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# The Formation and the Development of the Újházhely Residential Area in Hajdúnánás

#### **Abstract**

In Hungary, it was the land reform of 1945 which caused one of the most significant changes in the land policy. This measure, aimed at allocating land to landless peasants, utilized a total of 3,220,000 ha, which were distributed among 642,000 beneficiaries. As a result, each beneficiary received an average of 2,9 ha of agricultural land, on which they could make a living, albeit under difficult conditions. Historical research has examined this phenomenon, allowing us to understand its effects on Hungarian agriculture and the peasants. It is a less known fact, that not only agricultural lands but also – according to the previous works – in approximately 2800 settlements 300,000-450,000 building sites were distributed. As a result, new farmstead centers, settlements and residential areas emerged. This topic is a less researched area of the history of the Hungarian countryside, even though it caused many changes in the society of these settlements. To provide a more comprehensive understanding of these phenomena, the aim of my presentation is to illustrate this process using the example of Hajdúnánás, a small town located in northern Hajdú-Bihar County. This includes the occupation of agricultural lands, payment of expenses (such as contributions and redemption fees), the distribution of building sites, and the settlement and development of the *Újházhely* residential area. For this research, I utilized historical sources including electoral registers, house tax records, maps, statistical data, archival sources, legal documents, and interviews.

**Keywords:** settlement ethnography, microhistory, Hajdúnánás, land reform, distribution of plots



The effects of the land reform in 1945 on agricultural lands have been extensively explored in historical research. However, it is less widely known that not only agricultural lands but also plots suitable for building houses were distributed. Unfortunately, our understanding of this particular aspect of the process is limited due to a lack of comprehensive information. Therefore, the objective of this paper is to explore the effects of the distribution of plots in the small town of *Hajdúnánás* in the *Hajdú-Bihar* Region. For this research, I rely on various archival sources, including house tax registers, maps, statistical data, minutes of the land distribution, and legal sources. The presentation of this process will follow a chronological order, covering the marking and utilization of the area, the determination of beneficiaries, and the reimbursement process. Before delving into these details, it's essential to highlight the significance of the distribution of plots.

The land reform in 1945 effectively terminated the *latifundia*, as 3.2 million ha were distributed among approximately 642 thousand individuals, each receiving an average of 2.93 ha of agricultural land<sup>1</sup> and therefore it changed the everyday life of the agricultural society2. It is a less-known fact that during this land reform, not only agricultural lands but also plots of 63301 ha suitable for building houses were distributed.<sup>3</sup> At first glance, it seems that this measure did not cause significant changes in Hungarian agricultural society and the life of rural settlements. However, based on my research and previous studies, they indicate the opposite. While precise figures are unavailable, it's estimated that approximately 2,800 settlements saw the distribution of 300,000 to 450,000 plots. These phenomena caused significant changes in some settlements, according to Károly Perczel, an architect and urbanist who closely witnessed the distribution of plots and played a crucial role in revising the distribution plans. The territory of the affected settlements doubled in size; new residential areas formed. Moreover, in cases where the distribution of plots happened far away from the center of the settlements in the fields, it led to the formation of new farmsteads and settlements. According to his opinion, this measure changed the picture and the map of the country. This phenomenon altered the life of local societies, and it also had an impact on the beneficiaries.<sup>5</sup> We do not have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fazekas 1995: 208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zoltán-Borzován 2023: 141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Luka 2019: 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Perczel 1948: 791; Illés 2009: 44; Beluszky–Sikos 2007: 47; Luka 2019: 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Perczel 1948: 791.

exact numbers about them, but with a conservative estimate, it can be applied to one million people.<sup>6</sup>

In my view, given the aforementioned reasons, it is crucial to scrutinize the impact of plot distribution on the structure and development of rural settlements, as well as on local societies. This issue presents an intriguing avenue for settlement ethnography, social ethnography, local history, and microhistory.

# The formation of the Újházhely residential area

Under current legislation, the local Községi Földigénylő Bizottság [Municipal Land Acquisition Committee, hereinafter referred to as: K.F.B.] was tasked with handling responsibilities at the local level. In Hajdúnánás, it was established on March 6, 1945, with the following objectives:

- To compile a list of claimants and distributable fields by statistical data.
- To distribute lands based on accepted claim rights.
- To list claimants for plots, oversee the distribution of plots, and manage the possession by beneficiaries.

The land tenure structure of the city defined the outcomes and the process of land and plot distribution. Imre Csiszár's research validated the findings of previous studies, indicating that the large landholding system was not typical of *Hajdúnánás*. The largest group consisted of dwarf holders with less than 2.87 ha, alongside middle-sized landowners with holdings between 28.77–57.55 ha consequently, in *Hajdúnánás*, very small-sized landowners and affluent farmers coexisted, and land hunger was greater here than in the rest of the country. This circumstance likely influenced the K.F.B. in determining the distributable fields, a process that can be explored through surviving resources.

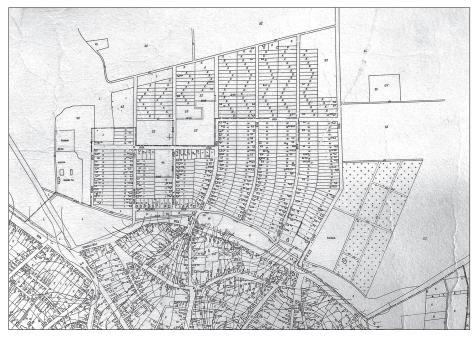
One of the first measures was to utilize the distributable fields, identifying their holders through house tax registers, after determining the number of farmsteads present before the distribution of plots. This process can be achieved by comparing two maps: one created in 1920 and the other in 1969. The territory of the later *Újházþely* is easily identifiable because the dirt roads bordering the area have distinctive shapes.

<sup>6</sup> Luka 2019: 97–98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Csiszár 2015: 229–230.



Pic. Nr. 1: *The 1920 border map Source:* MNL-HBVML HF Ny. 117.



Pic. Nr. 2: The 1969 urban planning map Source: MNL-HBVML HF Ny. 208.

According to the house tax register created in 1946–1947, the later *Újház-hely* was held by individuals such as Dr. László Kovács, widow Csohány Miklósné, Dr. Pál Berencsi and others, Dr. Imre Nagy, and Győző Csiha.<sup>8</sup> Without sources, it cannot be established which legal basis the fields of these individuals utilized, except in two cases. The 112.8 ha fields of Dr. Pál Berencsi, Gábor,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B. 378/b 31.k.

and Zoltán were utilized without the legally binding decision of the *Országos Földbirtokrendező Tanács* [National Land Reorganization Council] in April 1945. However, for the distribution of plots, only 5.2 ha were utilized by the K.F.B. from them.<sup>9</sup> The other case involves Győző Csiha, a mill owner, who held a 63.3 ha field according to the sources. Because he held more than 57.55 ha<sup>10</sup> by the 600/1945 M.E. decree, his fields must be utilized for the distribution of lands.<sup>11</sup> After the utilization, the *Megyei Földirtokrendező Tanács* [County Land Reorganization Council hereinafter referred to as: M.F.T.] conducted a site inspection on October 23,<sup>12</sup> 1945, and determined that this area is suitable for the distribution of plots.<sup>13</sup> This essentially marked the establishment and appropriation of the resident area named *Újházhely*.

1	2	3	4
Sorszám	A tényleges birtokos neve	Utca (tér, út)	Házszám, (helyrajzi szám)
281	by Kovais lasto	Gorpai 32	238
282	or bohan Millione	Zninji 28-30	239
283	bir Berlmeri Pol is trai	Borskai &	240
284	the Hough Jours	Vintovi 6	240/a
285	Caiha Gjöro	Janya 16	0 240/0.

Pic. Nr. 3: The farmsteads and their owners in Újházhely in the 1946–1947 house registry [The name of Dr. Imre Nagy is likely crossed out because his homestead has probably already been allocated to Miklós Horváth.]

Source: MNL-HBVML HF V.B. 378/b 31. k.

The plots to be formed here must be claimed by the needy individuals. The 600/1945. M.E. law and the 2.400/1945 F.M. decree regulated who could be claimant the plots. In the decree, it was stipulated that plots of land or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B. 374/c 208d 407/1945 5697/946; XVII. 505.1d. 124/1946.

<sup>10</sup> Gazdacimtár 1937.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> 600/1945 M.E. 10%.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> 2400/1945 F.M. 21.§.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> MNL-HBVML HF XVII. 505.1d. 124/1946 3186/1945.

kitchen gardens could be granted to those Hungarian citizens who were destitute, married, and had neither a residence nor a plot suitable for building a house for their dependent family members, either in their place of residence or elsewhere. But not only agricultural workers could be granted plots; individuals in various positions, such as industrial workers or retailers, were also eligible. However, this was applicable only when they were destitute, and the local claimant had already received plots.

The laws favored certain individuals over others based on these criteria.

- Individuals in an even more disadvantageous social situation than other claimants: those raising three or more children in one household, as well as unmarried sons of parents with many children, who, due to their property status, could not receive land.
- Outstanding combat achievement during World War II: those serving in the military, participating in the partisan movement, or engaging in the "fight against fascism" at the time the law came into effect.
- Personal loss suffered during World War II: those who lost their freedom, experienced internment, or deceased during the war.

The claims could be submitted until January 1, 1946. After that, the local K.F.B. the Acquisition Committee and the M.F.T. decided who was eligible for the plots. The M.F.T. decided that only claimants with at least one child could be accepted. Determining the eligible beneficiaries for the plots proved to be a challenging task for them because the two authorities could not reach an agreement on who should be beneficiaries. Consequently, the Land Office of *Hajdú* County sought the assistance of the mayor of the city to determine who was eligible for the plots. This process was not straightforward, as the list of beneficiaries was constantly changing. Some moved out of the city, while others resigned from their plots, and some experienced improvements in their financial situations, leading to the loss of their eligibility.

To understand the formation of the *Újházhely* residential area, it is necessary to examine the living circumstances of the beneficiaries. The sources do

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. 331/1947.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. 331/1947.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. 2983/1948.

We do not have exact data on how many people moved away; one report lists 38 individuals, while another document mentions the submission of 32 cancellation statements. MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. 78/1948; MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 207d. 407/1945. 2636/1948; MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. 331/947.

not discuss in detail their life circumstances but indicate that a number of the claimants lived in disadvantageous social situations. Some of them were military nurses, some were war widows, and others lived in unhealthy farmsteads in their fields. So, most of them belonged to the lowest part of the society in *Hajdúnánás*.

Despite the fact that many beneficiaries were in a disadvantaged and often multiply disadvantaged social situation, they did not receive their plots for free. Among the various expenses, the most significant were the redemption price and the engineering cost. These were not fixed expenditures; their measure was bound to the exchange rate of wheat. This amount, established using this method, had to be paid by the dwarf holders and small landowners within 10 years, while agricultural laborers had 20 years to pay, in equally portioned parts.<sup>18</sup> Payment could be made not only in cash but also in wheat, based on the current price of wheat.<sup>19</sup> They were required to pay the purchase price determined by the M.F.T. in equally portioned parts within 5 years.<sup>20</sup> Before the occupation of their plots, they also had to cover procedural costs, which amounted to 60 Ft in 1949 according to Futaky.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, they were responsible for purchasing stakes for marking out their plots. The last expense was the relief from the redemption price and the engineering cost, which was always 10 Ft, regardless of the size of the plot.<sup>22</sup> The applications for deferments<sup>23</sup> and payment demands<sup>24</sup> that emerged during the previous research testify that the payment of the redemption price and engineering cost was an extremely challenging task for beneficiaries belonging to the poorest social class of the local society. The post-war hyperinflation significantly complicated the situation for both the beneficiaries and the authorities.

The value of the Hungarian *pengő* decreased to an unprecedented extent, leading to a rapid increase in the price of wheat. Consequently, during certain periods, it became challenging to determine what kind of wheat price could be expected.<sup>25</sup> The problems faced by the authorities due to hyperinflation were resolved with the introduction of the Hungarian forint on August 1, 1946. However, according to sources, numerous authorities warned the beneficiaries

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> 600/1945 M.E. 40.§.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> 600/1945 M.E. 40. §.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> .400/1945 F.M. 26. §.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Futaky 1949: 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 207d 7311/1947.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. 393/947.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. 10189/1947; 14415/1947.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. 35.726/1946.

several times to pay these expenses. It proved to be a very challenging task for them.<sup>26</sup>

Meanwhile, the implementation of the distribution of plots took place. This intricate process required the efforts of several officials, with the *Országos Építés-iigyi Kormánybizottság Debreceni Kirendeltsége* [Branch Office in Debrecen of the National Construction Authority] playing a prominent role. Their responsibilities included overseeing the disaster situation, control of construction material management, and controlling the distribution of plots with a focus on urban planning.<sup>27</sup> As a result, they played a role in marking and planning the plots.<sup>28</sup>

In October 1945, the government commissioner János Fischer had already determined that in several places, the distribution of plots would expand the territory of many settlements. Consequently, there was a risk of the formation of residential areas on the outskirts, isolated from the urban area and lacking public utilities. He stressed the significance of a deliberate distribution of plots and offered the support of his government commission.<sup>29</sup> The Government Commissioner decided that he and his engineers would create plans for the distribution of plots and warned the K.F.B. to provide him with the necessary information.<sup>30</sup>

According to sources<sup>31</sup> and previous works, despite efforts, not every engineer focused on the aspects of urban planning, resulting in numerous mistakes. Some engineers did not consider topography and the natural environment. In numerous locations, plots were allocated in unhealthy areas, often without sufficient space reserved for public institutions, healthcare facilities, parks, and even streets. Károly Perczel, an employee of the Újjáépítési és Közmunkaügyi Minisztérium [Ministry of Reconstruction and Public Works], and the group led by him identified these problems. Their task was to review plans with a focus on urban planning, social considerations, environmental impact, and the overall settlement network. As a result, they modified the plans for 2,800 settlements and created new ones.<sup>32</sup> Regarding Hajdúnánás, there is no source confirming whether there were modifications in the plan. We only know that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. O.F.T. 210. 222.483/1946. I/2; MNL-HB-VML HF V.B.374/c 207d. 407/1945. 1389/947.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Borbiró 1947: 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Hönsch 1947: 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 211d. 3183/1945. 5283/2/1945.sz.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 210d. 153 sz. 1946; MNL-HBML HF V.B.374/c 211d. 3183/1945. 12.023/1945. sz.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 211d. 3183/1945. 179/1946.

<sup>32</sup> Perczel 1989: 82.

the planning began in October 1946,<sup>33</sup> and the process was completed in January 1947.<sup>34</sup>

Meanwhile the process of the planning works the city management did not let the utilized area in waste. Under current legislation, this territory was a reserve area and the K.F.B. had to utilize it smallholdings lease. Therefore, house building was an illegal act in this territory the authorities did not act because no construction had taken place. The plots could not be distributed after even February 1947, because under current legislation all the beneficiaries would have paid the engineering cost. But the mayor drew the *Hajdúvármegyei Földhivatal* [Land Office of Hajdú County] attention, it will perhaps never happen, because one of the beneficiaries moved out of the city. As a result, the distribution works dragged on until the spring of 1948.

During the planning process, to avoid letting the area fallow according to current legislation,<sup>35</sup> this territory was reserved, and the K.F.B. had to allocate it for smallholdings lease. Hence, during this period, any construction in this area was deemed illegal, granting the authorities the right to prevent such actions with the assistance of the police.<sup>36</sup> However, since no construction had occurred, the authorities did not take any action. <sup>37</sup> The distribution of plots couldn't proceed after February 1947 because, according to current legislation, all beneficiaries were required to pay the engineering cost. <sup>38</sup> However, the mayor brought it to the attention of *Hajdúvármegyei Földhivatal* [Land Office of *Hajdú* County] that it might never happen as one of the beneficiaries had moved out of the city. Consequently, the final works extended until the spring of 1948, by which time the bureaucratic obstacles were slowly rolling away from the distribution of plots.<sup>39</sup>

The distribution followed the planned layout, designating the *Újházhely* area to the west, adjacent to the *Új Felső Temető* [New Upper Cemetery] on the XI. dirt road of the *Puszta*, covering 72.5 ha. The closest point to the train station was 2.6 km away, easily accessible via a stone road leading up to the cemetery. A 3.45 ha area was reserved in the center for a market and green space. The western side had a green area, mainly serving as a meadow in rainy weather. Water supply relied on four dug wells in the city center. The plot sizes were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 211d. 3183/1945. 1068/1946.

<sup>34</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 211d. 3183/1945. 142/1947.

<sup>35 2.400/1945.</sup> F.M. 25.\s\.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 211d. 3183/1945. 947/1946. sz.

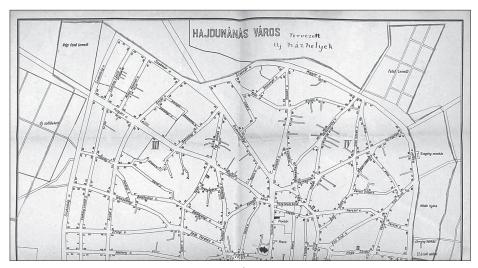
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 211d. 3183/1945. 7249/1946.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 207d. 407/1945 78/1948.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 207d. 407/1945 2983/1948.

generally 1438.66 m², with some smaller ones at 719.33 m². About 10–15% of the area had lower altitudes, potentially forming small lakes, prompting the *Kulturmérnöki Hivatal* [Cultural Engineering Office] to develop a plan for internal water drainage.<sup>40</sup>

The city's governing body determined the construction method for this territory. Eszlári Street was designated as the main thoroughfare, extending from Kossuth Street. With the opening of a new dirt road, it could establish a connection to the *Tiszaeszlári* country road. The city also established the construction guidelines for *Újházhely*. The plots facing the main square were designated for semi-detached houses with a 5-meter front yard. For the other plots, there was no maximum built-in area specified, but the houses had to face north and have a 5-meter front yard. The houses built facing away from the main square had to face east. It was decided that beneficiaries in *Újházhely* could only build their houses when there were no free plots left in the urban area. As a result, by 1948, the distribution of plots was completed. The entire process, including the final decision, was concluded only by 1949.

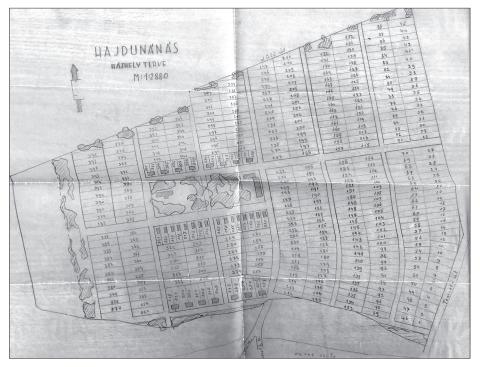


Pic. Nr. 4: *The planned location of Újházhely on the map of Hajdúnánás* Source: MNL-HBVML HF V.B. 374/c 211.d 3183/1945. 527/1946.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B. 374/c 211.d 3183/1945. 49.1448/1947; MNL-HBVML HF V.B. 374/c 211.d 3183/1945. 7166/1947; MNL-HBVML HF V.B. 374/c 211.d 3183/1945. 264/1948.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B. 374/c 211.d 3183/1945. 49.1448/1947.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> MNL-HBVML HF V.B. 374/c 207.d. 407/1945. 849/1949.



Pic. Nr. 5: The map sketch of the Hajdúnánás plot distribution plan Source: MNL HBML HF V. B. 374/c 211.d 3183/1945. 7166/1947.

With the assistance of the archive and the legal sources can explore the process of the distribution of plots and the formation of the *Újházhely* residential area. Several authorities were occupied with this process, but their work was not well coordinated, therefore it dragged on for many years. Just after the Second World War because of hyperinflation, the beneficiaries who lived in disadvantageous social situations could very hardly pay the expenditures. Therefore, this process began in 1945 and was completed only in 1949. As a result, *Hajdúnánás* saw the creation of its first district that did not conform to the city's traditional radial-cluster urban structure.

# The settlement and development of the *Újházhely* residential area

The initial settlement of the district progressed very slowly, with a gradual increase in population. Interviewees unanimously agreed that in the 1950s, the

population was very small, and it was only in the early 1960s that the influx into the district began. It is a legitimate question why the development of *Újházhely* started so late and why the beneficiaries did not begin construction immediately after receiving their properties. The reason lies in the legal environment. According to the regulation governing the allocation of house plots, although the plots became the private property of the recipients, their ownership was restricted by a prohibition on alienation and encumbrance for ten years. Furthermore, the legislator stipulated that if construction did not commence within five years after the end of the war, the plots would be confiscated and reallocated to other applicants.<sup>43</sup> This system was abolished in 1957 when the state transferred the sale of plots to the *Országos Takarék Pénztár* [National Savings Bank, hereinafter referred to as: OTP].<sup>44</sup> This change also occurred in *Hajdúnánás*, as evidenced by the sources.<sup>45</sup>

Following these developments, there was a substantial influx of residents into the district, which, according to the conducted interviews, peaked in the early 1960s. This is corroborated by the electoral registers, which, while they do not account for the entire population, only the voting-age residents, nevertheless provide a reliable indicator of population changes. These data demonstrate a continuous increase in the population, with the most significant influx occurring between 1958 and 1962, during which the population surged by an impressive 117.36%.

The voting-age population in Újházhely 1950–1975					
	Population size	Changes in the voting-age population compared to			
Year		In absolute numbers	As a percentage		
1950	55	22	66,67		
1954	82	27	49,09		
1958	144	62	75,61		
1962	313	169	117,36		
1963	375	62	19,81		
1967	425	50	13,33		
1975	628	203	47,76		

Table. Nr. 1: The development of the voting-age population in Újházhely 1949–1975 Source: MNL-HBVML-HF V.B.-XXIII. 528/c 1d-6d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> 2400/1945 F.M. 33. §.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> 35/1957 (V.21).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> MNL HBVML-HF-XXIII. 535/b 41d.

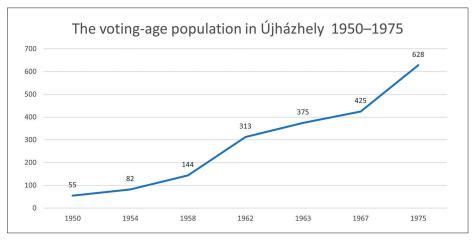


Fig. Nr. 1: The development of the voting-age population in Újházhely 1949–1975 Source: MNL-HBVML-HF V.B.-XXIII. 528/c 1d–6d.

Naturally, there was a compelling reason behind this phenomenon, namely the collectivization, the final wave of which was the most forceful. During this period, the collective farms saw the farmsteads as obstacles to the establishment of collective farming and took every possible measure to encourage the outskirts population to relocate to urban areas. They spread rumors about the closure of outskirts schools, repurposed some farmsteads buildings for their own use, demolished others to use the construction materials, and even left some to decay. Consequently, the rural inhabitants were compelled to move to the towns. As significant number of them settled in *Újházhely*, facilitated by the fact that the plot prices there were considerably lower than those of properties in the city center.

As previously detailed, the beneficiaries of land grants belonging to the lower strata of local society were in a very difficult situation after World War II, during the period of the greatest inflation in Hungarian history. To retain their legitimately acquired properties, they began construction within their modest means. Consequently, a few makeshift dwellings appeared in the area in the early 1950s. These typically consisted of a single room and a kitchen, with foundations of 1–2 layers of bricks at best; otherwise, adobe bricks, dug from a pit at the back of the garden, were simply laid on the ground. These pits filled with groundwater, become overgrown with weeds and reeds, and attract frogs. Later, these pits were filled with construction debris and garbage. The roofs

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<sup>46</sup> Csiszár 2007: 213; M.I.B. [informant] born 1939; K.A. [informant] born 1942.

of these makeshift dwellings were often made from unprocessed wood. Most people used corn stalks as roofing material, which was far from ideal, causing water to occasionally seep through the roof. Repairs were then needed, often using more corn stalks or plastic sheets. While some hired professionals to build chimneys, others, unable to afford this, resorted to makeshift solutions like sticking a kitchen pipe out of a window for smoke ventilation.<sup>47</sup>

After 1957, healthier and more modern houses were built by residents who purchased land for a certain amount from OTP and were escaping the 'farm destruction wave'. As a result, from the early 1960s onwards, the settlement gradually developed. From the mid-decade onwards, following national trends, new house forms known as 'cube houses', which were completely different from traditional peasant houses, began to appear in increasing numbers.<sup>48</sup>

The construction permits<sup>49</sup>, and interviews conducted indicate that the development of *Újházhely's* streets did not occur simultaneously. This is corroborated by the town planning map,<sup>50</sup> which vividly illustrates the process, as well as aerial photographs<sup>51</sup> taken in the 1980s. Initially, the streets of Tar Kálmán, Brassai Károly, *Eszlári, Pacsirta*, and then the eastern side of *Pázsit, Nyúl,* and finally *Nefelejcs*, Kabai János, and *Liliom* were developed. By the 1980s, *Újházhely* had reached a high level of development.

Given the initially small population and the modest financial situation of the residents, the implementation of infrastructure was not feasible. Consequently, the population lived under poor conditions in *Újházhely*. In light of these factors, it is not surprising that the majority population of the city assigned various pejorative labels to this neighborhood due to its underdevelopment, such as "slum", "aluminum settlement", "poor district", and "leper colony" Additionally, the residents were subjected to negative discrimination, which was also reflected in everyday interactions.

From the mid-1960s onwards, the underdeveloped nature of *Újházhely* gradually diminished. Starting from the beginning of the decade, those relocating from the farm destruction purchased their plots from OTP, in accordance with the law, suggesting they were likely more financially robust than the previous occupants. The large 1170 m² plots available here were well-suited for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> K.I. [informant] born 1938.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> The replacement of the building stock in *Hajdúnánás* and the characteristics of the construction of cube houses have been addressed by Anita Barna. Barna 2023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> MNL-HBVML-HF-XXIII. 535/a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> MNL-HBVML-HF-Ny. 208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> *Légifelvétel* 1981\_0351\_0025.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> M.I.B. [informant] born 1939; PZné [informant] born 1958.

those coming from farms, as they did not need to completely cease their agricultural activities. If they were already employed in industry as their primary occupation, they continued agricultural activities in their spare time. This is reflected in one of the maps<sup>53</sup> that designated the backyards as vegetable gardens. Generally, residents kept poultry (chickens, ducks, geese), pigs, and some even raised cattle. The backyards were used for cultivating kitchen garden plants (carrots, parsley, garlic, onions, peas, etc.) and were planted with fruit trees to support their livelihoods.<sup>54</sup> Many took advantage of the communal grazing system, but after its dissolution, individuals had to rent grazing land separately. Some also utilized undeveloped plots, marshy, and reed-covered areas for their livestock's grazing needs.<sup>55</sup>

As a result of their hard work, residents generated additional income, which they invested in modernizing their homes or constructing entirely new residences. Previous makeshift houses was either demolished or repurposed as workshops or ancillary buildings. The commencement of this developmental process is evidenced by the construction of a store in the area as early as the 1960s. The increase in population and improvement in financial conditions enabled the initiation of infrastructure development through community efforts. Although challenging, these efforts successfully led to the implementation of essential utilities. Initially, sidewalks were constructed, followed by the installation of street lighting. This was succeeded by the introduction of electricity, running water, and, subsequently, gas. Finally, the streets were paved with solid surfacing. This marked a significant and visible improvement in the neighborhood, which was also reflected in the rising property values.

The integration of *Újházhely* into the inner areas of *Hajdúnánás* is demonstrated by the designation of much of the district as an urban area and the naming of its streets in the latter half of the 1960s. Today, the formerly underdeveloped nature of the area is barely perceptible. This process is also reflected in the changing perception of the residents, as the term "házhelyi" has increasingly lost its pejorative connotations, and the previously experienced negative discrimination is no longer evident.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> *Digitalizált* 79-123-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> KA. [informant] born 1942; K.I. [informant] born 1938; K.I. [informant] born 1961.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> SZIné [informant] born 1940; DSné [informant] born 1941.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> HCS [informant] born 1969.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> SZIné [informant] born 1940; CSSné [informant] born 1940; KLné [informant] born 1939.

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