

ON DIVERGING ROADS? PATTERNS OF TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE CZECHOSLOVAK – HUNGARIAN BORDER ZONE (1910 – 1941)

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On diverging roads? Patterns of territorial development in the Czechoslovak-Hungarian border zone (1910 – 1941)

The paper investigates the transformation of territorial development disparities in the Hungarian-Czechoslovak border zone (the former territory of Esztergom and Komárom counties) from 1910 until 1941, based on a settlement-level quantitative database. In order to interpret statistical data, quantitative data analysis was integrated with a rural restructuring approach. Changes in the role of the state, economy and local societies are investigated in line with a multidimensional development index. Since the river Danube constituted the new state border from 1920, local societies were formed by different state policies: while the Hungarian government did not intend to change the land concentration, the Czechoslovak state carried out a rather radical land reform in order to dissolve large estates and promote agricultural smallholders (predominantly those belonging to the Czech and Slovak ethnicities). Changes in the multidimensional development index show that the level of land concentration and local characteristics of economic production (the ratio of non-agricultural population) can be considered as decisive factors both in 1910 and 1941.

Key words: territorial development disparities, treaty of Trianon, rural geography, rural restructuring, Czechoslovakia, Hungary

INTRODUCTION

Dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and its long-term effects on local communities has attracted scholarly interest in the past. As the existing works of historians, ethnographers, sociologists, human geographers show, the consequences of this historical event and the creation of new border zones can be approached in different ways: changes in ethnic configuration (Szarka 2003), transformation of economic and settlement networks (Kovács 1990, Gaucsík 2004, Jaschitz 2010 and Klapka and Erlebach 2021) and their consequences (such as smuggling – Bencsik 2020), the tools and goals of identity building (Mannová 2009), the role of different state policies, and the changes in quality of life and territorial development (Győri and Jankó 2009, Szilágyi 2019, Péntes 2020, Demeter 2020a and 2020b and Jankó et al. 2022) are just a number of aspects that has already been researched.

The paper aims to investigate the changes in quality of life in today's North-Western Hungary, South-Western Slovakia between 1910 and 1941. The area investigated constituted the historical counties of Esztergom and Komárom before the Treaty of Trianon. About half of the settlements that belonged to these counties became part of the first Czechoslovak Republic after 1920, while the other half of the settlements remained in Hungary; however, between 1938 and 1945 the area temporarily became part of Hungary again. Throughout this relatively short period

of time, local communities were influenced by significant impacts. Different state policies emerged in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, first of all in terms of agricultural reforms and ethnic policies. As previous research has shown, long-term development paths of the settlements on different sides of river Danube bifurcated: while at the beginning of the 20th century the area was well-off compared to other territories of Hungary, today the communities on the Hungarian side can be characterised by dynamic socio-economic indices, while some of those located in Slovakia are rather peripheral in terms of social and economic development (Demeter 2019, 2020a and 2020b).

On the following pages two questions should be answered: (1) to what extent does the long-term diversion of development paths emerge from the period between 1910 and 1941; (2) what was the impact of different state policies (especially agricultural and ethnic policies) on the local quality of life? In order to answer these questions, a quantitative, multi-dimensional development index, and investigation of the local-scale changes in the structure of land ownership and ethnic configuration were applied. The results are interpreted within the theoretical framework of rural restructuring, which gained scholarly attention especially during the 1980s.

Outcomes of the research can contribute to three wider topics. First, it can be embedded in the literature concerning the historical processes in East Central Europe in the first half of the 20th century. We can see the impact of changing state borders, and the consequences of land reforms the most important restructuring processes, which occurred to rural areas in this period. Second, benefits and limits to quantitative investigation of development patterns will be discussed. Critical interpretation of statistical data is a promising approach to reach this goal; integration of quantitative methodology with the rural restructuring approach is one of the possible tools. Third, an ambition of the contribution is also to shed light on the mechanisms forming rural areas not only in the region investigated, but also in other rural territories which underwent similar processes in the early 20th century. In this sense, this research might be helpful for current and future rural development policies.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The applied approach is related to two major fields of interest: quantitative investigation of quality of life and rural restructuring.

With the quantitative revolution, geographers' attention turned towards the possibilities of building large spatial databases in order to investigate social and economic characteristics in their complexity (Berry 1964). Quantitative investigation of quality of life relies upon the legacy of this quantitative, positivistic tradition. An important characteristic of quantitative works taking a positivistic approach is a lack of theoretical background: in these studies methodology serves as a theoretical basis (Kitchin 2006). In this sense, methodology and theory can not be separated, theory is replaced by methodological considerations. A popular way of modelling quality of life is the application of multidimensional development indices. This approach also appeared in works investigating rural areas (Woods 2005), which often coincides with the delimitation of peripheral areas (see for example Péntzes and Demeter 2021). A widely used and renowned tool of this sort is the Human Development Index (HDI), which was first used in the 1990s in order to compare quality of life in different countries. HDI is based on the measurement of three di-

mensions: demographic characteristics (first of all life expectancy), level of education and income level.

One of the main reasons for the popularity of HDI is the notion that the terms development and quality of life indicate different approaches: while investigation of development is considered to be a normative way of comparing the quality of economy and societies (and is often associated with economic production and level of income), quality of life refers to a more sophisticated way of comparison, which makes it possible to measure other aspects of everyday life. In the study, both terms (development and quality of life) are used, but due to the approach taken and application of multidimensional development index, the presented research concerns the changes in quality of life.

During the past decade or so, an even growing interest in this approach emerged among Hungarian historical geographers. Even if these works share in common the key research questions and the means to answer these questions, they differ in a number of aspects such as the scale of investigation, and the components used to set up complex development indices. The impact of Pál Beluszky cannot be overestimated when taking into account the most important works of this kind. Beluszky (2000) analysed the 'regional differences of modernisation' in pre-WWI Hungary using a multi-dimensional development index based on twelve variables. He investigated county-level territorial development patterns. These variables reflected dimensions of the level of education, share of economic sectors in employment, networks of public infrastructure and public institutions. His article has usually been referenced both from empirical and methodological aspects. For example, Győri and Jankó (2009) used a very similar method when analysing the long-term transformation of what is today's Western Hungary and Burgenland (Austria). The authors discussed changes in regional development patterns on a settlement level from the early 20th century up until the turn of the millennium by applying three different development indices for different time periods (1910, 1960/61 and 2001), using 4 to 6 variables within each timeframe. As Győri and Jankó (2009) argued, the key indicators expressing quality of life have changed significantly over the past 100 years, which makes it inevitable to set up different indexes in the case of different time periods. Following this path, Győri and Mikle (2017) analysed the transformation of regional development in the current territory of Hungary in the 20th and early 21st century. They used development indexes similar to those applied by Győri and Jankó (2009) for the comparison of micro-regional development in 1910, 1970, 2001 and 2011.

Due to the flourishing discourse among Hungarian historical geographers during the 2010s, quantitative analysis of historical development patterns was investigated in multiple ways. Some of the authors decided to emphasise the role of income level in territorial development patterns (Pénzes 2020). Meanwhile, another approach has been to reach a balance between the main dimensions of development via involvement of a large number of variables. Demeter (2019 and 2020a) used 27 variables to measure regional development. Szilágyi (2018a and 2019) endeavoured to set up a complex development index available for early 20th century Hungary, which can be interpreted as an equivalent of HDI.

In the 1970s restructuring processes were analysed by neo-Marxist economic geographers aiming to interpret the mechanism and consequences of the post-Fordist transition. Authors taking the restructuring approach examined complex qualitative changes from the viewpoint of political economy (Lovering 1989). Pro-

cesses occurring to society and economy were explained as the outcomes of political and economic power relations. The restructuring approach was first applied to rural contexts in the 1980s (Woods 2005 and 2009). Anglo-American authors, especially British geographers and sociologists scrutinised questions such as the transformation of rural class structure due to counterurbanization (Cloke and Thrift 1987), and economic transition following an urban-to-rural manufacturing shift (Thrift 1987). Macrostructural changes and the key mechanisms driving these processes attracted scholarly attention.

By the 1990s, after the cultural turn (Cloke 1997 and Woods 2005 and 2010), the question of rural restructuring appeared in a number of works with a changing theoretical background. At that time, some authors turned towards regulationist theories in order to interpret rural change. As Jessop (1990) pointed out, a core question shared by the different schools of thought taking the regulationist approach is how capitalist social and economic relations are reproduced by different regulatory mechanisms embedded in formal and informal institutions, networks and norms. In rural contexts, the integration of rural restructuring and regulationist theories appeared for example in the works of Marsden et al. (1990), and Cloke and Goodwin (1992). These authors argued that rural restructuring should be interpreted as a set of changes in the quality and balance of society, economy and the role of the state. This approach was followed for example by Hoggart and Paniagua (2001a and 2001b), who investigated the transformation of rural England and Spain in the second half of the 20th century. They came to the conclusion that it is inevitable to see the way economic production and consumption works, the role of the state, and civil society as a complex system in order to understand and evaluate rural restructuring.

As can be seen, the rural restructuring approach has gone through significant changes since its first appearance. In this study, there is a tendency to follow the path set up by authors integrating rural restructuring with regulationist theories. In this manner, rural restructuring can be seen as a complex qualitative shift in the role of the state, economic production and consumption and characteristics of civil society. In this study, the changing role of the state through the analysis of agricultural and ethnic state policies is investigated. The changing characteristics of economy are evaluated in the light of sectoral changes of employment and the balance between large estates and peasant holdings. Attributes of the civil society include the demographic situation, ethnic composition and migration patterns. We follow the changes occurring to these dimensions based on scholarly literature, and interpret the results of my quantitative analysis in the light of these broader processes. It is worth noting that a multidimensional development index does not include indicators representing all three dimensions of rural restructuring, but is aimed at including some key aspects of quality of life. The analytical framework is helpful in order to better understand the *mechanisms and key processes* which resulted in the changing patterns of quality of life between 1910 and 1941. In this sense, we concentrate on the role of major structural changes throughout the three decades investigated. The aim is to integrate quantitative investigation of quality of life with the concept of rural restructuring. This approach might also provide critical interpretation of statistical data with additional results.

As far as a selected approach, which is to invite the concept of rural restructuring to interpret quantitative analysis, it raises some important questions. It is necessary to keep in mind the role of the geographical context: as shown above, rural

restructuring and regulationist theories were originally applied to Western societies in the late 20th century, which makes it inevitable to be cautious when applying these concepts to the early-20th-century East Central Europe. Within an East Central European context, rural restructuring has been referenced vividly in order to interpret the post-socialist transition (in the case of Hungary see e. g. Kovách 1996 and 2012 and Csurgó et al. 2018). Even if rural restructuring is not a commonly used framework to analyse the consequences of the Treaty of Trianon, we argue that this approach is a useful tool to investigate the changes rural areas underwent due to the dissolution of Austria-Hungary as well. Shifts in the role of the state, economy and local society following WWI can be seen as different in nature than the transitions of the 1990s. However, changing state borders caused diverging state policies, patterns of economic production altered due to the land reforms, and civil society could be characterised by changing migration patterns.

METHODS AND DATA SOURCES

Based on the existing work of researchers referenced above, two different multidimensional development indices were set up. For 1910 (Tab. 1) Hungarian census data is available for all the settlements analysed (Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1912a, 1912b and 1913). In order to investigate local quality of life, the development index consists of variables reflecting qualitative characteristics of level of education, employment, housing and public healthcare. The variables selected for 1910 make it possible to compare the results presented here with previous works of Györi and Jankó (2009) and Györi and Mikle (2017). The ratio of landowners and leaseholders was not used in these previous publications, however, all other components were applied by these authors.¹

Tab. 1. Components of the multidimensional development index (1910)

Variable	Primary data used
Literacy rate above the age of 6 (1910)	number of literate people; total population above 6
Ratio of active non-agricultural population (1910)	number of non-agricultural earners; total number of earners
Ratio of landowners and leaseholders (1910)	number of landowners and leaseholders; total number of agricultural earners
Ratio of high-quality dwellings – built of stone or brick (1910)	number of dwellings built of stone or brick; total number of dwellings
Ratio of fatalities receiving medical treatment (1901–1910)	total number of deaths; number of fatalities receiving medical treatment

In the case of the period after WWI there are two Hungarian data sources which can be used for the whole territory investigated. In 1938, about a month after the First Vienna Award, the Hungarian state carried out a survey focusing on demographic situation and employment, which had a strong focus on the agricultural

¹ The method has been referenced as 'Györi-method' named after Róbert Györi by a number of other authors. See for example: Demeter (2018), Péntes (2018) and Szilágyi (2018b).

sector: land ownership, land use patterns and animal husbandry was investigated at the settlements reannexed to Hungary (Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal 1939). Shortly after, in 1941, a census took place in which the villages and towns on both sides of river Danube were involved. However, processing and publication of this census data stopped due to WWII and has still not been finished entirely: a large number of variables are only available for the settlements in the post-Trianon territory of Hungary (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal Könyvtár és Dokumentációs Szolgálat Magyar Országos Levéltár 1975, 1976 and 1982). Based on these data sources, a multidimensional development index, which relies upon the survey from 1938 in case of the settlements on the left side of river Danube, was applied, while the ones on the right side are measured via census data from 1941 (Tab. 2). The development index referring to 1938/1941 consists of somewhat different variables compared to the index from 1910, as there is no data published on the conditions of housing and public healthcare in the case of the settlements reannexed in 1938. The ratio of high-quality dwellings and ratio of fatalities receiving medical treatment were replaced with a ratio of dwellings per capita and ratio of population change. Despite the fact that administrative changes took place in the period between 1910 and 1938, it was decided to use the 1910 administrative borders in order to make the results comparable.

Tab. 2. Components of the multidimensional development index (1938 and 1941)

Variable	Primary data used
Literacy rate above the age of 6 (1938 and 1941)	number of literate people; total population above 6
Ratio of active non-agricultural population (1938 and 1941)	number of non-agricultural earners; total number of earners
Ratio of landowners and leaseholders (1938 and 1941)	number of landowners and leaseholders; total number of agricultural earners
Ratio of dwellings per capita (1938 and 1941)	total number of dwellings; total population
Ratio of population change (1910–1938 and 1910–1941)	total population in 1910; total population in 1938 and 1941

The settlement-level multidimensional index was created in two steps. First, each variable was standardised using the following formula, where x stands for the raw variable (value belonging to single settlements), \bar{x} stands for the mean of the sample, and S is the standard deviation of the sample:

$$z = (x - \bar{x})/S$$

In the next step, the standardised variables were aggregated into one single index by counting their (non-weighted) mean.

It is important to note that this multidimensional development index is only one of the many possible ones, which could express territorial development patterns; on the following pages, I wish to show the relevance of the indices selected for my analysis, while presenting the main findings of my research.

DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS IN PRE-WWI ESZTERGOM AND KOMÁROM COUNTIES

The settlements investigated are situated by the river Danube, between Budapest and Bratislava (Fig. 1). Previous research has shown that this region was among the most developed ones in the early 20th century, when compared to the whole territory of Hungary before the Treaty of Trianon. According to Beluszky (2000), the area could be characterised by a high level of modernisation, as it was situated between the dynamic centres of Budapest and Vienna. Based on the development index set up by Szilágyi (2018b), both Esztergom and Komárom counties were among the most developed ones: the area was ranked within the top 33% when compared to other counties of Hungary. On the settlement level, the picture seems somewhat more sophisticated. Péntes (2018) has shown that even if some of the settlements in the area investigated could be found within the top 10%, some of the villages were among the less developed 10% when compared to other settlements in the territory of pre-Trianon Hungary. Another study focusing on the settlement level has shown similar differences within the counties of Esztergom and Komárom (Demeter 2018).



Fig. 1. Geographical location of the studied counties and the changing administrative borders

Source: Edited by the author; based on Terrestris elevation maps.

In 1910, the counties consisted of 141 administratively independent settlements (villages and towns), 92 belonging to Komárom county and 49 to Esztergom county. The units of my analysis are these administratively independent settlements. Seventy four settlements with a total population of 141,000 were situated on the left side of the river Danube and sixty seven settlements with over 151,000 inhabitants on the right side of the river. Further elements of the settlement network were

situated on the outskirts of villages and towns (belonging to these communities administratively): due to the presence of large agricultural estates, a large number of manorial settlements (major or *puszta* in Hungarian and *dvor* in Slovak) were present in this area. The estimated number of manorial settlements in 1910 was 221 in Komárom county, with more than 17,600 inhabitants, i.e. 8.7% of the county's population (Balogh and Bajmócy 2011). Manorial settlements were physically detached from the community centres. Local societies had distinct characteristics at these settlements: everyday life, working, living and housing conditions were determined by large estates themselves. In general, a high level of dependency characterised agricultural servantry (Illyés 2003 [1936] and Mikle 2020). In the south-eastern part of the counties, the population on the outskirts lived in miner colonies.

Considering the dimensions of rural restructuring (Cloke and Goodwin 1992 and Hoggart and Paniagua 2001a, and 2001b), the role of the state has to be highlighted from the aspect of generally high levels of land concentration in the first half of the 20th century. Political elite and owners of large agricultural estates were strongly intertwined and even a considerable overlap of the two groups could be observed. Also, as the state itself (the state treasury) was owner of some of these estates, the working and living conditions of agricultural workers and agricultural servants were directly influenced by the state. In 1907 a law came into effect (overriding the previous law of this sort from 1876), which aimed to regulate rights and duties of estate owners and the agricultural workforce. In this sense, an indirect role of the state was present in all large estates, not only in the case of state-owned ones.

As far as patterns of economy, most of the villages could be characterised by a high ratio of agricultural earners. The share of agricultural servants and agricultural workers was relatively high, which was caused by the high levels of land concentration and the presence of large estates. In this area, especially in Komárom county, large agricultural estates were possessed by the state, the church and private owners. Besides the high share of the agricultural proletariat, in some of the villages the stratum of independent peasant landowners was also present, but only 5% of the settlements showed a ratio of landowners and leaseholders higher than 50% in 1910. At the same time, this ratio was below 20% in the case of 14% of the settlements analysed. In the case of villages in the eastern and south-eastern part of the area, a relatively high proportion of the industrial and miner workforce was present. These settlements were situated near significant coal deposits in the basins between the hills of the Gerecse and Vértes, and the Gerecse and Pilis. It has to be mentioned that in the case of the villages with a high proportion of industrial and miner workforce, societies did not entirely rely upon industry or mining. As the research of Lettrich (1964) has shown, even if the villages at the vicinity of mines were characterised by a relatively high percentage of miner workforce, the role of agriculture was still relatively strong in the early decades of the 20th century. In the eastern part of the area, the vicinity of Budapest also has to be mentioned as a major urban centre influencing patterns of economic production.

Ethnic composition of the settlements investigated can be interpreted as another aspect of social structures. In 1910, most of the settlements were inhabited by Hungarians both north and south of the river Danube. However, a significant correlation could be observed between ethnic configuration and sectoral differences in employment: the majority of the villages characterised by industrial and miner

workforce were primarily inhabited by a German- and Slovak-speaking population in the early 1900s. In the north-eastern part of Komárom county, some villages with a Slovak majority could also be found in this era.

Development patterns based on the multidimensional development index were mapped in two different ways. In the first case, equal intervals were applied; records were divided into five classes. This way, the degree of development disparities can be analysed. The other method applied was quantile classification; the number of quantiles used was five. Quantile classification makes it possible to investigate the changing position of each settlement: unlike the method equal intervals, quantile classification results in equal number of settlements falling into each categories. In this manner, settlements with very high and very low development indices do not form individual categories, which allows us to focus on the changes in development ranks.

Based on the method equal intervals, the settlements characterised by the highest indices can be divided into two different groups; only a small number of settlements could be found in this category (see Fig. 2). On the one hand, towns (the county seats Esztergom and Komárom and Tata) fell in this category: towns were characterised by a high ratio of non-agricultural earners, high ratio of fatalities receiving medical treatment and high ratio of high-quality dwellings. On the other hand, some of the minor villages show very similar values both in terms of ratio of non-agricultural earners and ratio of fatalities receiving medical treatment. The number of settlements in the category above average (1.25 to 0.67) was also low in 1910. However, the main components which made the development index higher than average was the same as in the case of settlements in the top category; especially the high ratio of non-agricultural earners has to be mentioned.

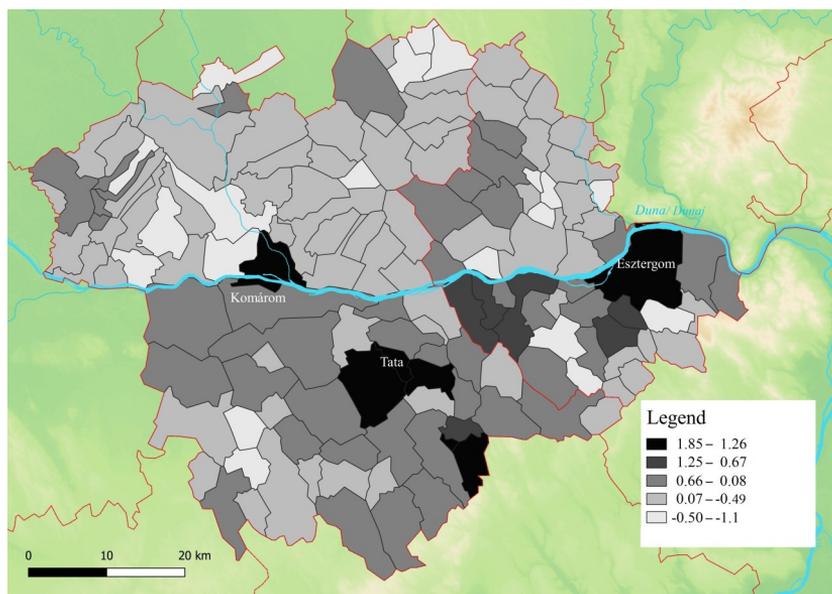


Fig. 2. Territorial development disparities in Esztergom and Komárom counties, development score (1910)

Source: Edited by the author; based on Terrestrial elevation maps.

The number of settlements characterised by average values of development (0.66 to 0.08) was high; most of these villages were situated on the right side of the river Danube. Those villages in this class, which were inhabited mostly by agricultural earners were usually characterised by a high ratio of fatalities receiving medical treatment. Most settlements were classified as below average (0.07 to -0.51); a clear geographical pattern can be seen in the spatial distribution of these villages, as most of them were situated on the left side of river Danube. Some of these villages were characterised by a very low ratio of landowners and leaseholders, especially in the case of Komárom county. Another group of the villages below average were inhabited by landowners and leaseholders to a higher degree, but the ratio of fatalities receiving medical treatment was low. A number of settlements were characterised by very low indices (-0.5 to -1.1). Looking at the components of the multidimensional development index, it can be seen, that in these settlements the literacy rate was lower than in the case of rest of the settlements.

When taking a look at the results of quantile classification, it can be seen that differences between the right and left side of the river Danube were clearly present in 1910 (see Fig. 3). Settlements in the top 20% could almost entirely be found in the southern half of the counties (24 on the right side and 4 on the left side of Danube). The 4 settlements falling into this category on the left side were county seats (Komárom) or district seats (Párkány and Udvard), and the village of Felsőgellér. On the other hand, way more settlements were in the second and first quintiles on the left side of Danube (42 settlements), than on the right side of the river (15 settlements). The reason for this bias in development disparities was mainly the sectoral distribution of employment, as mining and industry was present almost entirely in the south-eastern part of Komárom county and southern part of Esztergom county.

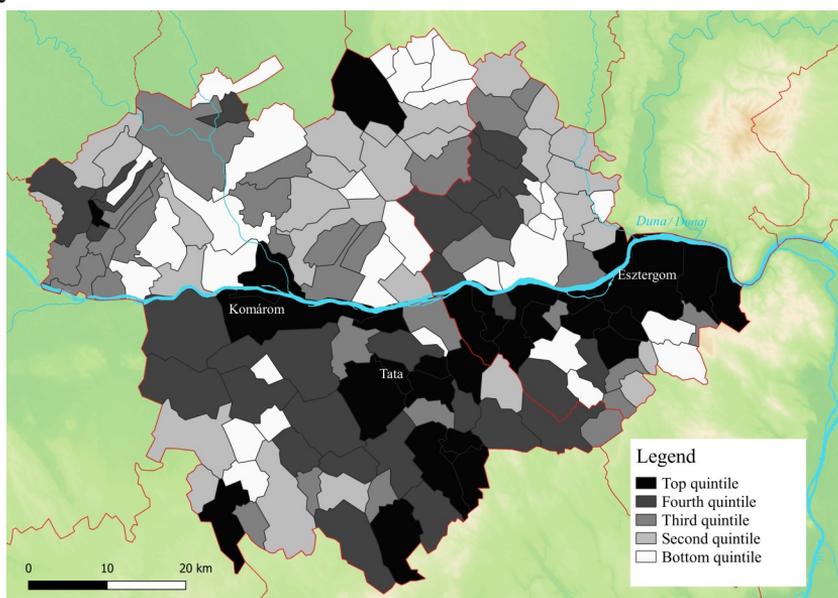


Fig. 3. Territorial development disparities in Esztergom and Komárom counties based on quintiles (1910)

Source: Edited by the author; based on Terrestriis elevation maps.

CHANGING BORDERS, CHANGING DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS

The state border in the area investigated changed two times between 1910 and 1941. In 1920 Danube river became the new state border dividing Hungary from the first Czechoslovak Republic². In 1938, due to the First Vienna Award, the border was moved northwards, hence all the villages and towns belonging to the pre-WWI territory of the counties analysed became part of Hungary again.

Due to the changing state borders, different state policies on the Hungarian and Czechoslovak sides clearly show the role of the state in influencing rural restructuring processes (Cloke and Goodwin 1992 and Hoggart and Paniagua 2001a and 2001b). One of the most important changes that came after 1920 was the land distribution: in the late 1910s and the early 1920s serious changes occurred in land ownership structure throughout East Central Europe. However, different state policies can be observed regarding the goals and means of these reforms. One of the most general motivations was rural poverty and presence of the rural proletariat due to the high ratios of land concentration in East Central Europe (Thompson 1993).

The Hungarian land distribution was among the most conservative ones in this period. Since members of the pre-war elite mostly held their involvement and influence in politics, the land reform in 1920 hardly changed the level of the pre-war land concentration. Even if the number of landowners and leaseholders increased, most of the new owners possessed small parcels. Within the current borders of Hungary, one-third of the total agricultural area (20% of arable lands) remained in the hands of large estates possessing more than 1000 cadastral 'holds' (575.5 ha) of land after the land reform (Szuhay 1998). Regarding the post-Trianon territory of Esztergom and Komárom counties (south of river Danube), 46% of the agricultural area was in the hands of large estates possessing 500 cadastral 'holds' (287.7 ha) or more by the end of the 1920s (Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal 1931).

On the other hand, in the first Czechoslovak Republic a rather radical land distribution took place (Berend 1985). The land reform inevitably had a strong ethnic dimension, as the majority of the agricultural elite was Hungarian in the Slovak territories, and German in Bohemia and Moravia before WWI (Thompson 1993, Miller 2003 and Sombati 2015). For example, on the southern part of Slovakia, which was reannexed to Hungary in 1938, the lands were owned almost entirely by Hungarians before WWI (since the locals primarily were Hungarians), while 25% of the land redistributed was given to local Slovaks, 18.2% to Slovak, Czech and Moravian colonists, and only 19% to local Hungarians (Simon 2009 and 2014). Receptions of the Czechoslovak land reform were contradictory from the side of Hungarian and Czech authors. The Hungarian works emphasised the unfairness of the way the land was redistributed (Haltenberger 2002 [1938] and Hantos 2002 [1938]), and accused the Czechoslovak state of nationalism. From the Czech side the main argument was based on the analysis of class relations.

Janšák (1930) for example claimed that the primary motivation of the state was to solve social problems. As Janšák argued, this goal could only be fulfilled by a radical land redistribution, which involves the relocation of the population from

² The Treaty of Trianon has been investigated vividly in the recent years by scholars taking part in the Trianon 100 project: <https://trianon100.hu/publikaciok>.

disadvantageous agricultural areas to prosperous ones. Based on this logic, some of the population should be relocated from mountainous regions to the southern parts of Slovakia, where good quality agricultural land could be found, and the population involved should get small and middle holdings.

Consequently, the land reform was paralleled by a colonisation of the new Czechoslovak-Hungarian border zone. Moravian, Czech and Slovak smallholders were relocated to Southern Slovakia in the 1920s. In the area investigated, 18 new colonist villages were established between 1922 and 1929. In many cases these villages were placed next to already existing manorial settlements, as most of them were situated on the redistributed land of large estates (Simon 2009 and 2014). To put it another way, colonisation not only modified the social structure of the area, but also had an effect on the settlement network; the role of the state was manifold in this respect.

However, after the First Vienna Award in 1938, most of the colonists left the area, hence these changes were only temporary. After 1938 the Hungarian state redistributed some of the lands involved in the Czechoslovak land reform. In this process Hungarian colonists (members of the so-called 'Order of Vitéz'; an organization set up by the Horthy administration), peasant smallholders and former estate owners were involved. A clear bias could be seen towards those with good political connections often to the expense of local Hungarian peasants and former Jewish owners (Simon 2014).

Economic restructuring of rural areas was generated by the Czechoslovak state in the northern side of the area investigated, as the land concentration and methods of agricultural production changed considerably. In the 1920s and 1930s a more general transformation took place not only in the case of the territories annexed to Czechoslovakia, but also in Hungary due to the Great Depression of 1929. Even if the Great Depression did last until the end of the 1930s, in Hungary an economic consolidation took place during the second half of the 1930s. As Tomka (2020) pointed out, the shock of the Treaty of Trianon and the Great Depression were only temporary, as the Hungarian economy underwent a considerable growth in the late 1930s as a result of structural changes in economic production. These changes rooted in a general intensification and modernisation in a number of economic branches. Key factors of restructuring were: (1) a shift towards productive sectors of economy, (2) a growing capital intensity in economic production, (3) a technological shift, (4) an improvement of human capital, especially via education, and (5) a slight growth in the level of integration into the world economy, strongly opposed by the protectionist policies of the era (Tomka 2020).

In line with the changing role of the state and economic transformations, a number of social changes has to be mentioned. The most far-reaching changes were generated in the villages and towns annexed to Czechoslovakia: the abovementioned processes of the land distribution in line with the colonisation resulted in migration as well as changes in class structure and ethnic composition. Dissolution of large estates was followed by growing unemployment among former servants and large estate employees; land reform shed light on the complex dependency of these social groups, as most of them had no other choice but to migrate towards nearby urban centres (primarily Komárno and Bratislava), which resulted in the growth of the urban proletariat (Haltenberger 2002 [1938]).

On the other hand, after the land reform, the ratio of landowners and leaseholders increased significantly in Czechoslovakia. In the area reannexed to Hungary in 1938, the proportion of middle-sized holdings was higher than in the case of post-Trianon Hungary; however, the number of very small holdings also grew both in the reannexed area and in post-Trianon Hungary (A Magyar Statisztikai Társaság Allamtudományi Intézete 1938 and Szöllősy 1939). In the territory investigated, the ratio of landowners and leaseholders grew on both sides of the river Danube; in 110 of the 140 settlements the ratio grew between 1910 and 1938/1941. While in the southern part of the area, the average ratio was 37.2% in 1941, in the northern part it was 40.7% in 1938. However, in a large number of settlements the ratio did not change considerably: in the case of 40 settlements the ratio changed only 5 to minus 5 percentage points. The highest growth was registered in the villages of northern Komárom and Esztergom counties. Only 3 out of the 12 villages where the ratio grew more than 20 percentage points were situated south of Danube. Diminishing ratios of more than 5 percentage points were registered only in the case of 16 villages; only two of them was situated north of the river Danube (see Fig. 4).

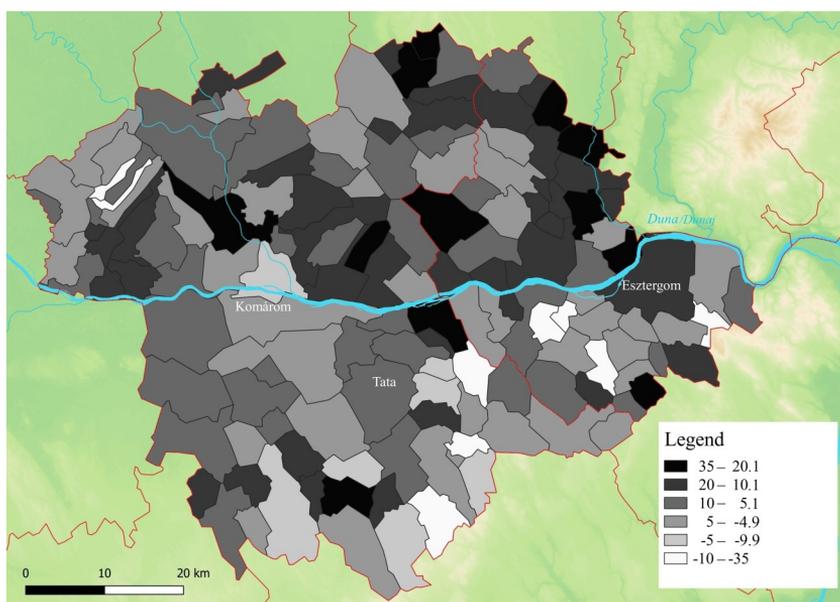


Fig. 4. Change in the ratio of landowners and leaseholders between 1910 and 1938/1941 (percentage points)

Source: Edited by the author; based on Terrestrial elevation maps.

It is important to note both from the aspect of land ownership structure and ethnic structure that Czech and Moravian colonists were not registered in the survey of 1938, as they left the area in large numbers after the First Vienna Award (Konkoly Thege 1939 and Thirring 1939). Therefore, the ratio of landowners and leaseholders was probably higher in the beginning of the 1930s than by the end of 1938. For the same reason, the ethnic composition of the villages north of the river Danube did not change considerably if we compare the statistics from 1910 and

1938; no significant Moravian and Czech population was registered at these villages in 1938.

Comparing the degree of development disparities of 1910 with the one of the late 1930s, it can be seen that the number of settlements decreased both in the categories characterised by the highest and the lowest development indices (see Fig. 5). The only settlement in the highest category was the miner village of Dorog; besides the high ratio of non-agricultural earners (94% in 1941) the village recorded a strong immigration in the 1920s and 1930s. Due to the industrial development of Budapest, Dorog became an important source of coal during the 1920s (Lettrich 1964). The village's population rose from over 1900 inhabitants in 1910 to 8100 inhabitants by 1941. Other miner villages south of the river Danube, and the county seats of Esztergom and Komárom were in the category above average (1.16 to 0.46), which was similar to the situation in 1910. However, on the left side of the Danube, significant changes occurred considering the degree of development, mainly due to the growing ratio of landowners and leaseholders. In the case of five villages, where 50% or more than 50% of the agricultural population consisted of landowners and leaseholders in 1938, the degree of development changed remarkably: while these villages were in the lowest category or slightly below average in 1910, they fell in the category above average (1.16 to 0.46) by 1938. This tendency can be seen in the case of many other villages on the left side of river Danube: a large number of settlements which could be characterised by development scores below average in 1910, reached an average degree of development by 1938.

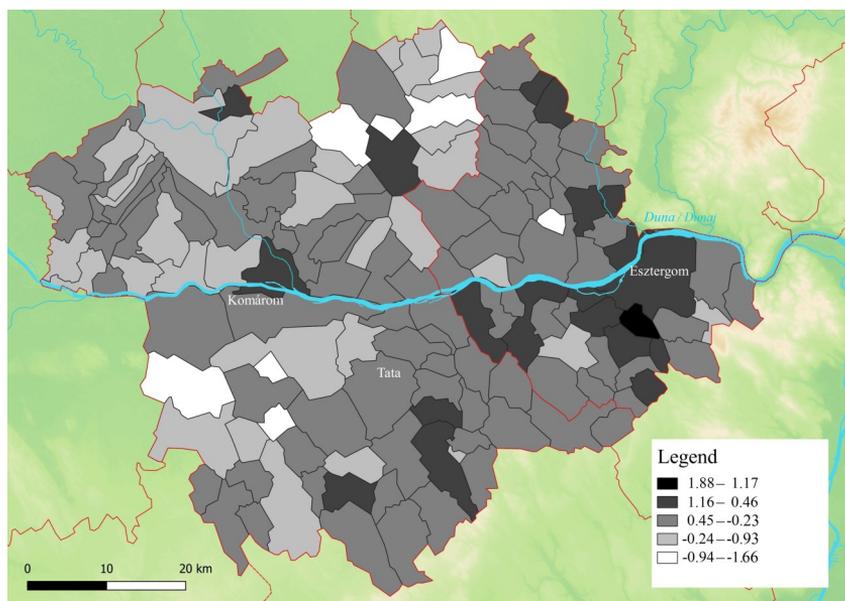


Fig. 5. Territorial development disparities in Esztergom and Komárom counties, development score (1938/1941)

Source: Edited by the author; based on Terrestriis elevation maps.

Based on the method quantile classification, a clear transformation can be seen in spatial patterns of development: the divide between the left and right sides of the river Danube in 1910 changed to a division between the settlements situated in the western and eastern parts of the area investigated (see Fig. 6). In this new pattern of development, the settlements at the eastern part of the area (those belonging to Esztergom county) were generally in better positions by 1938/1941 than the villages and towns at the western part of the area (those belonging to Komárom county). While in 1910, most of the settlements in the fifth quintile were situated south of the river Danube, by 1938/1941 the number of villages and towns in the top 20% was nearly equal on both sides of the Danube. However, while a number of villages reached the fifth and fourth quintiles, a large number of settlements were in the second and first quintiles on the left side of the Danube in 1938. If we compare the settlement ranks in 1938 with the one of 1910, it can be seen that some of the villages were in the lowest 20% north of the river Danube throughout the whole period analysed: villages west of Komárom and the north-eastern territories of Komárom county fell into this category. At the same time, south of the Danube, some of the villages in the fourth quintile in 1910 fell in the second or first quintiles in 1941: these settlements were characterised by a relatively low ratio of landowners and leaseholders (mostly under 30%), which occurred due to the dominance of large estates.

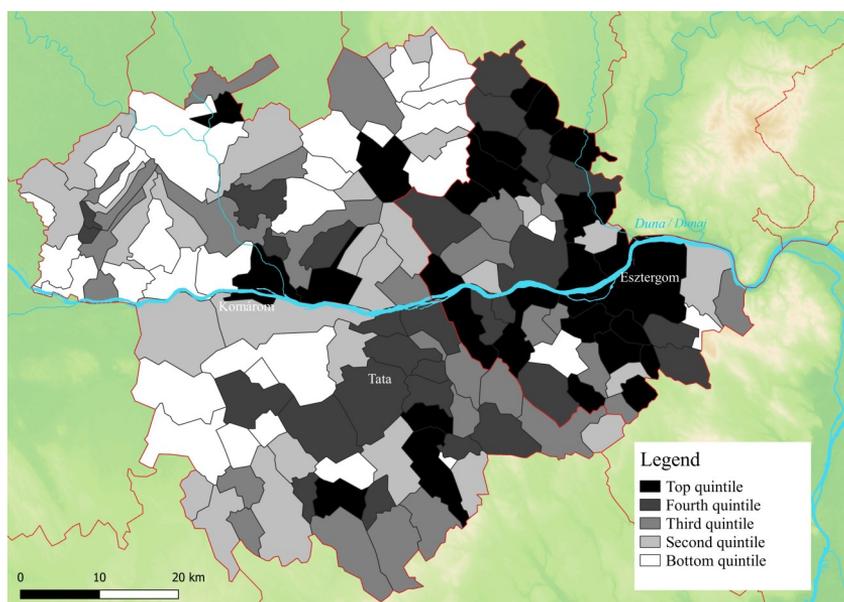


Fig. 6. Territorial development disparities in Esztergom and Komárom counties based on quintiles (1938/1941)

Source: Edited by the author; based on Terrestis elevation maps.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Conducted study did shed light on the interconnectedness of changing state borders and changing patterns of development in the western area of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian border zone between 1910 and 1941. Empirical results show that deve-

lopment paths of rural settlements on the Czechoslovak and the Hungarian side of the state border did slightly diverge in the period analysed: indicators of local quality of life changed differently in the case of a number of settlements on the left and the right sides of river Danube. The most important impact during these decades was the contrasting nature of the Hungarian and Czechoslovak land reforms: while the Hungarian state did carry out a conservative land distribution, resulting in a growing number of smallholders but still maintaining high levels of land concentration, in the first Czechoslovak republic a radical land reform took place strongly connected to ethnic policies. In this sense, the role of the state as one of the main drivers of rural restructuring has to be highlighted. Due to the different nature of the Czechoslovak and the Hungarian land reforms, a number of villages show growing levels of development north of the Danube, while some of the villages south of the Danube recorded worsening development levels between 1910 and 1938/1941.

However, despite the diverging state policies, a relatively high degree of continuity can also be observed in territorial patterns of development: towns and miner villages were among the most developed ones during the whole era investigated. In this respect, local characteristics of economic production can be evaluated as an important determinant of rural restructuring: the high ratio of non-agricultural population was a decisive aspect of development differences throughout the whole period. It is worth noting that due to the relatively narrow geographical focus of my paper, the results could not be applied to other sections of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian border.

Outcomes of the presented research offer some more general, methodological considerations. An integration of the rural restructuring approach and quantitative data analysis is an important tool in order to better understand the mechanisms driving the processes occurring to rural areas. Critical evaluation of statistical data has been present in rural studies since the 1980s (Woods 2005), and this paper enabled to show, that this approach can be useful in the case of historical analyses as well. It also has to be highlighted that the multidimensional development index applied in this study reflects on only one of the many possible interpretations of quality of life. Selection of the variables built into the multidimensional development index is inevitably arbitrary, and has a high impact on the picture revealed by research of this nature. However, taking a critical approach towards quantitative analysis makes it possible to evaluate the limits and benefits of this tool.

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Most of the data used is available on the following page, due to the work of the research group GISta Hungarorum: OTKA K 111766 project: <https://www.gistory.hu/g/en/gistory/otka>. Results of the survey 'Az 1938. évi felvidéki nép-, földbirtok- és állatösszeírás. Az 1938 november 2-i bécsi döntés alapján visszacsatolt területen végrehajtott összeírás eredményei községek szerint' were organised into database by Zsófia Vajda in the framework of the MTA BTK Ten Generations Research Group.

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NA ROZDIELNYCH CESTÁCH? VZORCE ÚZEMNÉHO ROZVOJA V ČESKOSLOVENSKO-MAĎARSKOM POHRANIČNOM PÁSME (1910 – 1941)

Príspevok sa zameriava na zmeny kvality života v historických župách – Ostrihomskej a Komárňanskej (dnešné severozápadné Maďarsko a juhozápadné Slovensko) – v rokoch 1910 až 1941. Približne polovica sídel na tomto území sa po roku 1920 stala súčasťou prvej Československej republiky, zatiaľ čo druhá polovica zostala v Maďarsku; avšak v rokoch 1938 až 1945 sa táto oblasť dočasne stala opäť súčasťou Maďarska. Počas tohto relatívne krátko obdobia boli miestne komunity výrazne ovplyvnené rozdielnymi štátnymi politikami v Československu a v Maďarsku, hlavne v oblasti poľnohospodárskych reforiem a etnickej politiky. Ako ukázal predchádzajúci výskum, dlhodobým vývojom sa rozvojové trajektórie sídel na oboch stranách Dunaja postupne rozdvajili. Kým na začiatku 20. storočia patrila táto oblasť medzi bohatšie oblasti Maďarska, v súčasnosti by sme komunity na maďarskej strane mohli charakterizovať dynamickými sociálno-ekonomickými indexmi rozvoja, zatiaľ čo na slovenskej strane sú niektoré z hľadiska sociálneho a ekonomického rozvoja periférne (Demeter 2019, 2020a a 2020b).

V tomto článku sme chceli odpovedať na dve otázky: (1) Do akej miery sa prejavuje dlhodobý odklon rozvojových trajektórií z obdobia rokov 1910 až 1941? (2) Akú úlohu zohrali rozdielne štátne politiky (najmä poľnohospodárska a etnická) v lokálnej kvalite života? Na hľadanie odpovede na tieto otázky sme využili kvantitatívny multidimenzionálny index rozvoja a na miestnej úrovni sme preskúmali zmeny v štruktúre vlastníctva pôdy a etnickej štruktúre. Výsledky boli interpretované v teoretickom rámci reštrukturalizácie vidieka, ktorý si získal pozornosť vedcov najmä v 80. rokoch 20. storočia. Na meranie zmien disparít územného rozvoja boli vytvorené dva odlišné multidimenzionálne indexy rozvoja (na základe prác Győri a Jankó 2009, Győri a Mikle 2017, Demeter 2018, Péntes 2018 a Szilágyi 2018b). Indexy pozostávajú z premenných odrážajúcich kvalitatívne charakteristiku úrovne vzdelania, zamestnanosti, bývania a verejného zdravotníctva.

Empirické výsledky ukazujú, že trajektórie rozvoja vidieckych sídel na československej a maďarskej strane štátnej hranice sa v sledovanom období v skutočnosti mierne rozchádzali. Ukazovatele kvality života sa menili odlišným spôsobom v prípadoch mnohých sídel na ľavej i pravej strane Dunaja. Počas týchto dekád mal najdôležitejší vplyv rozdielny charakter maďarskej a československej pozemkovej reformy. Pokiaľ v Maďarsku došlo ku konzervatívne rozdeleniu pôdy, ktoré vyústilo do rastúceho počtu drobných poľnohospodárov s vysokou koncentráciou vlastníctva, v Československej republike sa uskutočnila radikálna pozemková reforma, silne spojená s etnickou politikou. V tomto zmysle treba vyzdvihnúť význam úlohy štátu ako jedného z hlavných hnacích síl reštrukturalizácie vidieka. Vzhľadom na odlišnú podstatu československej a maďarskej pozemkovej reformy, množstvo sídel na sever od Dunaja vykazovalo rastúcu úroveň rozvoja, zatiaľ čo niekoľko sídel južne od Dunaja zaznamenala zhoršujúcu sa úroveň rozvoja v období rokov 1910 – 1938/1941.

Napriek protichodným štátnym politikám je možné pozorovať pomerne vysoký stupeň kontinuity v územných modeloch rozvoja: mestá a banícke sídla patrili medzi najrozvinutejšie počas celého skúmaného obdobia. V tomto ohľade môžeme považovať lokálne charakteristiky ekonomickej produkcie ako významný determinant reštrukturalizácie vidieka. Vysoký podiel populácie pracujúcej mimo poľnohospodárstva bol rozhodujúcim aspektom ovplyvňujúcim rozdiely vo vývoji počas celého obdobia. Je dôležité poznamenať, že vzhľadom na pomerne úzke geografické zameranie tohto príspevku, výsledky nie je možné aplikovať na iné časti pohraničia.

Výsledky výskumu poskytujú niekoľko všeobecnejších metodologických úvah. Ukazuje sa, že integrácia prístupu reštrukturalizácie vidieka a kvantitatívnej analýzy dát je dôležitým nástrojom na lepšie pochopenie mechanizmov, ktorými sa riadia procesy vo vidieckych oblastiach. Kritické hodnotenie štatistických dát sa pri štúdiu vidieka používalo od 80. rokov 20. storočia (Woods 2005). V predložennom príspevku sme sa pokúsili ukázať, že tento prístup sa dá využiť aj v prípade historických analýz. Taktiež treba zdôrazniť, že použitý index multidimenzionálneho rozvoja odráža iba jednu z viacerých možných interpretácií kvality života. Výber premenných vstupujúcich do viacrozmerného vývojového indexu je nevyhnutne ľubovoľný a má významný vplyv na výsledok výskumu. Avšak použitie kritického prístupu ku kvantitatívnej analýze umožňuje vyhodnotiť jej obmedzenia a výhody.



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