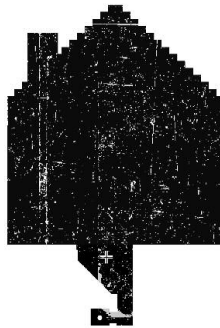


*Collectivization and the transfer
of soft capital in two life stories
from Hungary*



Ildikó Asztalos Morell

***Uppsala Centre for Russian Studies, Uppsala University
and Mälardalen University***

DOI: 10.4422/ager.2012.08

ager

Revista de Estudios sobre Despoblación y Desarrollo Rural
Journal of Depopulation and Rural Development Studies

Collectivization and the transfer of soft capital in two life stories from Hungary

Abstract: Through the analysis of two life stories of former peasants who had experienced collectivization in the early sixties in Hungary the paper sets focus on personal strategies of handling the trauma of societal transitions. Firstly, with help of social and cultural capital theories the importance of what Bourdieu named the transubstantiation of immaterial assets is explored in the process of adaptation from one system to the other. Secondly, the paper elucidates how these survival strategies constitute key elements of self-representations and which kind of meanings are attached to the collectivization experience in the personal life story. Following Gergen's distinction between the plot and the story, the paper elaborates narrative constructions of the representations of self. Emphasis is placed on how the representations allow the narrator to reinstate self-respect through positioning the self in the traumatic event of collectivization. Realistic and constructivist approaches are combined utilizing life story analysis. The two cases represent gender- and class-specific polarities characterizing diversities of the collectivization experience.

Keywords: Gender, collectivization, immaterial capital assets, trauma, life story, self-respect, representations of the self

Colectivización y transferencia de capital ligero en dos historias de vida de Hungría

Resumen: A través del análisis de dos historias de vida de antiguos campesinos que experimentaron la colectivización a principios de la década de 1960 en Hungría, este trabajo se centra en las estrategias personales para sobrellevar el trauma de las transiciones de las sociedades. Primero, con ayuda de las teorías del capital social y cultural, la importancia de lo que Bourdieu denominó la "transustanciación" de ventajas inmateriales, es explorada en el proceso de adaptación de un sistema a otro. En segundo lugar, el texto esclarece la forma en que esas estrategias de supervivencia constituyen elementos clave de las auto-representaciones y qué tipo de significados acompañan a la experiencia colectivizadora en las historias personales. Siguiendo la distinción de Gergen entre la trama y el relato, este artículo elabora construcciones narrativas de la representación de uno mismo. Se pone el acento en el modo en que las representaciones permiten al narrador recuperar la dignidad situándose a sí mismo en el suceso traumático de la colectivización. Se combinan enfoques realistas y constructivistas, utilizando el análisis de las historias de vida. Los dos casos representan polaridades específicas de género y de clase, caracterizando las diversidades de la experiencia colectivizadora.

Palabras clave: Género, colectivización, ventajas en capital inmaterial, trauma, historia de vida, dignidad, representaciones de uno mismo

Recibido: 19 de abril de 2010
Devuelto para revisión: 4 de enero de 2011
Aceptado: 14 de marzo de 2011

*"Accept whom you have become
How you lived, how you hoped
See the good in your deeds
If you acted with all your heart!"*

Introduction

In Hungary, collectivization appropriated the production assets of the former propertied peasantry and their disposition right over the land while it replaced the family farm with a large scale production system. It has also violated the validity of cultural and social assets intimately bound to the production and reproduction of the family farm. The establishment of totalitarian regimes was followed by insurmountable individual and collective trauma. The role and fate of soft capital resources in state socialist transitions has come into the spotlight of research recently. Research has elucidated the importance of soft capital resources for societal and local processes influencing economic growth in the "longue durée". Svendsen and Svendsen (2004) have shown through their analysis of the example of Polish agrarian transitions how the destruction of social capital in Soviet type regimes could be associated with the overall decline in the capacity for the renewal and expansion of agriculture. Others, such as Szelényi *et al.* (1988) have emphasized that the new regimes could not have

been able to prevail, had they not created their own basis for reproduction. Based on the Hungarian case, they illuminated the importance of soft capital assets in the transition from one system to the other. The theory of rural "socialist embourgeoisement" emphasized the importance of cultural capital assets, such as the persistence of personal dispositions favoring the autonomous self-provisioning life styles of the former peasant strata, as energies catalyzing silent revolutions (Szelényi *et al.*, 1988).

Considering the importance of diverse forms of soft capital in forming transitions, this paper aims at problematising their importance from the perspective of agency. With a point of departure in two life stories, its purpose is to elucidate how individual agents resolved life choices that emerged in the context of the traumatic events of collectivization. Two perspectives are utilized in this effort:

- What kind of survival strategies prevailed and how could former independent peasants manage – or not manage – to mobilize their immaterial resources for establishing livelihood in the new context; i.e. how did they find, if they found, ways of mobilizing personal and collective resources from one system to the other.
- Furthermore, the paper explores how sense was made of these survival strategies and how they formed parts of the self-representations that life stories stand for. Looked upon from today's perspective, what meaning is attached to the traumatic experiences of collectivization and the survival strategies that were formed in its aftermath?

The paper utilizes the life story analysis combining constructivist and realistic approaches. Life stories are explored in the field between being seen as a medium for expressing and constructing identities and being sources for understanding the past. The two life stories represent gender- and class-specific polarities characterizing the diversities of the collectivization experience and the emerging survival strategies. This is to enhance the problematisation of the cases in a broader context of the collectivization experiences.

Background

Hungary, as many other former state socialist societies, experienced multiple transitions during the twentieth century: first from a post-feudal capitalist society

to state socialism and then later to capitalism. The issue of property rights and the forms of appropriation of the means of production were central in discussing system changes, since transitions were accompanied by the shift of property rights between private and public forms. The control over the means of production is central for exercising economic power. Under capitalism, this control is legitimated by private property. Under state socialism bureaucratic means of control legitimated the control of teleological and/or technocratic elites (Szelényi and Konrád, 1979). The ability of the former discredited elites to reproduce their power positions in the process of transitions varied. In the case of the post-socialist transition, it has been argued that large sections of the middle range of the state socialist technocratic and teleological ruling elite succeeded in transferring its power positions within the state socialist system to economic assets in the capitalist system (Szelényi, *et al.*, 1988; Kovács, 1994). In contrast, the transition from post feudal capitalism to state socialism was accompanied by the discrediting of large sections of the former economic elite as legitimate controllers over the means of production. In the case of agriculture, the large-holding peasantry, "kulaks", suffered repressions, most severely during the early fifties (Závada, 1985, Magyar, 2007). Historians emphasize the importance of the peasantry's collective organization during the events of 1956 (Varga, 2001) in explaining the changing model of collectivization that was implemented in Hungary from the early sixties. Although, unlike in Poland, collectivization was carried out resolutely, compromises were made with the peasantry. The peasants joining the cooperatives were entitled to a family lot, where they could continue with production for their own use as well as producing a surplus that could be sold on city markets; resources were to be channeled into the modernization of the collective sphere; the know-how of the middle peasantry was to be acknowledged (Asztalos Morell, 1999). As a result, representatives of the pre-socialist middle-peasant strata were at many places enticed to take managerial positions in the emerging collective farms during the early sixties (Juhász, 1983; Szelényi *et al.*, 1988). This does not change the overall fact that the majority of the former peasantry joined the collective farms involuntarily and could not reclaim positions of power in the new organization. The collective production organization developed an industrial-like work organization and was modeled after the agrarian estates (Juhász, 1975). In this organization the hand and the head were separated. Core and marginal labor categories divided the labor force.

Opportunity structures that opened in the new system varied in terms of gender. The seasonally varying requirements of cultivation under conditions of early

mechanization made excessive demands for raw physical labor reserves, where the majority of seasonal laborer became women (Asztalos Morell, 1999; Goven, 1993). In contrast to the emancipation rhetoric of the fifties, which aimed at radically transforming women's roles in the labor force, shaping them after men's, the rhetoric of the sixties, the period of resolute collectivization, argued for jobs suitable for women (Asztalos Morell, 2007) and for a reappraisal of the "natural" gender order (Gál, 1997). Women's primary responsibility for care prevailed, even if the paternal state's goal (economic and institutional) was to ease women's reproductive burdens (Gál, 1997; Goven, 1993; Haney, 2002). Meanwhile, while men's abilities to realize the role as the main breadwinner were diminished, they none-the-less did not disappear; rather a modified male breadwinner model emerged. In agriculture, men were offered core positions in the emerging labor force. While women during the sixties engaged in household-based production for consumption, men contributed to the gradual expansion of its limits by expanding market production. This in turn strengthened gender differences (Asztalos Morell, 1997).

With the exception of the explosive moments of the 1956 uprising, state socialism annihilated the potentials for autonomous collective organization promoting the interests of the peasantry. However, as Szélényi *et al.* (1988) argued, state socialism has not succeeded in proletarianizing the peasantry, due to their diverse strategies of resistance. Rather, the peasantry stubbornly continued with household-based production in their efforts to improve their life conditions and expand the limits provided by their wages. Through this activity they constituted an informal force pressuring the leadership to expand the bureaucratic limits set to household production. Thus, by force major, rather than as an outcome of conscious political organization, they contributed to the widening of the scope and conditions for the production and marketing of products originating from the household sphere.

Seen from the perspective of individual life experiences, transitions released traumas. Collectivization implied the personal loss of property (ownership and operation) rights over the means of production. Stripped from identity forming assets, the chances of individual farmers to find positions in the emerging system were not only structurally determined by the obtrusive, totalitarian system, but also by individual and collective strategies of resistance. In the following the potential of soft capital theories is explored to elucidate the role of individual agency in the context of the collectivization experience.

The transsubstantiation of material and immaterial assets in the context of transitions

Soft capital theories have proved to be fruitful in explaining the processes of the generation of societal wealth (Bourdieu, 1986; Svendsen, 2004, 2006; Coleman, 1988; Putman, 2000). They vary in focus and are either more economically oriented and focus on the role of soft capital in the creation of economic prosperity and development¹ or are more sociologically oriented and pursue the study of the reproduction of societal inequalities. Coleman (1988) as well as Bourdieu (1986) argued that immaterial capital accumulation is a necessary component in the creation and reproduction of physical capital. While physical capital is measurable in material assets, "human capital is created in persons that bring about skills and capabilities and make them act in new ways" (*ibid* p. 19)². Svendsen (2003), elaborating the term Bourdieueconomics, has argued for the benefit of combining the economic and sociological approaches.

The importance of soft forms of capital in forming socio-economic processes in transition economies has been highlighted in recent research both concerning the period under state socialism (Szelényi *et al.*, 1986; Svendsen *et al.*, 2004) and post-socialism (Megyesi *et al.*, 2011; Asztalos Morell, 2009). State socialism aimed at hindering the former propertied peasantry from reproducing its societal status and economic well-being within the new regime. Beyond the means of production, the peasantry accumulated soft capital assets in different forms and degrees of institutionalization. Motivated by ideological principles, state socialist totalitarian regimes acted to destroy these material and immaterial accumulation processes. Svendsen *et al.* (2004) argued that the civil movements of co-operation between peasant producers created a societal asset that increased trust and co-operation between members. This decreased transaction costs and acted as a productive resource contributing to the increase of economic wealth. They have shown how the totalitarian regime in

1• See for a comprehensive overview Woolcock *et al.* (2000).

2• As Svendsen *et al.* (2003, p 619) pinpointed, while Bourdieu focused on the micro and meso levels, Coleman's theory refers to both the micro and macro levels.

Poland hampered the accumulation of this collective social capital by stopping the peasantry's civil movements of co-operation. Similar to the Polish case, the co-operative movement of the pre-World War II period was effectively destroyed in Hungary as well (Varga, 2001). However, Szelényi *et al.* (1988) argued that the peasantry succeeded in salvaging the cultural capital rooted in the peasant way of life, despite collectivization. Despite the proletarianization efforts of the state, the peasantry maintained crucial elements of its cultural capital, i.e. its desire for an autonomous way of life. This desire manifested itself in different forms: either in pursuing household-based production or in their struggle for positions offering autonomy in the labor process. These positions formed so-called "parking orbits", from which they could mobilize for the expansion of the limits of production, when the economic and political conditions of the state allowed this. Thus, despite the limited opportunities for the transfer of economic assets, soft forms of capital could serve as a catalyst of socio-economic change.

These two approaches reveal two complementary aspects of the importance of the accumulation and/or destruction of soft capital assets for the agrarian sector in transition economies. It is beyond the scope of this paper to be able to elaborate the diverse developments of different soft capital theories. Rather, I wish to discuss those aspects of Bourdieu's theory of transubstantiation, which I find can provide beneficial tools for clarifying individual agency and strategies in meeting the challenges of collectivization. Bourdieu served as a source of inspiration for both Svendsen's and Szelényi's conceptualization of agrarian transitions discussed above. Nonetheless, both focused on meso to macro levels of transitions, while my interest lies in exploring micro (individual) to meso (local community) level transitions.

Bourdieu's (1986) theory of capital *transubstantiation* encompasses the laws of all forms of capital, with special attention to the ways these can change into one another. For Bourdieu (as for Coleman) a key issue was to elaborate the practices that contribute to the reproduction of social wealth from one generation to the other. Bourdieu (1986) defined *economic* capital as that "which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights" (p 243). He developed a more extensive theory of immaterial forms of capital out of which three forms of capital are most central: cultural, human and social capital.

Bourdieu viewed cultural capital as that "which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications". Here I utilise, on the one hand, what Bourdieu refers to as the embodied state of cultural capital, i.e. *habitus*, which implies "long lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (*ibid.*: 243). Bourdieu's term *habitus* expresses the essence of abi-

lities. As Broady (1987: 7) paraphrased: "The cultural capital exists for Bourdieu first of all in people's bodies as knowledge, experience, way of comprehending and thinking, to talk or move... A person well-equipped with a 'general culture' owns also a socially formed, profitable ability to talk and write or diverse social markets and to distance her/himself from and manipulate the environment." Habitus is also a concept that has been utilized for the analysis of the entrepreneurial spirit and was central in Szelényi *et al.*'s (1988) theory of socialist embourgeoisement discussed earlier. On the other hand Bourdieu calls the institutionalized state of cultural capital human capital, or a set of concrete expert knowledge. Human capital institutionalized in educational and skill merits has been important in analyzing societal inequalities and abilities for advancement. However, the explanatory value of other forms of soft capital has come more to the foreground in recent research. Although the importance of human capital in this meaning is acknowledged, it is not explored on a deeper level in this paper.

Bourdieu defines the third form of immaterial capital, i.e. *social* capital, as one "made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility." (1986, p 243). Coleman (1988) saw social capital functioning both on the level of family relations, such as parents' investments in time and attention into their children's study-results, and on a more general level of societal institutions, such as the institutions of trust and norms and sanctions. Similarly, Svendsen *et al.* (2004) argued that the functioning of social capital presupposes the presence of *trust* between society's members and a presence of mutually agreed upon *rules of conduct*. Trust facilitates cooperation by cutting transaction costs occurring in societies where such generalized trust is not operating (Svendsen *et al.*, 2003: 619). Svendsen (2006) further differentiates, following along Putnam (200), between bridging and bonding types of social capital. On the one hand, *bridging types of networks* bind diverse sections of society together. Trust in authorities and in business contacts enhances cooperation between economic actors and "lubricates" human exchange across social boundaries. Thus, bridging social capital is also called inclusive in its functioning. On the other hand, *bonding type networks* (a typical example of which is based on bonds of kinship or ethnic origin) work more for the intern cohesion of certain groups and facilitate exclusivity. It tends to evoke distrust against those outside the group and provides too much "glue", leading instead to fragmentation (Svendsen, 2004: 10-11) and societies characterized by exclusion (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000: 237). Thus, following Portes (1998) Svendsen shows

how a balance between bonding and bridging social capital is beneficial for the facilitation of economic growth (2006: 55)³.

Individuals experiencing the shift from one system to the other unavoidably faced confrontation with the totalitarian challenge. In the case of collectivization, portraying the peasantry as passive victims comes short of showing the creative energies that immaterial resources meant for reinstating personal harmony with life within the obtrusive conditions. People faced life choices, which, although determined by the conditions created by collectivization, nonetheless offered the opportunity for individual agency. The life paths emerging as a result of these choices had to be made understandable by the agents forming them and had to be resolved in ways which allowed the maintenance of personal self-respect (Skeggs, 1997). Respectability for one-self and in the eyes of relevant others implies viewing one-self as an honorable person with integrity, being an agent, doing the best one can, being in charge of one's own life in line with the prevailing respected norms. Becoming a winner or loser in the new system opened for diverse dissonances. Being the winner implied making a pact with the offender. In contrast, being the loser offered solidarity with those in the similar position, yet implied taking the stance of the victim.

Life stories: representations of the self or understanding of the past?

Life stories emerged to give voices to those who otherwise would not be heard (Thompson, 2000). There is a tension between those who would like to see life stories as kind of archive of the past, making claims on them as realistic reflections on past events, and those, in contrast, who argue that life stories are identity constructions. Through reflecting on past events the narrator positions him/herself in a social, institutional context (Portelli, 1991). Constructivists have important reservations towards the interpretation of life stories, which concern the ways of their coming into being. According to Bruner (1987) autobiographies are products of an ongoing reinterpretation.

3• For another influential overview of social capital theories see Woolcock and Narayan (2000) who categorize social capital theories into four major views: communitarian, network, institutional and synergy, depending on their focus.

tion of past events. Thus they are products of selective remembering (Foss, 2004). Narration is performed in a context and emerges in interaction with an audience. Bertaux (1981) suggests the term life story instead of life history to mark the subjective, self-reflecting features of the memories of the past. Others emphasize that life stories are told within narrative conventions. According to Gergen (1994) life stories commonly have two elements: the plot and the event. The *event* is the real life feature of the story. Meanwhile stories contain a *plot*, through which the identities of the narrator become expressed. One can e.g. position oneself as a victim of atrocities or as a hero of resistance.

Critical life events often provoke a reassessment of self-perception (Foss, 2004). Foss (2004) argues along with others (Ardelaid-Tart, 2006) that critical life events, traumas, challenge the perception of the self and offer opportunities to (re)formulate these perceptions. Experiences, when the self and society, ideals and realities, meet (Riesman, 1993) necessitate formulating who we really are. Traumatic events may emerge alongside happenings of a more personal nature and can be shared by larger collectives. While observing the characteristic features of life stories as self-reflections, it is important to recognize that these reflections emerge from experiencing real life events. The traumas that collectivization triggered in people's lives cannot be simply considered the artifact of intentional mind constructions. Rather, one can view the recollection and narration of previous traumas as retraumatizing. The narrator has to reestablish his/her self-respect in the context of contemporary conditions as well as in relation to the interviewer. Therefore, I argue here, along with Öberg (1999), for the possibility of taking a middle of the way approach between the realistic and the constructivist views.

Data collection and analyses methods

The two life stories explored here were gathered as part of a research project on the origins of today's agrarian entrepreneurs. Five entrepreneurial families were chosen out of a sample of 50, and three-generational life-span interviews were conducted between 2006 and 2009. The families were located in villages in a 30 km radius from Budapest. The interviews were to elucidate the processes of transferring material and immaterial assets between generations. The project was part of a larger project studying the transfer of farms between generations in Sweden, Estonia and Hungary and was financed by the Swedish Scientific Research Board (Vetenskapsrådet). Those aspects of the life stories that concerned family relations

also had relevance for another comparative project on the dynamics between the state and the family under state socialism and received partial financial support from the Baltic Research Foundation (Östersjöstiftelsen). The interviews were semi-structured, evolving around key topics, yet leaving the informants the freedom to initiate and develop topics of their own. Follow-up questions were asked to clarify issues of interest. The interviews took about one hour and were recorded and transcribed. Analyzing the interviews proceeded in several stages. In the initial inductive stage, key topics were identified, leading in turn to the identification of concepts seen as central in the accounts given by informants on their survival and adaptation strategies. The methodological and theoretical tools of narrative analysis focusing on the *plot* and the *positioning* of the narrator within this plot were utilized. In the second stage, the emerging models and understandings were contrasted with the theoretical frameworks influencing the formulation of the research questions. At this stage the aim was to find synergies between the concepts and understandings emerging through the inductive analysis of the life stories (such as the principle of mutual trust between members and leaders) and theoretical concepts and understandings (such as social capital). From an analytical perspective the paper aimed at achieving these synergies. Theoretical constructs were to be utilized in order to improve our understanding of the interviews, rather than using the interviews in order to test theoretical models.

Two life stories

The case of József and Katalin explicates two different experiences that could be considered to represent opposite ends along the dimensions of gender, class (from top farmer to co-operative leader vs from farm-wife to marginalized co-operative worker), and collectivization model (middle-peasant-leadership vs teleological leadership). The analysis is presented in three stages:

a) A description of collectivization as a personal life *event* is given in order to provide the necessary background for understanding the cases.

b) Focus is placed on analyzing the *plot* as well as how the personal engagement is positioned in this plot. This aspect allows the elucidation of how personal respectability is staged and restored in the event.

c) Finally, the paper explores the ways in which my informants succeeded in contextualizing and mobilizing their material and immaterial resources in their effort

to find new positions and meaning for their lives in the emerging post-collectivization context.

József

This village has been occupied with gardening since the 1930's. ... We were going up to Pest market with a horse and cart. ... I was a little kid at that time. Than this life took an end in 1960, we were collectivized. We entered freely [smile] the cooperative. If you are interested I will tell you a few episodes about how freely [smile] we joined the cooperative. We were very lucky here in G. Only the priest and the bell-ringer did not become cooperative members. Everybody entered the cooperative. There was a very large production here, and they gave us the possibility to have a family lot. And then we started to go to the market in Budapest again.

The collectivization trauma

József describes collectivization on various levels: as an event for the peasantry at large, as an event for the local community and as an event affecting his own life.

In József's life collectivization meant a fundamental change. József was 20 when he got married in 1950. He married the daughter of one of the local war widows with a sizeable land-holding (20 holds, ca 10 hectares). He moved in to their home as a son-in-law and took over the farm. They soon had two sons, Dávid and János. Collectivization in 1960 put an end to their family farming: "the cooperative took everything, to the last pair of horses". As József recalls, first, in the fifties, they took the best part of the land for the state farm. Then, in 1960, they took the rest. As an outcome of collectivization only the symbolic ("arany korona érték") value of the land was registered, and the land became collectively utilized.

On a national level József argues that the villages were destroyed three times: during the war, in the various waves of collectivization and finally following the post-socialist privatization. He sees these three processes leading to the "annihilation of the peasantry" in which process "the land was taken from below the feet of the village". In the war the tangible assets were annihilated: "the Russians lived up everything. There was not even a hen left in the village". The loss of the battle in Stalingrad took a toll of 12 men from the village leaving widows with families. Collectivization proceeded in waves. At first the best lands were taken from the farmers without compensation. A state farm and a co-operative were formed from agrarian worker families. The peasants were pressured with high taxes. Despite worsened conditions, the pea-

sants did not give up their land. The final rendering came by in 1960. However, the collectivization wave of the early sixties offered a household plot to those who joined, which became gradually the basis for increasing consumption standards for the villagers. The destruction of the cooperatives following 1992 destroyed the source of livelihood for the majority of villagers. According to József, restitution of former property rights was only partially realized. New "barons" emerged from outside the village, who took over much of the land that had belonged to villagers prior to collectivization.

In his village collectivization was accomplished during a week's time according to József. It started with a general meeting called by the district party committee:

They called the peasants to understand the 'demand of the new times and the promise of a new life' [smile]. The day after this the "agitators" ["beavattott pufajkások civilben"] started to go from house to house asking people to sign. They started kindly [smile]. They asked people to sign. They waited one-two days. And then they started to call in those who did not sign to their headquarters in the City Hall at 6-8 p.m. They had a room there. And they crushed the people there, smashed and everything.

A dark history turning light: the plot

József had a narrow escape due to a friend who was working at the City Hall. He tried to warn József to sign to avoid being beaten up. József said he would sign if the others signed. His friend promised the "pufajkás" (quilted jacket) agitators that he would convince József to sign if only they left József alone. One day József's friend came and said that all the others have signed and he could not keep the agitators longer. József agreed first then:

'My Jozsi! There is a big problem! The time has come! Almost everybody signed. Either I come with your signature before noon, or they come and take you tonight! And then I signed it. The family was crying. This was not a little thing to sign it. A brutal thing.... It was in December 1959. And we started the year 1960 like that.

In József's account, his village was rather exceptional, since everybody joined. In many villages the so-called "kulaks" were not only excluded, but they were made the victims of harsh anti-propaganda. But in the village they held together, something that József considered gave strength to the newly found cooperative:

As I said, everybody joined. They took everybody. Nobody was excluded here. No one was prohibited to join. Because, where they could, they excluded the kulaks, on purpose. They [took first their land and then they] assigned lots for them at abandoned places. They did not care for those 4-5 people and they reached their goal in this way. But for us everyone counted. Because, in our village they could not divide the village. They could not paint them [the kulaks] in those ways, as they made them look for the simple people, those they could feed with such ideas.

For József, the *village spirit*, this *solidarity* of the village members with each other facing the evil gave them the strength to face the new conditions together. This gave them the power to turn the page and start from base A:

By the time the sun rose in February, we went to farm, as if it was ours. Everybody started, everybody carried the seed, the carts came. Everything was measured out, how much. We could not even harvest the wheat that we had sown in 1959. That wheat was harvested by the coop in 1960. And the cooperative started. We could organize us within the cooperative. We bought machines, we took advantage of state subsidies, we bought lorries.

József became first brigade leader, in 1963 branch leader and in 1975 leader for a larger branch. "In general those who became the leaders were those who were acknowledged even before in the private era." The cooperative did very well, and people could soon make a good living. The leadership worked for the membership and there was a brotherly division of the benefits: "There was no differentiation that the leaders get this much and the workers this much... The leaders did not take away the money as they did later on." Not only were the members satisfied, but the cooperative could show results that were double those of the neighboring cooperative.

József presents a multifaceted *plot* of himself in the context of collectivization. On the one hand he shows the cruelties of collectivization by depicting the systematic way peasants were pressured both psychologically and physically. However, while acknowledging the horrors of these events, he escaped them. Escaping the horrors of the terror could make him appear as a *collaborator*, especially after having become a leader in the new system. He meets this challenge in his story by creating several sub-"plots". Firstly, he depicts himself as a *respected* man in the local community. He enjoys this respect even among those who took sides with the "enemy". The agitators let him be the last to be recruited, due to the intervention of his contact. Secondly, he plots himself as an operator *in charge* of events, keeping the initiative and holding the

upper hand over life events with the ability to turn bad things to good not only for him but even for the benefit of others. Thirdly, he circumvents being seen as a collaborator by waiting out the *moment of no turn*. Passing this moment he takes a pragmatic stance and work to make the best of it. Fourthly, he attributes the benefits of this to the *joint effort* of villagers and depicts himself as a leader among equals.

Personal and collective resources and transitions

József's self-presentation evolves in a balance between emphasizing his personal resourcefulness and placing himself within the framework of a collective. József's self-presentation along this polarity invokes the relevance of soft capital theories in analyzing his strategies meeting the challenge of collectivization and resolving eventual dissonances in his life that emerged thereafter.

To lift up the achievements of the co-operative during his leadership is important for József's self-presentation. Two important reasons can be identified in how József explains these good results: his and other diligent farmers' knowhow and the solidarity of the villagers. The knowhow of running a farm was a crucial immaterial asset. This was nonetheless not utilized in all cooperatives, since in many cases those farmers who were successful prior to collectivization were excluded as class enemies. József saw his cooperative as positive, which allowed him and others with larger farms prior to collectivization to use their knowledge for the benefit of the newly founded cooperative. Using Bourdieu's term he could transubstantiate his experience, *know-how* and entrepreneurial *habitus* to a leading position in the cooperative. This position in turn benefited the cooperative. József identifies his knowhow as originating from the pre-collective period: "[my family had the] right attitude to the economy". Despite the value of land, József argued that land alone did not contribute to the wealth of the farming family. His parental family was among the richest in the village. As he expressed it, "our [family farm] was a world in its own right". Despite this he argued that even if one had a farm of only half that size, but had *a family that held together* and knew *how to run the farm* ("if one had the right attitude to the economy"), that family could live just as well since "...the market solved everything." "If one *knew* what to produce, what kind of product, and when someone comes to the market, than the *good quality* product is what matters. One can make money only from that". Another way József explained the necessary ingredients of family success was that of internal solidarity and the ability to find a balance between leadership – "one [person] being the clever [one]" – and obedience – "following the advice of the clever one". "If everybody is clever in a family, there is big trouble. But if it is the oppo-

site, that is trouble, too." Leaving the era of family farming behind, József found these soft assets working for his and the cooperative's benefit.

Secondly, József saw an added value in the solidarity shown by the villagers. This spirit of solidarity was transformed into pure mental and physical energy making the cooperative function, since "everybody worked as if they worked on their own". József's account shows a strong resemblance to issues raised by social capital theories. As he argued, there was a spirit of *mutual trust* both between workers, all working for the common good: "nobody was stealing", and between workers and the leaders: "the leaders did not take advantage". There was a transparency: "the results came, the money was coming, and everybody knew, the members knew, how much money we had". There were no complains that someone was not paid for his work. Thus, the mutual trust between the leadership and its members became a *social capital* vested in the combined sum of qualitative relations in the organization. As Svendsen and Svendsen (2004), along with Putnam (2000), argued, trust is a key component in the accumulation of social capital. The reduction of transaction costs because people no longer needed to monitor each other's activities led to economic turnovers. They share this insight with József. The internal solidarity could also be seen, with Putnam's term, as a "*glue*" strengthening the *bonding* of the villagers in the co-operative. This bonding also plays an important role in József's self-identification.

The leaders in the village cooperative, including József, also realized that the success of the unit depended on utilizing the system: "the leadership, these peasants, realized *which way the wind blew*, the breath of new times". The internal bonding of the village had to be complemented with external contacts with the centers of power. The cooperative had to be integrated into the economic system at large and act in accordance to its rules of conduct:

They came here to have fun from the party committee, as friends. I say this seriously, since they had nothing to do here. Everything worked smoothly here. They did not have to tell us here when one should be harvesting and sawing. Here, everybody knew everything.

Thus, it was necessary to harbor good relations with those in power. By this, József's argument shows similarities to what is characterized as *bridging social capital* (Svendsen and Svendsen, 2004). This asset is seen as including and serving the "*lubrication*" of contacts between different vital segments of the economy. The "others", i.e. the regional party leaders, are stripped of the attributes of brutality. József plots fraternization and his agency in this, as *acceptable*, since the comrades were to ensure the good

quality of the production and since keeping on good terms with those in power was seen as being beneficial for the local cooperative. A well-running cooperative kept the party leaders from wanting to interfere and also showed József to be a leader in control, able to steer a ship in risky waters. József also argued that this promoted the villagers' autonomy and prevented interference from the authorities.

However, this decade of recovery and development soon ended, when the thriving local cooperative was forced to merge with a neighboring cooperative that had substantial deficits. This cooperative was double the size of the earlier co-operative based on his own village, yet produced less. The leaders were appointed by the party, and they became the leaders for the united cooperative. József's cooperative got the work, and the neighboring unit provided the leaders. The *trust* built up during the past period was broken. The gap between the leadership and the membership widened:

Later [after the cooperative joined with a larger cooperative] it was different. I and the cooperative president, we together earned 200.000 Ft at the end of the year. He took 150.000 of this, and I received 50.000. I used to say, that we were the same age, had the same education, and he got three times as much as me. The people were exploited very much.

The mergers destroyed the social capital that was built up among villagers, and this dragged down the morale and production of the old cooperative.

József depicts early collectivization as a success story, where he attributed the advances to the solidarity of villagers and to diligent leaders standing as one among equals. The horrors of collectivization were turned into a success. Concerning himself, he plots himself utilizing his soft capital resources: a) social capital, both in terms of bonding with the villagers and bridging in terms of being able to form alliances if necessary even over "enemy lines" and b) cultural capital, embodied in the "habitus" of mastering events.

Katalin

The co-operative started at that time. I am never going to forget it. How horrible it was. I was taken home from the hospital, and they were there, we called them the agitators, they were already there. Her name was Mrs Bözsi M... She was a big captain. I went to her to cry. I said: 'They took me home with the little baby. Here is Magdi, she will just to turn two in July. What should I do?' 'We solve it!' she said. We could not take her to day-care. There was no crèche. We could not do anything. I should join the co-operative, handing over every-

thing [land and equipment], and my husband should go and take a job, so he can supply for the family, since there was no money from the co-operative, despite of the fact that we handed over everything!

The event of collectivization

Katalin comes from a neighboring village, where the conditions of collectivization were different from those of József's co-operative. Furthermore, the resources available to Katalin and her family to meet the events also differed. According to Katalin, by the time collectivization began they were already exhausted due to the hardships caused by deliveries⁴. "We used the land, but when we were harvesting, by that time, everything was sent away according to how much wheat, maize, everything should be delivered". When I asked, whether collectivization was achieved by physical force in 1959 she answered: "They did not have to beat us up. We were so crushed [mentally and economically] by that time, that we did not know what we should do." The forced delivery system deprived the family from disposition over the farm's yield, yet the farm could function the traditional way.

Just like for József, collectivization meant that the family lost its right of disposal over land and equipment. Consequently, they became deprived of the material assets necessary to provide for the subsistence of the family autonomously. Furthermore, they were forced to render up the yields of the previous season, which deprived the family from basic staples for the coming season.

We had a cow. We bought it together with my husband [after buying out Katalin's sister-in-laws]. Since we had two children, it would have been very good. We had to give up even that to the co-operative, since they took away everything, harvest, the hay. There were big stacks, lucerne stacks We thought that we would hand in half of the lucerne stacks, and sell the other half, to get some money, in order to be able to eat, since we had no other source of money. But they took even that. They came with the tractor and packed up everything on earth, the cornstalk cutter, what only existed, harrow, everything-everything. We could have built a house for that. They took it, and we recei-

4• The peasants were obliged to deliver a fixed quota, assigned according to the size of the owned land, of their agricultural produce and livestock to the state at fixed prices. Závada ([1986], 2006) referred to this system as the kulak press [kulákprés]. It aimed at putting pressure on the peasants, especially on rich peasants, to leave the land and join the collective farms.

ved absolutely nothing in the world in return. Not even an advance payment, so that our life would have been easier.

Beyond the economic drudgery attached to collectivization, Katalin highlights the involuntary nature of the process, depriving them from personal autonomy in the process. They had a strategy, in which they planned to join while still retaining some resources for the coming season for the family: "we thought that we could deliver half of the lucerne stacks and sell the other half". But collectivization was carried out in a merciless fashion leaving no space for individual maneuvering.

Plotting deprivation

A central feature in Katalin's narrative was that the very event of collectivization coincided with the time when she returned with her second baby. This means that Katalin presented herself in the position of a young mother facing the trauma of collectivization. Collectivization challenged not only the production base, but even the traditional ways of organizing care. The farm family organized care autonomously; based on the collaboration between generations, a system that collectivization encroached upon. Thus, Katalin *plots* herself as a mother and responsible for her family. Rather than an operator she depicts herself as a *victim* of ruthless brutality directed against her family at large and herself as a mother specifically. Her narrative accentuates the drudgery of the experience as a woman coming home from the delivery of her second child, not knowing how she could combine working in the fields and the care for her two small children: "I went to her to cry. I said: 'They took me home with the little baby. ... What should I do?'". Mrs Bözsi came to their home and carried out the forced collectivization:

They were very forceful. I was crying so badly. You can imagine. Two little children, and this big, powerful communist woman, Mrs Bözsi, did not leave me alone. She did not have sympathy for anybody, workers, nobody in this world.

Thus, in Katalin's narrative, the inhuman nature of Mrs Bözsi is strengthened. Seeking help in a vulnerable situation as a mother, she searched for help from her as another woman. Katalin's victimization is accentuated by this refusal to meet her outcry. Her protests nonetheless help to show her agency in this desperate situation. She did voice her anxiety, she did cry for the sake of her children's fate.

One of the hardest experiences was to become subordinated into the co-operative command structure. The order of command was experienced as brutal, inhuman and insensitive.

If we were capable of picking it or not did not interest them. If we were not ready with the picking they were screaming. Mrs Bözsi was screaming and cursing. Puh! She was a very rude person. Despite the fact that I had a very able bodied father, he was decisive and hard-working, everything. But nobody could deal with them. It had to be as they commanded. It would have led only to more trouble if one had protested. Everybody got accustomed [to the idea] that it had to be as they said.

In contrast to her outcry upon collectivization, she describes how pointless it was to voice concerns: "it would have led only to trouble. Everybody got accustomed [to the idea] that it had to be as they said". Thus, acceptance was a strategy that rose out of experience. For Katalin collectivization meant not only being dispossessed of the land, but also being deprived of respectable labor conditions, as well as experiencing the lack of human respect from those commanding over her labor.

She *restores respectability* in her narrative, despite being victimized, by positioning herself as *one of the villagers*. Keeping silent, not rebelling, was one of the major strategies applied. Presenting her fate as a common one restores her own self-respect in the narrative. Beyond positioning herself among villagers in general, she also associates her fate with other *fellow women*. Work duties required hard physical labor, including field work, manual gathering of the harvest, spreading manure, fertilizing, laying grass. Women were to help with all kinds of manual labor beyond their responsibility of cultivating a certain area sown with a certain product. The work load was hard and caused health problems. Katalin saw herself as lucky compared to women who did not have family resources to assist them:

There were women, who were already 50-55 years old, and their children had left the family, and all had their own families, and could not go and help them. The unfortunate ones, how much they worked. Many of these women became handicapped. There is not a healthy woman in the village.

The system did not allow for sick leave, since deliveries (see note 4) had to be made on an individual basis:

Fate has been hard on us. Even if one had problems, we could not take sick-leave. We could go to a doctor, but it would have been pointless if he gave an injection or anything. Whatever happened, we had to go out, since the cucumbers had to be picked, whether we were able to or not.

With work conditions in the cooperative being so severe, the question emerges as to why she chose to stay. Katalin explains her "choice" of staying in the cooperative as a result of lacking alternatives. As the mother of three children, she had to put the children's needs first:

Question: Could you not leave the coop? Answer: Listen to me! I could not leave it, since I had three children! I could not go and work in a factory, or in Pest. My husband was commuting. I had to stay at home, since they had to get ready for school, everything. Pay attention to them, so they should fix their homework and everything.

Her responsibility for care duties was assumed: "they knew that everything is waiting for me, the childcare, cleaning, cooking, everything. We had to arrange everything even at home". Being a caring mother was her major source of self-respect, a duty that she would have found difficult to fulfill if she had left the cooperative. The dissolution of traditional patterns of mutual aid usually rendered by grandparents and the lack of daycare services led to the deterioration of culturally acceptable standards of childcare. This deterioration was seen to have two aspects. On the one hand children were forced to follow with their working mothers out to the fields: "Therefore, they were out a lot, jaj, how many *children grew up on the fields*." This, together with the heavy work burden, meant that children were often obliged to help with the work:

Once, I never forget. We had half a hectare of cucumbers, as always. Then the children became a bit bigger. And we had a third one, a daughter. He [the little son] helped us carry the cucumbers from five years of age.

On the other hand distant relatives were also called upon for help, but they could not provide a regular and reliable assistance, since they were also bound in diverse ways to their own duties. One of Katalin's sisters was herself ten years old, who, maybe as a result of these duties, had never finished school, as Katalin commented in the description of her assistance:

My sister [who helped me caring for the children] was ten year old, when we joined. This one, who has not finished the grade eight at the public school, she went home from the school, [and took care of my children]. Then my husband has a sister. She is small in growth. She was a seamstress. But, poor her, she could not do otherwise. She saw that we were in trouble, that we did not have any place to leave them. 'Leave them here!', she said 'until Marika [ten year old sister] comes and fetches them!'

Another important source of self-respect came from her relation to her husband. While this care duty was expected of Katalin, her husband was aware of the burdens falling on her due to the double burden of also having paid employment in the coop and helped her in the field: "When my poor husband came home from his work, oh, and how many sleepless nights! He came home and went directly to hoeing, in the evening!" Thus, the solidarity of the family was juxtaposed with the brutality of the cooperative's insensitive treatment of the care problems of women. Katalin, depicts herself being surrounded by the warmth and help of her family which is contrasted to the collective.

Finally, an additional motivation for her to stay was the household lot that cooperative members were assigned. This lot contributed to the consumption needs of the family and the surplus could be sold on the city market. The heritage of the know-how from the period of family farming could be kept vital here.

Personal resources meeting transition

In contrast to József's life, collectivization resulted in the deterioration of life conditions for Katalin. Katalin depicts herself as a resourceful person, who was capable of running an independent farm together with her husband. She depicts herself as hard working, living up to contracts, honest, and self-reliant. Taking over her husband's family's economic resources was Katalin and her husband's goal. Their personal dispositions, i.e. self-reliance, were crucial assets contributing to the success of this goal. Thus, using Bourdieu's term, her human energies in creating the conditions for the independent farm were anchored in the habitus of autonomous action. According to her account, while the very act of collectivization deprived the family of its material assets, she experienced even further deprivation entering the co-operative work organization. Most importantly it was her ability to *decide over* her own labor and creative capacities that was curtailed. As a mother even her ability to provide for her children according to the respected social standards was infringed upon. Launching the independent farm assumed varied forms of soft capital. Entering the collective labor force implied, what Braverman termed *deskilling*, being ordered into the demands of the collective production organization. Her reflection on the experience of deprivation could be also described as a demolition of her cultural capital, which lost meaning or became circumscribed within the new structures. Katalin's life story exemplifies ways how this cultural capital found new opportunities for becoming materialized. While laboring in the collective sphere was described as requiring endurance, Katalin and her husband extended their resources through production on the

household plot, which was secured through membership in the co-operative. In this way they could improve their livelihood.

Katalin depicts herself as a farm-wife. In contrast to József, she does not portray her family as belonging to the local "elite". Nonetheless she describes her own father as "very able bodied", a man who in the old days was known for standing up for himself. Integration into the collective work organization turned her father as well as other villagers into silenced, obedient victims. This solidarity in silence provided the *bonding* force to endure the conditions. In contrast to József's co-operative, the leadership had not realized the productive force that enhancing relationships of trust could have achieved. Wages were arbitrary. As they were calculated on the basis of the harvest and costs of cultivation, revenues could vary. For Katalin, as for others, the most important resource proved to be her family, especially her husband and her kin networks. These networks helped her to solve dire situations with childcare. Furthermore, her husband helped her out with the hard labor in the collective, allowing her to spend more time with care duties. The strengthening of the family provided the "glue" necessary for survival in the everyday struggle to make ends meet. Thus, Katalin's example depicts a process we can call the retrenchment of social capital, which evolved by increased social segmentation and the narrowing down of social networks to kin and family. However, as Katalin indicated with pride, this resource was an invaluable asset and source of strength.

Conclusions

Above, two life histories were analyzed. These reflect two distinct fates impacted by the trauma of collectivization. The two fates differ, since the subjects are of different sex, originate from different strata of the peasantry and from two villages implementing collectivization with partly divergent methods. These two life stories can be considered to lie on opposite poles. Collectivization trauma can have been experienced in different ways, yet the two positions occupied by Katalin and József allow us to problematise key issues of interest for this paper.

The paper was to elucidate two central questions: Which kind of survival strategies emerged to cope with the impact of collectivization and to what degree were immaterial resources mobilized in this effort? How did informants experience and

understand collectivization trauma and their own coping strategies and in which way do these form parts of their self-representations?

The co-operative that emerged in József's community was open for integrating the former respected middle-strata peasant (see Table 1). Becoming a manager in the co-operative provided József with a platform where he could mobilize his know-how and entrepreneurial habitus for the benefit of the co-operative and himself. When appraising the high level of trust among the members of the co-operative, he attributed great importance to the social cohesion among the villagers as well as to his own tactic of being a leader among equals. This became an asset contributing to the rising collective wealth and good economic results in production. The dissonance that was manifested in the life story between experiencing collectivization trauma and becoming the beneficiary of the event was resolved with reference to being one of the villagers and working not only for his personal but also for the collective best.

In contrast, the co-operative that was launched in Katalin's village applied dictatorial methods, alienating the peasantry. Katalin presents herself as a resourceful person, supportive of her husband in their joint effort to establish the independent family farm. Their cultural assets of being hard-working and autonomous agents are crushed by collectivization and cannot be mobilized and transferred into favorable positions. Rather Katalin becomes marginalized. Katalin's integration into the collective meant for her a deskilling of her abilities as well as a loss of autonomy over organizing the care of her children. She canalizes instead her creative energies towards her family and household. The fellow villagers in the co-operative follow similar paths, enduring the yokes in passive solidarity. Katalin's life story manifests a dissonance between seeing herself as an able-bodied and resourceful person and becoming a victim of collectivization. She resolves this dissonance by identifying her fate with the fate of other in her stance and reinstating self-respect through presenting herself as a self-sacrificing mother.

*Table 1:
Comparing survival strategies and types
of resolving dissonance in the two life stories*

	József	Katalin
Model of collectivization	Incorporating the know-how of the middle peasantry	Teleological leadership
Social capital		
Bonding- family	Strong	Strong
Bonding- other co-op members	Strong and active	Weak and passive
Bridging	Lubricating between local and regional leaders	Sectarian separation of head and hand;
Cultural capital pre collective	Head of the household, entrepreneurial habitus	Farm wife, autonomous hard working spirit
Cultural capital post-collective	Capable of mobilizing within the collective into leading position	Not able to mobilize within the collective sphere; focus on the family
Self-representation dissonances	Dissonance between the personal trauma of collectivization and the acquired leadership position	Dissonance between the self-image of being resourceful and becoming victimized
Resolution	Acting as a member of a collective not only for own benefit but also for the common good	Seeing the deprivation as a collective experience; finding refuge in the family

The two life stories inform us about the arbitrariness of the exercise of power. While in one of the co-operatives the know-how of the former propertied peasantry was respected, in the other one the exercise of power was more exclusive. These divergent frameworks provided contrasting conditions that proved central for the two informants' possibilities to mobilize their personal resources. These cases indicate also the limits of the explanatory value of the concept of cultural capital as a source of development alone⁵. Individual agency might work for the benefit of the individual. Without collective action its limits remain embedded in and curtailed by the prevailing dominant conditions. In order to exceed these limits, the development of suppor-

5• On the critique of embourgeoisement theory from a developmental perspective see Asztalos Morell (1999).

ting institutions of materialized or immaterial types is necessary. Social capital vested in mutual trust and collaboration with key agents might give the lubricating context that supports individual agents in working both for the benefit of themselves as individuals and for the common good.

The paper might also shed light on moral conflicts in a more general sense, such as the dilemmas of stewardship facing encounters with the agents of dictatorship. The two life stories show different paths of reinstating the meaning in life in the face of traumatizing events. Facing the loss of material assets, soft capital assets (cultural and social) as well as sheer physical energies were mobilized. Utilizing the concept of respectability the paper hopefully could problematise the complexity of ways of resolving dissonances. These resolutions emerged from the ways the actors found meaning and could restate their identities in the emerging new contexts. These involved choices, which they made in accordance to norms that were meaningful in their efforts to find respectability through their actions. Telling the story of one's life could be seen as a catalyst for these processes of formulating the meaning in one's life. "Embernek lenni mindég, minden körülményben" ("Remain always a man, in all circumstance" Arany) I am thankful for being trusted with these statements and having been given the opportunity to decipher the meanings confessed in them and to interpret their messages for a broader audience.

References

- Aarelaid-Tart, A. (2006): *Cultural trauma and life stories*. Helsinki, University of Helsinki, Kikumora publications.
- Asztalos Morell, I. (1999): *Emancipations Dead-End Roads? Studies in the formation and development of the Hungarian Model for Agriculture and Gender (1956-1989)*. Uppsala, Acta Uppsaliensis, 46
- (2007): "How to combine Motherhood and Wage Labour: Hungarian Expert Perspectives During the 1960s", in R. Kay (ed.), *Gender, equality and difference during and after state socialism*, Palgrave, Macmillan, Basingstoke, pp. 41-62.
- Bertaux, D. (ed.) (1981): *Biography and Society: The Life History Approach to the social Sciences*, Beverly Hill, CA, Sage
- Bourdieu, P. (1986): "The Forms of Capital", in J.E. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory of Research for Sociology of Education*, Greenwood Press, pp. 241-258.

- Bruner, J. (1987): "Life as Narrative", *Social Research*, 54, pp. 11-33.
- Coleman, J.S. (1988): "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital", *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, pp. 95-121.
- Erdei, F. (1988): "Hungarian society Between the Two World Wars", in T. Huszár (ed.), *Erdei Ferenc: Selected Writings*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Foss, L. (2004): "'Going against the grain...': Construction of entrepreneurial identity through narratives", in D. Hjorth and C. Steyaert (eds.), *Narrative and Discursive Approaches in Entrepreneurship*, Cheltenham UK, Edward Elgar, pp. 80-104.
- Gal, S. (1997): "Feminism and civil society", in J. Scott et al. (eds.), *Transitions, Environments, Translations*, London, Routledge.
- Gergen (1994): *Realities and relationships: soundings in social construction*. Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press.
- Goven, J. (1993): *The gendered foundations of Hungarian Socialism: state, Society, and the anti-politics of anti-feminism 1948-1990*, Berkeley, University of California.
- Haney, L. (2002): *Inventing the Needy, Gender and the Politics of Welfare in Hungary*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Juhász, Pál. (1975): *A mezőgazdasági termelészövetkezetek dolgozóinak rétegződése munkahelycsoportok, származás és életút szerint*. Budapest, Szövetkezeti Kutató Intézet Évkönyve.
- (1983): *Medve Alfonz parasztpolgár és a magyar gazdasági csoda, Ne sápadj*. Budapest, Objektív Studio.
- Kornai, J. (1989): *Régi és új ellentmondások és dilemmák*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Kovács, K., et al. (1994): "Restructuring Hungarian Agriculture", in D. Symes and A. J. Jansen (eds.), *Agricultural Restructuring and Rural Change in Europe*, pp. 136-152.
- Magyar, B. (2007): *A Dunánál I. II., Dunapataj 1944-1958 dokumentumszociográfia*. Budapest, Új Mandátum kiadó.
- Megyesi, B., Kelemen, E., and Schermer, M. (2011): "Social capital as a Success Factor for Collective Marketing Initiatives", *International Journal of Sociology of Agriculture and Food*, in press.
- Öberg, P. (1997): *Livet som berättelse, om biografi och åldrande*. Uppsala, Diss Uppsala.
- Portelli, L. (1991): *The death of Luigi Trastulli, and other stories: form and meaning in oral history*. Radstone, Albany, N.Y. State University of New York Press.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000): *Bowling alone: The Collapse and Revival of the American Community*. New York, Simon Schuster.
- Reese, E., and Fivush, R. (2008): "The development of collective remembering", *Memory*, 16, pp. 201-212.
- Riesman, C.K. (1993): *Narrative Analyses*. Thousand Oaks, Ca, Sage.

- Szelényi, I., and Konrád, Gy. (1979): *The intellectuals on the road to class power: [a sociological study of the role of the intelligentsia in socialism]*, Brighton, Harvester P.
- , Manchin, R., Juhász, P, Magyar, B., and Bill, M. (1988, 1992): *Socialist Entrepreneurs, Embourgeoisement in Rural Hungary*. Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Szelényi, Sz., Szelényi, I., and Kovách, I. (1995): "The making of the Hungarian post-communist elite: Circulation in politics, reproduction in the economy", *Theory and Society*, 24, pp. 697-922.
- Sen, A.K., and Nussbaum, M. (eds.) (1993): *The quality of life*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Skeggs, B. (1997): *Formations of class and gender: becoming respectable*. London, Sage.
- Smith, D.E. (1990): *The conceptual practices of power: a feminist sociology of knowledge*. Boston, Northeastern University Press.
- Stark, D. (1992): "Path Dependence and Privatization Strategies in East Central Europe", *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 6, 1, pp. 17-51.
- Svendsen, G.L.H. (2006): "Studying social capital *in situ*: A qualitative approach", *Theory and Society*, 35, pp. 39-70.
- , and Svendsen, G.T. (2003): "On the wealth of nations: Bourdieueconomics and social capital", *Theory and Society*, 32, pp. 607-631.
- , and – (2004): *The Creation and Destruction of Social Capital, Entrepreneurship, Co-operative Movements and Institutions*. Edwards Elgar, Cheltenham
- Thompson, P. (2000): *The voice of the past, Oral history*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Varga, Zs. (2001): *Politika, paraszti érdekérvényesítés és szövetkezetek Magyarországon 1956-1967*. Budapest, Napvilág Kiadó.
- Woolcock, M., and Narayan, D. (2000): "Social Capital: Implications for Development Theory, Research, and Policy", *The World Bank Research Observer*, 15, pp. 225-249.
- Závada, P. (1985): "Teljes erővel. Agrárpolitika 1949-1953" *Medvetánc*, No 2-3, pp. 137-158.
- ([1986], 2006): *Kulákprés*. Budapest, Magvető.

