

1994_A takarítás harangörbéje

(Hortobágyi László „kutatásai” alapján)

A fogyasztásszociológia harmadik nagy korszakán belül, – ez a hetvenes évek közepétől datálódik elsősorban *Pierre Bourdieu* iskolateremtő munkássága nyomán – a nyolcvanas-kilencvenes évektől négy olyan elágazás is történt, amelyek a mai napig érvényes kérdéseket feszegetnek. Ezek sorában a fogyasztás identitásképző szerepének kánonba emelése és a mindennapi élet szociológiája olyan irányzattá váltak, amelyek adekvát módon reagáltak a társadalmi illetve gazdasági környezet változásaira. Napjaink fogyasztásszociológiai érdeklődésének homlokterébe ismét új toposzok lökődnek (főzés, vásárlás, takarítás és ezek szerepe a mindennapokban). A nemzetközi szakirodalom angol nyelvű szelete bőséges mennyiségét kínálja a témának, de a kérdéskör hazai tanulmányozása még várat magára. A hazai akadémiai élet érthetetlenül elhanyagolja a fogyasztásszociológiát, az alkalmazott kutatások pedig csak elvétve érintik a magyarországi (*Hungisthani*) fogyasztói társadalom – egyébiránt inherens – s rá jellemző megnyilvánulásait.

A tudománynak mindig abból a magaslesből kell vizsgálnia a természeti és a társadalmi jelenségeket, amely biztosítja az objektivitáshoz a kellő perspektívát és távolságot, - sem túl távol, sem túl közel nem szabad kerülnie tárgyához a jólfejlett kutatóknak. Ugyanakkor a kényszeres távolságtartás a múltban – különösen a társadalomtudományokban – gyakran eredményezett valóságidegen, a mindennapi életben lezajló jelenségek hülyén transzcendentizált motivumait félreértő megállapításokat.

A „fogyasztás” maga a társadalmi valóság, így a „mindennapok (el)fogyasztása” a társadalmi viszonyrendszer artikulálódásának színes terepe (de *most csak ennyit*):

Shortobágyi verzió

az induló szakasz: kasztváltóknál, vidékről fővárosba érkezett első generációs értelmiségieknél kupi van, por lepi el sarkokat, polcokat, olykor rohamszerűen takarítanak. Társadalmi *niche* kialakítása, a csípésrendbe tagozódás folyik, nincs idő az ezt nem szolgáló cselekedetekre, ritkább esetben takarítónő bérlés, modern, izléstelen vagy extravagáns bútorok, *Ikea* of course, porfogó, egészségtelen, rikító, egzotikus szőnyegek és állatbőrök, bogárlakta székely ládafia és atkatelített nádi falvédők, vízkő és mosogatózsír, rozoga galéria csemetéknek, *ecseri* motyók és kandeláberek, bűdös frizsider, papírzsebkendő hiány,

a görbe csúcsa: ahol a lakás pedáns, ott kispolgárok, neurotikusak, burokból élő kényszeres önmegvalósítók laknak, a bomló társadalmat fogcsikorgatva leleplezett vagy figyelmen kívül hagyók, akolmeleget kereső pedáns, múltrahajazó vitrinjei és pormentes, derékszögben kövült tárgyai találhatók. Bejárónő elvétve, fényes ajtók és bútorok, műperzsa és rhododenronok, csipke és kanári,

a záró szakasz: a hanyatló ágazatban, a deklasszált miliő, több generációs beltenyészet, nem alkotó jellegű (azaz meddő) intellektualitás tulajdonosai, hivatali stállumok nyugdíjasai, itt újra kupi és por van, de ez már évtizedes, és itt már nem is (tudnak) takarítani. Az állandó jellegű bejárónők paradicsoma. Eldugult lefolyók, antik (korhadó) bútorok, kifakult, de értékes, ronggyáfoszlott porral telített eredeti szőnyegek,

egyébb szociológiai tokosodás típus:

1990-es évek elején Tel-Avivból hirdetést adtak fel magyarországi (*Express*) lapokba: „Megbízható takarítókat keresnek Izraelbe, családokhoz. Csak zsidó származásúak jelentkezzenek.”

Több hónap után a hirdetés eredménytelennek bizonyult.

Ennek nyomán néhány újságíró és szociológus izraeli újságokban (*Maariv* - www.maariv.co.il) helyezett el hirdetést: „Magyar családok Izraelből, zsidó származású takarítókat keresnek rendszeres alkalmazásra”

Több hónap után a hirdetés eredménytelennek bizonyult.

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