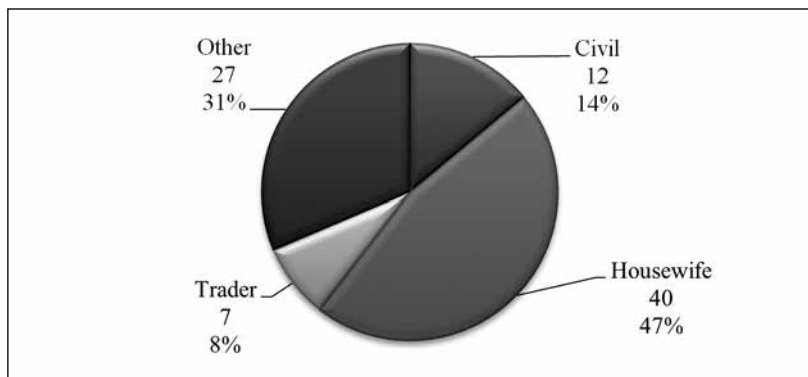
Migráció és társadalmi mobilitás Kézdivásárhelyen a 19–20. század fordulóján

Jelen tanulmányban a kézdivásárhelyi lakosság migrációjának és társadalmi mobilitásának kutatását a polgári házassági anyakönyvek adatai alapján vizsgálja a szerző. A migráció és az ehhez szorosan kapcsolódó társadalmi mobilitás kutatásának egyik fontos forrása a 18. század 30-as éveitől kötelezővé váló anyakönyvezés. Elsősorban a házassági anyakönyvekben található adatok azok, melyek választ adnak az egyének lakóhely, ill. a társadalmi helyzetében bekövetkezett változásokról. A nem nominatív adatoknak az összesítése és értelmezése letetővé teszi egy adott társadalom működési mechanizmusának megismerését. A számok tükrében azt a következtetést lehet levonni, hogy a 19–20. század fordulóján a családon belüli társadalmi mobilitás elsősorban a kézműves és kisebb mértékben a kereskedő pályák irányába mozdult el.

Migrație și mobilitate socială în orașul Târgu Secuiesc
la cumpăna secolelor al XIX–XX-lea

Prezentul studiu este o analiză a migrației și a mobilității sociale ale locuitorilor orașului Târgu Secuiesc pe baza datelor colectate din registrul stării civile ale căsătoriilor. Una dintre sursele de bază ale cercetării migrației și a mobilității sociale, care se leagă în mod strâns de aceasta, este registrul civil, ce a devenit obligatoriu începând cu a doua parte a secolului al XVIII-lea. Datele colectate din registrul civil sunt în primul rând cele care oferă informații despre schimbările survenite în domiciliul, respectiv în situația socială a individului. Totalizarea și procesarea datelor nenominale sunt instrumente care ne oferă cunoașterea mecanismelor de funcționare ale unei societăți anume. Din aspectul datelor colectate putem afirma că la cumpăna secolelor XIX–XX a avut loc o migrație semnificativă spre oraș, unde ocupațiile meșteșugărești au câștigat din ce în ce mai mult teren față de ocupațiile civile.

Migration and Social Mobility in Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc)
at the Turn of the 19–20th Centuries

In the present study the author analyzes the migration and social mobility of the inhabitants of Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc) according to data gathered from the civil registry of marriages. One of the most important data-sources of studying migration and the social mobility closely related to it, is the civil register that became obligatory starting with the second part of the 18th century. The data gathered from the civil register is the most important source of information regarding changes in domicile or social status of an individual. Totalizing and processing non-nominative data makes possible the revelation of the working mechanisms of a certain society. From the aspect of the data collected the author can state that at the turn of the 19–20th centuries a significant immigration took place to the town, where handcrafts and manufacturing started to gain ground against civil jobs.

Emese-Gyöngyvér Veres

Migration
of the Brassó (Brașov) County Csángó:
The Impact of Politics, War, and Economy

The Csángó people are of two groups: the Moldavian Csángó, who live along the outer rim of what was once the Kingdom of Romania, and the "Seven Villages" Csángó, who live in the arch of the Carpathians near Brassó (Brașov), the near-last Transylvanian city along the former Hungarian-Romanian border. Despite its name, this latter group actually occupies a total of ten municipalities, four of which – Bácsfalu (Baciu), Türkös (Turcheș), Csernátfalu (Cernatu), and Hosszúfalu (Satulung) – form the single village of Négyfalu (Săcele). Near these lie three others – Tatrang (Tărlungeni), Zajzon (Zizin), and Pürkerec (Purcăreni) – and a bit further in the other direction, i.e. towards Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), are Krizba (Crizbav), Barcaújfalu (Satu Nou), and Apáca (Apața). Until 1848, these villages were populated by serfs who laboured for the Brassó Saxons and adhered, under the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*, to the Lutheran faith. Though there exist a number of facts from the group's past to explain how they came into serfdom, as that does not belong to the topic at hand, they will be omitted for the purposes of this paper. Still, it should be pointed out that religion has been not only an important element in their lives, but also a force behind their tendency toward migration. By contrast, the Csángó of Moldavia, who do not share the same origins, are Catholics. In the paper to follow, I will be discussing the impact of various migrations of the inhabitants of these villages over past two centuries on the lives of the group's members.

Bucharest: A City for Good Money

To begin with, when one speaks of the lives of the Bucharest Csángó, it is important to distinguish between two different periods, each associated with a different country. The first Csángó migration occurred during the 19th century, when the group were citizens of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, over the span of several decades. The second migratory period took place between the two world wars, after they had become Romanian citizens. The sources for research on both these periods derives from ecclesiastical documents, the recollections of pastors, articles published in the

local and Transylvanian press, and accounts provided by various travellers. Though there were several travellers and priests who recounted meeting Hungarians in the old Romanian principalities, there is no concrete data regarding the migrations of those in question (to Walachia in the first instance, and, following the unification of the two Romanian principalities, to the Kingdom of Romania, known as Regat, in the second), that is, about why they left or how they proceeded. The historic record reveals only that they ended up settling in various areas of the former territory, and that in places like Câmpulung, Ploieşti and Bucharest they even formed what may be regarded as Hungarian population hubs. Following the formation of the Kingdom of Romania, many were found working in Bucharest, the capital of the new unified domain. Regarding the reasons for the Hungarian presence in Romania in the first place, one explanation may be that men did not want to lose years of their lives serving in the Hungarian army or, prior 1848, did not want to toil as Saxon serfs. All else is pure speculation, based on what is known of early Csángó migration. In the case of one of the Csángó villages (Apáca/Apaţa), for example, it is unknown whether the inhabitants were looking for work in Bucharest, as was the case with those of the other nine villages, given that they ended up labouring for Saxons in the vicinity of Brassó (Braşov). Once the Csángó arrived in some of the smaller cities of Walachia, and later in the Kingdom of Romania, in the absence of any Hungarian Lutheran denomination, they joined the Reformed (Calvinist) Church, with Reformed pastors coming all the way from Bucharest where none lived nearby. Accounts of the new arrivals in parish literature describe them as wild people who suddenly broke into Hungarian if a traveller used that language, though such fanciful images are likely a reflection of the author's surprise.

The situations and religious lives of the Csángó in Bucharest were more organised. During the first part of the 19th century, we know only that there was a Hungarian community with both a Catholic, and a Reformed church, whose members came not only from Székelyföld (sometimes anglicised as "Székely Land" or "Szeklerland"), but also the Seven Villages area. Though there was a German Lutheran church available in Bucharest, the Csángó chose the Reformed faith of the Székely for reasons of language. What little else is known derives from the comments of clergy, who noted certain strange customs, including those related to death, which they found to resemble the practices of Eastern Orthodoxy. This implies that the pastors, in the final minutes of a dying man's life, were implored to administer Holy Communion, as its omission would was thought to bring eternal damnation.[1] Ecclesiastical documents from the Csángó's places of departure are similarly tight-lipped in describing them. Parish registers from Csernátfalu (Cernatu), for example, note only that they had "gone off whoring" in Walachia ["Oláhországban elkurvállott"].

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1   Source: Egyházi élet Romániában. [Ecclesiastical Life in Romania.] *Erdélyi Protestáns Közlöny* 1877. VII/39: 429.

During the second half of the 19th century, Bucharest was a good place to earn money, offering a destination for youth whose parents wished them to save for the future and even attracting entire families. Most women and girls who worked in the city served as cooks or maids in rich Romanian or Jewish households, jobs that were not without risks, as some girls were subject to the advances of their employers or their sons, with some recorded cases even ending in suicide. Male migrants became carters, hauling bread in horse-drawn wains, or engaged in home construction. It is often said, in fact, that Bucharest was the product of Hungarian Székely and Csángó labour and could thus be considered the second largest Hungarian city after Budapest. As early as the 1880s, articles began cropping up in the Brassó newspapers on the topic of how migration to Romania might be halted, one idea being to improve local handicrafts, with particular reference to the weaving for which the town was well-known abroad. The debate, however, was broadly theoretical, with little to offer by way of practicality or impact.

This migration of the Csángó in pursuit of labour in Bucharest continued until World War II. In the words of Hosszúfalu (Satulung) native Ilona Köpe (age 66), one of the informants for this paper: "My paternal grandmother, Mrs. András Tomos née Sára Benedek (1899–1976), worked as a servant for a lady named Florica in Bucharest from 1918 until 1922. She cleaned, cooked, took care of the children, and did other women's work, for which she was quite well-paid. The family came to like my grandmother and, after her marriage, came to visit her every summer. Unfortunately, the relationship did not continue after my grandmother died. I can say, however, that the culinary tastes of the girls and women from the Seven Villages were formed and refined in Bucharest. Until then, daily meals consisted in little more than bacon, eggs, beans, potatoes, and cabbage. After World War II, when the need for carters and servants in Bucharest had passed, the Csángó began working in local factories in their native lands, primarily in Brassó [Brașov], and began to modernise. For good masons, however, the opportunity for work in Bucharest continued. Frankly, a servant's position in Bucharest was viewed as more of an apprenticeship than a job, as one generally returned with a lot of knowledge others found valuable."

On the topic of lifestyle and entertainments in the Romanian capital, more research is still needed. It is said that the Csángó frequently gathered for Sunday dances at the Cișmigiu Parc and that in general, the Csángó and Székely each lived their own separate way. Most of the information available in this regard pertains to the church and religious life. In Bucharest, the Lutheran Csángó attended the Reformed Church for reasons of language, and though they supported the church with considerable monetary and other donations, they were not seen as equal members of the congregation. This, in addition to the prolonged stay in Bucharest, led to the eventual establishment of a Lutheran church for the Csángó's separate use. The first Lutheran service in Hungarian was held in one of the rooms of the Reformed school in 1927. Associated groups included a women's society, a choir, a youth organisation, and a newspaper known as the *Harangszó* ["Bell Toll"]. The

first pastor, Zoltán Sexty, took up his position in 1934. By 1936, the community had purchased a lot on Badea Cârțan street and constructed what was known as a Lutheran Home (Evangélikus Otthon), including a prayer house that was eventually transformed into – and in 1957 consecrated as – the group's church. The Csángó also had their own burial ground, known then (as now) as Calvin Cemetery. This Lutheran "island" was a place of charity, one that – based on what is known of Csángó customs from the period prior to their migration – may very well have been built from the donations[2] of community members. Given its relatively recent establishment, the full complement of documents produced since the day of its founding are all available for scrutiny. Upon further research, church registers, which list donors and donations and therefore give a reasonable idea of the number of the people who belonged to the community, could potentially reveal just how many people originally left the Csángó villages of Barcaság.

During World War II, as an impact of missionary work among the Jews, a Romanian Lutheran congregation – today part of the Hungarian organisation – was also formed. In the meantime, many of the Bucharest Csángó lost the ability to converse in their native language, continuing to attend church services in Hungarian, but speaking primarily Romanian at home. A decrease in community population at this time furthermore indicates that the Csángó's former special identity (in Barcaság, to be Csángó is to be Lutheran, just as to be Csángó in Moldavia is to be Catholic) was beginning to fade. This change is also highlighted by the simultaneous failure of the Romanian Lutheran community to increase their numbers.

Those who returned to their native municipalities brought many changes. Most obviously, the money they had saved resulted in the construction of larger, taller houses; yet change was not limited to the private sector. In one 19th century example, István Simon of Bácsfalu (Baciu), who had earned a great deal of money in Bucharest, upon his return to his home village, bought a new organ for the church, donated a parcel of land for use as a cemetery, built a small funeral home, and constructed a water pipeline for the village, all with his own money. In 1904, Simon was awarded the "iron cross" for his good works by Austrian emperor Franz Josef.

A second impact of the Bucharest migration – as described by Csernátfalu (Cernatu) pastor Béla Kiss in a series of articles published in *Evangélikus Élet* [Lutheran Life] the newspaper of the Hungarian Lutheran church in Romania – was that the Csángó began dressing themselves in urban fashion, foregoing the simpler costumes of their native villages and eventually facilitating the near-disappearance of traditional clothing. Another set of changes involved food and meal preparation, as revealed by a survey of period cookbooks. In one example, a booklet from Csernátfalu (Cernatu) formerly owned by the mother of Vilma Pajor includes several recipes for pudding (written *budinka*, using the Romanian word), and one for

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2 The church received two large-scale donations of buildings and land of a combined value of more than one million *lei*. The donors were Mrs. Toncovicianu, Anna Andor Szász and Mrs. Bartha, Ilona Balázs Szén (*Evangélikus Élet* [Lutheran Life]. 25 Sept. 1938. 2.).

stuffed peppers. The latter dish is given the name *töltött árdéj*, where *ardei* is the Romanian word for pepper. (The continued use of this word in several Hungarian villages today serves as indication of the vegetable's provenance.) Naturally, these are just two of many dishes whose origins trace back to the Bucharest migration. (*Picture 3.*)

The Csángó in America

While it is known that the masses of people leaving Hungary in the early 20th century to seek a better life in the United States included a great many Csángó, the questions of how many came from this particular region and when they left have never been examined in depth. In the discussions with informants conducted for the present paper, the subject of this type of migration surfaced only tangentially. One object shown to me by several different families in Krizba (Crizbav) was a Bible or hymnal that had been sent by relatives from the U.S., in each case featuring a special cover, usually adorned with a chalice of ivory. One of my informants, Lehel István Kovács, also had an interesting postcard from one of his ancestors, Ferenc Fazakas, who had served on the Carpathian at the time of the Titanic's fateful last voyage. Fazekas – who settled in France sometime after 1920 – had sent the postcard of the ship home to show his relatives where he worked. Doubtlessly, stories such as these remain a good potential point of departure for learning more about the period.

Migration During and Following Periods of War

Beyond migration for work, the period in question also witnessed population shifts as a result of Romania's declaration of war after the August 1916 invasion of Transylvania. Specifically, people living near the border – mostly Hungarians, including some Csángó – moved to take refuge in the centre of the country. The Csángó of Brassó (Braşov) County travelled by train or, more often, by cart to Torontál County, today part of Serbia. Many of them still retell the stories of their parents or grandparents regarding how they travelled, where they went, what they carried with them, and even what tragedies happened along the way. Etelka Barkó of Bácsfalu (Baciu), for instance, told of how her grandparents had always grown pumpkins in their garden for use in feeding their stock. As refugees, however, they witnessed locals in the places they stayed eating pumpkins themselves, a habit they then followed upon their return home.

It should be noted that when, during World War II, Northern Transylvania was returned to Hungary, Brassó (Braşov) County remained part of the Kingdom of Romania. As a result, many men (most of them deserters), and sometimes even families, crossed the Romanian-Hungarian border to begin a new life in Székelyföld

(Székely Land). This migration prompted the founding of the mission community of Lutheran Csángó refugees, one of the reasons one still finds a Lutheran church in still found in Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfântu Gheorghe) today. During the wartime years, a large number of men joined the Hungarian Army, a circumstance that came with its fair share of tragedy. An opportunity for fresh research on this particular topic has recently arisen with the discovery of a number of previously unreviewed documents on Brassó (Brașov) County in the Romanian National Archive.

To summarize the impacts of the migration on the Csángó communities under scrutiny, the first consideration to note is the aim of earning money and attaining a better lifestyle, spending either back home on larger houses, or merely in the support of family members. A second purpose, primarily among younger people, was to gain new knowledge for future family life. Returning youth brought new ideas back home with them even when migration occurred as the result of a tragic historic event, such as subjection to serfdom or the onset of a world war. Because no research or fieldwork completed to date has focused on these topics, the facts gathered for this paper were at best tangential, leaving this area one for deeper, more intense scrutiny in the future.

Translated by the author and language proofed by Rachel Maltese

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**A Brassó megyei csángók migrációs folyamatai
a politikai és gazdasági események, világháborúk hatására**

A tíz barcasági csángó falu lakói az elmúlt két évszázad során többször hagyták el szülőföldjüket: hol kényszerből, hol szabad akaratukból. Az egykori román fejedelemségekbe utazók már a 19. század elején hírt adtak arról, hogy a Barcaságról származó magyarokkal találkoztak, ám arról, hogy miként vetődtek oda, nem számoltak be a krónikások. A 20. század első felében ott lévőkről már sokkal több az információnk. Nemcsak a sajtóra vagy egyházi jelentésekre támasz-

kodhatunk, hanem megjelennek a családi történetek, hagyatékok, akárcsak az amerikai munka esetében. Ami a barcasági csángók kivándorlásait, illetve meneküléseit illeti, a legjobban feldolgozottnak az 1916-os menekülést tekinthetjük, amikor a román betörés után több ezren voltak kénytelenek elhagyni otthonaikat, és igen sokan a tíz csángó faluból a messzi Torontál megyében találtak menedéket.

Migraţia ceangăilor din Ţara Bârsei
sub impactul evenimentelor politice, economice şi a războaielor

În ultimele două secole locuitorii celor zece sate ceangăieşti din Ţara Bârsei şi-au părăsit locul de baştină – din necesitate sau din propria voinţă – de mai multe ori. Călătorii de prin ţările române au relatat despre întâlnirea acestor maghiari originari din Ţara Bârsei încă de la începutul secolului al XIX-lea, însă nu au pomenit nimic despre cum au ajuns acolo. Despre cei sosiţi în prima parte a secolului XX avem mult mai multe informaţii. Ne putem baza nu numai pe presă sau rapoartele bisericeşti, ci şi pe istoriile, moştenirile familiale, aşa cum se observă şi în cazul muncii în America. În ceea ce priveşte migraţia, refugiul ceangăilor din Ţara Bârsei, cel mai bine documentat ar fi refugiul din 1916, atunci când după pătrunderea trupelor române mai multe mii de persoane au fost nevoite să-şi abandoneze căminele, iar destul de mulţi dintre locuitorii celor zece sate s-au refugiat în îndepărtatul Comitat Torontal.

Migration of the Brassó (Braşov) County Csángós:
The Impact of Politics, War, and Economy

In the last two centuries the inhabitants of the ten Csángó villages of Barcaság (Burzenland) left their homes on several occasion, sometimes by necessity, sometimes by free will. Travellers to the Romanian principalities noted already at the beginning of the 19th century the presence of Hungarians from Barcaság (Burzenland), but mentioned nothing of the reasons or ways getting there. We have much more information on those arriving in the first part of the 20th century. We can rely not only on the press or ecclesiastic reports, but also on family histories and heritage, just like in the case of migration for work in America. Concerning the migrations, respectively refuges of the Csángós of Barcaság (Burzenland), the most documented moment would be the refuge from 1916, when due to the intrusion of the Romanian army several thousand locals were forced to leave their homes, and a large part of the inhabitants of the ten Csángó villages took refuge in the distant Torontál (Torontal) County.

Pictures

1. Bucharest in the 1900s

2. Anna Benedek Sárancsi with her mother Anna Szabó around 1900
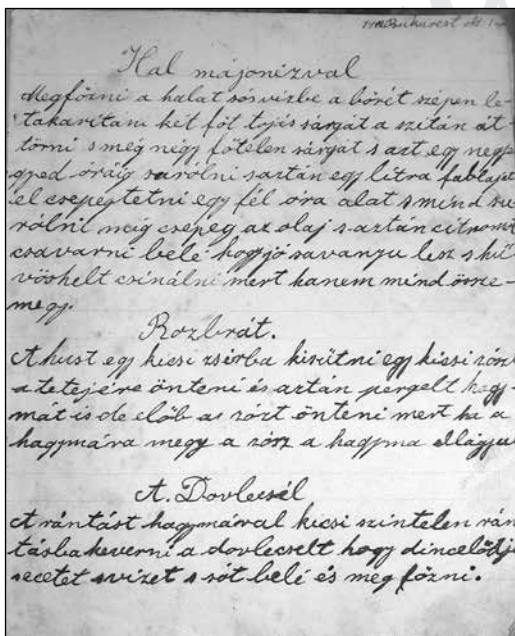
3. Vilma Pajor's mother's hand written cook book

Krisztina Csibi

Consequences of the Resettlement of the Bukovina Székelys between 1941 and 1944

In the 18th century, significant demographic changes took place in Hungary. By the end of the 17th century, fights against the Turkish and then the Habsburg had resulted in a massive loss of population, and vast areas became desolate. This started the migration process in the 18th century, which caused the significant enlargement and transformation of the population of Hungary. As a result of internal population movements, immigration and organised resettlements, the country's population doubled, but the proportion of Hungarians fell below 50 percent, and the country became a linguistically, inter-denominationally mixed (Barta 2000: 94–95, 153–154). The Habsburg government introduced reforms, renewed its foreign policy, jurisdiction, education, the functioning of churches, among other things, and reorganised the army. The reorganisation of the Empire's south-eastern border guard led to the loss of the Székelys' former privileges and freedoms.[1] This led to a bloody conflict between the Austrian government and the Székelys, causing massive human sacrifices and a strong wave of emigration as they fled in masses from Székelyföld (Székely Land).[2] Székelys emigrating, fleeing at that time later settled in Bukovina, which had a Ukrainian-Romanian indigenous population. This is how the Bukovina Székely group was formed. Bukovina was part of the Moldovan principality of the Polish Kingdom, then in 1775 got under the jurisdiction of Austria. From then on, it became a multi-ethnic area; alongside the Ukrainian and Romanian majority, Austrian-German, Polish, Slovak, Slovenian, Serbian, Croatian, Armenian, Jewish and Gypsy populations settled as well, and the Bukovina Székelys established their villages named Andrásfalva (Mǎneuţi), Hadikfalva (Dorneşti), Istensegíts (Ţibeni), Fogadjisten (Iacobeşti) and Józseffalva (Vornicenii Mici) (Sántha 2009: 36).

During the one and a half centuries spent in Bukovina, they preserved their Hungarian language and culture and their Western Christian – Roman Catholic

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1   Székelys are a Hungarian ethnic group who had lived in Transylvania from the 12th-13th century serving as border guards. Székely Land, along with Transylvania, became Romanian territory in 1920 (Kósa 1981a, 1981b).
2   Within the Kingdom of Hungary, Székely Land is a territory of the Transylvanian principality where Székelys have lived in a large group since the Middle Ages (Kósa 1981a, 1981b).

and Calvinist – religion. The Székelys living here followed the Roman Catholic and, to a lesser extent, the Calvinist faith. They had their own churches, priests and schools, and formed mostly endogenous communities. They were large families with many children, thus from the end of the 19th century the overpopulated villages released emigrant groups of thousands in search of livelihoods.

As a result of these emigrations, the former Bukovina Székelys still live in Serbia, several places in Romania, and in Canada and South America (Oberding 1939/1991: 110–118). Bukovina became part of the Kingdom of Romania following World War II., with the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, ie under Romanian jurisdiction, and the fate of the Székelys living in this minority deteriorated (Sántha 2009: 113–114). In addition to the perceived and increasing minority oppression, the overpopulated villages also had livelihood problems. From the impoverished and minority oppression of the Székely population of Székely, the settlement, ie settling in Hungary, became an urgent necessity (Sántha 2009: 126–127).

This demand coincided with the intention of the Hungarian government, which officially dealt with the issue of the Bukovina Székelys' repatriation in 1940. Eventually concrete discussions started as to which areas could be considered for the accommodation of nearly 3200 families. (Sajti 1984: 6–13.) Finally, Bácska, an area in southern Hungary, was brought up, which, under the decree of the post-war peace treaty, was under Serbian rule from 1920, where southern Slavs moved during this time. In 1941 Bácska was returned to Hungary, and some of the southern Slavs who moved here were expelled so that the Bukovina Székelys could settle. According to the plan, Bukovina's Székelys would be brought back on Hungarian soil, and the unfavorable ethnic relations would also be sorted by settling a Hungarian population. (Sajti 1984: 27.)

Bácska was a completely different natural, economic, social and political medium compared to Bukovina. As part of the Hungarian Kingdom, Bácska had been inhabited by Hungarians for thousands of years, was one of the most densely populated, rich agricultural, cereal, fruit and vine-growing areas of Hungary in the Middle Ages, which, as a result of peasant wars, Turkish campaigns, the long occupation, and the destruction by Serbian troops, grew wild and lost a large part of its Hungarian population (Kocsis 2011: 339). At the turn of the 20th century it became almost completely depopulated (Kocsis 2011: 341). As a result of resettlements, it became a multinational and multidenominational region, but the number of Hungarians were also gradually increasing, reaching the highest proportion compared to other ethnic groups by the beginning of the 1900s (Kocsis 2011: 367). The 1910 census identified the local population as 38% Serbian, 28,1% Hungarian, 21,4% German, 6% Croatian (Bunyevac, Sokac), 5% Romanian and 3,7% Slovakian (Kocsis 2011: 367).

At the end of the World War I, Serbian troops occupied southern Hungary, saying they had joined the occupied territories to Serbia. The Yugoslav land reform discriminated against the Hungarians, for example, the land was only given to a Slavic

population (Török 1941: 209–210). In the framework of the land reform, the southern Slavs, the so-called 'dobrovoljac' were introduced here. They were voluntarily fighting during the World War I. against the Austro-Hungarian Empire, mostly from Crna Gora, Bosnia and Serbia (Valastyán 2013: 51).

In the spring of 1941, the South Slavs settled after 1920 were displaced by the Hungarian authorities and their Bukovina Székely settled in their empty houses (Gombos 1942: 21). According to the Romanian-Hungarian agreement on the resettlement of the Székelys signed in May 1941 (Sajti 1984: 26), the deployment of the Hungarians in Hungary to the Hungarians in Bácska was carried out for forty days, in 1941 between May 10 and June 21 (Őry-Oberding 1967: 185). The allocation of the evacuated dwellings and the associated real estate properties was completed in three months (Őry-Oberding 1967: 186). The approximately fourteen thousand people were moved to twenty-eight settlements, farms and farms that are located one hundred kilometers apart.

The administration of the villages, the unity of families, generations, the organization of ecclesiastical life and health care, the launching of education and management belonged to the tasks of the Government Commissioner. Schools, health homes, kindergartens and day care centers were set up in the colonies, and the latter provided childcare for the children under supervision. Originally there was no church in any of the settlements, so one of its suitable buildings was designated as a place of sanctuary and worship. Economic colonists were placed in the villages, who in the first year were assigned a controlling role in the agricultural work carried out jointly (Őry-Oberdnig 1967: 185) in accordance with the instructions of the district economic inspector.[3] In addition to the Government Security, the military administration also took part in the placement of the Székely settled families, creating the necessary tools and conditions. (*Picture 1.*)

Many historical writings were born about the installation itself.[4] My research focuses on how Bukovina's Székelys lifestyle, mentality, community life, and, in general, the culture of Bácska spent three years.

Available sources and recollections also show that the period between 1941 and 1944 was decisive for the population. In addition to this, Bukovina's Székely self-consciousness developed at this time, when they met with organized health care, day-care nursery schools, Hungarian-language education, and new economic knowledge for them. *(Picture 2.)*

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3 "After the harvest, all settler families received their prescribed portions; over a hectare's worth of corn [...] as well as 1kg of bread and 250 gram of bacon for each couple." (Őry-Oberdnig 1967: 185.)
4 Writings by György Gombos (Gombos 1942), Antal Halász (Halász 1941), Zoltán Csuka (Csuka 1941) vagy Mihály Szabados (Szabados 1941), and studies by Mária V. Kápolnás (Kápolnás 1994) and Gábor Vincze (Vincze 2001) and others discuss Moldavian Csángós arriving together with Bukovina Székelys. Preludes, details and political aspects of the systematic resettlement are discussed by Enikő A. Sajti. (Sajti 1982, 1984, 1987, 2004, 2010). Balázs Valastyán discusses the resettlement, land distribution, work of the settlement supervisors (Valastyán 2013, 2014a, 2014b; Seres 2009) while Attila Seres published relevant documents held in the archives of Szent László Association.

In the course of my work I would like to investigate the circumstances and consequences of the Bácska installation, the events of the years spent in Bácska, and examine the changes in everyday life, lifestyle, family, relational relationships, religious life and culture.

I have been working more intensively since 1998 with the Székely Bukovina. The Hungarian center of the ethnic group is Bonyhád in Tolna County. The Bukovina National Association of Székelys, which has been in operation since 1989, has been digitizing for twenty years, collecting photographs and documents held by the Székely families. Thanks to this, source-related photographs and original documents related to the period (1941–1944) and the area (Bácska) are available in digital form. Between 2004 and 2012 I worked as an ethnologist at the Völgység Museum in Bonyhád, where the largest public collection of the Székelys of Bukovina is located. During this time, I received valuable data from the inventory of objects, photos and documents.

In recent years, I have reviewed some of the large-scale installation documentation contained in the Hungarian National Archives, from which we can get more information on the public health, social, cultural, educational, church, and management issues of the villages in the Székely settlements.[5]

In addition, I got acquainted with the manuscripts, reports and photographs of the collections from 1941 to 1944 in the Ethnological Archives of the Museum of Ethnography (Budapest).[6] I visited some of the former Székely settlements in today's Serbia, taking photos of their current status, old settler houses, farm buildings, agricultural land. I have been interviewing 20 years ago with Bukovina-born 1941, who provided valuable information and additions to my topic from their own or family's life history.

The recollections and written documents I have collected and known from the literature testify that, although compared to the past one and a half centuries spent in Bukovina, these three years are just a short break in the history of the Székelys of Bukovina, yet they have brought profound changes in the life of the community and the individual. All remembrance or their descendants were set up as a major event in Bácska. The experience of "repatriation" affirmed the members of the community in their belonging to the Hungarians, and by becoming one of the focal points of domestic and international interest, we can be regarded as an identity-building situation, because they were then summed up as Bukovina's Székely so they got into the news and public awareness, then they started to show them positively through their values, highlighting their Hungarians, their tasty dialect and their rich traditions.

Politicians, journalists, ethnographers and anthropologists sought out as depositors of the ancient culture of Hungarians.[7] The press was informed by the

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5   TML X./51. Documents of the Székely Museum Association of Bonyhád, 1897–1947, Box 1-55.
6   NM EA 8175-8200, 28547, 28544, 28493, 28492, 28174.
7   MNL-OL-K428-MTI-Kőnyomatse-Daily Reports, June 19, 19, 20, 24.

Hungarian State of its scale-specific deployment action. Propaganda, a lively interest, came back to the Székely community in Bukovina, and after being a former minority, they finally felt equal and even special. The published reports served political purposes and presented the installation action as the sole success of the government, which became known not only in Hungary but also internationally. The press of the countries belonging to the Axis powers, the Italian and German newspapers sympathized with the government's deployment action.[8]

Translated by Noémi Cselik

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A bukovinai székelyek telepítésének következményei 1941 és 1944 között

A bukovinai magyar falvak lakosságát 1941-ben Bácskában a „dobrovoljácok" (szerb önkéntesek) lakóházaiba költöztették, majd onnan néhány év múlva, anyagi javaikat hátrahagyva menekülniük kellett. 1945 májusában a dél-dunántúli falvakban a kitelepített németek házait jelölték

ki számukra új otthonul. A bukovinai székelyek történetéről számos, több szempontból közelítő írás született, arról azonban, hogy mi történt velük 1941 őszétől 1944 őszéig, már kevesebbet tudunk. Az itt eltöltött három év eseményeinek, változásainak felkutatása ez idáig még nem történt meg. Az öt falu népét, mintegy tizennégyezer főt huszonnyolc településre szétszórva, egymástól akár száz kilométerre fekvő szállásokra telepítették. A falvak vezetése, a nemzetségek összetartása, az egyházi élet megszervezése, az oktatás minden településen megoldásra várt. A szerző arra keresi a választ, hogy ez milyen módon sikerült, és milyen hátrányt szenvedett a korábbi zárt közösség, miközben addig ismeretlen új hatásokkal és jelenségekkel is szembesülniük kellett.

Consecinţele strămutării secuilor din Bucovina între anii 1941–1944

În anul 1941 populaţia satelor secuieşti din Bucovina a fost aşezată în regiunea Bacica, în casele voluntarilor sârbi (numiţi „dobrovoliaţi"), însă doar după câţiva ani au fost nevoiţi să părăsească această regiune, lăsându-şi bunurile materiale în urmă. În mai 1945 casele nemţilor relocaţi din satele regiunii Dél-Dunántúl au fost desemnate drept noile cămine ale secuilor. Despre istoria secuilor din Bucovina s-au născut numeroase lucrări, din diverse puncte de vedere, însă nu ştim prea multe despre ce s-a întâmplat cu aceştia între toamna anului 1941 şi cea a anului 1944. Cercetarea evenimentelor, schimbărilor din aceşti trei ani nu s-a efectuat până în acest moment. Populaţia celor cinci sate, aproximativ 14 000 de persoane, au fost aşezate în 28 de localităţi diferite, împrăştiate chiar şi la o sută de kilometri unele de altele. Conducerea satelor, legătura dintre neamuri, organizarea vieţii bisericeşti, educaţia erau probleme ce trebuia rezolvate în fiecare localitate. Autoarea doreşte să cunoască cum s-au reuşit toate aceste lucruri, şi ce dezavantaje a resimţit această comunitate, care anterior fusese o comunitate închisă, în timp ce a fost nevoită să se confrunte cu noi influenţe şi fenomene necunoscute.

Consequences of the Resettlement of the Bukovina Szeklers between 1941 and 1944

In 1941 the population of the Szekler villages from Bukovina was moved to Bácska, into the homes of the Serbian volunteers ('dobrovoljac') from where, but a few years later they had to flee, leaving their belongings behind. In May 1945 they were ordered to take up residence in the abandoned homes of expelled Southern Transdanubian Germans. There have been several works written from various points of view about the story of the Bukovina Szeklers, but less is known of what happened to this population between 1941 and 1944. Research into the events and changes of these three years has not been carried out yet. The population of five villages, some 14000 people were moved to 28 locations separated by hundreds of kilometres in distance. The governance of villages, maintenance of lineages, organization of religious life and education had to be dealt with in each locality. The author is interested in how this was achieved and what disadvantages the formerly closed community endured while they also had to face unfamiliar influences and phenomena.

Pictures
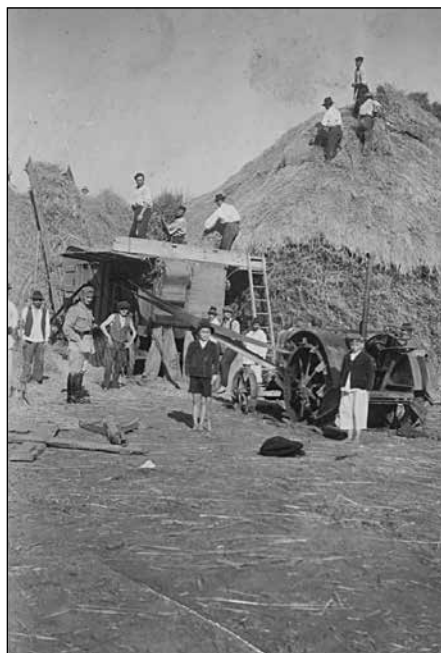
1. Threshing control in settled villages, Horthyvára, 1941

2. Group of day-care nursery schoolers, Horthyvára, 1941

Erika Vass

Migration Processes and Transformation of Identity in Hunyad (Hunedoara) County

Since 2006 I have been carrying out research work among the Reformed Hungarians of Hunyad (Hunedoara) County, a territory situated in the southern part of Transylvania (Romania).

As a museologist responsible for the future Transylvanian building complex to be implemented in the Hungarian Open Air Museum (Szentendre, Hungary), I first visited the area with lead architect Miklós Buzás with the aim of involving the area in the concept of the building complex (Vass–Buzás 2007: 242–244). My attention was caught by the religious and ethnic picture of the county neglected in terms of ethnographic research: the number of Hungarians has been negligible here ever since the Middle Ages, consequently strong interethnic processes have been in operation between Hungarians and Romanians. A house from Lozsád (Jeledinţi) and a barn from Rákosd (Răcăştia) were translocated to Szentendre in 2009 (Buzás–Vass 2010). More than 600 objects were purchased from Lozsád (Jeledinţi) for the furnishing of the house. The Hungarian diaspora of southern Transylvania, and the process of assimilation is to be presented in the Hunyad (Hunedoara) County yard.

Therefore, I decided to map the county's Reformed Hungarians of medieval origin, living in diaspora; the abovementioned two villages belong to the territory. In time I expanded the work to those settlements which had been populated by Hungarians only as a result of the industrialisation of the 19th-20th centuries. Hereby I wanted to put the processes under way of Hunyad (Hunedoara) County in context and draw an authentic picture of the lives of Hungarians living in diaspora. During this period, I reached 42 settlements of Hunyad (Hunedoara) County and I strived for getting to know the past and present-day situation of Reformed Hungarians through individual life patterns with the help of in-depth interviews. Through territory based research the most different social strata were studied: I conducted interviews with descendants of former nobles, ordinary village people, factory workers and professionals (Vass 2012).

A complex criteria had to be taken into account during the interviews and in the interpretation of them: was the person born and raised there, or did they arrive in the county for employment, or their parents had moved there? Did they live in a town or village, and several other aspects like the level of their education, place of

work, friendly relations, level of religiousness, the strength of relation to collective memory, openness or closed nature of the host society etc.

The valleys of the Mureș River and its tributary rivers (Cerna, Strei) were populated by Hungarians in the 10th-11th centuries. After that Romanian immigrants arrived from Wallachia in the 13th-14th centuries following the summons of Hungarian kings and noblemen. Their number increased continuously in the following centuries, as a result of many people settled down there after the devastation caused by the Turks. Consequently, Hungarians formed a small minority inside the county, as opposed to Székelyföld (Székely Land). Noblemen and the members of the intelligentsia came from their circles and the inhabitants of medieval villages of gentry origin belonged to their group. Sources prove that in Reformed congregations of the 18th-19th centuries, Hungarian–Romanian bilingualism was characteristic.

I found empty, ruined churches in lots of villages, where Hungarian names could be deciphered only in the inscriptions of graves. Most of the studied rural communities, which had possessed a gentry consciousness earlier, now feel that becoming Romanian is an unstoppable process, and they consider themselves "hybrid Hungarians". A man from Rákosd (Răcăştia) compared the Hungarian diaspora to the edge of a sand pile: "It's not worth collecting that sand, it will be washed away anyway, they will become Romanians after all, that's the end of it."

In my study I primarily focus on centres of manufacturing industry (Vajdahunyad/ Hunedoara, Kalán/Călan) and the mining towns in the Valley of the Jiu River.

In the second half of the 19th century in the time of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and later in the 1950s-1960s, due to the rich deposit of raw materials in the Southern Carpathian region, mining and manufacturing industry grew in considerable proportions, a tendency also expressed in the rapid growth of population number, as both Hungarians and Romanians looked for the favourable job opportunities. The Jiu Valley was mostly an unpopulated, frontier area used for grazing sheep till the 1840s, when coal mining started. For the sake of the exploitation of huge quantities of coal, railway was constructed between 1870 and 1896. In 1888, 1300 miners worked here, in the 1890s it became the second largest region of lignite mining in Hungary. In 1913, about 14000 people worked in the mines along the Jiu Valley (Szász 1986: 1548–1550). The towns based on coal mining mushroomed almost from nothing. During the 1850s, in the small villages situated in the place of the later towns only a few hundred Romanians lived, by the beginning of the 20th century towns of several thousand inhabitants developed.

In the beginning, the professional workforce consisted of Germans,[1] Czechs, Poles and Italians, thus an ethnically complex working force gathered together.

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1 There were some German nationalities among the ancestors of my informants that settled down in Vajdahunyad (Hunedoara) at the turn of the 19th-20th centuries, but they assimilated over time, which is indicated by their choice of Hungarian spouse. A woman born in Aninósza (Aninoasa) in 1933, told me that her parents did not want her to learn German, they only talked to her in Hungarian. Other parents just used German to talk to one another, when they did not want the children to understand what they were talking about.

In the first half of the 20th century Hungarian and Romanian workers came from mostly the poorer layers of the Transylvanian rural population, who did not possess land (The Transylvanian Reformed Church District Collection Archive 636–1872). At first poor villagers came to work only seasonally, in the breaks between the agricultural works: at home spring tasks were finished and they spent one month in the Jiu Valley, then went home for harvest and in the autumn came back to spend the winter in the mine. After a time, for financial security they settled here permanently. The Jiu Valley was also called Little America: who did not have the money to buy the ticket to go to America, tried their luck here.

In the 1950s-1960s due to collectivisation and political measures rendering rural agriculture more difficult, several people found refuge in the mining industry of Hunyad (Hunedoara) County, since their land had been confiscated and the work requested in the collective did not provide a secure existence. As opposed to this, the advantage of the heavy factory- and mining work was that people received regular, secure, well-paying income, and they could retire relatively young with a high pension. Wives could mostly stay at home as housewives, while in the countryside they would have had to have their part from the heavy physical agricultural works. Hungarians mostly arrived from Székelyföld (Székely Land), Szilágyság (Sălaj Region), Mezőség (Transylvanian Plain) and Érmellék (Ier Valley). These waves of settlers could have meant a supplement for the Hungarian diaspora, but instead they crumbled away and gradually gave up their Hungarian identity. Those who insisted on their roots, moved back to their native village after retirement.

The oldest persons I met were born in the 1920s-1930s. They were informed about the new working opportunity from those relatives and friends who had already worked here. Most of them planned to undertake this type of work far from their homeland only for 1-2 years, so that they could settle their lives financially (at the time Saturdays were working days, public transport was slow and they could visit their home rarely). However, many of them stayed for decades or till their death. There were people who moved back in the meantime, but soon they had to realise that they could not manage their lives financially in their motherland, so they moved into Hunyad (Hunedoara) County again. I came across the fact in several cases that first men went away to work and women followed their spouses later, by the time the husband established their existence and the couple had a lodging too.

Many of my interviewees pointed out that when they arrived in the area of the mines, the separation from their village, the feeling of displacement created a specific community feeling in them: they helped each other, they shared their worries irrespective of their ethnicity or religion.

Selecting godparents also indicated the level of integration: at the beginning people mostly chose from those people who had arrived from their own village, later there were people who asked their neighbours originating from a different region to be godparents. People belonging to the Reformed Church arrived from different places, and they brought with them the ecclesiastical customs of their native land, and as time passed some elements were given up, while others were kept

(e.g. the songs of the burial ceremony were different). In the village congregation it was important that every family had their seats of their own in the church ever since the church was built, which represented the social prestige of their ancestors. Though this practice was not applied in town congregations.

The folk dance group formed in Petrilla-Lónya (Petrila) around 1975 by the participation of Hungarians coming from different regions is a good example of the aspiration to unity: they did not learn a dance of one particular region when the group was preparing for a stage performance, but they created a common choreography. In the Nicolae Ceauşescu era, it was compulsory for them to include a Romanian dance in the programme too. The group also performed in Hungary in 1992, but it broke up in 1996 due to a lack of interest.

The members of this generation preserved their rural value system, during their holidays they regularly visited their birthplace, if they had the chance they strived to cultivate a small piece of land in their new place too. People in higher positions could buy cars from their income, which was a rare phenomenon in the villages of the 1960s-1980s. In the 1980s, in the Ceauşescu era when the system of food-rationing was set up, the families of miners were entitled for a bigger quantity, thus they could help their parents living in the countryside. They chose their spouses from their birthplace, and many of them built their houses from their earnings in their native village, so that they could move home after retirement. It is also characteristic of them to visit their native village only from the spring to the autumn period, while they spend the winter in their town flat, where due to central heating and having a bathroom life is more pleasant, and also because healthcare is more accessible.

Men arriving from Hungarian villages learned to speak Romanian a bit during the time of their military service, then learned the language better in their new working place, since this was the common language for the multinational working force. Quick learning of Romanian was part of the integration process; as it was crucial for creating the new communal identity. The prestige of Hungarian has been low ever since; the language of communication and administration have been Romanian.

However, many of the women never learned to speak Romanian well, because as housewives they were not forced to use the Romanian language in so many places. There are people who cannot even communicate smoothly with their grandchildren, who only speak Romanian.

The situation of the diaspora in Hunyad (Hunedoara) County is different from the circumstances of the people living in a bigger block in Székelyföld (Székely Land): in the case of the former it is essential to acquire the official language of the state, whereas people in Székelyföld (Székely Land) get along well with their mother tongue in their own surroundings.

For the children born already in Hunyad (Hunedoara) County in the 1950s-1970s the village of the parents was only considered to be the locale for the summer holiday, and they were not connected to it so closely emotionally. Although there

were people who chose their spouse from the grandparents' village, the majority got to know their husband or wife in their own urban surroundings. During the process of choosing a partner the mother language criterion was pushed into the background, several people chose Romanian spouses, which also meant denominational exogamy (Hungarians were Roman Catholics or Reformed or Unitarian, while Romanians were Orthodox). In the mixed marriages communication goes on in Romanian. Both parties communicating with the children in their mother tongue, using the two languages alternately during conversations is a rare phenomenon, characteristic only in a small number of families.

The former closed norm system,[2] to which almost all members of the community subjected themselves ceased to exist with the breakup of traditional village communities and the migration of young people to towns. With the emphasis on the individual's role the aspect of comfort becomes important.

In the first part of the 20th century, before nun congregations were dissolved, the school of the Roman Catholic convent in Petrozsény (Petroșani) had a priority role in the education of Hungarian girls. Several of the Reformed Church families also educated their daughters there, because it was the preservation of the mother tongue and the national identity that took precedence. As the number of children was decreasing, many Hungarian schools have been closed down in recent decades. The present situation is well symbolised by the fact that the Hungarian school built in Petrilla-Lónya (Petrila) in 1907 was closed down in the beginning of the 2000s, and the building has served as a meeting place for seniors, and as a mortuary.

Concerning the preservation of the Hungarian language the fact that most of the Hungarian schools were closed owing to the low number of children means a difficulty; in the county, only Déva (Deva), has a Hungarian secondary school, and to be able to attend this, many children would have to move into a hall of residence. During our conversations we frequently touched upon the dilemma of the children's schooling. There were people who had not been admitted to university because they had been going to a Hungarian secondary school, and they were not good enough in the Romanian entrance exam, thus they enrolled their children into Romanian schools, so that they can get on better in their education and life in general.

The Hungarian language has primarily been confined to ecclesiastical life, however, most of the urban population are not connected to the church, and many of them visit churches only in crisis, at the time of funerals or Communion, but do not participate regularly in the life of the congregation. Although it happens that the child is baptised in a Reformed Church because of the grandparents (or for the sake of the peace in the family the child is baptised both in a Reformed and in an Orthodox church), it does not mean a real connection either from denominational

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2   In accordance with the earlier social norm, love was not a decisive factor in the choice of spouses of young people, but it was most important that they belonged to the same denomination, and they were of similar social status and similar financial position. I have heard several stories about young men in Lozsád (Jeledinți) that in the early 20th century they stayed unmarried because they did not find a girl with the right background.

or from linguistic aspect for those who do not practice their religion. A similar practice has evolved regarding weddings: the young couple often get married in both the Reformed and Orthodox churches, though ecclesiastically it would not be possible.

The number of mixed marriages is very high. In the case of such marriages, the Romanian language is used even at home, the child can only speak Hungarian to the grandparents, but it also depends on the tolerance of the Romanian parent. In some families the Romanian parent rules out Hungarian speech, in other families it occurs that the Hungarian parent does not consider their mother tongue important enough to invest some plus energy in educating their child like this, and they are satisfied with the Romanian language, which they use at the workplace and when communicating with acquaintances. Only in a small proportion of the cases do both parents communicate in their own mother tongue, and the two languages are used alternately. Each case reflects the internal relations of the family, the real balance of power. Several of my Hungarian informants believe that there is a difference between Romanians coming from Oltenia or Muntenia: the Romanians from Transylvania are more open, more tolerant in using Hungarian in the family, while those coming from Oltenia or Muntenia more insist on the Hungarian family members and children using only Romanian in the family.

During my fieldwork I have met different forms of bilingualism, which is influenced by the type of the settlement, the age, the order of learning the languages, the context of the language use and the areas where the languages are used. In a diaspora, the individual is not merely supposed to know the system of customs of just one group, since they themselves are not the members of one social group only, and depending on the context, they use a variety of Hungarian or Romanian language in accordance with the social role they happen to play (e.g. grandchild, child, parent, grandparent, friend, member of the congregation, co-worker). It is also important that Romanians living in settlements of mixed population could speak or at least understand Hungarian – a kind of mutual system existed - up to the first part of the 20th century.

The Church plays an important role in preserving collective memory of Hungarians. In my experience, losing the language does not always mean the immediate loss of ethnic and religious identity, but temporarily, for one generation a double identity is present: the awareness of their Hungarian origin survives. The question is, what kind of answer can the Reformed Church give to this challenge: will it keep the exclusive use of Hungarian even if it only works as a sacral language, or will it open up to Romanian language groups too? Currently, the majority of pastors in Hunyad (Hunedoara) County use both languages at christenings, weddings and burials, but at services the Reformed Church sticks to using Hungarian exclusively, which means an obstacle for the people not understanding Hungarian, since they cannot join in the service. (In the 16th century, when the Reformed Churches were established, one of the main aim was that everyone could hear the word of God in their own mother tongue, not in Latin.) It is characteristic of the situation of the Reformed Church congregations that the pastors leave the diaspora settlements

after a few years and move to Hungarian majority settlements, which the members of the diaspora congregations have already made peace with. It also shows their low self-esteem.

From the second half of the 1990s most of the mines have been closed down, the number of workplaces has decreased. In 1997 almost 50000 miners worked, today their number does not reach 10000. Mostly the old stay here. The crisis is well reflected in the results of the census: while 547950 people lived in Hunyad (Hunedoara) County in 1992, the number of the population decreased to 485712 by 2002 (Varga 2009: 1).

To escape the bleakness and unemployment several people fit for work follow the tendency characteristic of other regions of Transylvania: they undertake work in Italy, Spain in building construction sites or in agricultural farms, or do seasonal agricultural work in Germany: e.g. cabbage picking. There are ones who take their family too, while others consider their absence temporary. Concerning the development of this process and deciding how similar it will be to the onetime decision of their parents and grandparents, we will have an answer only in 20-30 years' time.

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Migrációs folyamatok és az identitás átalakulása Hunyad megyében

A szerző 2006 óta végez kutatást a Hunyad megyei református magyarok körében. Ezen időszak alatt 44 helységbe jutott el, és mélyinterjúk készítése révén igyekezett az egyéni életutakon keresztül megismerni a református magyarok múltját és jelenlegi helyzetét. A középkori eredetű magyarság utódainak nagy része egykor kisnemesi öntudattal rendelkezett, ma azonban természetesnek érzik az elrománosodást, önmagukat *korcs magyarok*nak tartják. A munkát kiterjesztette azokra a településekre is, melyek a 19–20. századi iparosítás (szén és vasérc bányászata, gyárak) következtében nőttek pár száz fős falvakból nagy városokká. Eleinte az erdélyi falvakból elsősorban a szegény parasztság indult útnak ide, az 1950–60-as években pedig a falusi gazdálkodást megnehezítő politikai intézkedések és a kollektivizálás miatt. A beilleszkedés részét képezte a román nyelv gyors megtanulása. Kitér az etnikai identitás főbb pilléreire is: az anyanyelv használata családi és egyházi körbe szorult vissza. Egyre gyakoribbak a magyar–román vegyes házasságok, melyekben a magyar nyelv használata háttérbe szorul. A keresztelések és esküvők esetében a református kötődés elhalványul.

Procese de migrație și transformarea identității în județul Hunedoara

Autoarea efectuează cercetări etnografice în cadrul maghiarilor reformați din județul Hunedoara încă din anul 2006. În această perioadă a vizitat 44 de localități, iar cu ajutorul interviurilor aprofundate a încercat să cunoască trecutul și condiția prezentă a maghiarilor reformați prin căi de viață individuale. O mare parte din descendenții maghiarilor de origine medievală cândva și-a însușit o identitate a micii nobilimi, astăzi însă consideră că românizarea lor este un proces natural, căci se consideră *maghiari de corcitură*. Autoarea și-a extins cercetarea și pe acele localități, care în cadrul industrializării din secolele XIX–XX (mineritul de cărbuni și fier, fabrici) din sate cu câteva sute de locuitori au ajuns orașe mari. Într-o primă fază aici a sosit țărănimea săracă a satelor din Transilvania, apoi cei afectați de reglementările politice și colectivizarea din anii 1950–60, care au îngreunat practicarea agriculturii. Un aspect important al integrării fusese învățarea rapidă a limbii române. Studiul face referire și la principalele piloane ale identității etnice: folosirea limbii materne a fost retrasă în mediul familial și cel bisericesc. Sunt tot mai frecvente căsătoriile mixte româno–maghiare, în cadrul cărora folosirea limbii maghiare ajunge pe planul al doilea. Iar în cazul căsătoriilor și a botezurilor atașamentul față de biserica reformată devine tot mai fadă.

Migration Processes and Transformation of Identity in Hunyad (Hunedoara) County

The author has been conducting research on Hungarians belonging to the Reformed Church in Hunyad (Hunedoara) County since 2006. During this period, she has reached 44 settlements, and endeavoured to get to know the past and the present circumstances of protestant Hungarians through individual lives by conducting in-depth interviews. The majority of the descendants of Hungarians with predecessors in the Middle Ages used to have some gentry consciousness,

although they consider it natural that they are becoming Romanians, they regard themselves as "hybrid" Hungarians. The author`s work was extended to the settlements which have grown from villages of a few hundred inhabitants to cities due to the 19th–20th century industrialisation (coal and iron ore mining, factories). Initially, the poor peasantry set off for these locations, and later because of collectivisation and other political measures making farming difficult in the 1950–60s. The integration process included learning the Romanian language fast. She also touched on the main pillars of ethnic identity: the use of the mother tongue has confined to the family and Church circles. Hungarian–Romanian mixed marriages are increasingly frequent, and the use of the Hungarian language is decreasing. In the case of weddings and christenings the attachment to the Reformed Church fades away.

Ákos Nagy

The Romanian Collectivization and the Rural Migration Process in four Hungarian Minority Settlements

In this paper, I will discuss about the effects of the forced Romanian collectivization on the migration processes in four Hungarian minority settlements in the present-day Maros (Mureş) County: Székelyhodos (Hodoşa), Ehed (Ihod), Iszló (Isla), Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş). The transformation of the agriculture in the communist era brought a radical cultural, social and economic change in the life of the rural communities. In the first three villages collectivization took place, but Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş) escaped from it. As a result the first three and the uncollectivized village had different paths during the communist era and after 1989.

Following the communist takeover of Romania in 1946, the collectivization of the agriculture was a priority to the new power, because posterior the nationalization of the different economic sectors only on the countryside remained private property and an independent economic stratum. The agricultural land in private ownership assured the independency of this population. Eliminating and transforming the social and economic autonomy of this group was important in the process of creating the Socialist New Man and for the homogenization of the society. Paul Gregory notices about the Soviet collectivization that on one hand collectivization was an institutional mechanism which controlled grain collections. This was necessary because peasants were unwilling to sell their grain to the state at very low prices (Gregory 2004: 39). On the other hand it was a procedure that – by destroying the peasants' way of life and the traditional agriculture – heightened the state's power and stability in the rural area. We can see similar motivation in the rest of the Eastern Block (including Romania) as well (Kligman–Verdery 2011: 80).

Collectivization in Romania

The so called Agrarian Revolution had two stages: after the land distribution of 1945 (Oláh 2001: 12–14) the collectivization has begun. The peasants were organized in collective farms, the private property was reduced to the minimum, the

rich farmers who were stigmatized as *kulaks[1]* were eliminated, the stratum of the poor was helped, and the opposition to these measures was liquidated (Bárdi–László 2008: 234–235). In the 20th century a kind of *depeasantation* took place of which culminated in the socialist era, when the historical peasantry of the Eastern Bloc states (including the one in Romania) was radically changed. In the official political ideology the working class, the industry had an important role, and for the sake of industrialization (in rural areas cooperization) the power strived to take full control over the cultural life, and for transforming the villages. For this they used all means, and the rural image was generated by the power, not by the local communities. The local reality and space did not get political representation (Kovách 2012: 33–34).

The Romanian collectivization between 1949 and 1962 took place in several phases. The first phase began after the plenary meeting of the Romanian Workers' Party,[2] where the beginning of the collectivization was announced. This was characterized by planned economy and tasks prescribed to every detail (Bottoni 2008: 230–231). At the beginning of the first phase the power tried with relatively non-violent methods to form collective farms. Peaceful manner, precaution and resistance of the peasants resulted that relatively few farms were formed. The first five-year plan elaborated with Soviet assistance prescribed that 70% of the country's agricultural land has to get in state ownership by the year 1955. This phase was marked by fast and massive collectivization, not lacking of violent acts by the authorities. To achieve the prescribed goal, police and secret police (Securitate) units were involved to force the peasants to join the collectives. The repression led to resistance in various areas of the country, and the violent collectivization was aborted. In the third phase the already formed collectives were consolidated, and the power tried to solve the problems caused by the aggressive collectivization. Therefore in this period only a few new units were founded, and the power proposed that the peasants form TOZ-type associations[3] which later can be transformed to collective farms. Due to these measures the collectivization process slowed down, and among the Eastern Bloc countries Romania had the lowest rate of state owned agricultural terrains. After excluding Ana Pauker – who set back the collectivization – from the Workers' Party, a new phase began. The power used again violence to achieve the goal (although compared to the past, in a moderate measure). After the death of Stalin in 1953, changing of direction occurred in the Soviet and in the Romanian economic policy: the exaggerated obligations of the peasants, the low acquisition prices and the unrealistic farming plans were admitted, and solutions

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1   From the Russian кула́к; a prosperous peasant in the Russian Empire or the Soviet Union, who owned land and could hire workers. During Soviet collectivization in the 1920s and 1930s (and after World War II, in other communist states) the label kulak was applied pejoratively to land-owning peasants in general.

2   March 3-5th 1949.

3   From the Russian Товарищество по совместной обработке земли, Association for Joint Cultivation of Land.

were sought. After new resolutions the rural nationalization process slowed down, and during this period[4] only 155 new collective farms were formed. The last phase of the Romanian collectivization started after the 2nd Party Congress, when the second five-year plan was elaborated. To the year 1960 it was proposed the forming of new collectives, and the already working ones were developed. Beside this the joint cultivation cooperatives were also supported. After the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 the process slowed down, but afterwards it continued as earlier. Between 1956 and 1958 876 new collectives, and 4618 cooperatives were founded. On the plenary meeting of the Workers' Party[5] the General Secretary, Gheorghe Gheorgiu-Dej presented the results, and proposed the mechanization of the agriculture as a future goal. On the 3rd Party Congress[6] he presented the results of the five-year plan, and declared, that in 1959 the socialist sector is dominating the agriculture. Therefore the power declared the collectivization process broadly finished, and the cooperatives were turned into collective farms. After the 1961 plenary meeting of the Central Committee the power decided to continue the (often violent) collectivization process. In the end, on April 27th 1962, at the Great National Assembly the collectivization process was declared complete by the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (Gheorghiu-Dej 1962, László 2009: 58–63). After the socialist transformation of the agriculture 94% of the agrarian territories were in state (collective farm) ownership (Bárdi–László 2008: 235–236). Back then People's Council (*Sfat popular*) was the main local institution, and this supervised the education, healthcare and culture of the villages. Beside the administrative function, they carried out the surrender of the crops, and they also led the political activities. Another important task of the Council was the categorization of the inhabitants by social status, political views and attitude towards the system (Oláh 2008: 291–292). Till 1962 all of the above mentioned villages of the researched region were collectivized (except Jobbágytelke/Sâmbriaş).

Collectivization-Attempt in Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş)

The country-wide processes took place in Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş) as well. At the beginning of the collectivization in 1949, the locals witnessed massive propaganda campaigns: the poor and middle peasants were recruited for the collective farms, the convincing activity of the People's Council, teachers and agitators was persistent, and the issue of cooperatives and collective farming was a regular item on the agenda of the local meetings. The local institutions had the duty of editing a *kulak-list*. However the term *kulak* was not defined sufficiently, which led to abuses in some cases. Many villagers in Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş) were declared as *kulaks*. To

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4   The period ended on December 23-28th 1955, when the 2nd Party Congress was held.
5   November 26-28th 1958.
6   June 20-25th 1960.

avoid the *kulakization*, the peasants gave parts of their agricultural lands to family members and relatives. Nevertheless it is important to mention that this village was free from violent acts as seen in the nearby village of Vadad (Vadu) where a farmer (categorized as *kulak*) was executed outside of the settlement. As a result the unwilling locals enrolled in the collective farm. Rumours about the execution reached to Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş) as well, although it had no effect on the local resistance against collectivization. However it should be noted, that the local Roman Catholic priest, Gáspár Lokodi was arrested and condemned in 1960 because he delivered speeches against the system and collectivization. Infrastructural developments and modernization had a key role in the settling in of the Communist power in the villages, and these measures supposed to help the socialist transformation of the agriculture. The propaganda was helped by local branches of the nationwide Communist organizations (for example: Hungarian People's Union, Democratic Union of Women in Romania, Young Worker's Union, Romanian Society for Friendship with the Soviet Union etc.), but all their efforts were unsuccessful, the peasants withstood the pressure and did not take seriously the state organized cooperative labour. This kind of labour was established by the power and its techniques and mentality was radically different from the traditional agriculture. A major role in the avoiding of the collectivization had the local secretary of the People's Council, Antal Balla, who was a local resident and interested in the preservation of the traditional farming. Knowing the laws and the administration, he found a legal loophole that permitted villages in mountainous regions to stay out of collectivization. Mechanized farming was difficult in such areas, and the soil was much lower quality than on flood plains and lowlands. Referring to the low quality soils and mountainous conditions, local leaders achieved that Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş) was left out of the collectivization process. In addition the wheat used for weaving by the locals had special requirements, it was impossible to grow it after state prescribed plans. Objects and hats weaved of this grain's straw were presented at exhibitions and even made it into the hands of major party officials. This era and the avoiding of collectivization preserved many legends and myths among the locals, one of these says that the local schnapps distilling and bribing major officials with schnapps (called *pálinka*) had a major role in preserving traditional farming. Some recall that straw objects were sent to the country's leader, Gheorghiu-Dej, who was fond of the presents and decided personally that Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş) shall remain out of the collectivization. Current researches in archives do not support these myths, only a 1955 letter addressed to Gheorghiu-Dej shows that local peasants filed a petition for an authorization that allows them to sell their straw products in other regions. After 1962 in Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş) agrarian territories remained in private ownership, no collective farm was formed. Besides continuing traditional agriculture locals found other income opportunities. Straw-weaving received an official frame: weaved straw was brought by a factory in Segesvár (Sighişoara) where it was used for manufacturing various objects. The locally produced straw hats were sold by the manufacturers on nearby town-markets. Many of the villagers started

to raise livestock and sell the meat to state-owned slaughterhouses. Although the village avoided the socialist transforming of the agriculture, the state had a say in other areas of life. For example the main actor of the local cultural life, the folk-dance ensemble was put in service of the socialist cultural policy. Country-wide folk festivals were ideologically-approved artistic manifestations and the Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş) Folk Ensemble led by Antal Balla, took part on these events. The dancers had the rare opportunity to travel abroad with their cultural program, which was a privilege in the communist era (Nagy 2015: 212–215, 2017).

Migration after Collectivization

After collective farms were formed, and the agriculture was largely mechanized, there was no need for large number of manpower. Therefore the young workforce of the villages migrated to urban settlements, to the newly built industrial centres of the country. The population in the majority of the villages suffered a decrease, older people stayed in place, worked in the collectives, and younger ones started to commute to the industrial centres. After a while many of the commuting settled down in the cities, in the newly constructed housing projects. Table 5. shows the population increase of Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely), the cultural, economic and administrative centre of the discussed region. Amongst the recipient urban settlements, larger cities were more popular and had larger catchment areas as well. Due to natural population growth and the migration from villages and small towns, the proportion of the urban growth was the highest in these type of settlements (38,6%) (Gagyi 2009: 151–153).

Between 1966 and 1977 the dominantly agrarian economy of Romania turned into an industrial one. As István Horváth notes, at the beginning of the 1960s, the migrants were predominantly from rural areas and they were attracted by urban and rural areas almost equally. This changed at the beginning of the 1970s, when the rural to urban migration became more common. The number of long-distance migrants (ex. between regions or counties) increased significantly (Horváth 2016: 44–45).

Contrary to the trends between the two World Wars, after 1948 (the year when the Communist regime was formalized with the new Constitution) the rural-urban migration was more dominant. The 1966 Census shows that 32,7% of the population lived elsewhere than their place of birth, and 59% of the urban population was recently moved in from the province. The number of male and female rural-urban migrants was proportionally higher than rural-rural movers (Gagyi 2009: 151–153).

During the 1960–1966 period, right after the finalizing of the collectivization 20,3% of the urban population was newly moved in from villages and smaller towns. Clearly, the biggest recipient of all cities was Bucharest, the capital. The centre of the coalmining industry, the Jiu Valley was also a popular destination for workers coming from all over the country (Gagyi 2009: 151–153), and some of the young villagers from Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş) also migrated here for seasonal work. The

forced collectivization and the industrialization destabilized the villages: due to these processes millions left the rural environment, and migrated to urban settlements. On one hand they were redundant in the newly formed and mechanized collective farms, on the other hand they were attracted by the modern, industrialized urban environment, career opportunities along with higher and secure income. Those who left the villages were mostly from the younger generations, thus the small villages remained with aging population. The province suffered not only quantitative but qualitative relapse because the talented and fit for work became underrepresented. A moral crisis was evolving, because the collectivization destroyed peasants' love of work and their traditional work ethic. Age-long behaviour forms and values were forgotten, the moral pillars of the villages were shattered. Destroying the authority of the churches and the nationalization of schools contributed to this decline (Albert 2000, Kligman–Verdery 2011: 432).

It should be noted, that economic growth, work opportunities, improving living standards are some of the positive aspects of Romanian industrialization. End of the 1980s the industrial sector had the major contribution to the national economy. However the industrialization process was not defined by the market (demand and supply) but by the power. This process was controlled centralized and economic aspects were often neglected by the government. As a result factories were erected in regions lacking of raw materials, and due of this flawed economic policy many of the Transylvanian cities suffered a malformed development which caused major demographic and social issues in the region (Lakatos 2017: 50).

The power managed to mobilize one part of the population by settling them down in cities and by creating work and housing conditions. However these masses were left alone, and millions lived in new urban areas without becoming real citizens. These people remained villagers by not integrating in urban society and culture. The urban spaces and occasions offered by the city were experienced adapting the rural social networks and rural behavioural models (Gagyi 2009: 216).

Per Ronnås notices, that "through collectivization peasants became less tied to the land and mechanization reduced the demand for labour. The collectives received not only land but also labour in abundance from the individual sector. The land-to-labour quotient for the collectives went down from 1.7 hectares per active in 1958 to 1.3 in 1963 as collectivization advanced in less productive but heavily populated regions. For the high degree of mechanization attained in 1963 and the low output, the land-to-labour quotient was very low. State farms, by comparison had much larger production per hectare with four times as high land/labour quotient. The transfer of labour from agriculture to the secondary and tertiary sectors in the Sixties and Seventies should be seen against in this background." (Ronnås 1984: 59.) As a result more and more rural residents sought non-agricultural employment, which was not combined necessarily with a change of residence. In these cases mostly the husband was the one who commuted to work and the household continued to live on the farm retaining membership in the collective. At the beginning of the 1960s around 1.23 million people entered the secondary and tertiary sectors

and became employees. A third of this group came from urban, two thirds from rural background (83% of the rural group were men). After men left the agriculture, between 1956 and 1966 female share increased from 54 to 58%, and the mean age agricultural workers increased from 38,2 to 40,5 years. The migration from agriculture was followed by feminization and aging of the work force. By 1977 the mean age had risen to 43,2, and the age groups between 14 and 29 years were underrepresented. The proportion of female agricultural work force was 63%. Working as tractor drivers, mechanics or zoo technicians on collective farms or in some cases on state farms, men held four fifths of the wage jobs in agriculture. In cooperative farms women made up 70%, and earned much less than the wage workers (Ronnås 1984: 148). The increasing and large educational gap between the agricultural and non-agricultural population shows the low status of agriculture. Rural-urban differences in literacy was not a new phenomenon, it was documented even in the pre-World War I period, and contrary to modern farming, traditional agriculture had not required much formal education, theoretical and technical skills. The communist regime wanted to transform the peasantry into an agricultural working class (Ronnås 1984: 149).

The collectivization of agriculture was combined with mechanization, which reduced the demand for agricultural labour. This had the effect of underutilization of labour in the agriculture, where productivity was five times lower than in non-agricultural sector. During the new industrialization drive that coincided with the collectivization of the agriculture, and increasing manufacturing employment became a main development objective. Wage and salary employment increased and in consequence the agricultural population declined. The 1960–70s were characterized by the rapid industrialization and economic growth, with increasing employment in the secondary and tertiary industries (between 1966 and 1977: from 47 to 63% of the active population). Therefore the employment in agriculture fell at an increasing rate after the collectivization (between 1956 and 1966 by 1,4 million; between 1966 and 1977 by 1,9 million). The rural non-farm population in rural areas increased by almost a million between 1966 and 1977, from 23 to 41% of the labour force. This increase was caused mainly by the rural-urban commuting. The non-farm rural day population had a much lower increase (Ronnås 1984: 261–263).

Per Ronnås emphasizes that collectivization detached the peasants from the land and they were turned from farm operators into farm workers. "The transfer or land from individual to collective ownership cut the peasants' ties to the land, literally as well as sentimentally, and loosened his ties to his profession. The change of work status to farm worker made it possible for the individual peasant to gradually shift his labour use from farm to non-farm activities. Mechanization of agriculture and the higher remuneration of non-farm activities promoted such a shift." (Ronnås 1984: 266.) As in the case of market economies, mechanization has permitted farmers more time to non-farm activities, although the operation of the farm requires a certain amount of time and work which can be reduced by hiring labour, lease or land selling. As in the case of collective farms, individual responsibility for the

operation of the farm was exchanged for a collective responsibility. Ronnås points out: "The allocation of labour of the individual farmer on a collective farm is no longer restricted by the labour input required to run the farm. Higher and more secure returns to labour in tertiary and, particularly, secondary industries provide strong incentives to collective farmers to seek non-farm employment. Non-farm employment is usually on a permanent and full-time basis and much less divisible than work on the collective farm, which is remunerated on a daily basis." (Ronnås 1984: 267.) Work on the farm became a supplementary source of income to non-farm employment, and since the completion of collectivization, the number of households on collective farms has only decreased slightly, while the number of collective household members permanently employed outside agriculture has increased rapidly. As collective members devoted less time to farm work, labour input on collective farms has fallen. (Ronnås 1984: 266–267.)

As Ronnås explains, those who shifted to non-farm occupations, remained on their farm because there was possible to keep animals for domestic needs and a personal lot of land. This was a better income opportunity than the work on the collective farm. The cost of housing and food were kept at a minimum, a higher material standard of living could be attained if the shift of occupation was accompanied by a change of residence to cities. "The Romanian authorities have stimulated rural-urban commuting as it is seen to permit industrialization with a minimum of investment in infrastructure, to lessen the problem of supplying the urban population with food and as a way to diffuse urban culture and values to the countryside." (Ronnås 1984: 267–268). Gail Kligman and Katherine Verdery emphasizes, migration was also caused in some cases by the Party's neglect: many peripheral communities did not enjoy the infrastructural improvements of the era, such as electrification, infirmaries, schools etc. Therefore to survive, the residents had to undertake permanent or seasonal migration (Kligman–Verdery 2011: 470). István Horváth points out, that "during the communist period, the state closely controlled the labour market, and via economic investment policies and by various administrative procedures, not just stimulated but to some extent pointed the tracks for the internal mobility paths. [...] major industrial settings were established in regions with existing infrastructure. Since these customarily were not located in regions with high fertility rates, substantial migratory movement from less developed to more prosperous regions were induced." (Horváth 2016: 42.)

Migration in Székelyhodos (Hodoşa), Ehed (Ihod) and Iszló (Isla)

During the 1950–60s joint cultivation cooperatives and later collective farms were formed in these villages. The private ownership of property was almost entirely eliminated and the mechanization of the agriculture took place. As a result just few workers were needed in the collectives, and many of the locals (mainly the men)

commuted to industrial centres, which was followed in many cases by the migration of the whole family. After the youth moved away from Székelyhodos (Hodoşa), Ehed (Ihod) and Iszló (Isla), these settlements experienced population decline, aging and cultural regression. The population decline following the collectivization is clearly visible on the annexed tables (*Table* 1., 2. and 3.).

Migration in Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş)

During the communist period this village was in a special situation, because contrary to the majority of the rural settlements, in Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş) the collectivization process of the 1950s and 1960s did not take place: the peasants continued the traditional agriculture with their own equipment on their own lands. Beside this, some new economic strategies evolved in the village (straw weaving, hat making, cattle breeding for sell, illegal schnapps distilling), which all contributed to the financial prosperity of the villagers. This was a contrast compared to the neighbouring and collectivized settlements where the young people moved away to the industrial centres and in the villages remained only the older inhabitants, which was leading to degradation of the traditional lifestyle and customs. Counter to this in Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş) the special economical situation affected the cultural and social life of the village, because the local youth did not migrate to urban settlements in large numbers, the traditional lifestyle and the customs remained unchanged, so the village was more viable till 1989. The majority of those who migrated for non-farm labour (industrial work, mining etc.) returned home and continued traditional agriculture and the new economic activities mentioned before. The population before 1989 was relatively stabile compared to other villages in the area (*Table* 4.).

Migration after 1989

After the 1989 Romanian Revolution the borders were open, the internal migration was replaced step by step by transnational migration. Many Romanian citizens migrated to western countries hoping for a better payment (Ciobanu 2010: 125–134). Primary destination for Hungarian minority workers was Hungary due to the cultural and language connection (Németh–Csite–Jakobi 2011: 61). Many of these workers never turned back to their homes, and their families followed them to Hungary where they settled down. This was a major setback for many of the villages: the aging population and the lack of young work force is still a problem in many settlements. In the discussed villages all these processes can be observed, even in the better situated Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş), where the population number halved after 1989. (*Table* 1., 2., 3. and 4.)

As a conclusion we can say that the collectivization had an important role in the transformation of rural Romania. The depeasantation brought radical cultural,

social and economic change in the villages. One of the results of collectivization of agriculture was the intensification of rural-urban migration, the effect of which is still palpable in rural communities. Aging, cultural and economic decline were (and are) straightforward consequences of the collectivization, and it also can be observed in the four Hungarian settlements presented in this paper. Although the case of the non-collectivized Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş) is relatively better cultural and economic condition as the neighbouring Székelyhodos (Hodoşa), Ehed (Ihod) and Iszló (Isla), it is visible that after 1989 nearly all rural communities suffered a setback, and resolving the rural-urban inequalities are an important issue of the 21st century Romania.

Translated by the author

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Tables and Maps

Székelyhodos (Hodoşa)					
Year	**Altogether**	**Romanian**	**Hungarian**	**German**	**Other**
1850n	552	7	539		6
1880a	470		453		17
1880b	470		468		2
1890a	544	2	542		
1900a	582		582		
1910a	582	1	581		
1920n	484	4	470		10
1930a	449	5	425		19
1930n	449	5	425		19
1941a	470		452		18
1941n	470		469		1
1956	**500**				
1966a	**388**	**5**	**357**		**26**
1966n	**388**	**4**	**358**		**26**
1977n	**316**	**2**	**306**		**8**
1992n	227		217		10
2002a	228		199		29
2002n	228		199		29
2011	225		191		26

Table 1. Census data for Székelyhodos (Hodoşa) (a – mother tongue, n – ethnicity)
Source: Varga 2007, 2011.

Ehed (Ihod)				
Year	**Altogether**	**Romanian**	**Hungarian**	**German**	**Other**
1850n	396		396		
1880a	401	5	379		17
1880b	401	5	387		9
1890a	405	5	400		
1900a	404	1	399		4
1910a	420	5	415		
1920n	423	13	410		
1930a	416	3	413		
1930n	416	3	406		7
1941a	389	11	378		
1941n	389	7	382		
1956	**443**				
1966a	**366**	**4**	**362**		
1966n	**366**	**4**	**362**		
1977n	**248**		**238**		**10**
1992n	141		141		
2002a	121	2	119		
2002n	121	2	119		
2011	125		123		

Table 2. Census data for Ehed (Ihod) (a – mother tongue, n – ethnicity)
Source: Varga 2007, 2011.

Iszló (Isla)				
Year	Altogether	Romanian	Hungarian	German	Other
1850n	347	129	213		5
1880a	345	75	257		13
1880b	345	76	269		
1890a	390	14	368	1	7
1900a	428		428		
1910a	449	3	437		9
1920n	410	82	321		7
1930a	430	13	407		10
1930n	430	21	399		10
1941a	497	9	472		16
1941n	497	7	476		14
1956	**532**				
1966a	**518**	**10**	**498**		**10**
1966n	**518**	**21**	**487**		**10**
1977n	**469**	**13**	**440**		**16**
1992n	375	8	283		84
2002a	349	5	258		86
2002n	349	5	270		74
2011	325	8	239		76

Table 3. Census data for Iszló (Isla) (a – mother tongue, n – ethnicity)
Source: Varga 2007, 2011.

Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş)				
Year	Altogether	Romanian	Hungarian	German	Other
1850n	763		763		
1880a	888	2	845		41
1880b	888	2	880		6
1890a	1003	3	979	1	20
1900a	1053		1053		
1910a	1091		1091		
1920n	1035	1	1013		21
1930a	1063	1	1052		10
1930n	1063	5	1039		19
1941a	1234	2	1232		
1941n	1234	2	1231		1
1956	**1254**				
1966a	**1161**	**3**	**1150**		**8**
1966n	**1161**	**4**	**1135**		**22**
1977n	**1017**	**10**	**1000**		**7**
1992n	861	4	844		13
2002a	722	2	705		15
2002n	722	2	705		15
2011	584	2	568		12

Table 4. Census data for Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş) (a – mother tongue, n – ethnicity)
Source: Varga 2007, 2011.

Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş)				
Year	Altogether	Romanian	Hungarian	German	Other
1850n	8719	1180	6552	241	746
1880a	13688	1271	11146	517	754
1880b	13688	1312	11492	533	351
1890a	15191	1352	13041	447	351
1900a	20299	2348	16903	737	311
1910a	26779	2416	23253	624	486
1920n	31998	4774	23283	450	3491
1930a	40058	10410	25903	769	2976
1930n	40058	10715	22898	667	5578
1941a	46332	2287	43243	443	359
1941n	46332	2301	42905	387	739
1956	**65455**	**14669**	**48290**	**263**	**2233**
1966a	**86464**	**24413**	**61309**	**461**	**281**
1966n	**86464**	**24638**	**60211**	**456**	**1159**
1977n	**130076**	**45639**	**82200**	**773**	**1464**
1992n	164445	75851	84493	558	3543
2002a	150041	76258	71707	246	1830
2002n	150041	75533	70108	304	4096
2011	133124	65777	56994	199	10154

Table 5. Census data for Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş) (a – mother tongue, n – ethnicity)
Source: Varga 2007, 2011.

Map. Geographical location of the discussed region

**A romániai kollektivizálás és a rurális migrációs folyamatok
négy kisebbségi magyar településen**

A tanulmány az erőszakos romániai kollektivizálásnak a migrációra gyakorolt hatását vizsgálja négy Maros megyei magyar településen. A mezőgazdaság szocialista átalakítása gyökeres kulturális, társadalmi és gazdasági változásokat hozott a falusi közösségek életébe. A kollektivizálás egyik eredménye, hogy felerősödött a falu–város migráció. A bemutatott négy település közül egyiknek (Jobbágytelke) sikerült elkerülnie a kollektivizálást, melynek eredményeképpen a másik három falutól eltérően fejlődött a kommunizmus és az 1989-es változások után egyaránt.

**Colectivizarea din România şi procesele de migraţie
în patru sate minoritare maghiare**

Studiul analizează efectul colectivizării forţate asupra migraţiei în patru sate maghiare din judeţul Mureş. După transformarea socialistă a agriculturii s-au întâmplat schimbări radicale în vieţile culturale, sociale şi economice ale satelor din România. Unul dintre rezultatele colectivizării a fost intensificarea migraţiei rural–urban. Din cele patru sate prezentate una (Sâmbriaş) a scăpat de colectivizare, şi în timpul comunismului, dar şi după 1989, a avut o evoluţie diferită faţă de celelalte trei localităţi.

**The Romanian Collectivization and the Rural Migration Processes
in Four Hungarian Minority Settlements**

The paper discusses the effects of the forced Romanian collectivization on the migration processes in four Hungarian minority settlements in the present-day Maros (Mureş) County. The transformation of the agriculture in the communist era brought a radical cultural, social and economic change in the life of the rural communities. One of the results of collectivization of agriculture was the intensification of rural–urban migration. One of the four villages, Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaş) escaped the collectivization. As a result, the first three and the uncollectivized village had different paths during the communist era and after 1989.

Contemporary Perspectives: Migration and Identity

Albert Zsolt Jakab – Lehel Peti

Migration and Ethnicity:
The Czechs from Banat (Romania)[*]

Introduction

In the first half of the 19th century, Czech colonists have established several colonies, especially in the wood-covered mountains found along the lower reaches of the Danube, in the south-western region of Romania. The colonists lived in a high degree of isolation, resulting in a closed cultural and community organization (e.g. in a high degree of endogamy). In the beginning, the basis of their livelihood was logging. Additionally, where the natural environment allowed it, they also made attempts at following traditional patterns of agriculture.

Before the regime change, Romania had a Czech population of 5500.[1] After 1989, the Czech-speaking, Roman Catholic population has become involved in an increased outward migration to Czech Republic. According to the 1992 census, their population numbered 5797 persons. The 2011 census put their numbers at 2477, which means a 57% decrease in less than two decades. The largest Czech community is in Eibenthal, with a population of 310 in 2011, due to the favourable economic opportunities and to the miner population's pensions, considered satisfactory at the local level.[2] The population has aged in this locality as well. It is to be expected that Eibenthal will meet the fate of the partially inhabited settlements, where the majority of the houses are only used temporarily, during the summer holiday season, by the members of the younger generation.

The biography of Václav Mašek, the vicar of Eibenthal, points far beyond spiritual service. He also plays a key role in the identity and language preservation, as well as in the conservation of the historical consciousness of the local community. Mašek, who is still active today, has experienced the progressive atrophy of the Romanian Czech community during his own life course and priestly service. The vicar can recall from memory the most important demographical data of all Czech settlements. According to him, the population of Șumița numbered 350 in 1968. Today, there are only 50 left.[3] Since this locality is farther away from the 5 or

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[*] The first version of this study was published in Romanian in the monograph of the Czechs from Banat (Jakab–Peti eds. 2018).
1 Information supplied by Václav Mašek, the vicar of Eibenthal (*Cehii din Banat...* 2013).
2 Information supplied by Václav Mašek, the vicar of Eibenthal (*Cehii din Banat...* 2013).
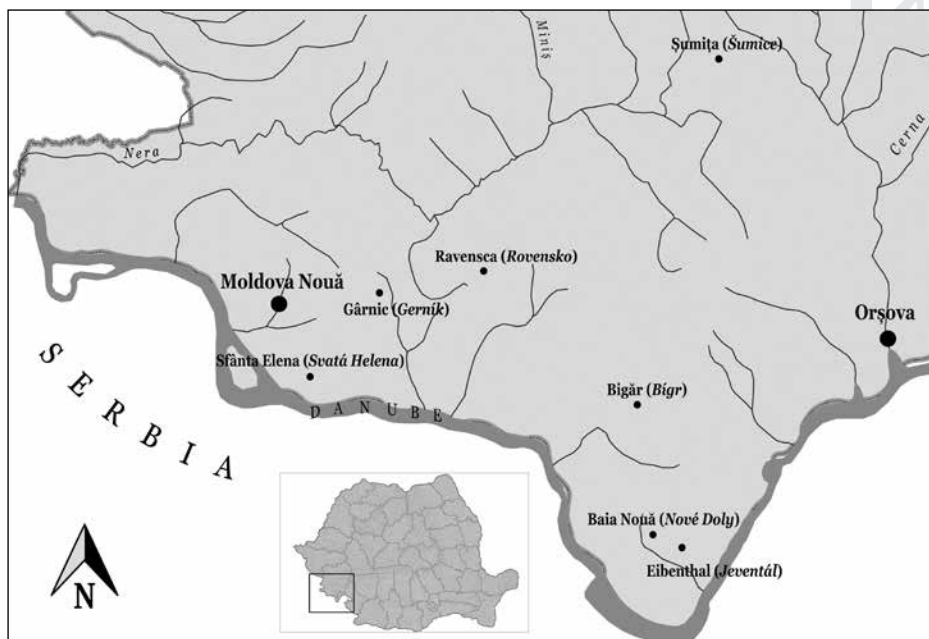3 Information supplied by Václav Mašek, the vicar of Eibenthal (*Cehii din Banat...* 2013).

6 Czech villages (Sfânta Elena, Gârnic, Ravensca, Bigăr, Baia Nouă, Eibenthal) that belong to this micro-region, in spite of their difficult accessibility and relative distance from each other, it is left out of the tourist loop of the Czech emigrants.

This abandonment can clearly be felt in Şumiţa. The boarded-up windows, the nailed-down and locked gates and windows, the image of the main street as well as of the surroundings of the houses and of their gates overgrown with weeds, the acacia trees growing wild suggest that the choice of the former residents is forever. The data supplied by the vicar paint a similarly sad picture of Ravensca. From 380 in 1968, its population has shrunken to a number between 80 and 100.[4] The depopulation mechanisms are in their most advanced stage in these two villages.[5]

In some settlements (e.g. Ravensca and Şumiţa), the depopulation mechanisms that have taken place over time are almost complete. These villages are dominated by orderliness and proportionality, as well as by the reflections of the understated, but ambitious local handicrafts and ornament use. The restrained, but exigent colouring and the flower decorations painted manually, with great care, on the wooden gates that are built into the street façade, along with the geometrical ornaments, reflect a sense of proportion, homeliness, and attention to detail. The gates are locked, the window shutters are lowered or boarded-up, and the streets are overgrown with weeds.

Map 1. *The Czech villages of the Banat region*
Map realized by Ákos Nagy and Ilka Veress.

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4   Information supplied by Václav Mašek, the vicar of Eibenthal (*Cehii din Banat…* 2013).
5   Information supplied by František Draxel (*Cehii din Banat…* 2013).

What do the figures reflect? What kind of migration patterns are at work here, and what is the fate of the source communities? How do the meanings attached to the localities of origin change among Czech emigrants? How does the native land appear in the migration discourse? And how do the Czech tourists from the motherland, looking for traditional rurality, the experience of exoticism, and "time travel", influence the ethnicity of the Czechs living in Romania?

On the Research

István Horváth defines minority from a demographic and sociological perspective, as well as on the basis of economic and status inequalities. In the relational system of majority and minority, it is the demographic proportions and power relations that are decisive, which can actually be defined as relationships of subordination (Horváth 2006: 157-166). The typology of minorities differentiates between "*native minorities*, resulting from colonization, *regional minorities*, as the results of nation building processes, *national minorities*, and *immigrant minorities*" (Horváth 2006: 159).

We have been involved in researching the Czech minority in Romania since 2007. Over the past decade, this effort required our continued attention and periodic fieldwork with various project centres. Between 2007 and 2009, the Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities (Institutul pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale – ISPMN) has mapped the institutional cadastre of the national minorities of Romania in the framework of a more comprehensive project.[6] This research was aimed at assessing the state of the national minorities and of their institutions (see Kiss 2010). Hence, we asked questions about the political, economic/entrepreneurial, ecclesiastical, and civil structures of the Czech national minority. In 2008, we, the authors of this study, have visited the most important Czech villages, conducting biographical interviews with members of the community's elite (including religious leaders, local and national level-politicians, entrepreneurs, etc.).

Our research results were included, along with the works of researchers from the local communities, involved in the conservation and popularization of their culture, in two study volumes we have co-edited (Jakab–Peti eds. 2009a, 2009b). It is typical for the researches on the culture and social processes of Romanian national minorities to be initiated by specialists from the motherland of that minority. However, the results of their efforts are rarely integrated into Romanian scientific discourse. We therefore considered it is important to identify these previous publications, in order to bring them into the social scientific circulation of Romania.

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6   The project was coordinated by Albert Zsolt Jakab. The online database that summarizes and presents the results (*The database of national minority organizations from Romania*) can be accessed at: http://ispmn.gov.ro/page/institutiile-minoritatilor.

This was our reason for including translations of the analyses prepared by authors most familiar with the situation of the Czech minority in Romania.

In 2010, we have edited two individual volumes on the interethnic and intercultural existential situations of the Czech and Slovak national minorities in Romania and Hungary. These volumes included studies on topics such as bilingualism, linguistic interferences, identity processes, assimilation efforts and assimilation, culture preservation, interethnic relations and relations systems, as well as on historical issues related to the migration, settlement, and community strategies of the Slovak and Czech minorities (Jakab–Peti eds. 2010a, 2010b). Regarding the Czech population, we would like to call attention to the paper of Alena Gecse and Desideriu Gecse, on the settlement of the Czech in the Banat region, their strategies of cohabitation with the surrounding ethnicities and their cultural ties, as well as on the ethnic identity elements of the Czech minority and their institutions (Gecse–Gecse 2010). After the social transformations of the 20th century and as a result of the work migration and assimilation processes triggered by the 1989 regime change, the Czech villages of Romania have also become sites of the restructuring of ethnic identity. In this context, Sînziana Preda has focused her research on the migration aspirations and on the identity of the Czech community of the Banat region (Preda 2010a; another version: 2010b).

In 2016, we have conducted a research focusing especially on the village Sfânta Elena. Throughout this research, we have attempted to follow the criteria also used in the research project entitled "Manifestation of ethnicity in minority communities" (2011–2012) of the Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities.[7] Thus, we have analysed the impact on ethnicity of such factors as language use, the local institutions influencing ethnicity, the motherland's minority policies, and economic relations (see Kiss–Kiss 2019). This resulted in an investigation of the manifestation "contexts" of ethnicity outlined by Richard Jenkins (see Jenkins 2002: 255–261, also Jenkins 2008: 65–74). In our research, we paid special attention to the impact of Czech tourism from the motherland in these villages, resulting in a special situation compared to the minority communities studied along similar lines.

In this study, we also made use of interviews and interview fragments from 2012 and 2013, included in the documentary film on the Czech population from the Banat region.[8] At the same time, we relied on the observations of the specialist consultants of the documentary, Lehel Peti and Iulia Hossu (RIRNM), made during the preparatory work for the film.

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7   The project was coordinated by Dénes Kiss and Lehel Peti. The methodological principles of the research were elaborated by Dénes Kiss. These principles were used by the researchers for all minority communities included in their research.

8   *Cehii din Banat. Minorități în tranziție* [The Czechs in Banat. Minorities in Transition], 2013. Director: Bálint Zágoni, specialists/consultants: Iulia Hossu and Lehel Peti, photographer: Zoltán Varró-Bodoczi. Accessible online at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9WbEtKYQOnE.

The Economic Situation

In the Socialist era, the majority of the population of these villages was employed at the surrounding industrial settlements and in the mines. After the 1989 regime change, the industry gradually collapsed, and the mines as well as the heavy industrial plants were closed. E.g. the anthracite mine from Baia Nouă, dating back to 1840, was closed in the mid-2000's. Before the accident that claimed the lives of several workers and was the ultimate cause of the mine being closed, the mine provided a living for 250 workers, with very poor infrastructure conditions. According to a former miner, they worked by hand, with pickaxes and shovels.[9] Alongside the Czech, the mine also had Romanian and German workers from Moldova and Oltenia.[10]

The mine of Moldova Nouă has functioned since 1962. The livelihood of the families from this region was mostly based on the incomes of the men employed in mining. The production of homemade foodstuffs on the small scale has also played an important role in providing for the needs of these families. Along with the family food production, the women working at the household farms also brought products for sale to the marketplaces.[11] In some settlements, collective farms named "March 6" have operated as well for a couple years. However, these collectives have largely been loss-making (see Gecse–Gecse 2010: 54). The collective memory of the village Sfânta Elena does not even remember this institution as a collective farm, but as "a kind of fellowship" (*un fel de tovarăşie*) in which they cultivated their lands together for 5 years. In the socialist period, the sale of milk and milk products was of special importance.[12] In the years after the start of mining operations, there was a wave of construction in Sfânta Elena.[13] Due to the smaller size of the minority group, the Czechs were included in the IPUMS (Integrated Public Use Microdata Series) database with a small sample size (the IPUMS' number of cases for the Czechs of Caraş-Severin County was 370 in 1992 and 279 in 2002).[14]

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9 Anonymous elderly male, Baia Nouă (*Cehii din Banat...* 2013).
10 Anonymous elderly male, Baia Nouă (*Cehii din Banat...* 2013).
11 For further details on the traditional crafts practiced in the Czech villages and on the character of the agrarian sector, see Gecse–Gecse 2010: 49.
12 On the basis of the interview conducted with Václav Pek (3 June 2008).
13 On the basis of the interview conducted with Václav Pek (3 June 2008).
14 The 2011 IPUMS only contains 165 cases from Caraş-Severin County. Therefore, we will omit the presentation of the 2011 data.

Table 1. *The involvement of the Romanian and Czech ethnic groups in the different industrial sectors/services in Caraș-Severin County (rural population) – 1992*

Industrial sector/service	Romanians	Czechs
Agriculture, fishing and logging	51%	54%
Mining	6%	27%
Factories	16%	5%
Electricity, gas and water	1%	0%
Constructions	4%	2%
Wholesale and retail	3%	2%
Hotels and restaurants	1%	1%
Transport and communication	7%	2%
Financial services and insurance	0%	1%
Public administration and defence	3%	1%
Real estate and business services	1%	1%
Education	3%	1%
Health care and social work	2%	0%
Other community and personal services	1%	2%
	100%	100%

Source: IPUMS, 1992

The data of the 1992 census reflect the high involvement of the Czech population in the mining industry: 27% of the Czech rural population of Caraș-Severin County was working in the mines still functioning at the beginning of the 1990's. The statistics also show the high involvement of the Czech population in agricultural activity (54%).

The 2002 census reflects the significant (7%) decrease in importance of mining and the parallel increase (8%) in the involvement in agriculture and logging in the county with the largest Czech population. The statistical data on the increased importance of agricultural activity probably reflects the switching to agriculture of the workers laid off from the mines and, to a lesser extent, from the factories.

The industry of this region finally collapsed in the late 2000s. After the closing of the mines, the Czech community entered a state of crisis and was forced to rethink its life-management strategies. Work migration became general and the emigration wave intensified.

Table 2. *The involvement of the Romanian and Czech ethnic groups in the different industrial sectors/services in Caraş-Severin County (rural population) – 2002*

Industrial sector/service	Romanian	Czech
Agriculture, fishing, and forestry	54%	62%
Mining	3%	20%
Manufacturing	14%	5%
Electricity, gas and water	1%	3%
Construction	4%	2%
Wholesale and retail trade	5%	2%
Hotels and restaurants	5%	0%
Transportation and communications	1%	0%
Financial services and insurance	0%	0%
Public administration and defense	5%	2%
Real estate and business services	1%	3%
Education	3%	3%
Health and social work	2%	0%
Other community and personal services	1%	0%
Private household services	0%	0%
	100%	100%

Source: IPUMS, 2002

The household agricultural activity based on animal effort and on low-power machines, hardly exceeding complementary food production, continued to be practiced in some villages, especially by the pensioners. In the years following the regime change, after the start of tourism from the Czech Republic into these villages started to gain popularity, this agricultural activity also took on the role of the traditional "exhibition farm" in some cases. The farms from Sfânta Elena have a couple of cows and goats for domestic food production (milk, curd, etc.). In these cases, the presentation of the production is at least as important to the tourists as the food products themselves.

In the examined settlements, the majority of young people have left, and the villages are now the residences of the pensioners. This intensive migration produces several seemingly unsolvable social problems, including – similarly to many places worldwide – the abandonment of the elderly. For the middle-aged generation still living in the villages, the only reason for them not to have followed their emigrant children is the unsolved situation of their aged parents.[15] After their death, this

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15 Information supplied by František Draxel (*Cehii din Banat...* 2013).

group will probably also leave the Czech villages of Romania. At the same time, the young people whose parents, for whatever reason, have not left Romania, usually prepare themselves mentally already during their school years to leave for work after the age of 18 to the Czech Republic.[16]

Along with the collapse of the industry after the regime change, the depopulation mechanisms were also strengthened by the educational opportunities offered by the Czech motherland. In the 1990s and 2000s, in the case of the young people pursuing higher education in the Czech Republic, it was a matter of course to seek employment and to settle down in this modern, Western European state.

The sense of loss is dominant in the older generation. Its members accept it as natural that the young people have to flee the country due to the lack of local/regional sources of livelihood, but, at the same time, they also feel as the losers of the present situation. While the mining industry, with its hard labour mostly based on human strength and on rudimentary techniques, has promised them nice pensions, instead of these joys, they now have to cope with the perspectives of the breakdown and imminent disappearance of their village communities.

The members of the older generation who remained in the villages are clearly aware of the atrophy of the local community as well as of the unsustainability and utopianism of the community way of life prior to the regime change. Iosif Nedved, a former miner and now pensioner from Eibenthal, monitors the contraction process of his local Czech life-world in his "personal statistics" kept in a notebook. According to his statements from the documentary film, in 1999, there were 487 people living in Eibenthal and in Baia Nouă, a settlement that administratively belongs to this village. By 2010, their number decreased to 310.[17]

Both the information supplied by him and the declaration of the Eibenthal vicar, Václav Mašek – who could recall from memory the ethnic/linguistic statistics for almost every village of this micro-region for the camera –, reflect the fact that the disappearance of this life-world is not a self-evident, but a mentally and emotionally burdensome process. The keeping of these "personal statistics" – also as a symbolic attempt to hold back time – demonstrates that, for the local people experiencing the depopulation and the transformation to an "ethnic showcase", these processes are extremely personal.

The Czechs of Romania have managed to immigrate to the Czech Republic along family and kinship networks. This circumstance also explains the relatively small number of migration targets. The Romanian emigrants have reproduced their communities in a quasi-colonial manner. The guest workers even knew of factories from the Czech Republic where more than 60% of the employees are Czechs from Romania.[18] For many of them, the rubber tyre factory Mitas from Prague was their first place of employment in the motherland and – as

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16 Anonymous middle-aged male worker, Sfânta Elena (*Cehii din Banat....* 2013).
17 Information supplied by Iosif Nedved, Eibenthal (*Cehii din Banat...* 2013).
18 *Cehii din Banat...* 2013.

a young male from Bigăr has put it – a kind of stepping stone toward other employment opportunities in the Czech Republic (or in some cases, even in Western Europe).[19]

The migration situation triggered paradoxical processes regarding the assessment of the Czechs from Romania. While the tourists from the motherland visiting Romania enjoy the exoticism (the traditional Czech dialect, etc.), the guest workers themselves complain about their stigmatization due to the identification with the Romanian guest worker status[20] – as it is often heard from other Romanian guest workers with multiple ethnic and cultural affinities as well. So, the Romanian Czech immigrants feel that their co-nationals living in the motherland maintain clearly discriminatory ethnicity borders against them.

Political Institutions

Established in 1990, the Democratic Union of Slovaks and Czechs of Romania (Uniunea Democratică a Slovacilor şi Cehilor din România – UDSCR) is the joint advocacy and political organization of the Slovak and Czech minorities in Romania (see Kukucska 2016: 188–189), with four territorial branches. The Czech Region of the Southern Banat (Zona Cehă a Banatului de Sud) territorial branch unites the local organizations of the Czech settlements from Caraş-Severin and Mehedinţi counties. The Czech Cultural Center (Centrul Cultural Ceh), established in 1994 in Moldova Nouă, also functions as the Banat region headquarter of the UDSCR (see Kukucska 2016: 204). The UDSCR supports the school events associated with the cultivation of the Czech language (see Kukucska 2016: 219), provides political and financial support for the establishment of new schools, and has taken on a significant role in contacting the political and civil sphere of the Czech Republic, in order to obtain support for the Czech minority in Romania, in coordinating the distribution of the aids (see, e.g. Kukucska 2016: 191, 193), as well as in maintaining diplomatic relations (see Kukucska 2016: 202, 230, 231, etc.). Additionally, the UDSCR is also active in fields such as channelling state scholarships from the Czech Republic, developing the local libraries (see Kukucska 2016: 191), providing subsidies for professional training in the Czech Republic for the Czech teachers of Romania (see Kukucska 2016: 194), and supporting the (resumption of the) teaching of the Czech language, financed by the Czech Republic (see Kukucska 2016: 197–198).

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19 Ion Mleziva, Bigăr (*Cehii din Banat...* 2013).
20 Sînziana Preda reaches a similar conclusion when reporting that "they let the immigrants know that they are actually 'Romanians', with obvious pejorative connotations" (Preda 2008: 503, 2010a: 252).

Education and Language Use

Czech is still the primary language of communication in the villages. Mother-tongue education was present here from the mid-19th century, first with the participation of literate colonists and then of teachers from the Czech Republic (see Gecse–Gecse 2010: 52).[21]

Mother-tongue elementary schooling was secured in most Czech villages until the beginning of the 1970s. The teachers who graduated from the Czech department of the Nădlac teachers college between 1972 and 1977 have played an important role in the Czech schools through organizing various Czech-language cultural activities for the conservation of their traditions and identity (see Gecse–Gecse 2010: 52–53), although actually teaching in Romanian in the schools. From the 1970's, the language of instruction in the kindergarten and elementary school education was Czech. Although the small local Czech cultural elite were opposed to the transition from Czech to Romanian, this language shift still happened.[22] In the socialist period, vocational school and secondary school qualifications were also obtained in Romanian in one of the port cities or mining towns located along the lower reaches of the Danube (mostly in Oravița or Moldova Nouă), although the number of people participating in this type of education was rather low (Gecse–Gecse 2010).

The transition to education in Romanian has negatively affected the native-language competence of Czech-speaking children. They can now express themselves more accurately and are in command of a richer vocabulary in Romanian than in the Czech dialect used in their family and neighbourhood environment.[23]

The exclusion of the Czech language from the domain of education signals the diminishing function and prestige loss of the local dialect, along with the fact that the Czech community viewed the high level of mastery of the Romanian language as the best guarantee of success in life under socialism. In that period, alongside education, it was employment in heavy industry and mining that provided an opportunity for acquiring good Romanian language competences. Nevertheless, Czech has remained the language of everyday communication in the private sphere for the inhabitants of these villages, also as a significant ethnicity-generating factor, along with their Roman Catholic faith, specific local community consciousness, and particular way of life, within the culturally and ethnically diverse medium of the Banat region.

The Czech language was introduced as a separate subject in 1998, with Czech teachers from the motherland, while the teaching of all other subject went on in

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21 Alena Gecse and Desideriu Gecse describe how instruction in Czech was suspended between 1920 and 1929, being substituted with Romanian. Later, Czech native speaker instructors have begun to arrive again, with minor interruptions (see Gecse–Gecse 2010: 52).

22 See, e.g. the recollections of Václav Mašek and Alena Gecse (*Cehii din Banat...* 2013).

23 See, e.g. the informations supplied by Václav Mašek (*Cehii din Banat...* 2013).

Romanian.[24] The Czech language taught in school was, obviously, not the local dialect, but the standard language spoken in the Czech Republic. The success of this program is also reflected by the fact that, already in 2002, a Czech language competition was held in Moldova Nouă, with the participation of 40 pupils from 7 Czech schools (see Kukucska 2016: 219).

People do not only speak and listen to language, but also represent it for symbolic and practical reasons. The interpretation of the texts and messages represented within various spaces and contexts brings us nearer to the understanding of the linguistic behaviour of the community using that language. If the language that is spoken and listened to and the language represented in the public space are largely identical, then the linguistic vitality of that community is excellent (cf. Shohamy–Gorter eds. 2009). The linguistic landscape of the Czech villages is to be examined in the relationship system of the state language and of the minority language use. Our criteria have to refer to the communicative function and to placement, size, design (composition, typeface, colour, material, etc.), and language style of the linguistic signs and inscriptions (cf. Sloboda 2009: 181).

The inscriptions found in the public spaces, town centres, schools, and in the vicinity of the local shops of these settlements are divided between the Romanian and Czech languages. The nameplates of the settlements and institutions are bilingual, as are the maps and local histories installed in the village centres. The differences can be detected along the comparison between semi-public and private texts, on the one hand, and the official texts originating from the centres of power, on the other. Cemetery epitaphs, inscriptions of the public (religious) statues, as well as the church, school, and kindergarten interiors represent the Czech language, according to the intense minority language use. Announcements of local interest (private bus services, tour options, appeals, etc.) are, in most cases, exclusively in Czech, while regulations, notices and reports embedded in the discourses of power (employment ads, admission information, instructions, etc.) are published in the state language.

In Sfânta Elena and Eibenthal, the two main motherland tourists' targets, the linguistic landscape is dominated by Czech inscriptions. The inscriptions around the village pub and the shop, as well as the commercial advertisements targeting the Czech tourists at the annual folklore festival are also in Czech.[25] The signs installed in the windows advertise accommodation and catering for the tourist in the same language.

As the bilingual (Czech and Romanian) commemorative plaque installed on the elementary school's exterior wall Sfânta Elena advertises, the building was erected between 1996 and 1998 in the framework of the transnational coopera-

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24 Alena Gecse, Moldova Nouă (*Cehii din Banat...* 2013).
25 See the news report of Observator TV, uploaded to YouTube. Published on 17 August 2017. Accessible at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2JkxnmPI6lU. Las accessed on 12 March 2018.

tion between Romania and the Czech Republic. The linguistic landscape of the elementary school presented a (Romanian and Czech) mixed character at the time of our visit. According to Petr Skorepa, a teacher from the Czech Republic who was teaching in Sfânta Elena in 2013, 90 Czech ethnic children were involved in the primary (1-8 grade) education in 1999. Their number fell to 27 by 2013, due especially to the work migration to the Czech Republic. There is no kindergarten anymore in Gârnic, and the teacher envisioned the closing of the village school in 2013, similarly to the 2012 situation in Șumița, when only a single child was enrolled in the local school.[26]

The teaching of Czech as a stand-alone subject is probably not separated from the processes that have made it into an instrument of economic success. As already mentioned, from the 1970s on, after the termination of native language education, the Romanian language was viewed by the Czech population as the sole means of achieving success outside the local life-world, and parents considered its acquisition at the highest possible level to increase the child's chances in life. However, the emergence of the possibility of work migration to the motherland has created new models of personal achievement, increasing the value of Czech language proficiency and indirectly also the prestige of this language.[27]

The issue of linguistic vitality is linked to the population decline, which is well illustrated by the linguistic maps below.

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26 Francisc Olteanu, teacher, Șumița (*Cehii din Banat...* 2013).

27 Similar processes were described by Ilka Veress in her study about the ethnicity processes of the Greek community of Romania (more specifically, from Izvoarele) (see Veress 2019). She establishes that, in the case of this Greek community, the process of language shift and the attempts at linguistic revitalization are proceeding in parallel. The latter, i.e., "current linguistic revitalization is caused by the fact that the hitherto only virtually existing motherland becomes a target country for migration" (Veress 2019). Similar tendencies can also be observed in the case of the Moldavian Csángós, in which language shift has reached its final phase due to the devaluation of their language associated with the stigmatized Csángó ethnicity (see Tánczos 2012). However, as a result of guest work in Hungary and the associated rediscovery of the use value of their language beyond the local lifeworld and the informal domain, many Csángós have begun to view their native language more positively and got their children involved in a Hungarian language education program financed by Hungary, following objectives of language revitalization (see Peti 2017: 130–131).
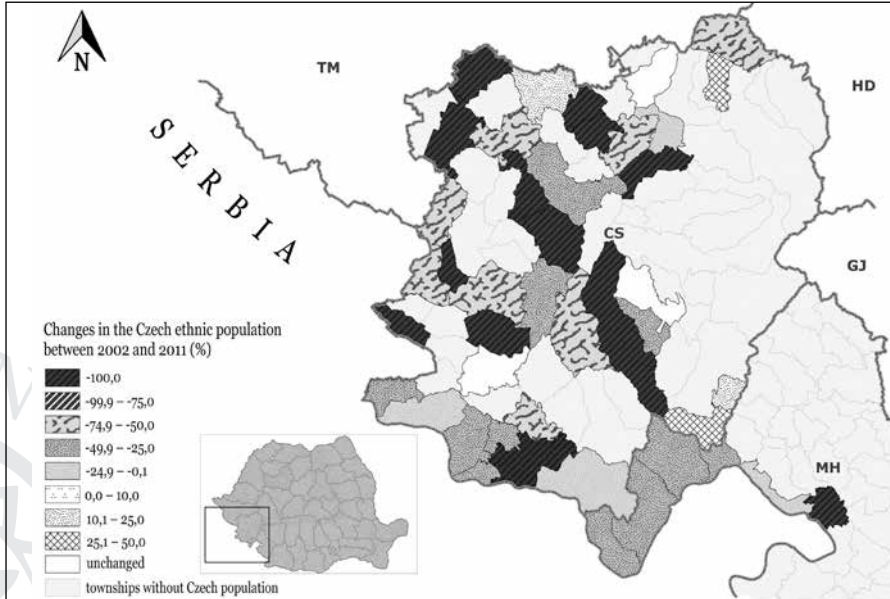
Map 2. The difference between number of Czech ethnic residents in the period between 2002 and 2011 in Caraş-Severin and Mehedinţi Counties
Source: ISPMN, by Ákos Nagy and Ilka Veress.
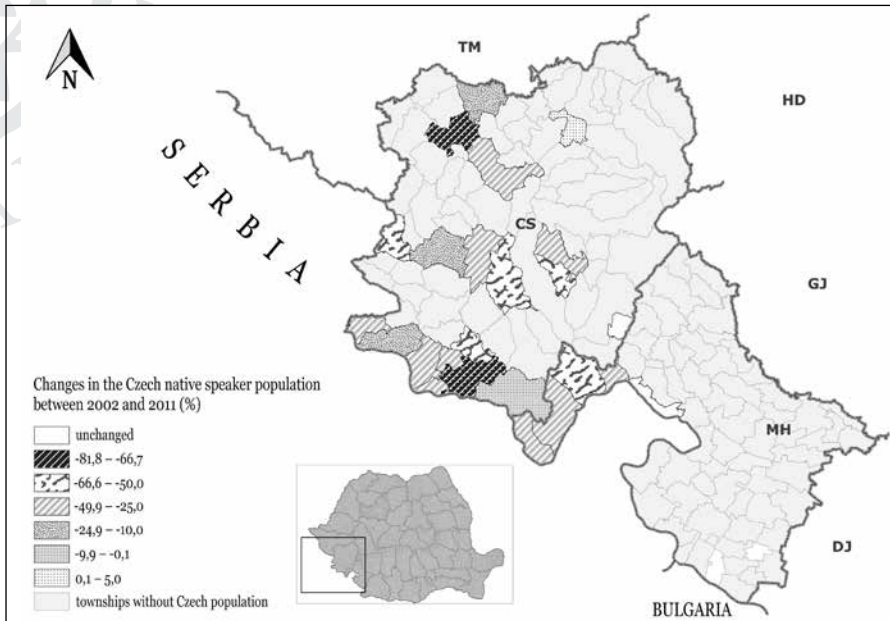
Map 3. The difference between number of Czech-speaking residents in the period between 2002 and 2011 in Caraş-Severin and Mehedinţi Counties
Source: ISPMN, by Ákos Nagy and Ilka Veress.

The Czech rural ethnic group of Caraş-Severin County had a lower social status than the majority rural population of Romanian ethnicity. This is shown by the comparative analysis of the educational attainment levels of the two ethnic groups, which differ significantly, in favour of the Romanians.

Table 3. *The educational structure of the Czech and Romanian rural population from Caraş-Severin County in 1992*

Educational attainment	Romanian	Czech
NIU (not in universe)	13%	14%
None	5%	2%
Literacy courses	0%	0%
Primary	27%	31%
Lower secondary	37%	41%
Special education	0%	0%
Academic secondary education	2%	0%
Vocational secondary education	7%	4%
Technical apprenticeship secondary	7%	5%
Post-secondary technical	1%	1%
University/college	1%	0%
Unknown	0%	0%
	100%	100%

Source: IPUMS, 1992

Table 4. *The educational structure of the Czech and Romanian rural population from Caraş-Severin County in 2002*

Educational attainment	Romanian	Czech
NIU (not in universe)	10%	11%
None	4%	3%
Literacy courses	0%	0%
Primary	23%	35%
Special education (2002)	0%	0%
Lower secondary	36%	37%
Special education	0%	0%
Academic secondary education	3%	1%
Vocational secondary education	8%	4%
Technical apprenticeship secondary	11%	6%
Post-secondary technical	1%	0%
Short-term education (associate degrees)	0%	0%
University/college	1%	0%
Unknown	1%	2%
	100%	100%

Source: IPUMS, 2002

The Church

The language of the liturgy for the mostly Roman Catholic Czechs is the local Czech language. The congregations of Roman Catholic churches erected in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries in the Czech villages[28] were served by four priests in the first year of our research (2008). In Sfânta Elena, masses are held in Romanian, since the priest does not speak any Czech, while the members of the community have no problem in understanding Romanian.[29]

Following the decrease in importance of the role played by the school in the preservation of the local Czech language, the Church has had and still has the most prominent function in the reproduction of Czech ethnicity. As the Eibenthal vicar Václav Mašek put it: "Understand that the Church has a double function: the civic and the spiritual. Regarding the former: Czech would no longer be spoken, were it

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28 The construction years of the churches erected in each village can be found in Gecse–Gecse 2010: 49.
29 Anonymous informant (born in 1948), in the company of Václav Pek (3 June 2008).

not for the Church. As for the latter: in our parts, in these six Czech villages, about 90% of people are regular church-goers."[30]

Similarly to the description offered by Dénes Kiss and Tamás Kiss about the Croat (Krashovani) minority in Romania, the Catholic religion and its symbolic spatial articulations (small sacral buildings, the architectural style of the churches, the religious symbol usage of the private houses, etc.) are also for the Czech minority the most important expressions of their differentiation from the Romanian majority (cf. Kiss–Kiss 2019: 8–9). Similarly to the situation outlined by the co-authors, three of the four priests who are serving here are graduates of the Roman Catholic Theological Institute of Alba Iulia, where "the training of clergy [...] does not push the priests toward the Romanian culture (as, for instance, in the case of the Csángó)" (Kiss–Kiss 2019: 9). However, the fact that the masses are held in Romanian in Sfânta Elena indicates that the religious element may be a more important articulating factor than language.[31] In addition to its good community organization, one of the key pull factors of the Baptist church in this village presumably consists in the religious ceremonies being held in the community's mother tongue.[32]

The vicar Václav Mašek, who was almost solely responsible for the religious practice of a few villages, has practically represented a one-man institution throughout the entire socialist period up to the present.[33] In the socialist era, the vicar smuggled liturgical books to the communities served by him. According to him, the religious rituals (other than funerals) that are still held, albeit very rarely, merely reflect the nostalgic sentiments of the visiting families from the Czech Republic, who still attach importance to marriage and baptism ceremonies in their native village.

The Baptist community of Sfânta Elena was established in 1921.[34] The current religious practice of this numerous congregation is also conducted in Czech.[35] The Church also supports the activity of a mandolin youth orchestra. Up to 1966, the building currently used by them has functioned as a Reformed church, where religious services have sometimes been held even in Hungarian, and later in Czech,

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30 Václav Mašek, the vicar of Eibenthal (*Cehii din Banat...* 2013).

31 This process of language shift and assimilation due to the adherence to the religious identity (in spite of the changed liturgical language) was described in 1996 by Gábor Barna in the case of a Hungarian Reformed community from Slovakia (Barna 1996). Vilmos Tánczos' research conducted among the Moldavian Csángós is similar (cf. Tánczos 2012), and Klára Sándor's study could be mentioned as well (Sándor 1996).

32 István Higyed suggested that "Romanian sermons are also occasionally held" (Higyed s. a.) in the local Baptist church. However, we could not personally ascertain this information.

33 For more details about his biography and on his contribution to the identity preservation of Czech communities, see Gecse–Gecse 2010: 57–58.

34 On the basis of the interview conducted with Václav Pek (3 June 2008). In his text on the church and on the congregation from Sfânta Elena, converted from the Reformed to the Baptist faith dates the formation of the Baptist congregation to 1924 (see Higyed s. a.). Alena Gecse and Desideriu Gecse date the formation of the Baptist community to 1921 (see Gecse–Gecse 2010: 49).

35 According to community leader Václav Pek (or as he called himself: Baptist presbyter), the community has 55 members, but there are almost 100 people on their Sunday gatherings (*Cehii din Banat...* 2013).

after the World War II (see Higyed s. a.).[36] According to the description of Reformed priest István Higyed, "the congregation was led by church-wardens, and there were readings and even Holy Communions at the services" (Higyed s. a.). He also identifies the reasons that made the pastoral care of the Reformed Congregation impossible in the specific obstacles of the border area. Finally, by 1978, even the remaining members of the Reformed congregation have converted to the Baptist faith and took over the church as well in 1982 (see Higyed s. a.).

The Role of the Czech State in the Identity Preservation of the Czech Minority in Romania

Rogers Brubaker distinguishes four forms of non-state-seeking nationalism: the 'nationalising' nationalism (involving "claims made in the name of a 'core nation' or nationality"), the nationalism of 'external national homelands' ("oriented to ethnonational kin who are residents and citizens of other states"), the nationalism of national minorities (these "stances characteristically involve a self-understanding in specifically 'national' rather than merely 'ethnic' terms, a demand of state recognition of their distinct ethnocultural nationality, and the assertion of certain collective, nationality-based cultural or political rights"), and national-populist nationalism (which "seeks to protect the national economy, language, mores or cultural patrimony against alleged threats from outside") (Brubaker 1998: 276–277). In our case, the Czech Republic and various organizations from the motherland are both directly and indirectly present trough their support for cultural and language preservation as well as through aids of a social nature (for basic infrastructure and local healthcare) in the life of the Czech minority of Romania.

"Following the Romanian Revolution of 1989, the Czech state has tried, through its Bucharest embassy and the 'Človek v tísni' (Man in need) foundation, to improve the living conditions of the Czechs from the South Banat region, becoming involved in various building and household development initiatives and projects, including the introduction of electrical current, television, fixed and mobile telephony, the repair and even the asphalting of access roads, the construction of schools, the encouraging of agri-tourism, etc." (Gecse–Gecse 2010: 55). By way of example, at the 18 February 1995 meeting of the Regional Coordination Committee of the Democratic Union of Slovaks and Czechs of Romania (UDSCR Şedinţa Comitetului de Coordonare Zonală), the Czech ambassador, Jaromir Kvapil, raised the possibility of the allocation, by the Czech Republic, of a development fund of 30 million Czech koruna (2 billion lei) to the Czech villages in Romania (see Kukucska 2016: 206). The Czech state envisioned that this development found would support, with the collaboration of the Romanian government, projects "directed at rebuilding at equipping schools, the reparation of the municipal and county roads of this region, the expansion of the telephone net-

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36 Václav Pek also dates the last Reformed service held in the church to 1966.

work, and the operation of rural doctors' practices," (Kukucska 2016: 206). Since 2006, social care centres are operating in all six Czech settlements with the support of the Charita Hodonin non-governmental organization from the Czech Republic, with one medical assistant in four villages and two assistants from the motherland in two localities (see Kukucska 2016: 241). That is to say, alongside the Czech state support directed at infrastructure development, the aid of the non-governmental sector has also reached these villages, with the coordination of the UDSCR, the joint advocacy organization of the Slovak Czech minorities in Romania.[37]

The significant infrastructural investments of the Czech state and non-governmental organizations represent a specific model of rural development in the Romanian mountain villages, most similar to the support policy of the German state, aimed at safeguarding the cultural heritage of the Romanian Saxon villages. Although the objective of these developments is to retain the local population of the Czech villages, some local communities are in fact already in the phase of final disintegration (e.g. in Şumiţa) or can be expected reach this state within a decade (e.g. in Eibenthal and Sfânta Elena, where there is still an independent community life). There are also some villages, located in scenic mountain forest areas, where the houses have begun to be bought up and to be turned into holiday homes, even by affluent urban buyers from more distant towns. This is similar to the processes taking place in the rural areas that are undergoing functional changes in the proximity of the large urban centres of Romania, where the rural landscape becomes the supplier for urban consumption and spatial experience.

Local Czech Identity

Along with the local Czech identity, it can be observed that the Czech guest workers refer to themselves as Romanians when the differentiation is made relative to the Czechs from the motherland, without invalidating the previously presented contents of their Czech ethnicity, based on linguistic and religious differences, as well as on their strong local consciousness. In the Romanian homeland, their Czech ethnicity is strengthened by the continuous reproduction of the cultural border maintained by the majority nation. Conversely, in the Czech Republic, their awareness of the cultural, mentality, lifestyle, etc., differences from their co-nationals living in the motherland result in a move toward the Romanians: "The Czech minority from Romania, we, are considered to be Romanians, while in Romania we are Czechs. I think this situation will not change so soon."[38]

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37 E.g. the historical chronology of Czech minority in Romania mentions that, on 30 January 1993, the Coordinating Council Meeting (Şedinţa Consiliului de Coordonare) of the UDSCR also included the following agenda item: "Discussions with the representatives of the Prague association for the Benefit of their Romanian Compatriots. They offer an aid in form of cars, in order to facilitate transport to isolated settlements inhabited by Czechs." (Kukucska 2016: 200).

38 Ion Mleziva, Bigăr (*Cehii din Banat...* 2013).

The conventions of the Czechs from Romania are held biannually in various cities of the Czech Republic where more numerous communities have formed, e.g. in Žatec (with the participation of emigrants from Sfânta Elena as well as of 4 Romanian Czech families from Bigăr) and in Plzeň (former residents of Gârnic, Ravensca and other villages from the catchment area of Moldova Nouă).[39] These community events represent scenes for the reproduction and strengthening of local Czech ethnicity.

Ethnic Tourism

The communist regime used to exert strong control on the international mobility of the population and prevented (mass) emigration (cf. Mueller 1999: 702, Horváth 2012: 199). After the regime change, the emigrants have become the main source of information for the residents of the Czech Republic regarding the Czech communities in Romania, leading to frequent tourism activity in their villages. Here, the ethnic character plays an important role alongside the "consumption" of the traditional landscape and the "time travel". The main tourism target is Sfânta Elena (Svatá Helena) and, during the summer festival, Eibenthal (Tisové Údolí). If visited during the summer months, the population of Sfânta Elena offers the impression of a busy and flowering community. The terrace in front of the pub is full, and people are flocking to the church on Sundays. However, they are, in fact, tourists or emigrant locals visiting the village for their summer holidays as a transitional place. The SUVs with Czech license plates and the small groups of young backpack hikers are part of these villages' "summer landscape". The majority of the roads leading out to these settlements, stretching along serpentines, forests, and steep hillsides, often with rock slides, pose a real challenge to the drivers. Most of them are dirt roads, with some asphalt roads that were financed by the Czech Republic. In spite of these access difficulties, the visitor may enjoy a varied, romantic landscape. One may sometimes see the meandering Danube below, while at other times, the road twists and turns at length through the lush forests, finally opening to a broad valley, where the houses are standing in the orderly rows of the Czech village. The most frequently used colours on the distinctive and harmoniously proportioned houses are brown, white, blue, and green. The gates and façades are often decorated with floral motifs. Incidentally, a young emigrant entrepreneur from Sfânta Elena operates a regular bus service connecting the Czech villages of Romania to the urban centres of the Czech Republic.

Éric Menson-Rigau uses the concept of *vendre du rêve* ('selling dreams') for the situation in which the tourist visiting a place or building as an object or attraction can partake of lifestyles that never actually existed, hence involving the selling out

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39 Josef Hrůza, entrepreneur, Sfânta Elena/Žatec (*Cehii din Banat*...2013).

of the illusion of another world/way of life (Menson-Rigau 2000: 92–102).[40] In this case, the ethnic-tinged rural tourism is especially attractive for the descendants of the locals, visiting from the Czech Republic.

The folklore festival organized since 1993 in several Czech villages of Romania is an important event that supports the tourism in the Banat region, in the Danube River valley.[41] The inscriptions on the tents used for serving the tourists, offering home-cooked food, are in Czech. The main aim of the Eibenthal festival is the service of ethno-tourism, and its most important target group consists of Czech tourists from the motherland. According to media estimates, there are approximately 1000 Czech tourists annually at the festival.[42]

An interesting conflict has also arisen between locals and tourists, after a large enterprise dealing with green energy production has installed several wind turbines on different locations of the village's border area, thus implementing a significant infrastructure development. While locals were happy about selling their land at high prices, the investments of the company, and further benefits, the tourists from the homeland called these developments a "crime against nature". In contrast with the Czechs from the Banat region involved in ethnic migration[43], their co-nationals living in the motherland interpret the depopulation of the villages in the framework of the globalisational loss narrative, whose most important element consists in the sense of losing the Czech localities that are gradually eliminated/ transformed due to the ethnic migration. These Czech localities are associated in this discourse with the traditional life-world and ethnicity (cf. "unspoilt countryside", "archaic dialect", the idea of the "self-reliant people, living from their handiwork", etc.). This attitude is well reflected by the comment on a video sharing website by a Czech viewer from the motherland, to the documentary film on the Czechs from the Banat region: "They will regret leaving. Like the man [from the film] said, his kids didn't know where the food came from and the food tasted much better in the village. Their families had land there they could have farmed. Free houses were available from their grandparents."[44]

As a tourist from Prague put it (in English) in 2013: "We live by grandma Karbulova, and she has a cow, but her husband died. One year ago. They had horses, and they don't have anymore. But she has three children, and all of them are in

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40 The French author has constructed this concept with reference to the tourism based on the châteaux along the Loire River, made accessible to the wider public. In exchange for the entrance fee, the visitor can find an ordered world that he or she can try out. Essentially, this involves the commodification of a constructed idyll.

41 The first such festival was organized in Eibenthal on 5-6 June 1993, Eibenthal, Festivalul Folclorului Ceh (Czech Folklore Festival) (Kukucska 2016: 201).

42 See the news report of Observator TV, uploaded to YouTube. Published on 17 August 2017. Accessible at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2JkxnmPI6lU. Las accessed on 12 March 2018.

43 István Horváth uses the term "ethnic migration" for the "migration type" of the Jewish and German population who have left Romania, and we have borrowed it here in the same sense (see Horváth 2012: 199).

44 Public comment (in English) on YouTube to the film entitled *Cehii din Banat. Minorități în tranziție* ["The Czechs in Banat. Minorities in Transition"] (2013), 9 March 2018.

Czech Republic. They live there, and she is alone here. She has two houses to take care about. And in October, I think, she will close it, and she will move to Czech Republic to her children, and another house will be closed. And it is a finish of a 200 years history.["]45

Most tourists we have talked to mentioned the archaic Czech dialect and the folklore they can hear in it, the pre-modern rural way of life and its inherent possibilities for rural tourism, as well as the chance of personal contact with a historical tradition reaching back 150 to 200 years among their main motivations for visiting.

Summary, Conclusions

This study has analysed the causes behind the migration of the Czech population from Romania to the Czech Republic and its associated ethnicity discourses. We have drawn a parallel between the locality-related ethnicising discourses of the current, aged population of the villages and those of the emigrants, as well as of the Czech tourists "discovering" the Czech villages of Romania after the regime change. The collapse of livelihood capacity due to the post-1989 economic decline and to the isolation of the villages, along with the existential feeling of the impossibility to maintain their community life, pervade the attitudes to locality of the remaining local population, as well as of the emigrants, who use their country houses only during their summer holidays and when visiting to maintain their family and kinship ties.

At the same time, the tourism activity of the Czechs from the motherland directed at this region contributes to the revaluation of the local Czech ethnicity.

Translated by Lóránd Rigán

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Migráció és etnicitás – a bánsági csehek

A 19. század első felében cseh telepesek kolóniákat hoztak létre főként a Duna délnyugat-romániai részének alsó folyása mentén lévő, erdőkkel borított hegyekben. A rendszerváltást megelőzően megközelítőleg 5500 főt számlált a romániai cseh közösség. 1989 után a csehül beszélő, római katolikus lakosság fokozatosan Csehországba való vándorlásának lehetünk tanúi. 1992-es népszámlálás: 5797 személy, 2011-es népszámlálás: 2477 személy, amely kevesebb, mint 10 év alatt 57%-os csökkenést jelent. Mi van e számok mögött? Milyen migrációs patternek érvényesülnek és mi történik a kibocsátó közösségekkel? Hogyan alakulnak át a kibocsátó helyhez társuló jelentések a cseh migránsok körében? Hogyan jelenik meg a szülőföld a migrációs diskurzusban? Hogyan befolyásolják a tradicionális ruralitást, egzotikum élményt és időutazást kereső anyaországi csehek a romániai csehek etnicitását?

Migrație și etnicitate – cehii din Banat (România)

În prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea coloniștii cehi s-au stabilit, cu precădere, în munții împăduriți de pe cursul inferior al Dunării din partea de sud-vest a României. Înainte de schimbarea regimului comunitatea cehă din România număra aproximativ 5500 de persoane. După 1989 are loc emigrarea tot mai accentuată a populației vorbitoare de limbă cehă și de religie romano-catolică. Recensământul din 1992 a numărat 5797 de cehi în România, al căror număr a scăzut la 2477 de persoane până la recensământul din 2011, ceea ce reprezintă o scădere de 57% în mai puțin de un deceniu. Ce reflectă oare cifrele statistice? Ce fel de modele migraționale se manifestă aici și ce se întâmplă cu comunitățile de origine? Cum se transformă semnificațiile asociate cu locurile de origine în rândul emigranților cehi? Cum apare patria părăsită în discursul lor? Și cum influențează cehii din patria-mamă, aflați în căutarea ruralității tradiționale, a experienței exoticului și a „călătoriei în timp", etnicitatea cehilor din România?

Migration and Ethnicity: The Czechs from Banat (Romania)

In the first half of the 19th century Czech colonists have established several colonies, especially in the wood-covered mountains found along the lower reaches of the Danube, in the south-western region of Romania. Before the regime change Romania had a Czech population of 5500. After 1989 the Czech-speaking, Roman Catholic population has become involved in an increased outward migration to Czech Republic. According to the 1992 census their population numbered 5797 persons. The 2011 census put their numbers at 2477, which means a 57% decrease in less than a decade. What do the figures reflect? What kind of migration patterns are at work here, and what is the fate of the source communities? How do the meanings attached to the localities of origin change among Czech emigrants? How does the native land appear in the migration discourse? And how do the Czech tourists from the motherland, looking for traditional rurality, the experience of exoticism, and "time travel", influence the ethnicity of the Czechs living in Romania?

Töhötöm Á. Szabó

Managers, Workers, and Day Labourers. Mobility Patterns, Migration and Renegotiated Social Positions in a Roma Community

Introduction: Questions and Theoretical Background

Inspired by social anthropology, a few basic statements related to the internal divisions of the Roma communities, their identities and social positions changing in time, and the processes of bargaining modelling these situations are formulated almost unambiguously in the Eastern European Roma specialist literature of the past few years. The distribution or redistribution of economic resources, the political movements, the re-organisation of the religious field, social mobility within the communities, and spatial mobility are all part of these bargaining processes, during which certain Roma groups, families, or even individuals reformulate their places in society, both within their own communities and in relation to the non-Roma community (cf. Fosztó 2009, Kiss–Szabó 2017, Peti 2018, Toma–Tesăr–Fosztó 2018).

The present study assesses the mobility and migration practices of certain, economically and socially successful families belonging to a Hungarian-speaking, Transylvanian Roma community, in a local and non-local context, and the renegotiated identities and social positions resulting from these practices. Although the study treats the issues of ethnicity seen as a process and interaction (Barth 1969, Jenkins 2008), and of (ethnic) identity as central topics, these viewpoints are not exclusive. Firstly because these notions, due to their frequent usage, often seem to have lose their meanings (Brubaker 2004, Brubaker–Cooper 2004), and on the other hand, also because – as I will argue later – they are not necessarily adequate to describe the processes seen in the field and the phenomena experienced there. They fail to be adequate because the accumulation of social capital within the Roma community of the given settlement is changing quite dynamically, while the Roma – exactly because of the changed dynamics of the accumulation of social capital – have lately been questioning ethnic boundaries to an increasing degree; and because we are not simply dealing here with ethnic groups and the boundaries

among them, but with a much more complex social reality, formed of many components, which can perhaps be better described using the notions of social position and social capital (notions that evidently also include ethnicity and ethnic identity, see e.g. Portes 1998).

In this sense, the connection between ethnicity and social class is also worth to be raised within the framework of the present treatise (Horowitz 1985: 21), as this case (just like numerous other Transylvanian cases, see e.g. Kiss–Szabó 2017) provides an example for the relationships between class situation and ethnicity.[1] The coincidence of social class and ethnic background implicitly produces hierarchical relations, and within that, ethnic background has got a status-defining role (Horowitz 1985: 21–25). In other words, Roma ethnic background in this hierarchical situation appears as some kind of a social disadvantage, more than that, a pervasive relationship that permeates other social relations, too. It is worth mentioning though, that in spite of all these factors, an elite of the Roma society was born in the analysed case, and in that sense the resulting local system is still more flexible than the hierarchical systems described by Donald Horowitz.[2] Specialist literature most frequently analyses the issues of social mobility in the context of class situations and social stratification, as mobility within and between generations ensure exactly the passages between them, or flexibility in our reading (Giddens 2009: 463–466).

However, the system remains quite rigid regarding the delimitations of the ethnic boundaries by the non-Roma, as the non-Roma hardly alter their identification strategies, even when they more or less recognise the economic and social successes of the Roma. At the same time however, the Roma build up their own ethnic affiliations much more flexibly, and in that they, too, make references to the elements that influence social position and social capital (work, honour, reliability, wealth) (Portes 1998). Thus, we are dealing here with a peculiar intersection between hetero-identification and self-identification, in the context of which – as the interview excerpts will prove later on – belonging to an ethnic group, ethnic identity necessitates continuous negotiations and explanations (Jenkins 2008: 42). These intersections, and the explanations evolving in their context, are part of a struggle in which fighting goes on in terms of classification, cognition and recognition (Bourdieu 1991: 220–221).

The struggle eventually is not simply carried on to obtain the right to determine ethnic affiliation, but in order to influence and shape a larger social reality, something that in this context I wish to grasp with the notion of social position. In my view, the elite of the local Roma community, while also wanting to exert an influence on the processes of ethnic bargaining, is fighting for a more general social recognition, and in the battle to achieve that they also aim at the accumulation of their social (Bourdieu 1986, Portes 1998) and symbolic (Bourdieu 1977) capital as an

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1   However, by this definition I am not saying that the local Roma could be described with the notion of underclass, the culture of self-reproducing poverty (for that see Fosztó 2009: 16–27 and Stewart 2002).

2   "The clearest indicator of subordination, on the other hand, is the logical impossibility of an acknowledged upper class among the subordinate group." (Horowitz 1985: 25)

outstanding tool. Social capital in a positive – and here, to a certain degree, simplifying – sense is the totality of the connections and the resources[3] available for the group members (Bourdieu 1986, Portes 1998). In a negative sense at the same time, it also means the exclusion of non-group members (Portes 1998: 15), expressly in societies that are divided from an ethnic perspective. Belonging to different ethnic groups in this sense is a disadvantage from the perspective of achieving social capital. Thus we can understand the efforts of the Roma to obtain social connections and social recognition at the same time also among the non-Roma. Symbolic capital, prestige and honour (Bourdieu 1977) are important components of this endeavour, as the disadvantages coming from the ethnic background can be ultimately counterbalanced by these, and a better social position can be achieved. Most of the Roma families examined here saw the changes in their positions – especially with regard to the 1970-80s – as an improvement, thus it is perhaps not unjustified to talk about successful social mobility.

In summary: ethnic boundaries are relatively rigid from the point of view of the non-Roma, yet they are far more flexible in the perception of the Roma. Ethnic background can be seen as a drawback, but the emerging Roma elite counterbalances this disadvantage when reformulating their position through the accumulation of social and symbolic capital. The possibility for that was given by social mobility, driven by socialist modernisation.

In what comes, following the above introduction and the short part reviewing the theoretic background, I will briefly present the field and the fieldwork, as well as the sources of the data. The following part will summarise the specific features of the local Roma community, and touch upon the categorisation strategies and the hierarchical positions used by the non-Roma against the Roma, or in other words the classification struggles will be presented. The subsequent part will also include the era of socialist modernisation into the analysis; and the mobility practices of the economically and socially successful Roma elites will be examined. Finally, in the next chapter I will formulate new statements about these classifications and the struggles for social positions by examining the new mobility patterns after the change of the political system and the migration of the work force.

Settlement and Fieldwork

The fieldwork for the present study was carried out in a Transylvanian settlement of about one thousand inhabitants.[4] The village is populated roughly half-and-half by Hungarians (Székelys) and Hungarian-speaking Roma. The main occupation of the

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3   In this sense I also consider economic capital as part of social capital (although I am aware of course that this, too, is a simplification), which is made possible by the definition of Bourdieu (cf. Bourdieu 1986).

4   For the detailed presentation of the research carried out in twelve locations see Kiss–Szabó 2017, or access http://www.edrc.ro/projects.jsp?project_id=88. Project number: POSDRU/165/6.2/S/140487. I express my thanks here to Tamás Kiss for his assistance.

Hungarians had traditionally been agriculture, but concomitantly with the socialist modernisation more and more of them began to take up jobs at the industrial establishments of the cities nearby. Following the change of the political system, working migration aiming at first to Hungary and then to other Western European countries also became significant.

The Roma had traditionally found work with the local farmers or sustained themselves by providing services for local households (for instance by making tools of wicker). Socialist modernisation brought about the thriving of a specific secondary branch of production, the processing of wicker through local producers' cooperatives, resulting in radically reordered relations both within the Roma community and between the Roma and the non-Roma. The change of the political system had an effect on the Roma community, too, as on the one hand new opportunities arose in wicker processing within private enterprises, on the other hand migration offered Roma families new chances.[5]

The 24 interviews and the one focus group discussion used here were carried out in August and September 2014. I recorded interviews with the leaders of the Roma and the non-Roma communities, those working in the area of education, entrepreneurs, and employees, about the ways the local communities organise themselves, ethnic categorisation practices, political mobilisation, the situation of the labour market, migration practices and other subjects connected to this, or similar topics. A household survey was carried out in the same period, in which we strived to assess every Roma household, and the same questionnaire was filled out in some non-Roma households as a control sample. I had already made earlier interviews in this locality, and carried out anthropological observations. In the present study I make use of the results of the 2014 research, but also of the experience of the previous years, and while I touch upon the entire Roma community, the survey mainly focuses on the Roma that are successful in a financial and social sense, the managers as they are called using a term introduced later.

The Roma Community

As it had been stated earlier, the village is populated half-and-half by Hungarians and Hungarian-speaking Roma. Interestingly however, this is not reflected by the official statistics, according to which the local Roma population is made up by only a few people (see *Table 1.*). That is why it is reasonable to talk about identification and categorisation practices, instead of ethnic groups and ethnic identity (cf. Brubaker–Cooper 2004).

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5   For more about the settlement see Szabó 2015.

	Total population	Hungarians	Romanians	Roma
1850	807	807	–	–
1880	877	778	46	–
1890	902	826	27	–
1900	882	876	–	–
1910	915	915	–	–
1930	1004	993	7	–
1966	945	932	1	12
1977	1072	1059	13	6
1992	1071	1046	19	–
2002	1048	1033	15	–
2011	1092	1046	14	7

Table 1. The ethnic composition of the village between 1850 and 2011.
Source: Szabó 2015

Thus, we are talking about a Roma community formed by people, the majority of which do not declare themselves Roma, yet in local identification and categorisation practices they are referred to as Roma (more precisely as Gypsy) by the non-Roma, and sometimes even by themselves. In interview situations for instance, when asked about their ethnic identity, Roma interlocutors repeatedly answered that they were Hungarians (Székely Hungarians), yet in the interview conversations referred to themselves as *'we, the Gypsies'*. For that matter, a related self-definition practice denoting their occupation is also emerging, when they say *'we, the basket makers'*. Or they simply call themselves *our people* or *our clan*.

Local identification practices are manifold. Still, answers trying to explain the situation simultaneously counting on hetero-identification and self-identification and the tensions arising from the differences between the two are typical: "in vain we are saying that we are Hungarians, while the others would say that we are Roma. [Intervention of the wife] But if we are Roma, why do we not speak the Gypsy language? [The husband continues] We are speaking Hungarian, Hungarian is our mother tongue... just like all the other Hungarians here in the village. [...] But aside from that, we can also be Gypsies." (Male, 1950, wicker manufacturer, Roma) Or in the same context they operate with origin (which, as we will see later on, has great significance): "Well, I have always declared that I was a Hungarian. I am some sort of a half-Gypsy, my mother was Hungarian. She was a Hungarian woman. My grandfather was a pure Hungarian man." (Male, 1950, wicker manufacturer, Roma)

This is surely connected to the differentiations bearing a negative connotation by which the non-Roma separate themselves from the Roma. These practices embrace wide areas from the symbolic differentiation of everyday language usage (Gypsy = negative meaning) to the economic subordination concealed in

patron–client relationships, or even to more or less latent delimitations like the dichotomic arrangements of culture and nature (Ulin 1995: 522–523), or treatment as a sexual object: "They grew up in the forest... they were more playful, with such a different perception. They are much closer to nature, I would say. They need to be approached from a different direction than Hungarian children. And more simply." (Female, 1970, primary school teacher, Hungarian) "For the lads are just like that, they do not care if she is a Gypsy or anything, if they can take her from a sexual point of view, they take her, and after that they leave her." (Male, 1930, farmer, Hungarian)

The subordination of the Roma, their closeness to nature in non-Roma perceptions is also strengthened by the fact that the members of the Roma community have traditionally lived in segregated areas at the edges of the village (a significant part still does), gathered their firewood, and often also the wicker to process, from the forest, and offered gathered products (mushrooms, forest fruit, wild flowers) for sale to local non-Roma households. In addition to that, several Roma families earned their living as shepherds. Of the segregated areas, one colony running up a hill gained a symbolic meaning because its inhabitants are even differentiated within the Roma community: the designation of the hill-dwellers bears clear negative connotations in local knowledge.

These differentiation and categorisation practices are in fact part of a complex, at the same time hidden power exercise mechanism, which also builds on the opposition between nature and culture and on sexual inequalities considered locally self-evident and unquestioned by anybody (Ulin 1995: 522–523). Part of the unequivocal and unquestioned character is the stigmatising nature of ethnic identity (Eidheim 1969, Fosztó 2003): in this sense being a Roma or a Gypsy is not merely the result of a functioning external categorisation practice, but rather carries the existence of an interiorised knowledge, which includes the awareness of the disadvantage,[6] in many cases some kind of an inferiority complex, shame and suppression.[7]

"L. recounts that he was hoeing in [...] [ridge, field] and saw from afar that someone was approaching mooching about on the road. He recognised him as a Gypsy man from the village. He moved with difficulty and when he reached on the bridge, he fell and hit his head on the concrete bridge-pier. He remained there, motionless. L. did not know what to do – as he later recounted, he felt shame for his helplessness and hesitation –, but finally ran to the lying man and bending over him, he tried to help. It turned out that the situation was not so serious. But when the drunken man raised his head, he said: *Why do you care about me? I am just a filthy Gypsy.*" (Reconstruction based on my fieldnotes, August 2014)

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6   "So here in the village this [being a Gypsy] is a disadvantage." (Male, 1983, wicker manufacturer, Roma)

7   In connection with the local, unsuccessful and short attempt of the Roma party we are talking about the fact that a board appeared on a building stating that it was the headquarters of the local organisation. My interlocutor says, in connection with that: "I said that I would be ready to remove that board. [...] The whole thing started off on the wrong foot. (Male, 1983, wicker manufacturer, Roma)

From the often unconscious functioning of the local categorisation practices and their stigmatising nature one can understand to a certain degree the endeavours by which the Roma attempt to reformulate their own social, and as part of that, their ethnic positions, and the new identification tool that they make use of. And albeit the Roma community had probably already been divided before the socialist modernisation, after that period the mobility channels, the increased mobility provided new opportunities for quite a number of Roma families to follow a steadily upward mobility trajectory, becoming by now a local Roma elite that had turned away from the Roma community, questioning its own Roma (Gypsy) nature in several different ways.

Ethnic group and ethnic identity therefore are not entirely adequate to describe these situations, as it would be rather unnatural to describe the Roma that had been successful in this mobility endeavour, and those that had been less successful and are not connected to the previous ones any more by marriage for instance, as one group. At the same time, ethnic identity is organised according to a far more complicated formula, as on the level of official statistics, almost all Roma reject Roma as a category. Meanwhile all non-Roma – even the Roma health care official, whose job ultimately depends on whether there are enough Roma in the community – can single out the Roma with quite a high certitude, and there are but a very few cases of uncertainty regarding ethnic classification.

Mobility Patterns – A Divided Roma Community

According to the concurrent remembrance of the local Roma elite, upward mobility started in the 1940s in one Roma family, where the head of the family considered the schooling of his children and their work-oriented education important: "Well, they were self-confident and industrious... they were no drunkards at all. They worked from morning till night; that was their secret." (Male, 1942, wicker manufacturer, Roma) "That we worked. Work. When we had one hundred lei, we did not spend it, rather earned more to put next to it." (Male, 1950, wicker manufacturer, Roma) The father of the family gains an almost mythical character in the stories. He had 11 children from two wives. Several of his children served at local Hungarian wealthy peasants, some even stayed at their farms. At the same time, the father sent all of his children to school, as far as it was possible. In most of the cases that meant finishing the seven or eight classes of the local school, but in an environment where most Roma children dropped out from school after the fourth grade, some even earlier, that meant a significant resource. Moreover, there were quite a few of them going to vocational schools in the towns nearby, even continued their training in Romanian cities. For that matter, an important tool of upward mobility in Bourdieu's sense is participation in education (cf. Bourdieu 1986).

It is important to remark that almost all the families of today's Roma elite trace back their lineage to this founding ancestor – either directly, or through marriage.

Local remembrance and genealogy are therefore important components of achieving and preserving legitimate social positions, part of which, in addition to schooling, is accepting local religious norms, too:

"There had been two generations here, two… families that carried the banner. The […] [family name] clan and the […] [family name] clan. The rest lagged behind… Not that they just lagged behind, but neither did they send their children to school, nor to church confirmation. In our time, when we had our confirmation, only the members of our family had confirmation. They [the others] were not religious or anything, either… they did not go to church at all." (Male, 1945, wicker manufacturer, Roma).

Family endeavours, local occupation traditions, primarily wicker processing luckily concurred with certain phases of the socialist modernisation in the 1950s, later in the 1960s and 1970s. The fifties and the beginning of the sixties primarily meant the reorganisation of local agriculture and the organisation of collective farms. But in the same period, for the first time in the village within a local cooperative wicker products were manufactured on a larger scale, meeting not only and not primarily the needs of local farmers. Still, wicker processing and the upward mobility of the local Roma gained impetus when in the seventies, an artisans' cooperative in a small town nearby organised a local wicker processing section in the village, which was later complemented by a similar section of a local consumers' cooperative, and an affiliated department of a larger cooperative from the county capital.

In these cooperative divisions not only ornamental pieces (flower-stands) and storage items (baskets, boxes) were produced any more, but entire sets of furniture were created, tables, chairs, settees for balconies, terraces or weekend houses. At the same time, production was not only carried out in the cooperatives, but in some kind of a household industry system, family members could work at home; the raw materials being ensured and the final product also being bought by the cooperative.

The creation of the cooperatives and the socialist development of wicker processing, the organisation of raw material supply and of the market of final products were important for the local Roma from three perspectives:

1. It made possible for ethnicity based self-identification strategies to shift towards an employment-based identification strategy. An important role in the process was played by the fact that wicker processing did not only fulfil the needs of a local society, primarily rustic in nature (did not depend of that world any longer), it did not simply fit in the economic practices of poverty (often equal with the Gypsies);

2. The more educated Roma could fulfil responsible positions in the cooperatives, and they indeed did that. Although the top leadership of the cooperatives was still formed of non-Roma individuals, some of the middle managers were already Roma (heads of department, purchasing agents), some of them even having non-Roma employees in their subordination. This questioned the asymmetric relations that had been unquestioned before;

3. The cooperative system and the putting-out system completing it ensured an accumulation of wealth for successful Roma families unimaginable before. Heads of families working as managers of departments recount that at the end of the seventies and the early eighties, when average salaries in Romania were somewhere between two and three thousand lei, there were months when they earned as much as 16000 lei.

The learned members of the mentioned family, who could comply with the requirements of local work ethic, obviously enjoyed advantages in the newly forming cooperative sector. This also contributed to the evolution of a mobility spiral for them, both on a local level, and outside the village. Choosing a dwelling place outside the segregated Roma areas, clearly facilitated by the significant incomes, constituted an important part of local mobility. Some of the houses becoming vacant in the village that was changing in the context of socialist modernisation were bought by these already well-to-do Roma families, whose mobility was now helped by the newly established neighbourhood relations, too.

Based on the recollections, the relationships with the Hungarians has always had and has got today as well a practical and symbolic importance simultaneously. The specific way of organisation of ethnic identification is shown by the fact that in the case of the descendants of the founding ancestor, part of the formulation of the social positions – as it was shown earlier – frequently includes references to Hungarian forefathers. But even among the forebears of the founding ancestor – besides their hard working lives – this reference appears: "My father also came from a family with many children. [...] They were shepherds, his father was physically handicapped, and his mother was a pure born Hungarian woman." (Male, 1945, wicker manufacturer, Roma)

In the case of those descending from the founding ancestor this kind of reference to a Hungarian mother frequently appears in the interviews. It shows the other side of the already mentioned subordination-bearing sexuality: while the perception as a sexual object by the Hungarian farmers is a boundary-defining practice, in the case of the Roma it is a tool of defining a legitimate social position that is also accepted by the Hungarians for concrete cases, like when they explain and interpret the successes of a Roma individual or family.

Another important indicator of success is the embeddedness into Hungarian networks, the respect gained in these circles: "Well, I am in good friendly terms with everybody. We are not in bad terms with anybody in the village, nor Hungarians, nor Gypsies. [...] On Sundays, when we play cards,[8] I have my own place. And even if I do not go, nobody sits there." (Male, 1945, wicker manufacturer, Roma) Having Hungarian forebears is thus some kind of a cause, while a Hungarian circle of acquaintances, friends is some kind of a result; the two mutually help each other. And the same way, the ability to find one's way in the worlds outside the village is

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8   On Sunday afternoon wealthy farmers play cards in the local pub. A few members of the Roma elite are also accepted in this circle.

simultaneously the cause and the result of local success: "I had my good acquaintances also on the level of the county. Any kind of problem they had I knew who to approach and who to talk to." (Male, 1945, wicker manufacturer, Roma)

Upward mobility at the same time also resulted in or enhanced the strong division of the Roma community. Socialist modernisation did not mean extensive social emancipation in the case of the Roma either, or at least the degree of it was different. The evolution of mobility paths had been influenced on the one hand by the different degrees of integration into wicker processing, and on the other hand by the involvement into wicker processing or staying out of it. In that sense there are three important categories of the Roma community that can be distinguished: the managers, the workers and the day labourers.

The managers are the members of the elite descending from the already mentioned founding ancestor, who in most cases also know everything about the craftsmanship of wicker processing,[9] but what is even more important, they had integrated into the wicker industry as decision makers already in the years of socialism, accumulated significant fortunes and good connection capital (and during the privatisation process they managed to privatise and take these connections with them, too).[10] The workers are the Roma, who had also worked as subordinates in the years of socialism, knowing every detail of wicker processing but lacking the resources necessary to start their own ventures. Most of them work for the managers today, albeit there are examples when they attempt to start their own enterprises. However, as they lack capital, they are at the mercy of the managers, who also control the raw material supply. Finally, the day labourers are the ones that had only occasionally partaken in wicker processing in the years of socialism, they rather worked in the local collective farms, in lower positions. They only know wicker processing on a basic level, being mostly able to perform raw physical tasks (the carrying of wicker, boiling, perhaps peeling).

An important part of local identification practices, the negotiation processes on the emerging social positions, is that the members of the elite, the managers, distinguish themselves from the day labourers very clearly, a practice that is mostly based on their relationship to work or their attitude towards the norms interiorised by the Roma elite: "You know […] [family name], living here on the hill. They were all milkers. They do not produce baskets today, either. […] They don't know how to do that. They peel the wicker. Those who are unable to work with the baskets, go as day labourers." (Male, 1950, wicker manufacturer, Roma) "For not only the Hungarians see the Gypsies, Gypsies are also able to judge the Gypsies. For instance we go to a party place, […], or a performance, and we don't like, either, the way they behave.

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9   Their social capital is positively influenced by the fact that they organise presentations to local and non-local non-Roma. These presentations constitute a very important part of local recognition policies, and those achieving successes in this field in Hungary, too, also come from their circles (see later).

10 In this sense they remind us to the managers of the post-socialist transition – and that is exactly why I find the term adequate –, who began the accumulation of capital as managers of socialist enterprises as early as the 1980s, being able to successfully transfer these capitals to the transition period (cf. Verdery 1996, Humphrey 2002).

Not to mention the Hungarians, they dislike it even more... there are these disorganised ones..., these nobodies..., they stand there and you cannot enter in some of the pubs because of them." (Male, 1950, wicker manufacturer, Roma)

Besides the stratification of the Roma community it is also important to remark that social mobility was successful mostly in the case of the emerging elite, they were the only ones managing to redefine their social positions, more or less.[11] The benchmark of successfulness is often the positioning with regard to the entire local community: "I feel that my family lives in the best possible circumstances." (Male, 1945, wicker manufacturer, Roma) To see the complete story, though, one must also admit that many do not feel that their mobility is completed, moreover – as I will demonstrate in the next chapter – the last years were described by many in the terms of regress.

Mobility paths, the resulting social positions and the continuously reshaped and renegotiated ethnic identities are well demonstrated by the example of a young man from to the Roma elite, the circle of managers. His family is among the most prosperous ones, his father had fulfilled several important positions in the cooperatives. His mother, as she told us, is of Hungarian origin, a fact not to be neglected. He graduated in a computer science high school in a town nearby, but did not go to university because of his father's illness. He is staying at home, doing wicker manufacturing, but also working as a middle manager in a close factory. At the factory his colleagues do not know that he is of a Roma origin, so in this context his ethnic background is strongly stigmatising. As he is living with his family in one of the segregated areas, he does not want to invite his colleagues to his place, because although his house is equipped with everything needed for the amenities of life, he is afraid that the neighbourhood would betray him: "It is very bad. Cause I try to dedicate all my time to improve the situation of the family and the estate [...], and then anybody arriving to our street can see what is there." He considers his mobility and the redefinition of his social position carried out only half-way through in this context: "I am trying to do something about this, but there is not really very much I can do. Now I am trying really hard..., I will not be able to come away from there, but I am trying to get at least my sons out somehow." (Male, 1983, wicker manufacturer, Roma)

New Mobility Patterns, Migration Practices

The change of the political system resulted in significant reorganisation in the local Roma community. It is worth underlining a few aspects here in connection with the managers, respectively the day labourers. For the managers their private enterprises connecting to the market ensured an ever larger degree of economic success, or in other words, their upward social mobility became stronger and they could

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11 However, the members of almost all groups turn away from ethnic categorisation, as they find it stigmatising – as it is shown by the official statistics, but also the conversations.

also strengthen their social positions. It can probably be explained by the socialist period, but the beginning of the nineties also contributed for sure to the fact that this elite describes its situation in the terms of market production and integration.[12] As it is said, it was characteristic for the increased demand of the nineties, at the time already satisfied by private ventures, that the buyers stood in queues for the products, and there hadn't been anything that the merchants or the dealers would not be willing to buy.

On the other side however the day labourers lost the relative security of the collective farm, and have become even more vulnerable. Thus, while upward mobility was more or less continuous in the case of the managers, we can rather talk about a downward mobility in the case of the day labourers, which was in this way aggravated by the increase of the social distance between the two groups: "There is another group, [...] the weaker part... where there is a huge mess. I don't really know what could be done there. [...] There is no solidarity there. Altercations are permanent... about the children, about almost everything..." (Male, 1983, wicker manufacturer, Roma)

Following the change of the political system, besides the opening of the market – or intertwined with it – the other important development in the life of the Roma (and generally in the life of the entire locality) was the opening of the borders and the unfolding opportunities for working force migration. The explosion-like development of private entrepreneurship and the opening of the market, respectively the working opportunities in Hungary have indeed contributed to substantial financial growth, yet on the other side these caused more and more difficulties in the operation of local cooperative divisions: "Now the people have begun to immigrate to Hungary. There was no-one to work with. [...] No matter if they were employed or not, they had their passports made, and off they went. The border was open, and wages were much better there." (Male, 1950, wicker manufacturer, Roma)

Members of the Roma elite, the managers, took jobs in Hungary in the field of wicker processing, and many of the workers did the same. In the golden years of migration and working in Hungary tens of families worked within the same company. Although some of them had better positions, for the great majority of the managers spatial mobility represented a step back from a social perspective: "We called it a colony. Only my family had a separate workshop there and separate living quarters. The others were here and there, on the granges, and they collected the wares by car." (Male, 1950, wicker manufacturer, Roma) Still, two factors, the significant wages on the one hand and the new opportunity of ethnic identification on the other must have compensated them. Of the incomes in Hungary the following passage is indicative: "There in Hungary, basket-weaving was paid well in the beginning. [...] If someone worked hard right from the very beginning, two or three months later he could buy a car." (Male, 1942, wicker manufacturer, Roma) It is important to emphasise that prior to the change of the political system, apart from

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12 In contrast for instance with the Roma community of another locality that we analysed, where employment was the most important point of reference. (See Kiss–Szabó 2017.)

the institutions (the village council, the collective farm, the consumers' cooperative) only but a few privileged people (the physician, the veterinarian, the shop-keeper, the manager of the consumers' cooperative) had had cars in the village, therefore owning one in the early nineties was also seen as a status symbol. The new opportunities of identification are described by the following quote: "In fact national identity does not matter. When you go abroad you are considered a Romanian anyway." (Male, 1950, wicker manufacturer, Roma)

Spatial mobility is often connected to social mobility by the specialist literature (Giddens 2009: 463–466). In many cases this is true indeed (Anghel 2013), even regarding the Roma migrant groups (Toma–Tesăr–Fosztó 2018). But it is not always evident, as migration routes can be fragmented, they include many uncertainties, employees are exposed to the intermediators, and in the end they quite frequently reproduce the shortage of resources characteristic for their home communities (Szabó 2018). Roma guest workers have to face the changes of market conditions in the beginning: "then, as more and more went to work there, prices loosened there, too, he [the owner of the company] was not willing to pay that much anymore." (Male, 1942, wicker manufacturer, Roma) Hopes connected to spatial mobility often did not turn into reality in the general sense, many recollections talk about facing fraud, disappointment, withheld wages, tricks with the official papers: "I have got seven years and six months of official employment, after having worked for eleven years, only that I was ripped off, unfortunately." (Male, 1972, wicker manufacturer, Roma). In the end, the final breakthrough came about only for a very few, many returned to the village: "He got nothing of the house because everything had to be officially registered on the name of the woman. There was the car, and he came home with his personal belongings. He worked for nothing for six years." (Male, 1950, wicker manufacturer, Roma) Still, some of those remaining abroad after having left the examined village achieved important successes, and now they are teaching wicker processing in people's academies and special courses.

The reaction of the local Roma elite to the narrowed working opportunities in Hungary was the close of the migration routes there, as early as the 2000s, but in any case after 2010. However, returning to the village occurred in a moment of great changes on the global market of wicker merchandise, when (machine weaved) Polish and Chinese wicker products, rattan products, the increased offer of interior decoration shops produced a serious competition for local production. The managers, mostly collaborating with the dealers in the area in selling, were unable to come up with flexible solutions to these challenges of the market; they could not enter for instance into circle of suppliers to the wholesale stores in the Capital. The reason for that was perhaps that lacking the cooperative background (reminder: the cooperatives split up in the early 1990s), relying solely on individual production their bargaining positions were too weak.

Only one person managed to break through, a young entrepreneur almost seen by the traditional Roma elite, the managers as a parvenu, whose social position is thus questioned by the members of the Roma elite themselves. The young

undertaker for that matter is only distantly related by his ascendants to the two large clans; his parents were workers and not managers, and although his origins would probably be forgiven, his quick way of growing rich (where a rich relative living abroad having left the village is suspected to be the silent partner) is seen illegitimate in a certain sense. This fight of recognition policy is carried on simultaneously at the edge of the Roma and the non-Roma communities, inside the layers of the Roma community, but even between the newly formed and the traditional elite.

The stagnation of the local and regional market of wicker products ("everything is going backwards. This set [of furniture] cost the same amount 10 years ago"), the narrowing possibilities implicitly cause frustrations to the managers, who had lately been forced to seek for new migration routes, too. Those recognising this regress, yet were not willing to give up (very much) of their living standards, started to go to work as seasonal agricultural workers in Germany, beginning with the second half of 2000s. And although in the beginning this was also promising good incomes, by the mid-2010s a decline was experienced here, too, by those involved. Whereas in the early period they could even make some savings from their income earned during the season, or had had enough to buy the raw materials during the winter, by the mid-2010s, their earnings – among other reasons because the other Eastern European workers appearing as a competition and the new regulations regarding overtime – decreased drastically, only being enough to ensure subsistence from one season to the other. This obviously influenced the struggle for social positions negatively, which was further aggravated by the fact that the former managers found themselves as subordinate employees in their new situations. Moreover, their working and living conditions were not in harmony with their expectations rooted in their positions at home, either: "Only this shitty brood, only they can stay there. Who got used to cleanliness and order, cannot… these jumbled folks. [...] Two hundred – two hundred and fifty people there, common kitchen, common toilets." (Male, 1950, wicker manufacturer, Roma)

The 1990s in a certain sense – and especially in the beginning or up until the 2000s – provided the framework for further capital accumulation, upward social mobility and the search for new social positions. Spatial mobility had a role to play in that, as the migration of workforce contributed to the strengthening of the positions of the Roma elite, for instance by the fact that they could return from Hungary as new car owners, the possessors of an important status symbol. However, as the opportunities in Hungary narrowed down, and with the almost simultaneous change of the local and regional wicker processing market, the roads to seek or strengthen new social positions were also closed down partially or completely. Finally, neither migration to Hungary, nor working in Germany later on ensured further opportunities of social mobility. The members of the elite produced in the 1970s and 1980s, the managers are old people by now, and often see the positions of their children as a regress, a step back compared to their own. That explains the following, somewhat resigned statement: "Well…, at a time we were better off than the Hungarians, I daresay. But now we are somewhere in the middle range. [...] We have

got everything we need, but we are more in the middle range moneywise." (Male, 1950, wicker manufacturer, Roma)

Conclusions

In the study I made an attempt to present the dynamics of the social processes and changes, and the bargaining processes that shaped them in a Roma community that is internally quite divided, and in which struggles of classification and recognition policy take place simultaneously against the non-Roma, but also among the different Roma groups. Perhaps I succeeded to argue that although the ethnic identity can be an important component of the present situation – and of similar situations –, when observing the prevailing dynamics it is probably worth focusing on the identification, categorisation practices. During the bargaining processes earlier ethnic identification practices are also implicitly questioned; but not simply the ethnic identifications, but rather the sum of identities are shifted. Therefore, I made the assumption that instead and/or in addition to ethnic identification, social position and it's seeking, and the accumulation of social and symbolic capitals describe the complex situation more plausibly.

The local Roma and non-Roma communities are separated from each other in the perception of the non-Roma by relatively sharp ethnic boundaries. Ethnic boundaries in a traditional sense also carried a class division in themselves. The perception of the boundary and the class division are continuously questioned by the Roma (class division especially by the emancipated Roma), although paradoxically they live their Roma-ness (Gypsiness) as a stigma in certain situations. Disadvantages, stigmatisations rooted in ethnic background, are counterbalanced by social mobility, which got its impetus from socialist modernisation. Increased social mobility resulted by the time when the change of the political system came in an extremely divided Roma community, which produced its own underclass, against whom the new Roma elite maintains the same classification mechanisms that they themselves had to face from the non-Roma.

The social mobility of the socialist era clearly positively influenced the strengthening of the social positions in the case of the Roma elite. The processes subsequent to the change of the political system also acted in the same positive direction in the beginning, but later, as a consequence of the changes of global market relations, the conditions of capital accumulation were also altered, and thus the conditions of social mobility, too. Migration, spatial mobility only fulfilled the expectations in the beginning, while current spatial mobility practices are perceived more as a decline or downward mobility. Relating to the main title of the conference (*Departure and Arrival*) we may raise the question whether the families presented here, participating in the mobility described, have finally arrived or not?

Translated by Emőd Farkas

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**Menedzserek, munkások, napszámosok.
Mobilitási minták, migráció és társadalmi pozíció egy roma közösségben**

Jelen tanulmány egy magyarul beszélő, gazdaságilag és társadalmilag sikeres roma csoport mobilitási és migrációs gyakorlatait vizsgálja. A csoport helyzetének a bemutatásában a tanulmány túllép az etnicitás egyszerűsítő elemzésén és arra tesz javaslatot, hogy a csoport harcait az ismerés és elismerés (identifikáció és kategorizáció), a társadalmi tőke és a társadalmi pozíció kombinált perspektíváin keresztül szemléljük. A cikk amellett érvel, hogy a társadalmi tőke felhalmozása nem csak az etnikai határok újratárgyalását eredményezte, hanem a roma közösség belső tagolódását is. Végül a cikk hangsúlyozza, hogy történeti perspektívából nézve ezek a folyamatok rendkívül dinamikusak és nem tekinthetjük őket lezártnak.

**Manageri, muncitori și zilieri. Modele de mobilitate, migrație
și poziții sociale renegociate într-o comunitate de romi**

Studiul de față investighează practicile de mobilitate și de migrație ale unui grup de romi, vorbitori de limba maghiară, cu succese economice și sociale. În prezentarea situației grupului studiul depășește analiza simplistă a etnicității și propune să vedem luptele acestui grup prin perspectiva combinată a cunoașterii și recunoașterii (identificare și categorizare), capital social și poziție socială. Articolul argumentează că acumularea capitalului social a avut ca rezultat nu numai renegocierea granițelor etnice, dar și divizarea internă a comunității de romi. Finalmente, articolul subliniază că aceste procese văzute în perspectivă istorică sunt foarte dinamice și nu le putem percepe ca și încheiate.

**Managers, Workers and Day Labourers. Mobility Patterns, Migration
and Renegotiated Social Positions in a Roma Community**

The present study investigates the mobility and migration practices of an economically and socially successful Hungarian-speaking Roma group. In presenting this group's situation the study steps beyond the simplistic analysis of the ethnic background and proposes to view the group's struggles from the combined perspectives of cognition and recognition (identification and categorization), social capital and social position. The article argues that the accumulation of social capital resulted not just in the renegotiation of ethnic borders, but also in an internally divided Roma community. Finally, the article emphasizes that these processes seen in a historical perspective are very dynamic and one cannot perceive them closed.

Lilla Szabó

Community, Memory, Returning.
Home Attracting Strategies of the
Transylvanian Hungarian Cultural Festivals

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present the role of four Hungarian Cultural Festivals (Hungarian Cultural Days of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), The Whirl in Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş), Saint Ladislaus Days in Nagyvárad (Oradea), Hungarian Cultural Days of Temesvár (Timişoara) in the life of the Transylvanian Hungarian Community, the local mechanisms that have been triggered by these festivals as well as their impact on those who used to be members of these communities but emigrated to different countries of the world. First, we need to understand the effects of emigration and internal migration, the demographic changes thereafter and also the way local political systems operate/have operated in these cities. Subsequently, we will study the role of the Hungarian Festivals in the lives of the local Hungarian communities and the way former members of these communities get involved again by coming home for these occasions.

Emigration During the 20th and 21st Centuries

Emigration has been a major factor in the last two centuries in Transylvania.[1] During the 20th century it was mainly connected to the ethnic minorities (Germans, Hungarians, Jews), while towards the turn of the 21st century and its first decades it has become a general tendency within all of the ethnic groups living in Transylvania.

The peace treaties that ended the World War I brought over drastic changes in the lives of the Transylvanian people. As a province, Transylvania had previously been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and underwent a very different administrative, social, economic and cultural development from the one of the Romanian kinships. Becoming part of the newly born state of Romania after the World War I

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1   The aim of the paper is to deal with only one region of Romania. As a result, we are not going to refer to the different phenomena discussed in the paper on national level.

meant a dramatic change in the lives of the different ethnic groups of this province. The territorial changes after the first and during the World War II resulted in massive migratory flows within the Hungarian community directed towards the United States and large-scale population relocated to Hungary. Due to deportations during the World War I, the Jewish population of Transylvania was reduced by half. Later on, the remaining members of the Jewish community later legally emigrated to Israel and the USA. [2]

Emigration from communist Romania between 1975 and 1989 was reinforced by the ethnic-based discrimination, the injustice and violence of the political system, the lack of freedom and the fear that the system was attempting to maintain. The German population of Transylvania legally emigrated to Germany from communist Romania, their case was closely managed by the Romanian government (Horváth 2007).

The communist regime took severe steps in terms of ethnicity-based distribution of the population. The political system decided to transfer Romanian population from Moldavia and Oltenia into Transylvanian towns and cities in order to assimilate the indigenous Hungarian and German population. The internal migratory policies affected most of the Transylvanian towns and cities where the Hungarian population was a majority in number. The new Romanian speaking population could hardly fit into the Transylvanian traditions, and was unable to understand its centuries-long multiethnic and multicultural symbiosis.

Members of the Hungarian community fled to the neighbouring Hungary, while some of them chose to seek for asylum in Western Europe. Very few members of the Hungarian community were issued legal emigration documents similar to the German or the Jewish population, thus they tried different irregular methods to cross either the Romanian-Hungarian border or the one between Romania and the former Yugoslavia.

After the fall of communism in 1989, migration tendencies intensified among the members of the Hungarian community. Statistics show that during the period between 1992 and 2002 the Romanian national migration index was −3,6 while the Hungarian (referring to the migration rates of the Hungarian ethnic group living in Romania) migration index was −6,6 (Kiss–Barna 2012). These numbers reveal the indices measured by the national censuses. Research conducted in 2003 concludes that the real number of the Hungarians working abroad is much bigger than the ones presented with the population census. The study shows that around 6-7% of the total number of the Transylvanian Hungarians work abroad, although not all of them want to migrate to the country they work in on a long term (Horváth 2003). The huge migration was due to the fact that the Hungarians went to work and study to the neighbouring Hungary to which they felt culturally linked, where they had no language problems and could easily fit in and find work. They could also earn higher

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2   For more details on emigration in 20th century Romania, see Horváth 2007.

incomes for the same jobs as they did in Romania. Some of them even travelled to Western European countries.

The census in 2011 showed a continuous decrease in the total number of the inhabitants in Romania, the national migration index between 2002 and 2011 was about −11,3. As far as the Hungarian community was concerned their migration index was around −9,8 which was much smaller than the national percentage (Kiss–Barna 2012). The previous period showed a much bigger migration ratio when Hungary was regarded as being much more attractive and was also identified with a sense of freedom that suddenly became within reach for those who had not been able to travel abroad before 1989. The period between 2002 and 2011 attracted more Romanians and Hungarians towards other Western-European countries especially subsequent to Romania's accession to the European Union in 2007 (Horváth 2003). By 2002 the national and cultural connections between the Hungarians from Hungary and the ones from Romania were well-founded and helped members of the Hungarian community from Romania to develop their local communities in their own native regions. Many young people who had gone to work in Western European countries and to the USA in the 1990s in order to earn enough money to start a sustainable business in Romania, returned, though such positive examples are rather scarce. Much of the Hungarian labour force continued and still continues to migrate to Hungary and other European countries. The Hungarians from Romania living as a diffuse community have shown the same migration processes as the members of the Romanian community.
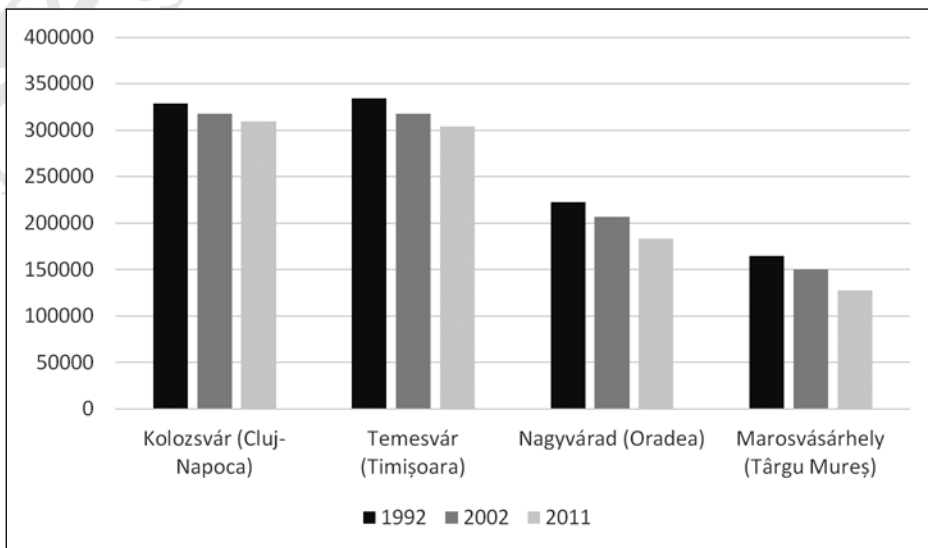
1. Census data – population
Source: Kiss–Barna 2012: 10.

As the statistics of the last three censuses show, the decrease in the total number of the inhabitants of the four major Transylvanian cities we study have developed different data. *Kolozsvár* (Cluj-Napoca), the second largest city of Romania in 2011, witnessed a minor population decline which is due to its status of being the capital of Transylvania, a most important university centre and an attractive place to work and live for those who graduated their studies. Many indigenous people have migrated to almost all the countries in the world, however they are replaced by newcomers, relocating to Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) from all over Romania and foreign countries, mainly the Republic of Moldova and the Arab countries.[3]

Temesvár (Timișoara), the third largest city of Romania also witnessed a minor decrease in the number of its population between 1992 and 2011. The most important university centre of the Bánság (Banat) Region, home to many ethnic groups, the city used to have a European atmosphere even during the communist regime. Temesvár (Timișoara) is also attractive to many new settlers, entrants and youngsters thus contributing to a positive inner migration.

Nagyvárad (Oradea), the tenth largest city in Romania is also confronted with a population decline that has shown an acceleration after the 2002 census. Being a border city and a university centre, it could not attract big numbers of new population, meanwhile many citizens have moved to the neighbouring villages in Hungary due to better living conditions.

Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș), the sixteenth major city of Romania, witnessed ethnic clashes in March 1990 called the *Black March* when violent incidents happened between the ethnic Romanians and Hungarians, the latter being supported by the Roma population. The violent clashes and their consequences led to masses of people, especially Hungarians fleeing the country. The census data show a dramatic population decline despite of the role of Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș) as a university centre for medical and pharmaceutical, as well as theatrical studies. There are five institutions of higher education operating in town which attract thousands of new entrants on a yearly basis, most of whom though do not settle in town after graduation. The city used to be the capital city of Székelyföld (Székely Land) for many centuries.

The Hungarian population of the four major cities of Transylvania which we have targeted in our research show dramatic demographic changes. In Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș), home to the biggest Hungarian community in Transylvania, the number of the Hungarian community was 57362 in 2011, that is of about 44,9% of the total inhabitants. At the census in 1992 the Hungarian population counted 84 493 people, about 51,4 % of the total inhabitants. The census completed right after the 1990 incident revealed a majority of ethnic Hungarians that lost ground by 2011.

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3   Unfortunatelly, there are no official data concerning internal migration to Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), we can only estimate based on personal experiences.
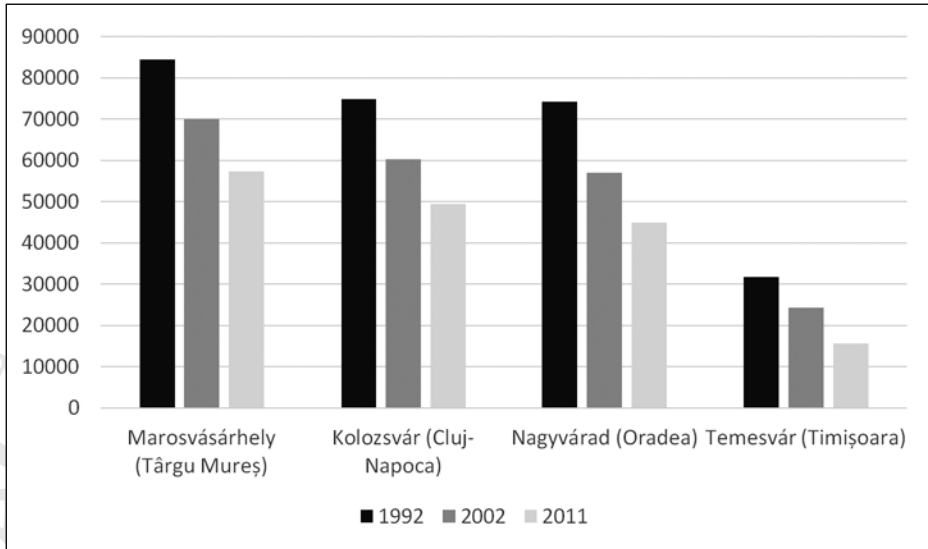
2. Hungarian population
Source: Kiss–Barna 2012: 25.

Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) has a Hungarian community counting 49375 in 2011, that is 16% of the total number of the whole population. The data collected in 1992 presented a Hungarian community counting 23% of the whole population. The 2011 census data did not only reveal any decline of the Hungarian community but it showed a growing number of different ethnic inhabitants in a fast-developing city, which was attracting people from all over Romania.

The town of Nagyvárad (Oradea) has a Hungarian community that numbered 44892 people in 2011, about 24,5% of the total inhabitants, meanwhile the number was 33% at the census in 1992. The continuous decrease is also due to the fact that many people have moved from Nagyvárad (Oradea) to the neighbouring Hungary where the living standards are higher, the geographic closeness making it possible for them to commute every day.

The smallest of the studied Hungarian communities is located in the city of Temesvár (Timișoara), numbering 15580 people, which represents 5,1% of the local population. The proportion of the Hungarian population was 9,5% of the inhabitants of the city, which dropped almost to its half by 2011. This is the most dramatic decline as it can affect the educational and cultural institutions of the Hungarian community.

The above order of the cities also shows their hierarchy as to where the largest Hungarian communities live except for Temesvár (Timișoara) which is only the 11th biggest Hungarian urban community in Transylvania.[4]

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4 Data published by the National Institute of Statistics – Romania showing to the results of the 2011 population census.

The continuous decrease in the number of the Hungarian community may be regarded as typical as it shows the same tendency across the entire country. Although the cities we are researching are all educational and cultural centres and have had an important role in the history of the Hungarian community of Transylvania, they are still facing major migration processes. Being university centres, many young entrants settle there and they also contribute to a positive inner migration.

Hungarian Cultural Festivals

Cultural festivals are usually characterized by their economic, cultural or social role, but they can have other important characteristics as well (Hunyadi–Inkei–Szabó 2006). They represent a *celebration*, a feast in the historical meaning of the word,[5] when the community spend time eating, drinking and dancing together. Modern festivals step into the footsteps of the ancient ones, and provide a good occasion for the community to come together to celebrate. Besides celebration, they also *educate* with the quality programs they organize, *enlarge the horizons* of the community and offer complex services by combining culture, economics and social action (Hunyadi–Inkei–Szabó 2006).

The real impact of the festivals though can only be measured on a long term as their social effects, the development of the quality of life and the changes in the mentality of the population can only be followed according to the social embeddedness of the festival (Kundi 2012: 119).

The last few years have shown an increase in the number of cultural festivals and festivals in general in Transylvania that show a growing urge to build local communities and collective consciousness. The festivals we focus on are organised by non-governmental organisations who gather the necessary funding from sponsors and different governmental projects, some of the entities being also supported by the local government. Their aim is to present the cultural values, the built heritage and the important events in the life of the Hungarian community thus trying to ensure a yearly meeting point for both, locals and those who emigrated from Transylvania. The other main objective of these festivals is to attract members of the Romanian community to their events in order to help them understand, experience and appreciate the values of the Hungarian culture. These events also make possible to connect to different Hungarian communities from all over the Carpathian-Basin, develop international cultural-educational-economic relationships and programmes. Their most important objective is to organize such a cultural event that attracts all the members of the Hungarian community.

The type of festivals dealt with can be denoted by the term Hungarian Days as the original event that founded this type of festival is the Hungarian Cultural

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5   Early festivals were the feasts organized in order to celebrate the Gods in Persia, Egypt, Rome, Greece a.s.o. The Middle English dictionary defines the festival as holy day (Stratman–Bradley 1974: 318).

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Days of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), first organized in 2010. Since then many other Hungarian communities have organized their Hungarian Days, just to mention a few cities like Brassó (Braşov), Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş), Nagyvárad (Oradea), Dés (Dej), Temesvár (Timişoara) a.s.o. Typical to these festivals is that all of them are organized in those regions of Transylvania where the Hungarian community lives in a considerable minority and have not had a major cultural or religious event that the local Hungarian community could join. Although we have seen that the number of the Hungarians living in these cities indicates big communities, their proportion to the total number of the inhabitants is quite small. A major problem with these urban communities is their scatteredness, which makes them more susceptible to assimilation and language loss. These festivals aim to reach all the members of the community in order to develop collective consciousness by offering a chance to gather collective experiences. Such events are also good visiting opportunities for those who have left the city for many years to come back, meet their old friends and acquaintances, and to recover the cosy feeling that they have been missing for a long time.

The program structure and the organizing strategies of the Hungarian Days are built around the example given by the event in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), which means that the main program blocks are as follows: programs for children, youth programs, literature, presentations on different historical-cultural-scientific and economic issues, exhibitions, open-air handicraft and book fair, pop-rock and classical music concerts, screenings of films, folk programs, a theatre mini season, gastronomy presentations, wine-tasting, city guided tours and sports events. All these program types are not found with each of the festivals, they are carefully selected in order to meet the local needs and customs. The events are always organized so as to attract all the age groups irrespective of social status. Entrance is free, therefore, the organizers ensure the same possibilities for each social stratum to attend.

Special programs for those who live abroad are usually organised by their ex-classmates, scheduling the class reunions in the period of the Hungarian Days. Another major program that brings together people from all over the world is the so-called *Meeting of those who used to live here* organised in Nagyvárad (Oradea) and Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş). These meetings attract more and more people of all ages who get together to talk, to recall memories and also to play music together. These programs are popular as they directly connect to those who have emigrated and attract home even those who have never hoped or planned to return again.

Community and returning

The Hungarian Cultural Days of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) is a good example of the Hungarian melting pot as here you can meet people originating from Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) and living in Hungary, Western-Europe, the USA, Canada, South-America, but even Australia and New Zealand have been represented in the last

years. Visitors also come from all over Transylvania as they are somehow connected to Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) either by having finished their studies here, having a family member who is somehow connected to the city, or having friends who live here and making them curious about the event.

In order to understand the importance of the first Hungarian Days organized in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) we need to evoke the political and administrative circumstances that used to be characteristic before 2010. The period between 1992 and 2004 was represented by the reign of the famed, strongly nationalist mayor Gheorghe Funar, whose main aspiration was to prove all the nationalist ideas cultivated before 1989. In order to achieve his goals he did not allow of any development be done in the city, he wanted to preserve all conditions at an earlier stage. After a long recession period the city started to flourish only after 2004, 15 years after the fall of communism. The Hungarian community was deeply marked by that period as it had to face the numerous demonstrations of exaggerated patriotism, fanatical devotion and hostility enacted by the local government.

The Hungarian Days brought over the feeling of freedom and the courage to hold open-air manifestations representing the culture of a minority. It was the first occasion after many decades that the Hungarian NGOs operating in the city collaborated in order to celebrate Hungarian culture. The festival responded to the need of the community to get together, to recover after a very long period of depression and to offer a good opportunity for those who had emigrated to come back. It has been proven to be a successful collaboration as the event attracts hundred thousands of people every year. We can appreciate the first Hungarian Cultural Days of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) as a psychological step taken by the Hungarian community to gather strength and courage for a lot more than sheer survival and to start leading a normal life (Szabó 2016).

This feeling of freedom, the joy of meeting old friends is one of the major reasons why people come back to Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca). The festival makes them feel home again as it livens up the symbolic places that are essential to the Hungarian community. The fact that the Hungarian inhabitants of the city take part in many programs also contributes to the cosy feeling one has when wandering among the different festival locations and continually bumping into old friends.

Hungarian Days in Numbers

The success of the Hungarian Cultural Days of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) has given birth to other festivals having the aforementioned objectives. Now we will have a snapshot of the Hungarian Days organized in the cities enumerated above in order to see the people involved, the number of programs organized during the event and the festival locations in 2016.

Festival	Visitors	Programs	Locations	Durations/ Days
The Hungarian Cultural Days of Kolozsvár	250000	500	50	8
Whirl of Marosvásárhely	90000	367	14	5
Saint Ladislaus Days	50000	80	1	8
The Hungarian Cultural Days of Temesvár	10000	55	2	3

3. Hungarian days in numbers
Source: data collected by the author.

The 7th Hungarian Cultural Days of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) attracted over 250 thousand visitors during the 8 days of festival to more than 500 programs in 50 locations.

The Whirl in Marosvásárhely[6] (Târgu Mureș) organized for the fourth time attracted 90 thousand visitors who could choose among 367 programs in 14 locations during the five days of festival.

The fourth Saint Ladislaus Days[7] in Nagyvárad (Oradea) had 50 thousand visitors attending the 80 programs during the 8 days of festival organized in the newly renovated castle.

The 1st Hungarian Days of Temesvár (Timișoara) attracted 10 thousand visitors to the 55 programs during the three-day festival in 2 locations.

As we can see the bigger the city, the more resources it has to facilitate and support the outlay of its own values. The festival which attracts the largest audience is organized in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), the second largest city in Romania, where the Hungarian community in Romania is also the second largest. Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) is the biggest university centre in Transylvania, the seat of three Hungarian diocese and an archdeaconry, and home to more than a 100 Hungarian NGOs that operate locally and nation-wide. We can also consider the city as the biggest de facto receiver and, nonetheless, also the biggest emitter of educated people, which contributes to the growth of its population.

The other two large Hungarian communities organize their festivals for the fourth time. The festival in Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș), organized by the biggest

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6   The name itself shows the aim of the organizers to recall the athmosphere of the early fairs and to present the Hungarian cultural traditions of the city. The time of organizing is also symbolical: marks the date when the city gained the right to hold fairs in the 15th century.

7   The festival is organized to mark the memory of the Hungarian king Saint Ladislaus, founder of the city who was also burried in the castle of Nagyvárad (Oradea).

Hungarian community in Romania (their number reaches 57 thousand people) in the 16th largest city of Romania, is the second biggest cultural festival with a varied program. The number of visitors that it attracts is almost double the number of its community members which shows that many people return to the city for this very occasion. The festival also attracts many people from the neighbouring villages and towns.

The Saint Ladislaus Days in Nagyvárad (Oradea) are organized by the third largest Hungarian community, their number is only 10 thousand people less than the community in Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș), being the 10th largest city in Romania. The festival is organized in the historic castle of the town and it offers a program that is four times smaller than the one in Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș). In spite of its location, being close to Hungary and being involved in several cross-border projects, the event could yet hardly attract more visitors than the number of its community members. The city with a rich Art Noveau heritage used to be home of a prosperous literary life at the beginning of the 20th century, a heritage that the organizers are very proud of and try to present to the audience year by year.

The Hungarian Days of Temesvár (Timișoara) reflect a well-prepared festival with a good feedback on the behalf of the community. Being only at the first edition, it has attracted two-third of its community members if we are to deal with absolute numbers in the 11th largest Hungarian community, which lives in the 3rd largest city of Romania. It is a university centre and it has been the major city of the Bánság (Banat) Region. The Hungarian community of Temesvár (Timișoara) also played an important role in the outburst of the revolution in 1989.

Conclusions

Festivals are becoming more and more popular as one of the major free-time activities throughout Transylvania. Cultural festivals as we have seen above are combining quality cultural events with community building and tourism. Community building can be considered the main objective of the Hungarian communities when organizing their cultural festivals in Transylvania. The atmosphere of appendage, of being together with like-minded people has a reinforcing effect on all the members of the community. Due to these festivals people start to develop their own ideas, to create new occasions for being together and in many cases, such festivals also lead to the economic growth of the city. They also lead to new initiatives in different educational, economic and cultural fields accomplished on institutional levels. By offering a resourceful achievement that everybody can be proud of, these festivals act throughout the year in the favour of the community members. .

In the case of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) we have witnessed what a huge effect the festival had on the Hungarian community, how it started to come forward and organize newer and larger events throughout the year. All the NGOs operating in town start their preparation for the festival early spring and plan the activities and events they want to show the visitors in a very timely manner. The Hungarian community in Kolozsvár

(Cluj-Napoca) has regained its forces and it successfully attracts new and new members from the outskirts to be part of the festival, to feel that they belong there.

All the four cities witness the same tendencies as in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), the dynamics of each festival is unique thus aiming to reach the targeted long-term impact on the local communities. The cultural impact of these festivals can be measured close to their 10th edition as the changes they bring over can only be felt in a very slow motion. The already visible social results are that all four events attract the members of the Hungarian community to the programs they organize in big numbers. We can also state that these festivals bring back home the members of the community who left their hometowns long ago. The economic results can be measured with the service providers of each event and the booking lists available in town.

All the cultural festivals of Transylvania ranged in the type of Hungarian Days should be studied thoroughly in order to obtain a more detailed picture of their short-term and long-term effects. This is only the beginning of an exciting but very complex and complicated research.

Translated by the author

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Közösség, emlékezet, visszatérés.
Az erdélyi magyar kulturális fesztiválok hazavonzási stratégiái

A jelen tanulmány azt vizsgálja, hogy milyen közösségépítő és közösségfejlesztő szerepet játszanak a kulturális fesztiválok négy erdélyi nagyvárosban: Kolozsvárt, Marosvásárhelyen, Temesváron és Nagyváradon. Az első részben bemutatja az említett városok demográfiai változásait, azok következményeit, illetve azokat az emberi erőforrásokat, amelyek segítségével e közösségek fennmaradhattak a változások ellenére. A tanulmány második része a magyar kulturális fesztiválok helyi közösségszervező és közösségmegőrző szerepére fókuszál, azokra a stratégiákra, amelyek a magyar nyelv és kultúra megőrzését és bemutatását célozzák meg, illetve a fesztiválok fontosságára abban, ahogyan hazavonzzák a közösség azon tagjait, akik már hosszú ideje elvándoroltak az országból. A fő hangsúly Kolozsváron és az ottani magyar közösségen van, a hazatérők motivációin, valamint azon, hogy milyen szerepe van a Kolozsvári Magyar Napoknak (mint a város legnagyobb kaliberű magyar eseményének) a közösségi tudat és a közösségi élmények összekapcsolásában.

Comunitate, memorie, revenire.
Strategii de atragere acasă a festivalurilor culturale maghiare din Transilvania

Studiul de faţă analizează rolul pe care festivalurile culturale o pot juca în consolidarea şi dezvoltarea comunităţii locale în patru oraşe mari din Transilvania, şi anume: Cluj-Napoca, Târgu-Mureş, Timişoara şi Oradea. În prima parte prezintă schimbările demografice din oraşele amintite, consecinţele acestor schimbări, respectiv acele resurse umane, pe baza cărora aceste comunităţi locale au reuşit să supravieţuiască schimbările. A doua parte a studiului focusează pe rolul de organizare şi prezervare a comunităţii a festivalurilor culturale maghiare, pe acele strategii, care ţintesc prezervarea şi prezentarea limbii şi a culturii maghiare, respectiv pe importanţa festivalurilor în aducerea acasă a acelor membri ai comunităţii, care au plecat din ţară cu mult timp în urmă. Accentul principal este pe cazul oraşului Cluj şi a comunităţii maghiare locale, pe motivaţiile celor care revin acasă, respectiv pe rolul pe care o joacă Zilele Culturale Maghiare (ca cel mai mare eveniment maghiar din localitate) în conectarea conştiinţei comunitare şi a experienţelor comunitare.

Community, Memory, Returning.
Home Attracting Strategies of the Transylvanian Hungarian Cultural Festivals

This paper aims to deal with community building and community development as a result of cultural festivals organized in four major cities of Transylvania: Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș), Temesvár (Timișoara) and Nagyvárad (Oradea). The first part presents some data on the demographic changes of the above-mentioned cities as well as the consequences and the human resources of these communities to survive the changes. The second part of this paper focuses on the role of the Hungarian cultural festivals in organizing and strengthening local communities and the strategies they use in order to preserve the Hungarian language and present the Hungarian culture, as well as their importance in attracting home those members of the community, who emigrated a long time ago. The main focus is on the city of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) and the Hungarian community living here, the motivations of those coming back, and on the role of the Hungarian Cultural Days of Kolozsvár (as the biggest Hungarian event in town) in linking collective consciousness with collective experiences.

András Vajda

Migration and Digital Literacy:
The Role of Digital Devices in Guest
Workers' Communication with Home[1]

Approaches

In the course of the "ongoing digital media invasion" (see Szijártó 2015: 43), considerable attention has been paid to issues relating to the mastery, implementation, and home use of digital media, that is, to questions of what makes a given technology useful to a particular user and what usage habits, user attitudes, and life strategies are seen emerging as a result. In the words of Gábor Szécsi, "not only are new communications technologies (computers, mobile telephones, etc.) the sources for new forms of community, they also create previously unknown systems and relationship syntheses among various types of communities" (Szécsi 2013: 7), in doing so, giving birth to "mediatised communities... that allow the Internet or mobile phone user to plug into the global flow of information, while also linking more firmly and deliberately than ever to the local social groups he/she holds important" (Szécsi 2013: 7). Among the first to launch an ethnographically prompted/founded experiment in media research was Roger Silverstone, who examined how new media are inserted into residential spaces – how they are incorporated into daily routines to become tools for social action (see Szijártó 2015: 43).[2] In my own project, which proceeds down the same path, I study how the use of digital tools and technologies has spread in a Transylvanian rural community and, in partial relation to this, how the technological environment serving the purposes of contact and communication has changed as a result of transborder migration, and additionally, what impact this has had in three areas: relations between family members (young people living far from home and the older generation they have left behind), the routines and device usage habits used in communication, and modes of relating to the devices in question. The project accords particular attention to the use of digital devices (mobile

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1 The study is a condensed version of a paper written for the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA) Domus Szülőföldi Scholarship Program (ID: 10027008) entitled *Digital Media and Social Diversity: Digital Proficiency in Various Social Groups*.

2 For an introduction to the method, see, among others, Hine 2000, 2015; Pink et alii eds. 2016; Hjort et alii eds. 2017.

and touch-screen telephones, tablets, computers, etc.) by the non-migrating genera-
tion of individuals aged 55 and above, asking the question: "What role do these play
in older people's lives?"

In my choice of starting points for the project, I was motivated by the realisa-
tion, as a member of the community under scrutiny, that the number of resident
families where either one, or both active generation members worked in Western
European countries, and where the individuals in question were maintaining con-
tact with family members at home (children, spouses, and grandparents) via a
range of new-media devices and programmes had, as a consequence of transborder
labour migration (migration for guest work),[3] grown very rapidly. In other words,
like it or not, the generation of people aged 55 and above had been forced to make
smart devices a part of their everyday lives. In this context, the presence/spread of
digital devices and technologies in the environment under scrutiny both helped/
supported, and transformed the structure of communication between emigrants
and their families at home in terms of both quality and quantity.

The Method

From a methodological standpoint, the project relied primarily on a peculiar version
of participant observation,[4] one involving ethnographic observation conducted in
the researcher's "own culture" (Fél 1991), or even own local community. Observing
subjects in the society to which one belongs, in familiar surroundings (cf. Gagyi ed.
1999), affords numerous advantages, among them the continuous and active com-
munity presence; the access to local events and the resulting interpretations; the
densely woven social relationships; the insider knowledge of institutions and their
operations; and the interpretive capital[5] to be gained from one's own relationships
with friends, relatives, neighbours, and peers. The above notwithstanding, I use

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3 This tendency is typical not only of migration from this particular community. According to a UN re-
port, in 2016, there were approximately 3.5 million Romanian citizens living outside the country's na-
tional borders. During the 1990s, the most popular destination country for Romanian migrants was
Germany, which enjoyed a 68% share of related traffic (some 66 thousand people). This trend lasted
until 1999, when in terms of both absolute numbers, and percent traffic (2400 people or 19%), first
place was assumed by Hungary. In 2004, Germany returned to the top of the list, but was replaced
in 2005 by Italy, which was targeted by 25% of Romanian emigrants that year. The year 2007 saw the
resurgence of Germany, which, though surpassed temporarily in 2009 by Canada (20%), returned to
top of the list in 2010 with a total of 18% of emigrants. In that same year, the United States rose sig-
nificantly in popularity, as well (to a 14% share). After 2011, total foreign worker numbers, previously
in decline, began to rise again, exceeding the previous year's figure by 131%, with Spain taking over as
most favoured destination (18,3%). This trend lasted until 2016, when Spain topped the list at 23,5%
of emigrant traffic, ahead of Germany and Italy, occupying the next two places.

4 The four levels of participation were first defined by Buford H. Junker, who held that a distinction
must be drawn between the 1. full participant; 2. participant observer; 3. observing participant; and
4. simple observer (Junker 1960: 36). Here, it is the second type that is meant.

5 "Interpretive capital (Sz. Kristóf) is defined as the totality of experience and knowledge that permits
the interpretation of facts and text." (Keszeg 2011: 27.)

the term "participant observation" here as a collective term for a variety of observational techniques and solutions, where "participant" refers to a particular research style – to the fact that I conducted observations in a community or immediate environment to which I, myself, belonged. Thus, in planning the project and collecting and analysing data, I availed myself on numerous occasions of the opportunity of *retrospective observation*.[6]

The Setting

Sáromberke (Dumbrăvioara),[7] the village I studied, lies in the broad valley of the central Mureș River, surrounded by hills, at a distance of 14 km from Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș) to the south, and 18 km from Szászrégen (Reghin) to the north, along Highway 15. Railroad line 405, which was built in 1886 and connects Déda (Deda) to Székelykocsárd (Lunca Mureșului), also passes through the town. Whether by road or railway, the municipality is easy to reach and, in many ways, may even be regarded as something of a minor traffic hub. The highway intersects the village over a total of two kilometres, with County Road 153B branching off it to the west around the point where the municipal zone known as the "Upper Reach" (Felszeg) begins. County Road 153B connects upper Sáromberke (Dumbrăvioara) with Highway 16, which crosses the highland area known as Mezőség (Transylvanian Plain) to connect Szászrégen (Reghin) with Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca).

From the early 20th century until today, the proximity of the larger town has greatly influenced the frequency of periodic migration on the part of the local population, as well as the quality and intensity of relations with the outside world. Today, Sáromberke (Dumbrăvioara) forms part of both the Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș) Metropolitan Belt, created in 2006, and the "development microregion" known as the Mureș River Valley LEADER Partnership.[8] From a standpoint of regional administration, it belongs – along with six other villages – to the community of Nagyernye (Ernei); from that of population, it qualifies as a medium-sized village; in terms of physiognomy (form, internal structure, and texture), it describes as a branching linear municipality with agricultural parcels arranged in tightly packed parallel strips along either side of the north-south highway that divides it. In terms of national composition, Sáromberke (Dumbrăvioara) was originally largely Hungarian and, indeed, has preserved a distinctly Hungarian character up to the present day.

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6 An observational situation in which the researcher, in time, analyses and interprets his or her own previous memories and experiences (Magyari 2005: 274).
7 Maros (Mureș) County, Romania.
8 In Romanian: *Asociația LEADER Parteneriat Mureșean.*

Table 1. The population of Sáromberke (Dumbrăvioara) by nationality

Year	total	Romanian	Hungarian	German	other, total	Jewish	Roma
1850	618	72	452	0	94	0	94
1880	933	16	752	6	159	0	0
1890	968	11	933	8	16	0	131
1900	1003	17	979	7	0	0	0
1910	1030	43	970	17	0	0	0
1920	1017	28	988	0	1	0	0
1930	1071	65	997	7	2	0	0
1941	1084	29	954	4	97	1	95
1956	1271	23	1248	0	0	0	0
1966	1949	166	1772	11	0	0	0
1977	1816	167	1626	5	18	0	18
1992	1692	159	1459	1	73	0	73
2002	1648	75	1539	0	34	0	33
2011	1712	84	1470	0		0	158

In terms of functional classification, based on the occupational structure of its population, Sáromberke (Dumbrăvioara) falls under the heading of a mixed-function (complex) community; from the 1960s onward, the number of commuting skilled labourers and service industry workers grew, while the number of people engaged in agriculture fell. According to the 1992 census, only 12% of inhabitants that year worked in the agricultural sector, though by that time even craftsmen and industrial workers "farmed and raised stock" (Szabó 1994: 20). During the second half of the 1990s, deindustrialisation spurred a near-simultaneous wave of regression into preindustrial activities, as one by one, the factories in surrounding cities all closed their gates, and many commuting workers necessarily returned to agricultural pursuits.

Where employment statistics are concerned, census data show that in 1992, only 27,54% of the population were active earners, while of the remaining inhabitants, 370 (21,86%) were students, 289 (17,08%) pensioners, 205 (12,11%) homemakers, and 234 (13,84%) dependents; an additional two individuals were on state support and twenty-eight were categorised as "other". Also appearing among statistics was a new social group, that of the unemployed, representing 98 individuals or 17,37% of the village's active population, a figure well above the national average. Of people falling into this category, 52 were looking for a new job, and 46 for their first employment opportunity.

By the time of the 2011 census, however, just under 10 years later, Sáromberke's active population had grown to 663 (37,73%), of which 619 (35,23%) were employed,

44 without work, and 1094 (62,26%) inactive. Of the unemployed, 33 were seeking new employment, while 11 were hoping to enter their first job. The internal structure of the village's inactive population reflected the following breakdown: 266 of the 1094 were students, 343 pensioners, 129 homemakers, 176 dependents, 8 on state support, 96 on other forms of support (social aid or "community service" employment), and 16 falling under the heading of "other".[9]

Migrant Practices

From a standpoint of population, the other major factor to influence the economic and cultural structure of the village, as well as the changes in lifestyle that occurred during the years under scrutiny, was that of migration. Specifically affecting migrant practices and strategies (short-term or long-term) were changes in demographics, economy, and community mentality. Though a certain degree of migration involving locations both within Romania, and outside national borders had been ongoing since the 18th century,[10] it was only in the 1960s, as a result of the top-down industrialisation of the nearby larger town, that the phenomenon assumed larger proportions; that people began leaving the local environment temporarily for various periods of time,[11] a practice that necessarily altered not only people's general standards, but also their cultural-economic aspirations. The professional literature characterises one manifestation of this, occurring primarily among those who moved to or commuted to and from the city, as a *"cutting off from the umbilical of the world"* (see Gagyi 2009: 141).

During the 1990s, migration again picked up pace: this time primarily in the form of Hungarian guest work, in which members of the Romani community, most of them formerly employed by local farming cooperatives, along with a smaller number of unemployed industrial workers from plants in the nearby city and jobless, prospectless young people graduated in the wake of the 1989 political upheaval, sought employment as foreign guest workers. Those who succeeded tried to invest what they earned in their home community, chiefly through the purchase of automobiles and modernisation of their family homes and farms.

In 2007, Romania joined the European Union, an event that exerted a palpable effect on the country's transborder migration practices – including those favoured by the population of Sáromberke (Dumbrăvioara). Specifically, as a result of the 2007

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9   For a detailed interpretation of the village's socio-economic structure, see Vajda 2016.
10 Eighteenth and nineteenth-century census data consistently put the number of absentee residents at between 10 and 15, indicating that a certain percentage of the population were already working elsewhere. During the early 1900s, a "migratory fever" swept the community, leading 15 families to emigrate to the United States. Of these, ten eventually returned to build homes and farm buildings with the money they had earned (cf. Mózes [s. a.] vol. I.: 122).
11 This is a concept used by Zoltán Bíró (Bíró 1994: 56–57), who points out that each such exit is a call to life, producing a deep-seated compulsion to interpretation aimed at the redefinition of one's sense of belonging to one's own world (Bíró 1994: 56–57).

relaxation of border controls and the inauguration of free movement, including for work, within the entire territory of the Union, an increasing number of people accepted (and still accept) work in Western European countries (with particular reference to France, the Netherlands, Germany, and the United Kingdom). At the same time, both the circle of destination countries, and the time spent away from home and family at a single stretch have changed. While previously, Romanian guest workers in Hungary spent periods of various lengths at home several times a year,[12] in recent decades, the number of occasions has fallen to just one or two per year, while the length of each visit has extended. This, in turn, has (had) a direct impact on communications between the communities affected by transborder migration: while previously, guest workers rarely had contact with the people they left behind, the past decade has been characterised by communications of a frequency of as much as once or twice a week. Influencing this outcome was not only the growth in time spent away from family at a single stretch, but also the development and spread of the communications devices that make contact possible. At the same time, it is worth noting that while during the 1990s, it was more typical to take on illegal work, after Romania's accession to the European Union, legal, contractual work became the norm. Additionally, during the 1990s, the majority of guest workers sought employment in the construction industry, as compared to the most recent decade, in which the larger shares of migrant work went to the meat packing industry, large-scale agriculture, parcel delivery services, cleaning firms, and the hospitality sector. Affecting the above-outlined practices are (were) not only the attractive power of wage conditions in urban and foreign work settings, but also, and at least as importantly, the repelling effect of both local infrastructure and economy, and the absence/disappearance of local resources and work opportunities. At the same time, these intermittent absences, which, over time, have grown increasingly regular, tend to occur along routes defined by personal friendships and connections: the acquaintances of those who ventured out earlier, encouraged by the successes – and relying upon the assistance – of the former, attach themselves to the labour pool in a system that most closely resembles the Rogers model of diffusion (see Rogers 1983). However, the type of mobility in question only partly fits the description of true social mobility and did not bring with it any radical change in "cultural and social embeddedness". Because the stepped-up pace of transborder migration (guest work) has caused a rapid increase in the number of families in which one or both members of the actively employed generation work in Western European countries, leaving their children in the care of grandparents or other remaining family members, communications habits within families have changed significantly: family members working abroad keep in touch with those remaining at home (children and the grandparents who raise them) primarily via digital means, that is, using a variety of communications technologies.

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12 Part of the reason for this is that international regulations permit a Romanian citizen to remain a total of only 30 days at a time in a foreign country – in this case Hungary – without a visa or work permit.

The Local Spread of (New) Communications Devices

Sáromberke (Dumbrăvioara) launched its first manual telephone switchboard in the 1930s. Prior to the change of political systems of 1989, this was operated by a total of six employees, who provided switchboard services even at night. During the 1990s, night-time services were suspended; in 2001, the system was automated. During the pre-1989 period, between 140 and 150 households had a landline telephone; following automation, however, this number rose to more than 200 households in the space of just a few years.

The first mobile telephones – primarily of the prepaid card type – began appearing in the village in the late 1990s, though at first in only limited numbers. In the second half of the 2000s, however, following drastic reductions in the cost of both the devices, and per-minute rates, the technology began to spread. It was also at this time that mobile subscriptions became more common.

In 2004, the majority state-owned telephone company, Romtelecom, launched a dial-up Internet service known as *clicknet*, used chiefly by the village's youth, but – due to the high rates involved – to only a very limited extent. In 2005, the telephone company began constructing its broad-band network, connecting its first 15 families as early as 2007. During the years to follow, the number of families subscribing to Internet service grew steadily. In the meantime, another market player appeared on the scene to construct its own broad-band Internet network. The rapid development of this infrastructure and remarkable decrease in Internet subscription prices were what led to the situation today, in which hardly any household lacks cable Internet service. At the same time, the use of mobile Internet service has also become common.

Computers and Smart Devices

Some researchers assume that in the rural setting, "the mastery of computer and digital competencies can be explained by municipalities' weak connections with the outside world" (cf. Láng–Letenyei–Siklós 2003: 12), with computers and smart devices flooding rural communities as a result of the acquisition of this knowledge. In the community I studied, however, the "innovators" were those who had already been forced to use the devices as a result of their occupations or studies. In fact, in community memory, the appearance of the first personal computer is linked to the names of those persons who, in the mid-1990s, earned their diplomas in computer science or attended programming classes. In the purchase of computers, these individuals became models to follow, and the community depended on their specialised knowledge when buying, setting up, and maintaining equipment of this type.

Even these early cases indicate that in the community, families were willing to invest in digital equipment primarily on behalf of the younger (school-aged)

generation, and indeed, throughout the first half of the 2000s, the purchase of computers and other smart devices (smart televisions, tablet computers, etc.) continued primarily to typify families with secondary school or university-aged children. During the pre-Internet period, on the part of parents, the purchase of computers was clearly motivated by a desire to support the studies of the younger generation. Indeed, computers were viewed largely as study aids, though frequently, computers were also used for playing games.

During the mid-2000s, the dissemination of computer equipment was also influenced by a governmental programme – implemented at both the local, and national levels – by which the state provided free computers to the school-aged children of disadvantaged families. The same period additionally witnessed the appearance in the village of broad-band Internet service (see above), in the wake of which even families that previously did not own a computer purchased Internet subscriptions. This, too, indicates that in the period following the introduction of the Internet, "the use of computers and Internet services in village households generally went hand in hand" (cf. Rab 2009: 50).

The purchase of digital devices for elderly adults, too, was influenced by the presence of the younger generation. My observations, for example, demonstrate that, beyond the need to keep contact with members of the family living far from home, grandparents were willing to purchase and/or learn to use computers (Internet, various smart devices, including primarily tablets) chiefly for their grandchildren's sake. All in all, it can be said that, in terms of digital device and Internet use in Sáromberke (Dumbrăvioara), one finds no turning point to which radical change may be attributed. Instead, the development occurred at a pace that accelerated at times more slowly, and at times more rapidly, with the end result that computer and Internet use eventually rose from uncommonly low levels to proportions that, even as far as the elderly are concerned, might aptly be described as a mass phenomenon. In general, computer, smart phone, and smart device use today is characterised by intense emotional motivation and strong ritualisation, the habits that pertain to it developing within a force field defined by two opposing processes: the need to communicate, which tends to increase frequency of use, and fear of new media, which tends to weaken it. Just a few years ago, views on computers and smart devices in this rural environment were characterised primarily by aversion and uncertainty. Yet over the course of the past decade, these same anxiously protected, hesitantly used devices have found a place for themselves as standard equipment in the spaces where inhabitants conduct their lives, developing their own peculiar routines, prompting a degree of reflection, and creating a distinctive narrative base surrounding their use and nature. Once digital technology had been "tamed" in this way, these devices could be, and indeed were used to keep abreast of daily events, structure the home environment, occupy time, and develop social connections.

The Relationship between Migration and Communications Technology

During the second half of the 2000s, transborder migration intensified, while the explosive development and spread of communications technology jointly and concurrently transformed the everyday routines associated with intrafamilial communication and contact throughout the village. This change can be observed primarily in that the individual members of families increasingly initiate interaction with one another in their day-to-day lives by means of some technological device. Walter J. Ong calls this phenomenon *secondary orality* (cf. Ong 2010: 119–121), though the term indirect/mediated communication is also used. In the early phase (the second half of the 20th century), the device used was a landline telephone, though rarely for the purpose of communication between immediate family members. In fact, telephone calls were not even daily routine in families with members who had moved to distant cities or emigrated to the West. Because of the limited spread of the technology, only a relatively small part of the community had one "at hand" (i.e. perpetually available), and even those that did used it only occasionally – on holidays or prior to family events. Limited availability did, however, produce peculiar modes of use: frequently, those who did not have a telephone in the home used the phones of relatives, neighbours, and/or acquaintances.

A turning point in the use of mediated communication came in the mid-to-late 2000s, when, following Romania's accession to the European Union, it became possible for the first time for Romanians to move freely in pursuit of work, resulting in an increased number of community members who travelled abroad as guest workers. Also, at roughly the same time, broad-band Internet and mobile devices were gaining popularity, which, combined with EU membership, resulted in the above-described transformation of communications routines.

In the 1990s and early 2000s, when the per-minute rates charged for international calls were high for both landline, and mobile telephones, family members living great geographical distances apart phoned each other relatively rarely (once or twice a week). Even as late as the mid-2000s, Skype and, later, Messenger were still the means of choice for daily contact. Calls via both telephone, and application (Skype, Messenger) were characterised by a high degree of ritualisation, manifested in both the choice of environment and time of day in which calls took place, and in the manner in which communication was conducted. Because of the difference between time zones and guest workers' work schedules, conversations usually occurred in the evening hours, with participants choosing one of the more intimate rooms in the house, where computers and mobile telephones were located, as the setting for calls. The reason for this was that, as Vilmos Benczik points out, "the majority of elderly mobile telephone users, having been socialised via landline phones, [did] not take full advantage of the freedom a mobile device affords, making calls while on the move only very rarely" (Benczik 2001: 20). Thus, in contrast to direct conversation, phone calls today are conducted according to a "sophisticated,

restrictive ritual" (Benczik 2001: 20). Of course, the same may be said of conversations orchestrated by Internet. In families where several generations live under the same roof, intense ritualisation can be observed even in the order of participation: usually, the spouse of the absent worker speaks first, leading the conversation, followed by an appearance on the part of the worker's children, and finally, a brief exchange with parents. Most of these conversations last for about thirty minutes to an hour. Subjects discussed include the happenings of the day, health, weather, the immediate family, and events pertaining to acquaintances, village life, and other guest workers known to the family: in other words, the topics stereotypically associated with the letter-writing practices typical of previous times of absence from the community (e.g. with soldiers and POWs during the First and Second World Wars; see Vajda 2013: 159–184). During the past few years, however, with reductions in international call rates, the frequency with which calls are made by landline or mobile telephone has grown, though not to the complete exclusion of Skype (and other, similar programs). In fact, part of the reason for the persistence of communications applications is that they offer a video, as well as an audio dimension and therefore better mimic the situation of direct, personal communication. As a result, mobile telephones tend to be used in response to unexpected situations/events, while the Internet remains the medium for ritualised evening talks; i.e. a sort of functional distribution of labour has developed among various means of communication.

Within this system, social media (Facebook) is usually only used for indirect contact: the sharing and following of important life events, photographs, videos, and remarks of family members, relatives, and acquaintances living far from home, with only infrequent use of the additional communicational opportunities – comments, private messages – the program affords. At the same time, the elderly often use social media for passive/indirect communications; that is, they view or follow with relative regularity the life events of family members abroad using the account – and assistance – of another family member.

From the Symbolic to the Increasingly Virtual Family

John R. Gillis, citing Donald Lowe, has pointed out the important role played by the "imagined family" not only in public life, but also in the everyday lives of real families. Not only, he notes, is the family one of the easiest products to sell today, to the point that virtually anything can be marketed with the word "family" attached; and not only is the concept of family co-opted by manufacturers, name brand distributors, and politicians toward their respective pursuits; but even families themselves work at developing images, a circumstance that renders the past a place for family imagination and dreams the family has built for itself, a process in which memory proves the most effective muse. The past, in other words, has come forward as the most secure storehouse for imaginations about the virtual family. (Gillis 2000: 2.)

Ágnes Boreczky calls the family in this form the "symbolic family" and, pursuing Gillis' ideas, distinguishes between two different family types: the first, the one we all live with every day, plays an important role in the development of the second, our alternate identity (Boreczky 2004: 27). "The members [of this latter type] – be they distant relatives or immediate, living or deceased – primarily populate our memories and imaginations." This plays an important role in the development of our family identity, permitting us to be part of life situations (realities) of many different varieties, tour the sites of ages past, and, in this way, broaden the contours of our "narrowly styled geo-physical existence". The multitude of models and screenplays available to us through the life courses of our forebears (i.e. the stories we have about them) give us the opportunity of living the lives of dozens of such individuals without assuming any of the real risk stemming from the real decisions they made every day (cf. Boreczky 2004: 9). According to the author, "the symbolic family is a system, extended in a socio-geographic space and time, which expands our narrow geo-physical lives, while establishing the limits placed on and direction taken by our actions and choices" (Boreczky 2004: 9). In Boreczky's view, the symbolic family's operation and functions can be interpreted in several different ways and on several different levels. These are, specifically: 1. important persons, significant others; 2. family holidays, customs, rituals, vacations, albums, documents (e.g. correspondence, journals), etc.; 3. myths, origin stories, accounts and episodes; 4. the family system in its entirety (Boreczky 2004: 141).

So, would it be reasonable to ask why the virtual/symbolic family has shifted into the focus of family life – particularly given that – as Gillis demonstrates – prior to the 19th century, with the exception of aristocratic families, there was hardly a family anywhere that could trace its roots as far back as a century and a half? "When Ralph Josselin drew up his family tree," the author writes, "it had branches, but no roots". In the past, it would seem, anniversary celebrations were rare, and the concept of the family gathering, together with the commemorative practices that are seen today as natural, were wholly non-existent. Before, families assembled for practical purposes, where time spent in each other's company spelled work. Christenings, wedding feasts, and funerals were not family, but community events, to which the concepts of family time and space were yet unattached (Gillis 2000: 3). In any case, prior to the industrial revolution, the concepts of family and household were equivalent, with family connections, marriages, and the parent-child and other family relationships defined primarily in terms of the common interest of household maintenance and operation. Its operating principle was built on the concepts of exchangeability and substitutability. Since the household was defined by economic interests associated with the present, its reach extended neither far into the past, nor far into the future. Its concept of, and method of managing time were characterised by cyclicality and continuity, as opposed to fragmentedness of the nuclear family[13]

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13 In the author's definition, the nuclear family begins with the birth of a child and ends when that child marries.

(cf. Gillis 2000: 3–4). Gillis also demonstrates Protestants to have been the first to treat themselves as a product of linear time, meaning that, in an approach Martin Kohli dubs "chronologisation," they normalised the timeline to dictate the proper times for birth, marriage, and even death (Gillis 2000: 5).

Family time, for its part, is a phenomenon whose construction began with the mid-19th-century middle class. Its birth coincides with the rise of the family as a "memory community," an entity formed when encounters and interactions between family members cease, or are at least drastically curtailed. Today, the family that lives and works together has been replaced by the family that celebrates together, a development that has led to a sort of qualitative revolution with regard to time usage. Indeed, it is this that Gillis refers to when he says that the time families live *by* is not the same as the time they live *with* (cf. Gillis 2000: 5–6). In addition, the home has become decreasingly physical, and increasingly mental territory, as the family, too, has become more a virtual, mental construction (Gillis 2000: 7). Since today's family can be present anywhere virtually (Gillis 2000: 8), families in general are motivated to create formations that display/anchor the symbolic family.

While in the age of orality, these were manifested in family myths and everyday stories about family members, in the age of literacy, they were made accessible most often via family archives, specially printed Bible inserts, or family chronicles taken down in various types of notebook,[14] or, in parallel with these, in family photograph albums (see Szalma 2014) – devices Vilmos Keszeg dubs *genealogical tableaux*. In Keszeg's definition, such things "nominalise, raise into the public sphere, or rearrange the relationships between individuals belonging to at least two sequential generations within the framework of some kind of ritual" (Keszeg 2002: 172). Keszeg also analyses such situations and forms of text as put in evidence how memories are constructed by writing, how the past is used socially, and how the shape of memory is constructed via written means. In his assessment, the family is defined as a memory community, within which both *genealogical memory*, i.e. knowledge of relationships in ascending and descending branches of the family, and the manner in which such knowledge is constructed and used to orient to situations and meet family needs, are examined (Keszeg 2002: 172–212, 2008: 310–328).

In today's world, both these virtual/symbolic families, and the genealogical tableaux that render them visible organise and are made accessible through social media. Facebook and other similar sites have become the configurations of memory that play a role in the construction and maintenance of family memory and mythology. It is here, too, that the older generation begin to create virtual family spaces and cast family time into a form that can be experienced, and within social media that the – primarily visual – symbols used to represent the symbolic family are born.

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14 For more on the role of family archives and private documents in the construction and maintenance of family mythology, see Vajda 2013.

According to Gillis, every family has its own myths and legends, as well as its own storytellers and archivists, who guard over family rites and memories (Gillis 1996: xvi). Here, myth refers to "that which has become origin, has organised itself into narrative, is the product of some form of consensus" (cf. Keszeg 2008: 292). In this sense, entries related to family events appearing on the walls of Facebook profiles and photographs of family members and gatherings arranged into Facebook albums give family myths their shape. The producers of these include, increasingly, older people, who now spend more time, and in greater numbers, in online spaces. At the same time, the use of social media impacts the way families view time. While in the time of literacy, it was the past that appreciated in value, and people strove to trace their histories as far back as possible, the effect of social media has been to grant appreciating value to the present. This manner of experiencing time is what Fançois Hartog terms "presentism" (cf. Hartog 2006): the construction of a family's past on Facebook is built of digital copies of old family documents and photographs from old albums, added to digital pictures and posts created in the present.

There is, however, another dimension to the virtualisation of families, one that can be linked primarily to the spatial diffusion caused by migration / foreign guest work. Since the families of persons engaging in guest work can spend less time together in the physical home, they strive to compensate using various devices/ practices. This explains why, in the village under scrutiny here, the elderly who had their own Facebook profiles and used tablets and computers for maintaining inter-personal communications were the ones whose immediate families included one or more members engaged in guest work. In fact, the creation of a Facebook profile itself was closely related to the undertaking of guest work. Thus, the virtual space created using social media becomes that which physically separated family members occupy on a daily basis to meet and – through their comments, likes, and shares – interact with one another. By doing so, the family is symbolically united, which is why actions like these conducted within the framework of social media can be primarily interpreted as techniques employed for the purposes of balance or compensation (see Marquard 2001).

Summary

Migration as practiced across Europe, together with the widespread use of communications and information technologies, are resulting in a transmission of Western cultural and lifestyle patterns to everyday village life to an extent never experienced before. These communications practices generate their own specialists, whose targeted knowledge is frequently employed by the community in the same way that the knowledge of specialists in writing or, previous to that, in storytelling or public speaking were used in the past. The new media are transforming and defining the physical spaces people use every day (cf. Szijártó 2015: 43) and, via their impact on daily schedules, contributing to the creation of the home, as "by the use

of media, various home routines are formed, interactions given structure, communicative practices made regular, and conversations expressed" (cf. Szijártó 2015: 44). The appearance, increasing recurrence, and adaptation of these new technologies at the level of people's day-to-day lives – the manner in which populations have adjusted to the culture and modes of action they create/sustain – have initiated a process of acculturation. In the age of new media, a new variety of mediatised communications practices are emerging alongside – or, often, at the expense of – traditional ones, and new customs, habits, ritualised modes of behaviour, and automatisms are gaining prevalence.

Translated by Rachel Maltese

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Migráció és digitális műveltség. A digitális eszközök szerepe a vendégmunkások kapcsolattartásában

Dolgozatában a szerző azt vizsgálja, hogy egy erdélyi, falusi közösségben hogyan terjedt el a digitális eszközök és technológiák használata, illetve részben ezzel összefüggésben – a transzfrontális migráció hatására – hogyan változott meg a kapcsolattartást szolgáló/kiszolgáló technológiai környezet, ennek milyen hatása volt a családtagok (távol levő fiatalok és otthon maradt idősek) közötti kapcsolattartásra, a kommunikáció során működő rutinokra és eszközhasználati habitusokra, valamint az új eszközökhöz való viszonyulásmódra. A kutatás kiemelten az otthonmaradt 55 év feletti idős generáció digitális eszközhasználatára (mobil- és érintőképernyős telefon, táblagép, számítógép stb.) irányul, és arra kérdez rá, hogy milyen szerepe van ezeknek az idős emberek életében? A digitális eszközök és technológiák akarva-akaratlanul is a mindennapi cselekvések részévé válnak; a technológia jelenléte/elterjedése ebben a környezetben egyrészt segíti/támogatja, másrészt viszont át is alakítja az elvándoroltak és az otthon maradottak közötti kapcsolattartás szerkezetét minőségi és mennyiségi szempontból egyaránt.

Migraţie şi cultură digitală. Rolul dispozitivelor digitale în comunicaţia celor care muncesc în străinătate

Lucrarea de faţă urmăreşte modul în care s-a răspândit utilizarea dispozitivelor şi tehnologiilor digitale într-o comunitate rurală transilvăneană, respectiv parţial în legătură cu acest fenomen, sub influenţa migraţiei transfrontaliere, cum s-a schimbat mediul tehnologic al comunicaţiei, care sunt efectele acestor schimbări asupra comunicaţiei, legăturii dintre membrii familiei (tinerii plecaţi departe, cei în vârstă rămaşi acasă), a rutinei şi obiceiurilor aferente, respectiv a atitudinilor faţă de noile dispozitive. Cercetarea focusează pe utilizarea dispozitivelor digitale (telefon mobil, telefon touch-screen, tabletă, calculator etc.) de către generaţia celor în vârstă, rămaşi acasă, adică cei cu vârste peste 55 de ani, şi formulează întrebarea: care este rolul acestor dispozitive în viaţa celor în vârstă? Dispozitivele şi tehnologiile digitale – vrând nevrând – devin parte a activităţilor de fiecare zi, prezenţa/răspândirea tehnologiei în acest mediu pe de o parte ajută, pe de altă parte totodată transformă structura comunicaţiei dintre cei plecaţi şi cei rămaşi acasă, atât din vedere calitativ, cât şi cantitativ.

András Vajda

Migration and Digital Literacy. The Role of Digital Devices in Guest Workers' Communication with Home

The present paper analyses the way how the use of digital tools and technologies has spread in a Transylvanian rural community and, in partial relation to this, how the technological environment serving the purposes of contact and communication has changed as a result of transborder migration, and additionally, what impact this has had in three areas: relations between family members (young people living far from home and the older generation they have left behind), the routines and device usage habits used in communication, and modes of relating to the devices in question. The paper pays particular attention to the use of digital devices (mobile and touch-screen telephones, tablets, computers, etc.) by the non-migrating generation of individuals aged 55 and above, asking the question: "What role do these play in older people's lives?" In this context the digital devices and technologies become part of everyday activities, the presence/spread of them in this environment under scrutiny both helps/supports and transforms the structure of communication between emigrants and their families at home, in terms of both quality and quantity.

Special Approaches: Biology and Museum

Pekka Leimu

Modified History and Genetics for Visitors: Turku and Russian Tourists

My hometown of Turku is the oldest city in Finland. It was also the administrative centre or "capital" of Finland during the more than 600 years of Swedish rule, and the sea channel between Turku and Stockholm was the most important channels controlled by the Swedish kingdom. All of this changed in 1808–1809, when the Russians conquered Finland and it was incorporated into the Russian Empire as an autonomous grand duchy. The Russians soon realised that Turku was no longer suitable as the administrative centre of Finland because it was too far from St Petersburg, the capital of the empire. So the Russians built Helsinki to serve as the new administrative centre of Finland. Helsinki was in the beginning just a small town, but grew quickly during the period of Russian rule in the 19th century. So, in terms of their background, Turku began as a Swedish town and Helsinki as a Russian town.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Russian tourists were allowed to travel to the West, to Finland and elsewhere. Soon they also had money to use there. This was a problem for Turku. The Russians were interested in Helsinki because of its Russian background, but not in Turku because of its Swedish background. The Russians also liked to sail to Stockholm, and the sea channel between Turku and Stockholm was still important and the fastest route between Finland and Sweden. But how to tempt the Russians to stop in Turku and not only to drive straight through it on their way to the harbour and ferries to Stockholm? Turku Touring is an organisation for marketing Turku to tourists. Its management team soon realised that a good story was needed for marketing Turku to Russian tourists. Well, they found it and I am going to talk about it now. But for me, it was rather more of a detective story.

The main local newspaper *Turun Sanomat* ran a whole-page article on 14 January 2004 with the title "Russian tourists fill the national cathedral – A long way from the Ural Mountains to the Cathedral". The article included a half-page colour picture of Turku Cathedral with nine young Russian tourists standing in front of it. At the beginning of the article, Pirjo Saari, a guide with Turku Touring tells that in the year 2003, nearly 33000 Russian tourists had visited Turku Cathedral. Then, the dean of the cathedral, Rauno Heikola, went on to talk about how the cathedral of Turku is for Russian tourists both a place to practise religion and a building of

historical significance. In saying this, he was referring to the period of Russian rule in Finland. He continued as follows:

"The Russians are well aware of their roots. These roots could also be found from the Grand Duchy period [of Finland]. There are still old connections.

When the Russian military forces left Turku in the second decade of the last century, they left behind the heritage blood type known as the B blood group."

Pirjo Saari from Turku Touring continues:

"The Russian travel agencies still use in their marketing these old connections with Russia. One of their brochures asks whether people know why the blood group B is more common in Turku than elsewhere in Finland. The answer is that it is due to the former Russian garrison in Turku." (Kärkkäinen 2004.)
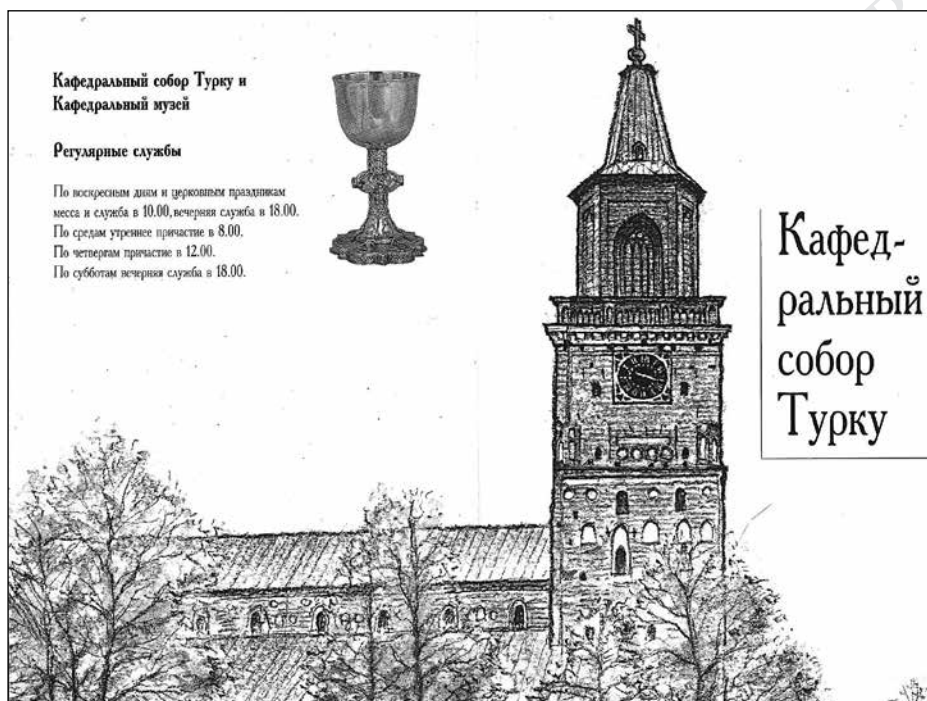
1. The brochure for Turku Cathedral marketed to Russian tourists
(Turku Touring)

On the same day that this article was published in *Turun Sanomat*, I happened to meet an old friend of mine for lunch at a restaurant near our university. His name was Petter Portin, a professor of genetics at Turku University. Still thinking about the article, I asked him for his opinion about this theory of the frequency of blood group B in Turku and the connection with the former Russian garrisons here. He promised to consider the question; he then published his opinion on the matter in a

letters to the editor of the newspaper on 21 January (Portin 2004a). He wrote that the argumentation about the deviating frequency of blood group B in Turku was just not true. He had gotten figures of the different blood groups in Turku and the whole country from the Finnish Red Cross Blood Service. The figures were for those persons who had recently donated blood in 2001. They were as follows:

	Turku	Finland
Blood group A	40,27%	41,51%
Blood group O	34,36%	32,97%
Blood group B	16,82%	16,69%
Blood group AB	8,55%	8,83%

Source: Portin 2004a.

On the same day as this article was published, I received an e-mail message from Petter Portin in which he told me that a colleague of his had stated that this theory about the frequency of blood group B in Turku as a consequence of former Russian garrisons had once been presented by the then-professor of serology and bacteriology at our university, Eero Mustakallio, who had died a couple of years back.

Two days later, on 23 January, I received another e-mail message from Petter Portin in which he told me of having received a postcard from a Turku tourist guide who had read his article in *Turun Sanomat*; she wrote in the card that the story of the frequency of blood group B in Turku as a consequence of the former Russian garrisons had been taught to them as fact during the educational training offered by Turku Touring. So no wonder that the Russian tourists knew of this claim about blood type.

But the discussion in *Turun Sanomat* continued. On the 4th of February, the successor to Eero Mustakallio, Professor Paavo Toivanen, wrote his opinion on the matter in a letters to the editor in response to Petter Portin's claim that the theory was incorrect. According to Toivanen, blood group B had previously been more common in the province of Finland Proper than it is now and clearly more common than elsewhere in Finland (Toivanen 2004). He told that this research result had been published by Eero Mustakallio in 1989 (Mustakallio 1989). He had collected material about Finnish-speaking people between the years 1935 and 1972. According to his findings, the frequency of blood group B in Finland Proper was 19,4%, whereas in western Finland when not including Finland Proper it was 17%, in northern Finland 16,7% and in eastern Finland 17,5%. Paavo Toivanen continued: "In his research report, professor Mustakallio does not take any stand on what would be the reason for this greater frequency of blood group B in Finland Proper.

We should, however, remember that that after the end of the War of Finland in 1809, there arrived in Turku between 1000 and 2000 Russian soldiers, the greatest part of whom were left here as a permanent garrison. The total population of Turku was then 9000, so the Russian garrison made up a remarkable part of the overall population." (Toivanen 2004, Mustakallio 1989.)

Now that we knew the author and the year, 1989, it was easy for Petter Portin and me to find the original research rapport by Eero Mustakallio. When we did, we both found that there were nothing about Russian soldiers or garrisons in Turku during the period when Finland was a Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire. So it seemed we had reached a dead end at the moment. Petter Portin, however, sent his reply to Paavo Toivanen to *Turun Sanomat* on the 10th of February, and it was published on the 8th of March (Portin 2004b). In it, he referred the results provided by Mustakallio and admitted that they were relevant. During the years 1935–72, the frequencies were as follows:

	Finland Proper	Western Finland	Finland as a whole
Blood group A	40,84%	41,46%	42,61%
Blood group B	19,40%	17,53%	17,52%
Blood group AB	7,71%	7,08%	7,48%
Blood group O	32,05%	33,93%	32,39%

Petter Portin stated here that the difference between Finland Proper and Western Finland and Finland Proper and the whole of Finland was in both cases significant. Then, he asked what would be the reason for the differences in the material presented by himself, which were based on statistics of blood donors in 2001 from the Finnish Red Cross, and the material presented by Eero Mustakallio. His answer was that migration had levelled out the differences in the frequency of occurrences of blood group B. He continued his article as follows: "The [presence of the] Russian garrison in Turku after the War of Finland in 1808–09 had nothing to do with the matter. For a long time, it has been a well-known fact that the frequency of blood group B increases when moving east of Finland. […] If the reason for the former clearly higher frequency of blood group B in the district of Turku would have been caused by the Russian garrison in Turku, then every soldier of the garrison would have had to procreate, according to a rough estimation, on average enough for at least ten children [to be born]." (Portin 2004b, Mustakallio 1989.)

What was at this stage of the matter still unclear to me was the question of where Turku Touring had gotten the idea of these blood ties between the Russians and

citizens of Turku that it used when educating the local tourist guides. It seemed quite possible that *Turun Sanomat* had written something about it in 1989, when Eero Mustakallio had first published his research report. So I thought that I should next go to the university library and read through articles from the year 1989. Fortunately, there was an easier way to find what I was looking for, and when I found it, the former way proved to have been invalid.

At this stage of the matter, an old friend of mine and a fellow ethnologist, Risto Laine, happened to phone me. He had already retired from working life and was continuing as a contributor to *Turun Sanomat*. So without going into much detail here, with his help I was able to find the necessary articles about Eero Mustakallio's research from the newspaper's archives, which would have been impossible without his help. Besides, I did not have to read all the volumes of the newspaper from the year 1989. Anyway, I found two copies of newspaper articles about Mustakallio's research on blood groups in Turku. But to my great surprise, the two articles were from the years 1946 and 1992. So reading back copies of *Turun Sanomat* from the year 1989 would have been useless to me anyway; at any rate, now I had gotten what I needed.

The first of the two articles, the one from the year 1946, was an article on the inauguration speech given by Mustakallio when receiving his professorship at the University of Turku. Here, the question was about research on blood groups in general and especially about the blood groups of the Finns, but even still he also mentioned the frequency of blood group B in the Turku region. However, according to him the reason for the phenomenon had nothing to do with the former Russian garrison, but instead with earlier contacts of both citizens of Turku citizens and people living around Turku with Estonians (Veriryhmien puolesta 1946). Later, I found that Mustakallio had even written his doctoral thesis on the same topic in 1937.

The second newspaper article had been published in *Turun Sanomat* in July 1992. It was not only about Mustakallio's research, but also about another study on a quite similar topic by another researcher. According to the article, both researchers had recently given lectures on the topic as part of a series of lectures organised by the Turku Regional History Society. The theme of the series had been "Of what are the Turku people made?" The second article, in contrast to the evidence Mustakallio had presented in his inauguration speech in 1946 and in his article from 1989, the reasons for the frequency of blood group B around Turku was now for the first time – as I had then believed – posited as the result of contacts between both the people of Turku and neighbouring Russians. The figures themselves were the same as those provided in the latter publication (Pohjola 1992).

But when reading this article, I realised that there had to also be something on the topic in the periodical put out by the Turku Regional History Society. The title of the periodical is *Suomen Turku* – Åbo *vår stad*, because it is bilingual. We have copies of the periodical in the departmental library, and so it was not difficult for me get a hold of it. And – bingo! There it was, an article about the Russian-influenced blood group B in Turku in number 2/1992 of the journal (Haapakoski 1992). This

indeed must be the starting point for the story about the connection between the frequency of blood group B in Turku and the Russian garrison told by the tourist industry. The author of the article must have been the journal's editorial secretary, Eeva Haapakoski, because the article gave no name for the author. She had died in 1994. Again, the figures presented in the article were exactly the same as those from Mustakallio's article from year 1989, but the reasons for their existence were quite different.

"Professor Mustakallio had also considered reasons for the high rates of [blood group] B [in Turku] and had come to the conclusion, that one big factor here was military quartering. Romantic relationships between Russian merchants or members of their security forces and girls from Turku had been possible at least since the early Middle Ages, maybe much earlier in the market places along the River Aura. [...] With independence [of Finland], the Russian soldiers finally returned to their own country. The men left, but the strength of their "actions in darkness" can be seen mirrored in the genotype of the citizens of Turku." (Haapakoski 1992.)

So, as we saw in 1946, in 1989 and again in 1992, Eero Mustakallio each time gave a different explanation for the high frequency of blood group B in Turku and its surroundings. Or did he?

Eero Mustakallio himself never published the lecture he gave in 1992, but the author of the journal article was Eeva Haapakoski. When rethinking the quotation from above, it seems obvious that the editor had first referred Mustakallio's lecture in her article, and after that she had asked him about the reasons for the high frequency of blood group B in Turku. This is just the way editors used to do it. But what Eero Mustakallio really said in the interview remains a mystery. It was evidently Eeva Haapakoski's idea and not Eero Mustakallio's that the Russian garrison in Turku had something to do with the phenomenon in question. The more I think about this possibility, the more convinced I become that it is true.

Although the problem addressed here has already been solved to a satisfactory degree and the main question has been answered, just for curiosity's sake it might be interesting to examine the figures and locations of Russian garrisons in Finland in the past. As it happens, Pentti Luntinen's work on the topic, *The Imperial Russian Army and Navy in Finland 1808–1918*, published in 1997, provides a comprehensive discussion on the topic for the periods in question (Luntinen 1997: 49). The book includes two maps showing Russian garrisons in Finland during peacetime, the first in 1820 and the second in the 1890s. According to the first map, one Russian battalion was located in Turku, while others were stationed in Åland, Hanko, Hämeenlinna, Ruotsinsalmi, Kyminkaartano and Käkisalmi. But two Russian battalions could be found in Helsinki, Loviisa, Hamina and Viipuri as well as an entire Russian regiment in Vaasa. In all of these towns or villages, the population of the garrisons was at the time remarkably smaller than in Turku.

Luntinen's map of the situation in the 1890s is quite different. Russian rifle regiments were stationed in Hämeenlinna, Helsinki, Hamina and Viipuri, and an artillery battalion was stationed in Tuusula, near Helsinki. But in Turku there were no
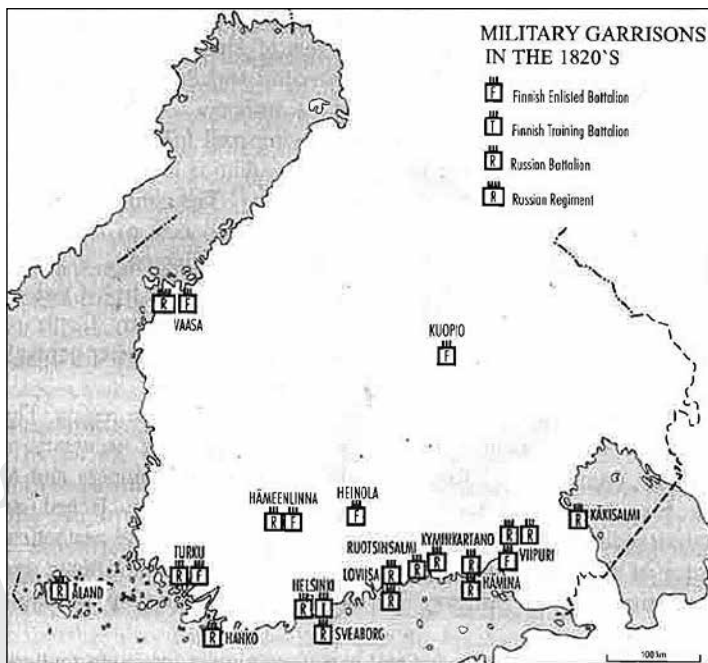
2. Russian Garrisons in Finland in the 1820s (Luntinen 1997: 49)
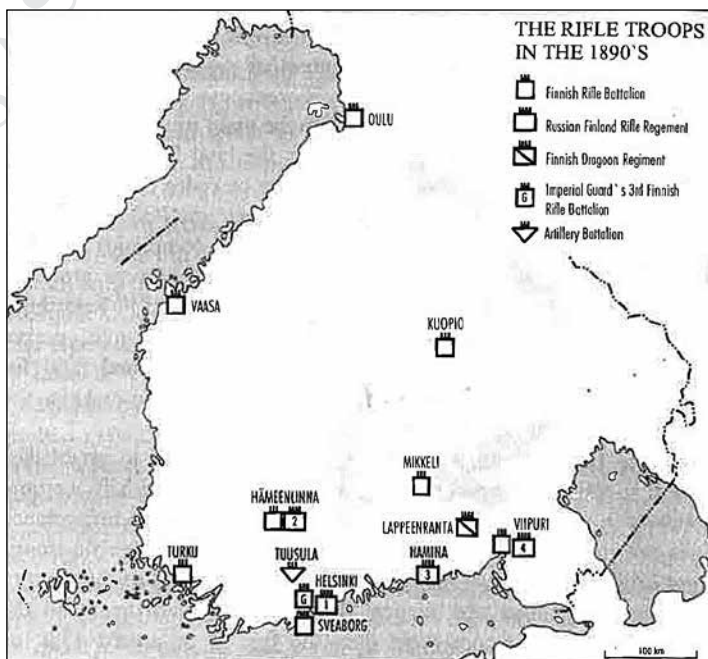
3. Russian Garrisons in Finland the in 1890s (Luntinen 1997: 150)

Russian troops at all, just a Finnish rifle battalion, which was also the case in seven other Finnish towns. So it is worth considering that during the period of Russian rule, the military garrison in Turku could not be the reason of the formerly high frequency of blood group B in the town itself and in the surrounding countryside.

But what about the Greater Wrath (1713–1721) and the Lesser Wrath (1742–1743), which were also mentioned as possibilities here? During both these wars, all of Finland and not just Turku was occupied by the Russians. Turku and the country-side around it were the densest populated parts of Finland at the time, so any changes in blood groups should have been relatively larger percentagewise elsewhere. We should also take into consideration the fact that only Russians used to penetrate into the interior of Finland in contrast to other enemies who had mainly attacked the Finnish coastal areas: the Swedes, the Danes, the Englishmen, the French and even the Germans. They always came from the sea – and they also left via the sea. Whoever is responsible for an increase in blood group B in Turku and its surroundings obvi-ously came only from the sea then – and left by the sea, too. Otherwise, higher fre-quency rates of blood group B would also be found elsewhere in Finland.

What can we learn from all this? First, Eero Mustakallio made a big mistake when he presented only percentage for the small population living in Turku in past centuries. He should have used absolute numbers instead. Probably the fre-quency of blood group B in Turku was just a coincidence. Second, if you publish faulty research results but the story is good, you can never quite recant the story. It is repeated over and over again forever. I believe that there are still people at Turku Touring who believe in the story about the relations between Russian soldiers and girls from Turku. They just don't want to believe me.

Translated by the author and language proofed by Erik Hieta
Associated by Petter Portin

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Módosított történelem és genetika a látogatók számára: Turku és az orosz turisták

Amikor Finnország svéd fennhatóság alatt állt (1155–1809) Turku volt az ország fővárosa, mivel közel volt Stockholmhoz. Az orosz uralom alatt (1809–1917) ez már nem volt megfelelő, mivel Turku túl messze volt Szentpétervártól és túl közel volt Stockholmhoz. Ezért megépült Helsinki, mint az ország új fővárosa. A finn függetlenség után is megőrizte ezt a státuszt. A Szovjetunió 1991-es összeomlása után az orosz turisták szabadon utazhattak nyugatra, Finnországba és máshová is. Később nem csak lehetőségük, de pénzük is lett erre. Ez problémát okozott Turku városának: az oroszokat Helsinki érdekelte, annak orosz vonatkozásai miatt, Turku nem volt érdekes számukra a maga svéd hátterével. A Turku Touring cég feladata Turku városának népszerűsítése a turisták körében. A vezetőség arra a következtetésre jutott, hogy egy jó történet szükséges ahhoz, hogy az orosz turisták a városba látogassanak. Találtak egy ilyet: a történet szerint az orosz uralom elején Turkuban elhelyezett orosz katonák nyomot hagytak a város lakosai körében: a keletiekre jellemző B vércsoport nekik köszönhető. Ez a történet azonban nonszensz, a tanulmány ezt be is bizonyítja, illetve a történet eredeti forrását is bemutatja.

Istorie și genetică modificată pentru vizitatori: Turku și turiștii ruși

În timpul dominației suedeze al Finlandei (1155–1809) Turku fusese capitala ţării, căci se situează aproape de Stockholm. Iar în timpul administraţiei ruseşti (1809–1917) lucrurile s-au schimbat, căci era prea departe de Sanct Petersburg şi prea aproape de Stockholm. Astfel că a fost construită oraşul Helsinki ca şi noua capitală a ţării. Şi în perioada independenţei finlandeze şi-a păstrat acest statut. După destrămarea Uniunii Sovietice în 1991 turiştii ruşi au avut posibilitatea de a trece graniţa spre vest, în Finlanda sau în alte părţi. Mai apoi aceştia au avut şi bani ca să facă acest lucru. Turismul a devenit un aspect problematic pentru Turku, căci ruşii erau interesaţi de Helsinki, datorită trecutului rusesc, şi nu de oraşul Turku, care avea mai degradă un fundal suedez. Turku Touring este o organizaţie cu scopul de a realiza activităţi de marketing pentru turism. Managementul acestei organizaţii şi-a dat seama repede de faptul că are nevoie de o poveste bună pentru a atrage turiştii ruşi. Astfel că au şi găsit una. Conform acesteia soldaţii ruşi aşezaţi la Turku la începuturile dominaţiei ruseşti au lăsat în urma lor ceva în rândul locuitorilor: cică lor se datorează grupa de sânge B, caracteristic esticilor. Această poveste nu are nici un sens, iar studiul de faţă dovedeşte acest lucru. Ba chiar mai mult, ne dezvăluie sursa originală a acestei poveşti.

Modified History and Genetics for Visitors: Turku and Russian Tourists

During Swedish rule of Finland (1155–1809) Turku was the capital of the country, because of its close location to Stockholm. During Russian rule (1809–1917) it was no longer suitable for that, because it was too far from Saint Petersburg and too close to Stockholm. So Helsinki was built for the new capital of the country. During Finnish independence it sustained its position as the capital of the country. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Russian tourists were allowed to travel freely to the west, to Finland and elsewhere. Later they also had money to do this. This was a problem for Turku. The Russians were interested in Helsinki, because of its Russian background, but not in Turku, because of its Swedish background. Turku Touring is an organization for marketing Turku to tourists. The management of it soon realized that a good story was needed for marketing the town to Russian tourists. Well, they found such. According to the story the Russian soldiers, who had been accommodated in Turku in the beginning of Russian rule of Finland, have left behind the eastern blood group B among the inhabitants of the town. This story is just nonsense and the author aims to prove this. He has also found the original source of the story.

Edina Földessy

The Lives of Migrants With,
and Through, Their Objects

In 2011, the Budapest Museum of Ethnography, with the support of the Országos Tudományos Kutatási Alapprogramok (The National Scientific Research Fund, or OTKA), embarked on a three-year project to study the material culture of immigrants residing in the Hungarian capital. This paper, which examines the particulars of an initiative unique to the institution in terms of subject matter, methodology, and findings, prefaces its discussion with a review of migration-related studies, exhibitions, and programmes led or sponsored by the museum in the years prior, and concludes with accounts of both events pursued as a result, and the institution's long-term plans.

Museum Exhibitions on the Topic
of Transnational/Transcontinental Migration

The first museum initiative to deal with the issue of transnational/transcontinental migration took the form of a 1976[1] exhibition entitled *A People Safeguards Its Culture: Artefacts Belonging to Chileans in Hungary at the Museum of Ethnography*. It is perhaps no coincidence that one of the curators of the project was museum employee Irma Agüero,[2] a native Cuban then living in Hungary as a consequence of marriage. Organised with the collaboration of the Hungarian Branch of the Chilean Antifascist Commission, the event was politically motivated and took place within a particular political environment.[3] Its significance, as stated in a brief introductory article, was to "contribute to the struggle of democratic forces in Chile" (Agüero 1978: 455). The exhibition was likely the first to present macro-history – in this case, the 1973 putsch that toppled the Allende government and events that followed – via personal micro-histories – at least as far as the article penned by curator

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1   The exhibition remained on view at the Museum of Ethnography's newly occupied building on Kossuth Square for three months.
2   Irma Agüero was head curator of the Indonesian and American Collections from 1975–1984, and the African Collection from 1979–1982.
3   Hungary accepted approximately 200 Chilean families, offering them a chance a brand new start, including residence permits, work, and education for their children.

Agüero would appear to imply (Agüero 1978). Responding to the call for material contributions to the exhibition were 21 individuals offering 333 objects, 70 of which were eventually put on display. In the phrasing of Agüero: "They brought not only their objects, but also the personal stories, histories – even feelings – that went with them, all woven together as in a rich and layered tapestry." (Agüero 1978: 454.)

Although the Chilean families that furnished the material spanned multiple social strata, the curator noted with interest that, "regardless of social class, they [had] all brought the same, or nearly the same, articles with them into emigration". The examples cited in her article give a sense of how "people's relationships with their material effects can change in certain 'extreme situations,' that is, how items of folk art and artifice – objects that bear perpetual personal cultural identity – are filled with new and extraordinarily potent, emotionally charged symbolic content in historic situations" such as the one at hand (Agüero 1978: 455). The exhibition featured not only personal mementoes brought from Chile, but also items the political prisoners and refugees had crafted after leaving home. (*Picture 1.*) Although the article on the exhibition sought to emphasise the refugees' personal stories, extant documents and personal accounts suggest that these may not have featured in the exhibition directly. Instead, artefacts were grouped by ethnographic criteria – i.e. by craft or material – and displayed, accompanied by the appropriate text, so as to illustrate various forms of Chilean folk art and handicrafts. Still, the refugees did share their stories with curator Agüero, and the relationship that developed between them endured even after the exhibition closed. In the end, given the political environment that dominated in that period, *A People...* remained a unique and unrepeated event, one whose thematics (migration, refugeeism) and methodologies (use of material loaned by private parties) were not applied in subsequent museum practice, nor used as a model toward the development of the much more recent OTKA project on immigrant material culture.

The next occasion on which the Museum of Ethnography tackled the issue of migration came several decades later, following the political system change of 1989. *The Other: Ancient Myths, Fatal Delusions, Cultural Diversity,*[4] an exhibition brought in on loan from the Ethnographic Museum of Geneva in 2008, aimed to offer a historical retrospective on the relationship between Europeans and peoples of other cultures. The exhibition was held as an initiative of – and with the close cooperation of – the Artemisszio Foundation, an organisation active in the area of intercultural communication, during the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. It was, in fact, the first project in which the museum partnered with a non-governmental organisation to finance, implement, and operate an exhibition and related publishing activities. The final room was updated with respect to the display seen in Geneva to illustrate the concept of international mobility, including

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4   The exhibition remained on display from 27 September 2008 until 6 April 2009. The Budapest Museum of Ethnography borrowed the concept and design, along with the exhibition's 100 artefacts, from the Ethnographic Museum of Geneva, adding from its own and other Hungarian public collections a number of Hungarian-themed units to a tune of around 700 addition objects.

both immigration and emigration, using material presented by the Foundation: life-sized photographs of the faces and figures of both famous people who had emigrated from Hungary, and immigrants then settled in Hungary, intended to embody global historical processes and personal life courses. (*Picture 2.*) The exhibition was accompanied by various theatrical performances probing the topic of migration, along with a variety of museum education programmes.

Contact Zone

In 2009, some of the museum's younger employees won the support of a programme called "Museums as Places for Intercultural Dialogue"[5] toward the development and implementation of a multi-phase project known as "Contact Zone – Intercultural Dialogue and Co-operation". The initial phase, conducted in 2009 and 2010, involved an experiment aimed at co-operation between museum employees and immigrants from various countries living in Budapest. Together, participants worked to determine how the cultures in question were represented in the museum's collections, then examine how immigrants viewed their current personal life worlds and cultures through the objects discovered. In this way, the museum's historic holdings were drawn into an exciting dialogue with contemporary material culture in which various representations and scientific / subjective readings were pitted against each other.[6] (*Picture 3.*) The express aim of the project was to "enhance skills (i.e. communication) and build community (i.e. increase awareness of and resistance to prejudice) through non-formal learning methods". Also organised by the Artemisszio Foundation as part of the project were visits to the museum by several groups of immigrants, who attended programmes held by institution curators and educators at the sites of ongoing exhibitions, presented objects of their own that were meaningful to them, and used the same objects to develop their own miniature exhibition.

Though to date, the museum has not given the theme of emigration exclusive treatment in any presentational form, Zoltán Fejős, museum director from 1997 until 2013, did study the situation of Hungarians living abroad, particularly in Chicago, for a period beginning in 1984. Fejős's research, which employed modern methodology, merged social history drawn from primary sources with an anthropological-ethnographic perspective in order to unpack the whole of the subject matter from the access point of the "common man".[7] Follow-up on the theoretical work

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5   The project handbook is available online at http://www.ne-mo.org/fileadmin/Dateien/public/service/Handbook_MAPforID_EN.pdf

6   The Vienna Weltmuseum held a temporary exhibition based on a similar project from April to September of 2018. *Out of the Box: Moving Worlds* presented objects from museum holdings in the company of testimonials and interpretations provided by some of the city's own immigrants.

7   For further information, see the interview with Zoltán Fejős available at http://www.agt.bme.hu/balassi/fejoszoltan.html

included both journal articles and a book (Fejős 1991, 1993, 1999).[8] Though the museum director's findings were never translated into the language of a museum exhibition, Fejős has the distinction of being the one individual to have supported study of the material culture of immigrants living in Budapest.

The OTKA Study

The idea for the study arose from several glaring observations: namely, that while Western European countries, with particular reference to the larger cities of former colonial powers, have experience with multiculturalism going back more than a half (or even full) century, in Hungary, the phenomenon is limited to the period following the shift to democratic rule and opening of borders that occurred in 1989. Additionally, this experience takes a considerably milder form, as Hungary is primarily a transit country with but a tiny immigrant population (less than 2% and of a composition differing from that of Western European countries) and no significant diasporic communities. Hungarian citizens, for their part, have little realistic knowledge of those who have arrived from other parts of the world, nor have immigrants in Hungary had, to date, much opportunity at self-representation. From the museum's standpoint, the academic examination of this social change means the ability to study the cultures that produced the objects in its overseas collections not only in the distant geographic locations they occupy, but also "next door," i.e. within its own society. This circumstance alters the entire concept of fieldwork to one in which researchers, in order to study "otherness," need no longer travel the globe; in which the academic pursues knowledge not as a lone "white person" stationed in isolation, but among individuals embedded within his or her own society; in which the scholar in the field paints a picture of two cultures and how they interact, while simultaneously offering insight into intercultural situations.

   Even in the international academic world, the idea of uniting the topics of migration and material culture studies – of approaching migration from a material perspective – has arisen only recently;[9] but in Hungary, the OKTA study was, truly, the very first such experiment. The questions posed at the outset included: How are people and objects connected? What relationships exist between objects, narratives, human beings, and memory? How can one understand or approach the topic of migration in the mirror of the objects involved? Of the curators of the museum's international collections, four, together with an archivist from the Contact Zone project and a number of extra-institutional scholars, took part in conducting the required research. The former were aided both by research experience in

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8   The Hungarian Open Air Museum (Szentendre), relying on the work of Balázs Balogh, acquired a collection of objects from Hungarians living in the United States, consisting of the complete furnishings of a "Burdos House" in Vintondale, Pennsylvania. In the long term, the museum plans on a public treatment of the topic that includes display of the material.

9   For an overview of research on this topic, see Árendás 2014a: 70–73; Wilhelm 2014a: 48–51.

the immigrants' countries of origin and surrounding areas, and by knowledge of their cultural backgrounds, factors which helped both researcher, and "researched" to develop a personal connection, pose questions, and interpret answers. This advantage not withstanding, with the exception of a single researcher, each participant was assigned an area he or she had never worked in before, a circumstance that came with certain challenges. Interview subjects were recruited both from among acquaintances, and by other means, at times by way of the "snowball effect". In my own case, it became necessary to replace contacts I had begun to make at one of the mosques in Budapest with individuals I met through family and friends, as the women in question were mostly Hungarians converted to Islam who, though a source of useful information on certain topics, did not actually belong to the group under scrutiny. A notable difficulty experienced at the outset of the project arose from the situation of Zsuzsa Árendás, who worked among Indian immigrants. Because Árendás had both an Indian husband, and other Indian friends and family, she found herself faced with the dilemma of how to manage her personal relationships within the academic context – to use them to the project's benefit – without damaging them. It was also Árendás's experience that illuminated the problem of differences in terminology usage between researchers and subjects, caused by the frequent relocations and cosmopolitan lifestyles of the highly qualified employees of multinational companies and other peculiarities of the global labour flow. Specifically, the word "migrant," used by the researchers to indicate a mere state of mobility, was rejected by their Indian interviewees (employees of multinational companies) as applying to the classic, narrowly defined concept typical of the period prior to the onset of transnational migration, when the phenomenon was both unidirectional and, usually, permanent. The problem was resolved by making sure to describe their situation carefully in all communication. It bears noting in this regard that while at the outset of the project, the term "migrant"– referring to people who cross national borders to settle in places outside their own lands – bore a meaning that was, for the most part, neutral and an accepted part of social scientific thinking, in the period that followed the study's completion, it was to acquire a markedly negative connotation in public discourse, tinged by a political interpretation of the migrant wave of 2015 that conflated concepts previously held distinct. This eventuality has inevitably affected the language used by researchers ever since, who have returned to using the earlier designations of *immigrant* and *emigrant.*

Experiences gained in the first phase of the study worked to modify several of its original ideas. First, the preconception that the study would be examining various *groups* was abandoned: interview subjects were found to have travelled such complicated life paths and assembled such a broad array of life experiences, it was practically impossible to analyse them in terms of cohesive ethnicities. Thus, the focus remained trained on the individual, leaving theoretical generalisations to be expressed at the thematic, rather than group (i.e. ethnic) level. This was the case even if, to promote framework thinking, the headings under which findings were

published did make consistent use of place of origin as a reference point, while individual analyses were found to include findings that, given subjects' identical cultural backgrounds, provided useful information on the broader groups to which they belonged. Additionally, as is generally the case with such projects, the study's initially broad and relatively complex subject matter underwent a certain degree of change as the interviews broached new themes, the collected material was systematised, focus points for publication were identified, and the topics for discussion were narrowed. An external expert – the aforementioned Zsuzsa Árendás[10] – was asked to familiarise the museum team with current scholarship on migration and instruct its members regarding the theory they would be applying to fieldwork, analysis and interpretation of material, and publication. As the irrelevance of the group approach was realised early on (i.e. at the time interview subjects were recruited), the individual approach was applied from the outset. Most team members found a ready hand-hold in the methodologies of participant observation and life course interviews, which could be focused, through the lens of material culture (the central point of the study), on migration stories, either in isolation, or as part of the family story or broader social context. In total, nearly 80 interviews were conducted, most of them with first-generation immigrants. The conversations took place at numerous locations around Budapest, including immigrants' homes and places of work, coffee houses, and the museum. The exact choice depended on how open subjects seemed toward the project, the ideal location being the subject's home, where objects could be seen in context. Where this was not the case, interviewees "merely" told stories about them, thus limiting interpretation to the viewpoints they provided. As there was no opportunity of extending fieldwork to areas that included the immigrants' countries of origin, work in Budapest concentrated on the intercultural relationships between immigrants and members of the countries that received them, and the problems they experienced in creating a new home. As a future step, the project might also investigate virtual relationships with people in the subjects' home countries and/or the characteristics of various transnational lifestyles in virtual space.[11]

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10 Zsuzsa Árendás, who wrote her PhD dissertation on the topic of migration and was formerly on the staff of the Central American University, currently works at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Social Sciences Research Centre, Sociology Institute. As an immigrant from Slovakia and partner in a mixed marriage (her husband is Indian), Árendás has personal experience with mobility and all that comes with it.

11 During the planning phase of the project, researchers learned of a project to be conducted on facebook that would examine the process by which Hungarian Romany living in Canada built homes and achieved identity representation in light of the objects appearing overtly in their posts or incidentally in the backgrounds of photos. Such a study would have illuminated the topic of immigrant material culture from an entirely new perspective. One of the book's reviewers, too, stressed the importance of this type of online research and urged academics to make comparisons with online results (Lajos 2015).

Publication

One result of the study was the publication of *Migrating Objects: The Material Culture of Immigrants in Hungary,* a Hungarian-language book in the museum's Tabula Series (Árendás–Szeljak eds. 2014). Among the ideas expressed at the commencement of the project was that of collective preparatory instruction, which it was hoped would provide researchers with a common knowledge base from which to effect identical language and terminology usage. The thought here was primarily for some of the broader concepts – transnationalism, home, intercultural negotiations, boundary objects, and "migrant worlds" – in which humans and objects share in the creation of meaning. At the same time, because different field situations presented researchers with different topics to consider, no consistent set of criteria was developed toward the systematisation and analysis of the materials collected by all team members; as a result, each researcher took the theoretical tack deemed to best fit his or her own material. Because the project was experimental, this method seemed acceptable despite its heterogeneous character, a judgment that demonstrates, as the book itself reflects, just how many perspectives, conceptual planes, systems of classification, approaches, and methods of interpretation can be applied to the subject matter of a single project, such as this one on the material culture of migrants. It should be noted that a similar degree of experimentation and methodological wayfinding went into the studies conducted at the international level.

In the final product, the book began with an introduction and two theoretical pieces, followed by a series of seven articles written by the project's six authors. An additional topic dealing not with the movement of human beings and their belongings, but with the transplantation of religious trappings into a foreign setting, was appended to the book at the decision of the editors, despite its disjointure from the group's actual work. The idea was to show what happens when ideas or religious images travel from one place to another to then take form in a new location. Written by Judit Farkas, the article in question discusses how adherents of the Hare Krishna movement constructed a shrine and pilgrimage site in the Hungarian municipality of Somogyvámos and examines the roles played by the objects inside it (Farkas 2014). While five of the articles deal with the material cultures of other parts of the world – India, Egypt, the Middle East, Russia, and East and Southeast Asia – as featured in homes (i.e. personal, intimate spaces) (Árendás 2014b; Földessy 2014a, 2014b; Kerezsi 2014; Wilhelm 2014b), two others (in addition to that written by Judit Farkas) explore strategies associated with ethnic representations in the urban sphere as expressed through objects (of Andean musicians and Turkish fast food restaurant owners) appearing in a business context (Szeljak–Széli 2014; Vörös 2014).

The academic approaches used in dealing with the topics of migration and material culture feature a number of key concepts and points of theory that bear mentioning. In the volume's first theoretical exposition, for example, Gábor Wilhelm examines the seemingly universal concept of *home*, with specific reference to

interactions within the intricate web of relationships existing between the migrant, the home left behind, and the home developed elsewhere. What connects them, frequently, are objects, if not necessarily in their physical state (Wilhelm 2014a). Inseparable from the concept of home is that of *place*, interpreted to mean not only the site of permanent residence, but also the particular category of translocation. As Wilhelm notes, "expressing both the connections between places, and one's relationship to that connection" forms part of the migrant's life (Wilhelm 2014a: 26). In some cases, for example, an immigrant feels most profoundly at home in a place other than the one shared with spouse and family. In particular, the work done among immigrants from the Middle East demonstrated how the concepts of "the home where I live" and "the home that I came from" can sometimes diverge, the latter taking the form of a secondary space – such as an office, summer home, or even automobile interior – that can be furnished to resemble a second residence, where – for instance – smuggled in music can be played or telecommunications devices used to exchange musical experiences with relatives in America (Földessy 2014b: 269).

A concept useful in analysing both the connection between two (or, when family and employer relationships are considered, often even more) locations, and the ties migrants maintain with others is that of the *transnational social space*, described by Zsuzsa Árendás in her introductory essay on migration, migrant identities, and migrant material culture. To tackle the various parallels, complexities, and mixed cultural situations involved in living a transnational existence, Árendás introduces the approach of hybridisation as an alternative to *mélange* theory and the concept of creolisation, whose development, meaning, and pitfalls she also outlines (Árendás 2014a). Examples of multilocality, home establishment, and hybridisation arise in conjunction with various aspects of meal preparation (procurement, preparation, storage, service, consumption, tools), a topic broached by several studies referencing Indian, Russian, and Turkish immigrants, in which both public, and private spaces in individual and hospitality industry use were considered (Árendás 2014b, Kerezsi 2014, Vörös 2014).

Among theories bringing results in the study of material culture was that of the *boundary object*, which featured heavily in Gábor Wilhelm's introductory thesis and research interpretations (Wilhelm 2014a; 2014b). Boundary objects are objects that "intermediate between various people and groups in the course of everyday communication because they are accessible to all and all can relate to them. Accordingly, the concept of a boundary object was born as a tool for examining the interactions of communities with different knowledge bases, modes of discourse, and routines, and it is in this context that the notion has meaning." (Wilhelm 2014a: 42.) "At the same time, the concept of a boundary object can only be understood within a network-type theory of objects, as it is the relationships between individual participants that define them." (Wilhelm 2014a: 42.)

Recommending a different type of classification of the objects presented by immigrants was Ágnes Kerezsi, who approached her work among Russian wives

from two different points of departure: the personal ethnicity constructions involved in the migrants' situation, and the function of their objects in expressing Russian identity. In this way, in the system of classification she devises, nostalgic and symbolic objects, such as photographs, albums, souvenirs, gift items, and articles indicative of the Russian mentality and language, along with the material world of foods and flavours, are all strongly demarcated (Kerezsi 2014).

Another concept that stood out was that of authenticity. György Szelják and Júlia Széli, for example, showed how the range of objects owned by ethnic Andeans who play street music and sell ethnic articles has adapted continuously since the 1990s to the changing discourse in Hungary about both the entrepreneurs themselves, and the subject of authenticity, dedicating an entire chapter to the process by which shirts produced in South America, having patterns embroidered onto them in Hungary, are sold to customers as items of traditional Hungarian folk art (Szeljak–Széli 2014). The same concept is illuminated by Judit Farkas in connection with the holy places of Krishna followers, which are validated, along with the objects placed in them, by the person of the guru. Regarding the objects, it is important not that "they adhere to the original pattern, but that they meet the expectation of the spiritual master – whose knowledge of the original is deepest" (Farkas 2014: 219).

Concepts in anthropology receiving pronounced attention included *identity*, *ethnicity*, and in sensual anthropology, *vision* and *touch*. The sensual approach, for example, was applied by the present author to a study of the personal effects of immigrants from Egypt and the Middle East, examined – among other ways – in their relation to the places associated with their owner's arrival, stay, and permanent settlement in Hungary, and to other spaces they had used – dormitories, rental units, homes shared with spouses, offices, and passenger automobiles. By tracing the paths taken by individual objects / object types in their owners' adaptation to the target society, one can learn, among other things, what strategies an object's owner favours and what role the object plays in shaping the relationship between immigrant and new homeland (Földessy 2014a, 2014b).

Album

In addition to studies written primarily for academic audiences, the project also undertook publication of a volume intended for a broader readership. From the working title *One Person – One Object – One Story*, the album in question eventually saw print as *The Objects of Home* (Szuhay–Kerék eds. 2014). Work on the book progressed in parallel with that of the studies, focusing on those of the project's previously known participants who were willing to have their faces, names, and personal stories appear in it. In this, it was the Asians who proved most reserved, so that in the end, not one actually agreed to the public display. At the same time, others were found who had not participated in the project, but were happy to share their stories for the purpose. Also, one museum staff member's participation in the

project was limited to this phase only. As its objective, the album asked individual interviewees to select a maximum of one or two of their personal possessions and provide an in-depth look at the meanings and stories behind them, so as to spotlight their owners' personal narratives.[12]

Compared to other books on similar themes, the volume's final section, which expresses the authors' own ethical stance, may be considered unique: in it, the academics ask themselves the same questions as those put to the immigrants, forcing themselves to articulate the meanings carried by or attributed to objects taken with them in their own travels. In doing so, the researchers realise, as their informants had, how much of themselves the effort forces them to reveal and what emotional effects it carries, even where the change of locations in question is voluntary and temporary, rather than a permanent abandonment of homeland. It is precisely for this reason, and by including persons falling outside the scope of the original project, that the volume steps outside the limits of the theme of migration and into the broader topic of mobility in general, providing insight into the complex systems of relationships, in all their different meanings and functions, that can exist between people and the things they possess.

In planning this volume, the researchers held it important that they create an opportunity for immigrants to represent themselves, to appear in ways not limited to their own scientific interpretations, to present themselves freely, and to speak of their lives. With this concept, the team wished to show who these immigrants really were, and in doing so, to put pressure on – and hopefully diminish – the forces shaping prejudice against them.

Conclusion and Future

The publication of the studies conducted for this project introduced numerous new concepts, themes, and scientific approaches into Hungarian museological and object-theoretical thinking. As with any pioneering initiative, however, both the project itself, and the methodological experimentation it entailed would no doubt benefit from ex-post synthesis and comparative analysis, permitting the team's experiences (both positive, and negative) to be applied to future research and its findings published in other forms. Given that to date, the project's findings have been published only in Hungarian [although team members did strive to unveil them to as broad an audience as possible through international conferences,[13] and various writings on the volume of studies, too, have been published in English, as well as Hungarian (Lajos 2015, Turai 2016, Gergely 2018), long-term plans include

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12 The Viennese Völkerkundemuseum (known starting in 2013 as the Weltmuseum) held a panel exhibition on a similar theme using photographs of immigrants and their effects in its aula in 2012.
13 Presentations were given in various forums, including Kerala, Kolozsvár, Moscow, Paris, and Washington, and at international conferences in Budapest. For more on these, see the project home page at http://migrantsinbudapest.blogspot.com/p/events.html.

making the material of the book available in English in a sufficiently detailed, re-edited version, if not in its original form. As for the artefacts collected, original plans called for the development of a database to be made available to other researchers studying the subject.

Refugee's Personal Possessions

In September of 2015, project team members, including Gabriella Vörös, Gábor Wilhelm, and project leader György Szeljak, along with museum staff member Ildikó Marton and museum photographer Eszter Kerék, undertook an initiative to collect objects left behind by refugees crossing the country's southern border at Röszke and Ásotthalom.[14] (*Picture 4.*) Entitled *The Ethnography of Objects Left Behind*, the project was regarded by the museum as an experiment that was simultaneously theoretical and practical. The items in question, classified as "trash" in the common mind, may be viewed by social scientists as a type of contemporary archaeological evidence: "What we are doing can be interpreted as archaeology: the finds originate from a momentary place of residence abandoned by its occupants, which we use to reconstruct their lives. Only the scale is different: days, weeks, months, not millennia."[15]

From the standpoint of institutional practice, once inside the building, the collection raised a number of substantive questions: How should the museum relate to artefacts of unknown provenance? Should they be inventoried, and if so, into what collection? (The museum's non-Hungarian collections, it was noted, are grouped by continent of origin.) Indeed, these questions remain unanswered to the present day. To enable the use of the objects for museum education purposes, however, a demand that arose almost immediately, or to carry them to places such as schools, festivals, or other institutions, it would seem appropriate that a representative sample be included in the museum's core collection and the rest placed in what is known as the demo collection (currently under development), used specifically for pre-planned museum education functions. In the case of this particular collection, the "multi-meaningful objects" it encompasses can be effective as tools for generating understanding and empathy. This is especially true of those lacking any ethnic character, which, because they resemble the everyday objects we use ourselves, can prompt the observer to relive situations experienced by the former owner. In fact, as a result of their open-ended nature, such objects have the power of manifesting certain human experiences: the loss of one's home, economic uncertainty, transience, survival.

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14 The refugees left the area starting 16 September, following the Röszke riots, while collecting began on 22 September at sites that had not yet been cleared of litter.
15 Quote by Gábor Wilhelm (Pálos 2016).

Artefact of the Month

Among objects collected in Ásotthalom was a Muslim headscarf, found impaled on a barbed wire fence, which the museum displayed as its November "artefact of the month". (*Picture 5.*) Its exhibition represented an attempt by the museum to introduce a new tone – one possible socio-scientific approach – into the discourse surrounding and following the recent wave of refugees. As nothing concrete is – or could be – known about the scarf, the text accompanying it focused on questions related to the general phenomenon of refugeeism and the dilemmas they present for the museum.[16] The exhibit created a considerable stir in the media, in particular in the left-wing press.

The Sziget Festival Exhibition

The intense press response to the Muslim headscarf and the discussion of what lay behind it, combined with the recognition that the museum had reacted to a contemporary phenomenon so swiftly and, for that matter, in this particular way led to one further development: an invitation by the organisers of the Sziget Festival to set up a stand on the topic of migration, in collaboration with the Paris National Museum of Immigration History, in the festival's "museum quarter". The result was an installation dubbed "Tent Without Borders," a programme that, given its stand-alone character, was accorded special privileges (in contrast to previous occasions, when the museum had participated in a capacity similar to that of other institutions). Inside, the objects collected from refugees were showcased in the manner of a studio exhibition under the title *Objects Left Behind*. The material itself was organised into six categories based on presumed original use and placed in Plexiglas boxes on the ground. The surrounding walls were furnished with information explaining both the manner in which the objects had been collected, and the professional and ethical dilemmas involved, including those associated with restoration. (*Picture 6.*) Visitors were given guided tours and asked to invent stories about the objects they saw. These were then published on the museum Web page. Visitors were also introduced to individual objects from the project's photographic volume, the personal stories that went with them, and the content of the books published upon project conclusion. On the whole, the installation represented an experiment on the part of the museum at reaching a young, international audience with the aim of gaining a better understanding of how the material might later be used in a museum education setting.

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16 For the text accompanying the scarf, see the museum Web page at http://www.neprajz.hu/gyujtemenyek/a-honap-mutargya/muszlim-noi-kendo.html

Exhibition on Mixed Marriages

In 2017, the Museum of Ethnography – under a multiannual contract with the Hungarian State Opera House – was tasked with developing an exhibition to accompany the latter's production of *West Side Story*. One of four studio exhibitions on topics related to ongoing performances installed each year at Erkel Theatre, "*Íszt szájd sztori*" (East Side Story) – *Boundless Love: Stories of Mixed Marriages and their Material Manifestations*[17] offered a counterpoint to the musical's original tragic theme. (*Picture 7.*) The exhibition examined romantic relationships between immigrants and Hungarians that had ended in cohabitation, marriage, and family. During the preparatory phase, the museum team reinitiated contact with couples interviewed previously for the project on immigrant material culture, in the end managing to recruit five to the new purpose. In each case, husband, wife, or both offered perspective on the relationship by answering the following questions: 1. How did you meet? 2. How did others in your environment react to the ways in which the foreign spouse was different? and 3. What does the fact that one of you is from a foreign culture mean to you? All material showcased for the exhibition – a total of nearly twenty artefacts in all – were, with a single exception, supplied on loan by the couples themselves. Also spotlighted were the texts of the interviews. Though in the course of the original project, the researchers had already largely acquainted themselves with the objects each immigrant spouse associated with home, the new set of questions saw a variety of new material surface: items that witnessed to the couples' personal relationships (e.g. wedding photos), along with others reflecting a desire or effort to teach about or promote understanding of the "otherness" manifested in the relationship between their respective cultures. This project, like *Migrating Objects* before it, represented an experiment in giving voice, via the exhibitory environment, to a body of material whose meaning resides primarily in the personal stories attached to it.

Future Museum Plans on the Topic of Migration

The Museum of Ethnography, as it works to cast itself in the mould of a social science museum, judges some treatment of the topic of migration – as part of the greater subject area of mobility, cultural connection, and mutual cultural impact – to be of an imperative nature. An important (indeed, perhaps the most important) opportunity in this regard is the new permanent exhibition to be installed in the museum's new building currently under construction in Budapest's historic City Park as part of the Liget Budapest Project. In covering the topics of mobility and intercultural relationships, this new exhibition will touch on such integrally related concepts as

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17 Although, after several postponements, the opening ceremony was eventually abandoned, the exhibition itself was open to the public from 17 May until 16 July 2017.

immigration, emigration, wayfaring and its various forms, home, and "hominess," with specific illustrations coming in part from the museum's own core material (the wanderings of the Bukovinian Székely, the forced emigration of Hungarian Slovaks and Swabians, population exchanges, the repatriation of ethnic Hungarians from Transylvania), and in part from future research into such contemporary phenomena as the emigration of Hungarians to other countries in the European Union. Because (with the exception of its collection of objects left by refugees along country's southern border) institutional holdings related to the material possessions of Third World immigrants consists primarily in textual and audio-visual documentation, it is not inconceivable that the presentation of this corpus in the museum's new permanent exhibition will take the form of a modern multi-media installation.

Translated by Rachel Maltese

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Bevándorlók élete a tárgyaikkal és a tárgyaikon keresztül

A cikk a Néprajzi Múzeum hat kutatója által 2011 és 2014 között az OTKA-kutatási Alap (ma Nemzeti Kutatási, Fejlesztési és Innovációs Hivatal) támogatásával végzett, budapesti bevándorlók tárgykultúrájáról folytatott kutatását és annak tudományos kihívásait és hozadékát mutatja be. A különböző etnikai (latin-amerikai, arab, török, orosz, indiai és kelet-ázsiai) származású bevándorlók élet- és migrációtörténetének megközelítése a jelentésteli tárgyaikon keresztül a migráció- és a tárgykultúra-kutatás összekötésének több általános elméleti kérdését és fogalmát (pl. transznacionalizmus, hibriditás, otthon, határtárgy, autenticitás) vetette föl, amelyek a kutatók egyénileg választott megközelítéseivel (tárgyrendszerek, észleleti antropológia) gazdagodtak. A szóban forgó kutatáson túl a migráció tematikáját érintő múzeumi kiállítások és egyéb programok is említésre kerülnek, csakúgy, mint a kutatás anyagának további múzeumi és azon kívüli felhasználási lehetőségei, valamint az általa ösztönzött további gyűjtés (menekültek hátrahagyott tárgyai), kiállítás (vegyes házasságok jelentésteljes tárgyai), tervek.

Viața imigranților cu și prin obiectele acestora

Studiul de față prezintă o cercetarea efectuată de șase cercetători ai Muzeului Etnografic din Budapesta între anii 2011 și 2014, susținută de Fondul Național de Cercetare Științifică (astăzi Oficiul Național de Cercetare, Dezvoltare și Inovare), despre cultura materială a imigranților din Budapesta, dar și provocările, respectiv consecințele științifice ale acesteia. Abordarea povestirii vieții și istoriei migrației prin obiecte pline de semnificații a imigranților de diferite origini etnice (proveniți din America Latină, țările arabe, Turcia, Rusia, India, Asia de Est) a ridicat mai multe întrebări și noțiuni teoretice de conexiune a cercetării migrației și cea a culturii materiale (de ex. transnaționalism, hibridizare, vatră, obiect hotar, autenticitate), care au fost îmbogățite și cu abordările individuale ale cercetătorilor (sisteme de obiecte, antropologia sensurilor). Pe lângă cercetarea în cauză se face referire și la alte expoziții, programe legate de migrație, dar și la alte posibile utilizări ale materialului sub diverse forme, lucrări de colectare ulterioare (obiectele lăsate în urmă de imigranți), noi expoziții (obiectele pline de semnificații ale unei căsătorii mixte), noi planuri.

The Lives of Migrants With, and Through, Their Objects

This article presents a research which was carried out by 6 curators of the Museum of Ethnography between 2011 and 2014 about the material culture of immigrants settled in Budapest, and was supported by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (nowadays National Research, Development and Innovation Office), as well as its scientific challenges and results. It focused on the approach of life and migration history of migrants of different ethnic origin (Latin American, Arabic, Turkish, Russian, Indian, and East Asian) through their meaningful objects. This interconnection of migration and material culture studies has revealed several general theoretical questions and notions such as transnationalism, hybridisation, home, boundary object, authenticity, enriched by the researchers' individually chosen approaches (system of objects, anthropology of the senses). Putting the research in question in a wider context, past exhibitions and other projects in the museum touching the thematic of migration are also discussed, as well as the future possibilities of utilisation of the collected material and further collecting (refugees' left behind objects), exhibition (mixed couples' meaningful objects) and museum plans which were based on or inspired by the given research.

Pictures

1. Culture *exhibition, 1976*
(Photo: Museum of Ethnography)

2. Room on the topic of migration from The Other *exhbition,*
at the Museum of Ethnography, 2008 (Photo: Krisztina Sarnyai)

3. Object-centred activity conducted with immigrants as part of the Contact Zone project, 2009 (Photo: György Máté)

4. Collecting artefacts in Röszke in the wake of the 2015 migrant wave, 2015 (Photo: Eszter Kerék)

5. Muslim women's headscarf exhibited as part of the Artefact of the Month *series, 2015*
(Photo: Eszter Kerék)

6. Refugee's effects from Objects Left Behind *exhibition at the Sziget Festival, 2016*
(Photo: Eszter Kerék)

7. "Íszt szájd sztori" (East Side Story) – Boundless Love *exhibition at Erkel Theatre, 2017 (Photo: Krisztina Sarnyai)*

Authors

Balogh, Balázs – Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute of Ethnology, Budapest (Hungary), director
balogh.balazs@btk.mta.hu

Bata, Tímea – Museum of Ethnography, Budapest (Hungary), curator of the Photograph Collection
batatimi@yahoo.com

Csibi, Krisztina – Eötvös Lóránd University, Faculty of Humanities, Doctoral School of History, European Ethnology Doctoral Programma, Budapest (Hungary), PhD-student
csibi@bukovina.hu

Dimény, Attila – Incze László Museum of the History of Guilds, Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc, Romania), head of department museologist, ethnographer
dimenyattila.sznm@gmail.com

Földessy, Edina – Museum of Ethnography, Budapest (Hungary), curator of the Africa Collection
foldessy@neprajz.hu

Jakab, Albert Zsolt – Kriza János Ethnographic Society, president, Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), researcher
jalbertzsolt@yahoo.com

Leete, Art – University of Tartu, Institute of Cultural Research, Department of Ethnology, Tartu (Estonia), professor
art.leete@ut.ee

Leimu, Pekka – University of Turku, European Ethnology, Turku (Finland), professor emeritus
pekkatleimu@gmail.com

Nagy, Ákos – Kriza János Ethnographic Society, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), researcher
fradiforever@yahoo.de

Peti, Lehel – Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), researcher
petilehel@yahoo.com

Ruotsala, Helena – University of Turku, European Ethnology, Turku (Finland), professor
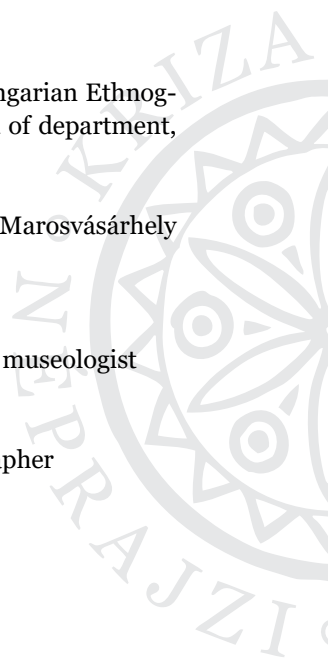helena.ruotsala@utu.fi

Szabó, Lilla – Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), assistant professor
szalilla@gmail.com

Szabó, Á. Töhötöm – Babeş–Bolyai University, Department of Hungarian Ethnography and Anthropology, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), head of department, ethnographer

Vajda, András – Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş, Romania), assistant professor
vajdandras@yahoo.com

Vass Erika – Hungarian Open Air Museum, Szentendre (Hungary), museologist
vasserika@gmail.com

Veres, Emese-Gyöngyvér – Budapest (Hungary), reporter, ethnographer
veresemese70@gmail.com

L'Harmattan

KRIZA JÁNOS NÉPRAJZI · TÁRSASÁG

NÉPRAJZI MÚZEUM

MUSEUM OF ETHNOGRAPHY

MAGYAR NÉPRAJZI TÁRSASÁG 1889

The past 150 years have witnessed numerous migrations: individuals and populations, spurred by political, social, and economic events or lifepath changes, who abandon their homelands either temporarily, for extended periods, or even permanently. Affecting millions, human migration is not something limited to the past, but a phenomenon of considerable relevance to the present day. Geographically speaking, such movements fall into two distinct categories: those occurring within a single country, and those involving the crossing of national borders.

An understanding of what people experience during departure, time spent on the road, and arrival, with consideration given to the distinction between voluntary and forced migration, can help us in several ways: to grasp phenomena such as the transferral and preservation of values; to comprehend which processes and practices work to integrate or isolate those affected; to confer perspective, whether on source and destination groups, or on the responses to the various situations encountered in new locations. To understand this multi-faceted phenomenon requires a multidisciplinary approach, toward which ethnographic and anthropological research findings may offer their own measure of support.