

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 (Kovács 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 associations³ 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

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 period⁴ 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' Party⁵ the General Secretary, Gheorghe Gheorgiu-Dej presented the results, and proposed the mechanization of the agriculture as a future goal. On the 3rd Party Congress⁶ 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/Sâmbriaș).

Collectivization-Attempt in Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaș)

The country-wide processes took place in Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaș) 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 (Sâmbriaș) were declared as *kulaks*. To

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 (Sâmbriaș) 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 (Sâmbriaș) 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 (Sâmbriaș) 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 (Sâmbriaș) 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 (Sighișoara) 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 (Sâmbriaș) 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 Mureș (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 (Sâmbriaș) 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 (Gagyí 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–Csíte–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 (Sâmbriaș) is relatively better cultural and economic condition as the neighbouring Székelyhodos (Hodoșa), 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

Bibliography

Albert, Ferenc

2000 Falu és modernizáció. [Village and Modernization.] *Erdélyi Múzeum* LXII. (3–4) 164–184.

Bárdi, Nándor – László, Márton

2008 A kollektivizálás és a falu átalakítása. [The Collectivization and the Transformation of the Village.] In: Bárdi, Nándor – Fedinec, Csilla – Szarka, László (eds.): *Kisebbségi magyar közösségek a 20. században*. [Hungarian Minority Communities in the 20th Century.] Gondolat Kiadó – MTA Kisebbségkutató Intézet, Budapest, 234–241.

Bottoni, Stefano

2008 Az ötvenes évek a kelet-közép-európai kommunista államokban. A pártállami nemzetiségi politika alakváltozatai. [The 50's in the East-Central European Communist States. Nation Policy Versions of the One-party State.] In: Bárdi, Nándor – Fedinec, Csilla – Szarka, László (eds.): *Kisebbségi magyar közösségek a 20. században*. [Hungarian Minority Communities in the 20th Century.] Gondolat Kiadó - MTA Kisebbségkutató Intézet, Budapest, 230–233.

Ciobanu, Ruxandra Oana

2010 Migrációs minták két romániai falu elvándorlásában. Két esettanulmány tanulságai? [Migration Patterns from Two Romanian Villages. What inferences can we draw from two case studies?] In: Hárs, Ágnes – Tóth, Judit (eds.): *Változó migráció – változó környezet*. [Changing Migration – Changing Environment.] MTA Etnikai-nemzeti Kisebbségkutató Intézete, Budapest, 125–144.

Gagyí, József

2009 Ötödik fejezet. A diktatórikus hatalomgyakorlás társadalomalakító eredményei. Mobilitás, urbanizáció, foglalkozásszerkezet, társadalomszerkezet. [Fifth Chapter. The Society-forming Results of the Dictatorial Exercise of Power. Mobility, Urbanization, Occupational Structure, Social Structure.] In: Id: *Fejezetek Románia huszadik századi társadalomtörténetéhez.* [Chapters to Romania's Social History in the 20th Century.] Mentor Kiadó, Marosvásárhely, 139–168.

Gheorghiu-Dej, Gheorghe

1962 Raport cu privire la încheierea colectivizării și reorganizarea conducerii agriculturii prezentat la Sesiunea extraordinară a Marii Adunări Naționale. 27 aprilie 1962. [Report Regarding the Completion of the Collectivization and the Reorganizing of the Direction of the Agriculture Presented on the Extraordinary Session of the Great National Assembly. 27 April 1962.] In: Id: *Articole și cuvântări iunie 1961–decembrie 1962.* [Articles and Speeches June 1961–December 1962.] Editura Politică, București, 287–335.

Gregory, Paul R.

2004 *The Political Economy of Stalinism: Evidence from the Soviet Secret Archives.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Horváth, István

2016 Internal Migration Transition in Romania? *Regional Statistics* 6. (1) 42–53.

Kligman, Gail – Verdery, Katherine

2011 *Peasants under Siege: The Collectivization of Romanian Agriculture, 1949–1962.* Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Kovách, Imre

2012 *A vidék az ezredfordulón. A jelenkori magyar vidéki társadalom szervezeti és hatalmi változásai.* [The Province on the Turn of the Millenium. Organizational and Power-structural Changes of the Present Day Provincial Hungarian Society.] Argumentum Kiadó – MTA Társadalomtudományi Kutatóközpont (Szociológiai Intézet), Budapest. (Source: <http://mek.niif.hu/12700/12727/12727.pdf>; 2018-02-20.)

Lakatos, Artur Lóránd

2017 Szocialista iparosítás, demográfiai változások. Kolozsvár, Nagyvárad és Marosvásárhely fejlődési irányai 1945–1989. [Socialist Industrialization, Demographic Changes. Trends in Kolozsvár, Nagyvárad and Marosvásárhely 1945–1989.] *Belvedere Meridionale* 29. (2) 27–53.

László, Márton

2009 A kollektivizálás menetrendje és modelljei a Székelyföldön. [The Schedule and Models of the Collectivization in Szeklerland.] *Korall* 10. (36) 56–85.

Nagy, Ákos

- 2015 Gazdasági és társadalmi változások egy nem kollektivizált marosszéki faluban. [Economic and Social Changes in a Non-Collectivized Village in Marosszék.] In: Novák, Anikó (ed.): *Párhuzamok vonzásában. A Balassi Intézet Márton Áron Szakkollégiuma 2015. évi PhD-konferenciájának tanulmányaiból. Pécs, 2015. március 7.* [In Attraction of Parallels. From the Papers of the 2015 PhD-Conference of the Balassi Intézet Márton Áron Szakkollégium, Pécs, 2015. March 7.] Balassi Intézet – Márton Áron Szakkollégium, Budapest, 204–225.
- 2017 A jobbágytelki kollektivizálás története. [The Story of the Collectivization in Jobbágytelke.] *Korunk* 28. (1) 50–58.

Németh, Nándor – Csité, András – Jakobi, Ákos

- 2011 Employees with Romanian Citizenship in Hungary. *Regional Statistics* 14 (51). (1) 55–63.

Oláh, Sándor

- 2001 *Csendes csatatér. Kollektivizálás és túlélési stratégiák a két Homoród mentén (1949-1962).* [Silent Battleground. Collectivization and Survival Strategies in the Two Homoród Region (1949-1962).] TLA Közép-Európa Intézet – Pro-Print Könyvkiadó, Csíkszereda.
- 2008 Társadalmi konfliktusok egy székely falu kollektivizálása idején. [Social Conflicts in a Szekler Village During the Collectivization.] In: Id: *Kivizsgálás. Írások az állam és a társadalom viszonyáról a Székelyföldön.* [Investigation. Papers about the Relation of State and Society in Szeklerland.] Pro-Print Könyvkiadó, Csíkszereda, 283–310.

Ronnäs, Per

- 1984 *Urbanization in Romania: A Geography of Social and Economic Change Since Independence.* Economic Research Institute – Stockholm School of Economics, Stockholm.

Varga E., Árpád

- 2007 *Erdély etnikai és felekezeti statisztikája. Népszámlálási adatok 1850–2002 között.* [Ethnic and Denominational Statistics of Transylvania. Census data between 1850 and 2002.] Pro-Print Könyvkiadó, Csíkszereda.
- 2011 *Erdély etnikai és felekezeti statisztikái a népszámlálási adatok alapján, 1852-2011.* Varga E. Árpád 2002-től kiegészített adatsorai. [Ethnic and Denominational Statistics of Transylvania. Census data between 1850 and 2002. Data Series of Varga E. Árpád Supplemented after 2002.] (Source: <http://nepszamlalas.adatbank.transindex.ro>; 2018-02-20.)

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.

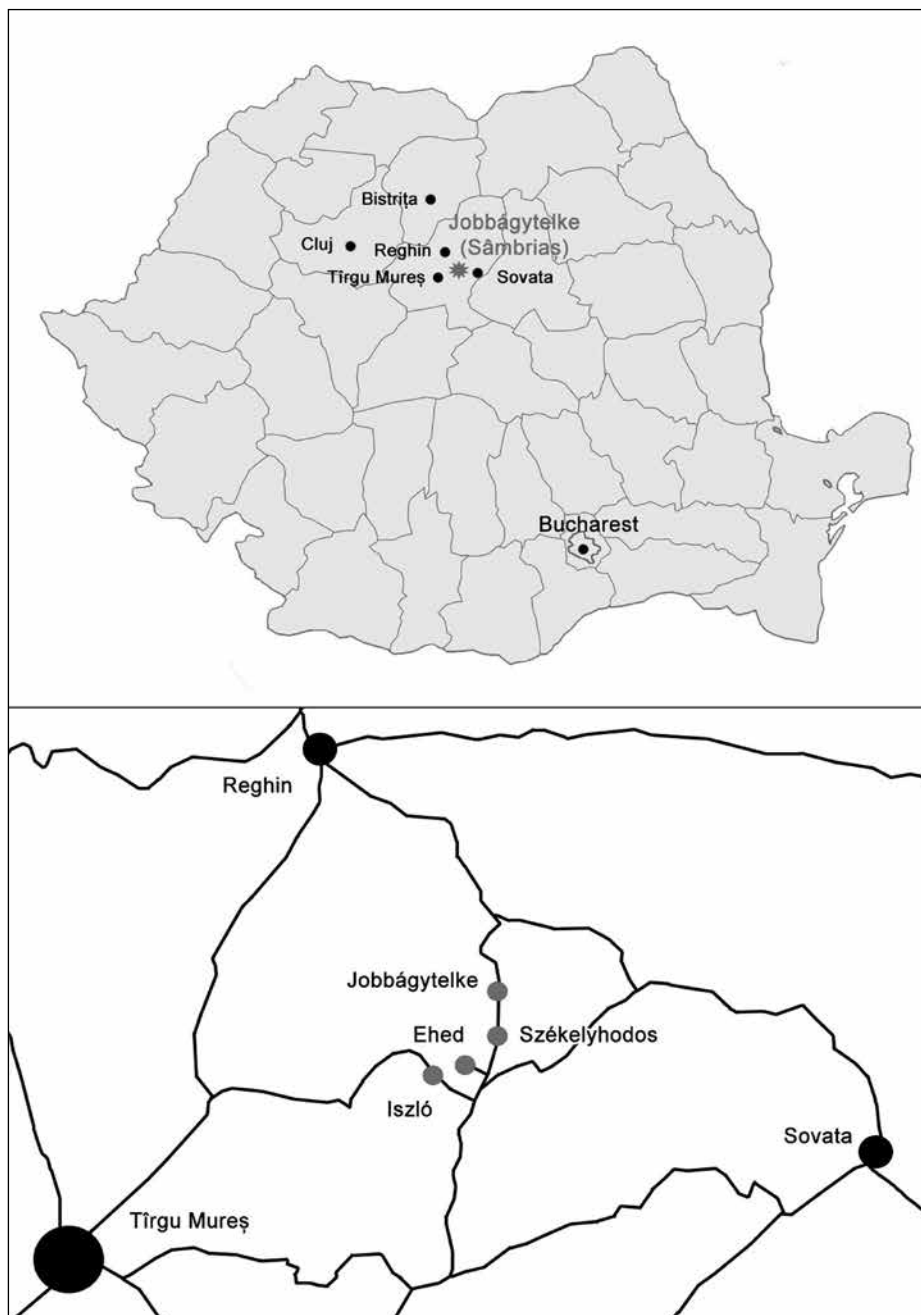
Jobbágytelke (Sâmbriaș)					
Year	Altogether	Romanian	Hungarian	German	Other
1850n	763		763		
1880a	888	2	845		41
1880b	888	2	880		6
1890a	1003	3	979	1	20
1900a	1053		1053		
1910a	1091		1091		
1920n	1035	1	1013		21
1930a	1063	1	1052		10
1930n	1063	5	1039		19
1941a	1234	2	1232		
1941n	1234	2	1231		1
1956	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 (Sâmbriaș) (a – mother tongue, n – ethnicity)

Source: Varga 2007, 2011.

Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș)					
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 Mureș) (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 și procesele de migrație
în patru sate minoritare maghiare**

Studiul analizează efectul colectivizării forțate asupra migrației în patru sate maghiare din județul Mureș. După transformarea socialistă a agriculturii s-au întâmplat schimbări radicale în viațile culturale, sociale și economice ale satelor din România. Unul dintre rezultatele colectivizării a fost intensificarea migrației rural–urban. Din cele patru sate prezentate una (Sâmbriaș) a scăpat de colectivizare, și în timpul comunismului, dar și după 1989, a avut o evoluție diferită față de celelalte trei localități.

**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 (Mureș) 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 (Sâmbriaș) escaped the collectivization. As a result, the first three and the uncollectivized village had different paths during the communist era and after 1989.