antro-pólus

Contents

WORLDS APART
THE MANY FACES OF SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH PHD CONFERENCE

The Interdisciplinary Social Research PhD Programme of Eötvös Loránd University, and the Sociology and Social Policy Programme of the University of Debrecen with the support of the Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tehran organised a conference in May 2021.

The fundamental aim of the conference has been to further the collaboration between the universities, and to give an opportunity for PhD students to present their researches, and to build personal and institutional relationships.

The conference wishes to provide an interdisciplinary platform for young researchers to present and discuss the most recent innovations, trends, and concerns as well as practical challenges encountered and solutions adopted in the fields of social sciences.

We hope this collection of essays will confirm that these goals were not just met but the participants overfulfiled our accaptations and based upon these papers the future of social sciences is bright indeed.

Miklós Szabó

Gergő Berta

Concept of Localness in the Raval neighbourhood

Abstract

This essay is a segment – with additional parts – from a case study conducted in the El Raval neighbourhood in Barcelona. The research was conducted by me in 2019 from September to January. In this essay my inquiry focuses on the Raval neighbourhood in Barcelona. Firstly, there is an introduction to the field, which is followed by some of the results that I found during my fieldwork. During my stay I applied qualitative research techniques to create my research. The aim of the study is to analyse the usage of space along the claims of local activists and interpret their relation to the neighbourhood.

Introduction

In the year 2019, I conducted a fieldwork in Barcelona about activists' of Raval neighbourhood who were a part of the anti-touristification movement. In the followings, the information provided reflects to the state of the field between 2019 September to January, so right before the pandemic started. The study aims to explore the relationship and the connections between mass tourism and gentrification through a case study of a certain neighbourhood. In order to approach the movement first we need to understand what they are trying to protect from the effects of mass tourism. For this reason, this study analyses the activists' perspective from Raval neighbourhood through the narratives of the interview partners reached. The original thesis, which includes these texts is wider, this rate includes more topics such as gentrification and the movement against the touristification of the neighbourhood. The study provides insight into the problems of a neighbourhood with changing urban fabric and touristification. I hope in the future I will have the opportunity to observe the changes what was brought by the latest period and interpret these results in a scientific essay as well.

First, I present the methodological approach and the techniques applied on the field. Then I shortly introduce the informants who were reached on the field. In this study I included those who have a closer relation to Raval neighbourhood. Due to preserve

anonymity, I changed the names in the case of every interview partner. Thenceforward, after a brief historical context from the Raval neighbourhood I introduce the most important public spaces of the field which were mentioned frequently in the interview materials. This is necessary to understand the subsequent results from the concept of localness in the neighbourhood and the 'Spirit of the Raval'. These parts highlights elements of the community's' engagement for this particular area. At this point, I grasp the opportunity to underline that results of the study primarily include the perspectives of the activists reached and the interpretation connected to these in a certain period of time.

Methodology

This study is based on anthropological research in an urban setting. The focus is narrowed down to the activists in the Raval neighbourhood, which creates an opportunity to analyse micro-processes. However, when interpreting the data, it is necessary to analyse macro-processes as well. This is justifiable because of the topic of the inquiry and the data collected, the interviews and discussions are also referring to many of the nationwide or regional processes. I participated in demonstrations and assemblies, which were related to the life of the Raval neighbourhood, the housing situation and gentrification. Besides participant and non-participant observation, I conducted semi-structured interviews in which there were three major topics: the concept of localness in the Raval neighbourhood, the anti-touristification movement and gentrification. Not all the interviewees work or live in the Raval, but all of them are activists and conscious about the problems related to the tourism industry and the life of the neighbourhood. The main sampling technique was to find people who are related to the Raval or an activist group. At the end of our discussion or interview I always asked them if they could offer me someone else with whom I can talk to about these questions. This technique is appropriate to apply when the researcher does not have deep knowledge of a community and tries to explore the possible members of the field (Babbie, 2007:184-185). With this snowball technique activists were reached who are working in the Raval, or people who work connected to the anti-touristification movement but on a general level. The sample of informants are related to activism in every case. I applied the grounded theory, since I did not know much of the problems of local people, even though I read several articles and studies about the Raval, gentrification and over-tourism since I knew that this phenomenon causes

problems in the city. "Grounded theory is an inductive approach to the study of social life that attempts to generate theory from the constant comparing of unfolding observations" (Babbie, 2007:296-297). The topic of housing prices and gentrification came during my first interviews, such as the concept of localness, because I wanted to understand why activist love this neighbourhood so much. If someone moves to the Raval, they can feel the solidarity. As one of the interview partners explained, there is a *neighbour consciousness*:

> *"I think the unique of the Raval compared to other neighbourhoods is that here there is still a neighbour consciousness."(Pablo)*

This means that people can stick together if they experience a problem related to their area where they live and they can fight together to get over the difficulties. This kind of neighbour consciousness is not common in metropolitan areas like Barcelona or in urban settings. In the following section I will introduce the informants who provided data for the research through interviews and conversations.

Informants

During my stay in Barcelona I engaged several people. Sometimes questions were asked about a place or an event or just had a regular conversation about topics related to the research, and from these I kept writing field notes. Besides that, the main material of this research will be the interviews, which were conducted. If someone gave at least one proper semi-structured interview it is considered as an informant. However, it is also true that some contacts who was reached continuously provided more information and some only gave one interview. Originally, I presented ten different informants in my thesis about this research. For this essay I cited eight of them who provided information about the Raval neighbourhood. There is a necessity to present some basic information about them for better understanding, who is speaking in the following. Before the start of an interview the person was always reassured that the data that was collected (in this case the audio files from the interview) will be handled securely, I will not give it to a third person and I only use it for the purpose of the research. In regard to preserving anonymity, I changed the names of every person (all the information hereunder refers to the conditions of 2019 autumn such as age and time intervals).

1) Pablo, 29 years old, lived in the city for 9 years. During the last four years he lived in El Raval. He helps several associations in the neighbourhood, and lives in a flat

in a squat house. Originally, he is from a town in Catalonia, which is at the Cost Barva.

2) Anita, 41 years old, has lived in the city for 16 years, all of which she spent in the Raval. Originally, she is from Germany. She is well informed about the issues of the neighbourhood because she is connected to a community centre where activist groups discuss their actions.

3) Emilio, 52 years old, has lived in the city for 13 years now. He is more connected to the anti-touristification movement than the others but he does not live or work in the Raval. I got his contact from Pablo. He is well informed about the groups and associations that are trying to change the current situation related to touristification and gentrification. He also loves the Raval. Later on, I talked with him several times.

4) Ernesto, 43 years old, has lived in the Raval for 12 years now. He works for a public company. I got his contact from Anita. He was born in Barcelona and lived in different neighbourhoods in the city. He is participating in more than one activist community.

5) Carlos, 26 years old, worked for an organization that helps the people in Raval and other parts of the city with rent and flat problems. He does not claim, he is a pure activist but participates in the life of the neighbourhood, demonstrations and he is socially engaged.

6) Angela, 43 years old, was born in Barcelona, but grow up in Saragossa. She returned to Barcelona in her twenties. Lived in many places before she found the Raval. She has lived there for eight years and has a strong commitment to the neighbourhood. I got her contact from Emilio, but she also knows well the people from other organizations or activist groups. In her daily life she works as a sound and light technician at theatres.

7) Daniela, 29 years old, participating in many social projects and also a research gentrification. She worked in the same project as Carlos that is how I reached her. She really committed to activism and the Raval, but she did not live in the neighbourhood, however her work and her studies are connected to it.

8) Laura, 28 years old, lived in a squat outside of the Raval, she has practical knowledge about the flat situation in Barcelona. She is in connection with activists from the Raval.

El Raval

Firstly, it is necessary to gather the main points from the Raval neighbourhood to show the exact place where this research was conducted. The city of Barcelona are divided into three well defined section: 1. Ciutat Vella (the old city) is more or less the medieval territory of the city. 2. L'Eixample (Enlargement) residential and service area. 3. The former villages around the city which are now the outer regions; this is the biggest and the most heterogeneous territory. In this essay the focus is on the Raval neighbourhood, which is a part of Cituat Vella. The Raval is one of the four neighbourhoods that make up the Ciutat Vella district (Casselas, 2009:816).

1. Picture source: Cocola-Gant A. (2018:55)

2. Picture Ciutat Vella source: Cocola-Gant, A. (2018:55)

These four neighbourhoods are la Barceloneta, Sant Pere Santa Caterina y la Ribera (which is too long so locals refer to it as "el Born"), el Gothic and el Raval (Picture 2.). At this point it is important to note that first I used the term "Raval district", which is not correct as one of the first informants made clear for me. The Raval is a neighbourhood, such as the other three, in the district of Ciutat Vella, however in some of the studies of the neighbourhood the incorrect term is used. In the last decades Ciutat Vella, like many other old neighbourhoods in European countries, went through urban renewal programs. These programs in the case of Barcelona are called PERI, (Special Plan for Interior Reform) which try to target regeneration, attract new investments and reducing socio-spatial inequalities (Arbaci & Tapada-Berteli, 2012:287-289; Pareja & Tapada, 2001:4). Later on it will be referred to how these processes could be considered gentrification or goes along with the phenomenon of gentrification, which is considered as a harmful process for the neighbourhood by local activists.

"The Raval has a strong identity among industrial workers, since it has been a working-class neighbourhood close to the port, having many factories, abandoned buildings and obsolete industrial complexes" (Tremblay & Battaglia, 2012:62). Urban renewal programs tried to gentrify the neighbourhood, which is considered as state-led

gentrification. The creation of the MACBA, or the Rambla del Raval, was the part of these PERI programs (Arbaci & Tapada-Berteli, 2012:287-289). The situation of these public spaces will be argued later on, although the informants introduced the gentrifying effect of tourism, which could be called spontaneous, or market type of gentrification. It is not organized, but the changes of the flat market and the increase in prices are pushing away the locals from the neighbourhood and replacing working-class people with a wealthier or middle-class population. In this introduction to the neighbourhood this phenomenon is worth just a short mention. Monica Degen (2017) who conducted several research in the Raval neighbourhood from anthropological and sociological perspectives since 1998 as an expert in the changes with the Raval claims some arresting findings in her study. There is a tendency in which gentrification, commercialization and beautification would "solve the problem" of the neighbourhood, which means that the physical transformation of the environment would affect marginality and poverty. This was the case with the Raval and the city council as well; they tried to change the aesthetics and the visual experience of the neighbourhood to bring changes in the social structure (Degen, 2017:143-144). These programs started from the late 1980's and several institutions were moved to the Raval, such as MACBA, some of the faculties of the Universitat de Barcelona and the Catalan Film Institute to make this district a Cultural Quarter and not a red-light district. Degen (ibid) argues that along this strategy of the city council many investments and changes were made, however the Raval "resists" change and urban regeneration programs have not played out as expected by the city council (ibid, p. 142). She bases these claims on more than 40 interviews made in 2012 with local residents, politicians, architects, NGOs and neighbourhood organizations.

Degen (ibd) claims there is a clear distinction between the north and south Raval. I also observed this difference and my interviewees referred to it too.

> *"The Southern Raval is a bit more for locals and we always said, even ten years*
> *ago that Northern Raval is the Posh Raval yes" (Anita).*

Northern Raval has shops for tourists, the university, MACBA and bohemian cool newcomers. South Raval, besides Rambla del Raval, which is used by tourists and locals too, is still a more marginal place, time seems to stand still there from this aspect (ibid, pp. 148-149). The places that I visited regularly are connected more to the southern part of the Raval as such the activists and the places of their groups or institutions.

Barrio Chino

The Raval is near the port, so it became the place where the latest arrivals from foreign countries settle. By the late 1970's with the influx of drugs to Spain it became an even more dangerous place than it was before, so-called Barrio Chino (Chinese district). At the same time, it was also known as the city's 'red light district', which refers to the high level of prostitution in the area (Degen, 2017:145-46). However, this name can be heard from locals referring to the neighbourhood as "Barrio Chino", there are several immigrant groups in the Raval who were born in another country and moved there, although Chinese are not among the six main minority populations (Arbaci & Tapada-Berteli, 2012:300-301). As one of the informants explained, Barrio Chino is used in other towns in Catalonia or even Spain for places where there is a lot of prostitution and crime, although it can also have a positive connotation because they use this term for underground and cool places as well.

> *"I know it has nothing to do with the Chinese because there was never a Chinese community there. Probably there were not even so many immigrants when this name and myth was created. I can tell you that even in my town whenever there is a conflicted area or a place where there is a lot of prostitution and so on people say that "oh this is a Barrio Chino." But also, there is a point that it used to be a lot of underground theatres under the dictatorship, so Barrio Chino was not only a place of danger but underground culture and freedom in a way." (Daniela)*

Daniela also refers to the name *Barrio Chino* as a myth that has positive and negative connotations as well. Underground culture with theatres meant freedom during the dictatorship, however because of the crime and drug trafficking it was a dangerous place for a long time. Ealham (2005) in his article about the history of the Raval neighbourhood proves that the myth of Chinatown was born even earlier, in the 1930's. The bad reputation of the territory comes from this time, the Raval was associated with immorality, deviant behaviour, and crime. In the following section, I would like to introduce some of the most important public spaces of the neighbourhood that were transformed in the recent decades and analyse them shortly from the local perspective.

Public spaces in the neighbourhood

There are several public spaces in the Raval neighbourhood whose role and position was discussed during the interviews. In order to discuss the difficulties and problems faced

by the locals it is necessary to describe some of the details of these places. In general, a neighbourhood is a combination of private and public spaces.[1] The following section introduces two of the most important public spaces of the neighbourhood and the stories that are connected to them. Furthermore, it is also important to know how they were formed.

MACBA and Plaça dels Àngels

MACBA is an acronym of Museo d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona (translation: Barcelona Museum of Contemporary Art) which is one of the largest buildings in Northern Raval surrounded by Plaça dels Àngels, which is a huge square. The leadership of the city had a plan to make a cultural quarter (Degen 2017:146), so they hired Richard Meier, (Editors of Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 2019) the world-famous American architect. Seemingly, the creation of the building was an element of gentrification, which was emphasized by the city council (Arbaci & Tapada-Berteli, 2012:307; Scarnato, 2014:5; Degen, 2017:146). This could be called a top-down policy, or state-led gentrification, when there is a will from the leadership to change the character of a place, by putting institutions and buildings there. My interviews also support the argument that the neighbourhood is different in the area of the MACBA. The visual appearance of the building is also alien from the neighbourhood with its white monumental modern style. Furthermore, the place was designed in a way that   attracts international skateboarders. Locals have problems with the usage of the square because they claim that without green places and benches it is only good for skateboarders who are tourists in many cases. The big white walls and the modern style makes it an amazing place for shooting videos of skateboard tricks:

> *"First of all, it is necessary to remember how they built the building where MACBA is located. They demolished so many buildings where people lived. So, first of all they kicked many people out of the neighbourhood and demolished a lot of buildings. Now it is the building of MACBA, but they did not know this first they just wanted to build the building with a star architect." (Pablo)*

As Pablo explained, the leadership did not know what to put inside the building, but they built it anyway. After all, they put a museum inside, however it is not the most suitable place for a museum because of the light. It enters through the huge windows that are a

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[1] I discussed the situation of the private properties or spaces such as flats and the opinions of the locals about these questions in other chapters of the thesis.

part of the modern style of the building. The other thing is that the museum expands and owns several buildings around the square, which is also gentrification.

> *"Yes, around the Plaça dels Àngels they have almost all the buildings at the square. I think it forms an "L", so they have almost all the square, and if they finally build their expansion, they will have another building and it will be a 100% gentrified square. No neighbours go to the square or almost no neighbours and do... maybe if you are young and feel like... but it is hostile and it has no green." (Pablo)*

All of the interviewees who mentioned MACBA mentioned the skateboarders and they had a poor opinion of them:

> *"So now what you have seen at Plaça dels Àngels in front of the MACBA the idea was to recover the square for the locals because now it is only occupied by skaters. Which is fine but they made it their square, so it is not open for other people anymore. Elderly people are scared, they do not want to walk there anymore because of the skate-borders. " (Anita)*

> *"The other day I was surprised because I did an interview with a channel who was filming at the MACBA and they also interviewed some of the skaters and they were Catalan, but of course there are a lot of tourist skaters and they come here for the video. On an international level the square is very famous." (Laura)*

As Laura claimed in this quote the skaters of MACBA are mostly tourists. She was surprised that the ones who gave an interview were Catalan. This means that the phenomenon of skaters is also linked to touristification of the neighbourhood. When I was there, I had to cross Plaça dels Àngels almost every day from where I lived to the university and I observed that there were a lot of tourists and languages there. Sometimes I also spent some time in the square with a coffee or waiting for one of my classmates, but there were not many elderly people or locals spending time or hanging around. The last thought on this topic is that Degen (2017) claims very similar phenomena from the square based on the interviews she did in 2012. It proves that the presence of the skate boarders is not a temporary phenomenon but a constant state since the creation of the square.

"Yes, the square of the MACBA is in all the architectural guides around the world but what is it used for? For skaters, OK, but for anyone else? It is absurd, yes, the city needs to be for everyone. (Planner C, Foment de Ciutat Vella, personal communication, April 2012) " (Degen, 2017:146).

Skaters have been around MACBA since the creation of the square. Most of them are not locals in the Raval or not even from the city. This seems problematic for local activists who would prefer public spaces that are for the benefits of the local population. As I discussed in the anti-touristification chapter, one of the problems with the high number of tourists is the degradation of public space. At the same time, it would be a necessity to deal with the needs of the local population who live there.

Rambla del Raval

"The creation of the whole new Rambla del Raval (1996-2001) throughout the demolition of almost 3000 houses in the historic tissue, has been the most consistent operation." (Scarnato 2014:1). I believe that the author of the text means that at the end of the demolition there were 3000 less flats, in the neighbourhood, because Rambla del Raval is not as big as that much house would possibly fit there. However, still 3000 flats is a huge number, so it shows that this urban renewal program affected the life of many people. The creation of this place was an open act to make changes in the neighbourhood, although the locals mostly like the results. Of course, there are different opinions and reasons why somebody likes Rambla del Raval between the interviewees too, but it is sure that locals are using this space. In the case of MACBA there was nothing like this. Almost every people whom I spoke with claimed that the MACBA and the square surrounding it is not a good place and locals do not use it like it was mentioned before. On the other hand, Rambla del Raval is under mixed judgment at least between the part of the local community whom I reached. It is a commercial street with restaurant and bars for tourists such as the bigger Rambla, but there are also smaller bars and cafes, which are visited by the locals. I crossed the Rambla del Raval several times a day because the place I lived was one street away from there so I could observe the life of the street. Based on my observations and the conversations with locals it is possible to claim that the street is commercialized and created for tourists, however it is also an integral part of the neighbourhood and frequently used by locals to meet, walk, and rest. In that sense it is different from Plaça dels Àngels, which is not considered as a place that they can use. There are several reasons behind it but Rambla del Raval is designed for people of the city too, for example there are benches everywhere and green areas (Scarnato, 2014:7). It is a fine thing that this public space became a part of the neighbourhood and offers opportunities to spend time, however it does not change the fact that it was an aggressive gentrification to create it and

many people had to move to other places because of the construction. Not only those who lived in the buildings that was demolished but those who were not in a good economic situation and became the victim of real-estate speculation, which moved along with the construction of Rambla del Raval. Flat prices went up radically around the new street such as rent prices, which was a negative effect for many of the locals (Scarnato, 2014:11-12).

Locality in Raval

Originally, the topic of my thesis was the anti-touristification movement in the Raval neighbourhood. When the interviews started and the structure of the research became clear, an equally important and relevant topic came up, which was the concept of locality in the Raval. To make a distinction between your group and another, it is a necessity to state something from yours along the way (Turner & Reynolds, 2012: 7-8).

Concept of localness

During the interviews, every informant was asked "who do they consider a local person?" Most of them were from the Raval so in these cases the question related to the Raval, although in some cases the informants were related to activism but not especially in the Raval. In these situations the question is related to locals in Barcelona or a local person in their neighbourhood. Before presenting these results, it is necessary to discuss the use of the term "*neighbourhood*", which the informants used often. They articulated differences and problems in the city in connection with tourism and every other topic through this concept, so the author also uses this term. A district is a bigger unit. For example, Ciutat Vella is an aggregation of four neighbourhoods, including the Raval. Neighbourhoods could be divided into different sections, such as South and North Raval, as it was explained by one of the informants earlier. As we can see, Northern Raval is different from Southern. This is partly a result of the will of the city council to gentrify the Northern part of the Raval. They moved cultural institutions there, such as MACBA, and they hoped that middle class residents would follow these institutions and move into the neighbourhood. (Arbaci & Tapada-Bertelli 2012:302-304)

An even smaller unit would be a street that has a problem with drug trafficking or has some other specialty. Obviously ,a house where there are problems is a smaller unit than a street, and an even smaller one is a flat. It may seem unnecessary to explain this, but these are the units of space that were used in the explanations of the informants, so in

this research these are used to present the findings. As an example the "*narco piso*" phenomenon came up several times, which means the drug mafia occupies flats. This causes problems and affects the community in the building. The research mainly discusses the situation in the Raval neighbourhood but it is necessary to know the smaller and the bigger units as well, as the different levels of the neighbourhood are interconnected.

The most common term, which reflected on locality in the interviews and expressed the solidarity between locals was 'neighbours' and several forms of it. That is why this expression is used here as well. Neighbour communities are very strong in El Raval as Anita and many of the other informants explained.

> *"This neighbourhood is extraordinary because there are lots of groups and platforms and associations. I have never seen something like this in my life. The intensity of people acting and wanting to change the neighbourhood and it really works." (Anita)*

As the interview material showed, places with more problems attract more social activity. This could also correlate with the large number of activist groups in the neighbourhood. Behind this phenomenon there are several reasons but two of them appear in various forms in every discussion and thus can be considered essential. The first is the historical background, which shows that there is a tradition of strong solidarity (Mansilla, 2019:7). The second important reason is explained by Pablo and it relates to the high number of newcomers in the district.

> *"So, people who come to Barcelona could afford the rent only here, so normally it created a different way to relate to each other, because they needed to help each other to survive." (Pablo)*

As Pablo said, many of the newcomers are in a vulnerable economic situation, which makes social connection more important. The Raval is a central place for newcomers either from other parts of Spain, people from other European countries or people from other continents. In 2009 in Ciutat Vella district, 56% of the total population was Spanish born and 44% foreign. From the latter, 11% came from "first world" countries 33% came from 'Majority World' (Arbaci & Tapada-Berteli, 2012:300). These numbers clearly show that this is a multicultural, cosmopolitan area. The five biggest immigrant communities in the Raval regarding the number of inhabitants in order are from Pakistan, Philippines, Bangladesh, Italy and Morocco (Galindo et al. 2018:11). These details show that most of the newcomers in the neighbourhood are not from Latin-American countries that are

Spanish-speaking areas. This fact also affects how locals define locality. Before presenting these results, it is necessary to underline that this is the activist concept of localness. If the informants would be retired people, primary school teachers or homeless people I assume that the results would be different. However, it is essential to see how they connect locality to activism and social responsibility. When the interviewees describe who are included in their concept of localness this also means they are describing who is excluded. I present above some of the answers about who they consider a local:

"So, I could consider myself as a local as I am living here for four years, but the real point of being part of the neighbourhood is to have an open mind and participate in the social movement. I think the only reason anyone in the Raval counted to be local is to be welcoming. It is not like people say no, you are not local because you have not been here enough time." (Pablo)

"I would consider myself as a local although I only live here for 16 years and yeah. But if you try, if you take social responsibility for the place where you live and try to make a better life for everyone then I would consider a person to be local even if he only lives here for two years." (Anita)

From these claims we can see that they consider themselves local, however they were not born in the neighbourhood. The second relevant interpretation is that they connect abstract values to locality related to active participation in the life of the area.

"So, for example I was not born in Barcelona, I have been here for 13 years, I consider myself a Barcelonian. Maybe I do not consider Barcelonian other people from Barcelona who have been here for a longer time. I mean to me, the thing is the link that you want to develop with the territory and the people." (Emilio)

"All the people who would like to make life there. I mean tourists are not locals in the Raval because they cannot be by definition, they are only visitors but not contributing visitors because they are spectators. But all the rest of the newcomers are different even if they are here for two months because they build community. They produce place, community and social life as well as the historically established community." (Daniela)

The statements of Emilio and Daniela also support the presumption that locality is not related to ethnicity or nationality. There is another significant observation that time does not play an important role in the definition of locality. As Emilio explains he would not

consider someone a local who is there for a longer time but does not participate in the life of the territory. The explanation of Carlos about locality also contains the time perspective in a similar way:

> "For me a local not only in the Raval but in Barcelona and in Catalonia is a person that is living in the neighbourhood, does not matter how long has been living in it. The only thing that matters is that he or she has actually an intention to make a life in it. This means this is going to be a person who worries about what is going to happen around him or her." (Carlos)

Participation in the affairs of the neighbourhood and the intention to make a life there was underlined by Carlos among the most important criteria of localness. From these answers it could be concluded that they connect locality to abstract values. There is something else, that is also relevant to reflect on, that is what is missing from these answers. None of the informants connected locality to nationality, ethnic or religious background. This means there are other factors, which are considered by them. An observation was made while comparing these answers: they did not need time to think about this issue, the responses were clear and quick all the time. Analysing this phenomenon, it could be stated that this is an easy question to answer for them, the response is obvious. If it would be unclear for them to answer emotionally or any other way, it is imaginable that they would hesitate at least. From this it could be concluded that they consider everyone a local who wants to make a living there and tries to be a part of the community. Once again, a critical view is necessary to interpret these answers. All the respondents are the members of the activist community and this explains a lot from the phenomenon that they connect locality to social responsibility and be an active member of the community. This phenomenon also relates us to the question of identity and how it could be transformed in contemporary ages. Zygmunt Bauman (2004:30-32) claims in his book that in the liquid modern setting of life identities are like a light cloak, ready to be taken off anytime. Many people in the Raval changed their identity partly or at least get a new identity element as local in the Raval neighbourhood. If this is not an experience of their own, they must know many people who did it because of the high number of newcomers in the Raval. This could explain why it is an easily imaginable thing for them to become local, because it happened with them and many others. I would not claim that for most of the people this identity element to be a local is on the same level. However, as it was

aforementioned *neighbour consciousness* and the enthusiasm about this particular place in the city is present between locals. This leads us to the next section, which is the "*otherness*" that is present in the neighbourhood in several forms.

Otherness

This section presents the diversity of the Raval neighbourhood and how the locals relate to this. As it was mentioned before, one of the characteristics of this place is the high number of newcomers who were not born in the neighbourhood, or the city and in many cases not even the country.

The statistical data of the population of Barcelona shows that the proportion of immigrant population in the city is 16,55% (Galindo et al. 2018:6). In the Raval, this rate was almost 50% based on statistical data from 2016. From the 47.264 inhabitant 22.929 could be considered to have immigrant background. In my observation activists consider immigrants parts of the neighbourhood. One of the informants, who works as a lawyer in Raval with people who have problems with their living conditions, related the regulation of immigration to the regulation of the tourism industry. Carlos underlines the double standard related to the confiscation of a person who want to visit the city as a tourist and people who want to live there, but they arrive as a refugee in the following way:

> *"I mean why does a person coming from Africa need to climb a wall and then wait for months and years to have a permit to work and even be expelled? And a tourist who is coming from China, French or from the USA can come here for a week or stay here for months and live. I am not saying these are the same situation but maybe we should find solution to control tourists such as economic immigrants."(Carlos)*

From this quote it can be deduced that in his consideration not the immigrants are the problematic actors in the neighbourhood. The reason behind it turned out from other parts of the conversation. People who move to the city and want to live there are perceived as a positive phenomenon in the view of the activists. Furthermore, I never met an opinion, which would show immigrants as an inferior group. If immigrants appeared in a story usually, they were in a positive shade, such as in the following:

> *"Now I am going to tell you a story. I used to volunteer with immigrant women, most of them coming from Muslim countries like Morocco, India or Bangladesh. We volunteered to teach them Spanish and also the culture. One day I was*

walking on the street and I lost my wallet. I did not realise it and somebody found
it opened and saw, "oh this is the teacher of my wife, she is Angela, she is from the
neighbourhood" and they took the wallet and put it to the school and stole
nothing. I do not think it would happen in any other place in Barcelona, so for me
it is important." (Angela)

Among other things it appears from this story that Angela considers the Raval as a special place in the city. She claims the result of the story would be different if it would happen in another neighbourhood. The fact that the people who found the wallet and realized it belongs to someone who is also part of the community bring home the importance of *solidarity*. This was mentioned several times by many of the informants. In my interpretation, the values of the activists do not lead them to be in opposition with immigrants because in several cases they work with them or take part in the same neighbourhood community. Naturally, it would not be a trustworthy observation if I would try to claim there are no problems with living together. Some of the informants mentioned cultural differences as a barrier that could cause problems. However, it is important to see that for the question "what are the biggest problems of the neighbourhood?" no one mentioned immigrants, or anything related to them. Unconventionally, it would be a racist argument, although it did not appear in the data, which was collected. In some cases, the information is the lack of something, I believe it is one of those cases. The comparison of tourists and refugees in the discourse of anti-touristification movements is not a new phenomenon. In 2017 there was marches in the city organized by a leftist group *Arran Paisos Catalan*. One of the main slogans was "*Tourists go home refugees welcome*". The protesters demanded from the government to welcome more refugees and they described tourists as invaders who are endangering social and cultural reproduction of places. (Giaccaria, 2018) My observations are also supporting this phenomenon, refugees are not seen as invaders or a threat for local culture but tourists do. There is a clear distinction between the mobility of privileged tourists and the mobility of vulnerable *others*.

What appeared in the discussions from the neighbourhood is the value of helping each other, solidarity, community, and the character of the inhabitants. The last one needs a more complex analysis from these at this point. The title of this section is *Otherness* because of this character. At this point it is clear that in the interpretation of activists the

neighbourhood has values, which are connecting the people. The best way to introduce this character is through the voice of locals.

> *"The atmosphere or the context of the neighbourhood historically is a place where people help each other. They have a consciousness that we need to survive, and because of the party places so many gay people came also to the neighbourhood because of the freedom. So, it is in a very different way of the neighbourhood where people can stay different and do not get bad looks and be discriminated against because of it. It is part of the genetics of the neighbourhood." (Pablo)*

Solidarity and the topic of *otherness* are connected in the argument of Pablo. He claims that people can stay different more freely than in other parts of the city. This is a reason for the higher level of *solidarity*. *Otherness* is a concept which originally comes from Simone de Beauvoir's work: *The second sex* (Beauvoir 1989:23-27). However, this concept was initially related to the position of women in the society, later on it became used as a framework in other fields of social sciences to analyse oppressed, colonized and exploited people. The base of this concept is that there is an absolute and related to this there are others who are inessentials. The claim that I make here is that the Raval is a place for groups considered 'O*thers*'. The notion of *otherness* relates us back to the "*Barrio Chino*" (China town) myth. As we see it does not reflect the Chinese population but for a place, which is exotic and different (Donovan, 2016:10). In regard to seeing the different stigmatized and discriminated groups who find shelter in the neighbourhood I would like to collect this information quickly. As we have already seen, there are immigrants in high numbers who try to make a living here. Traditionally the population of the Raval is mainly working-class as it was mentioned before. Economically vulnerable people who suffer from poverty and unemployment also live here in high numbers such as homeless people. As it was explained to me because of the freedom and underground places many members of the gay community moved here. There is a strong activist scene, which composes the main focus of this study. There are also criminals, drug addicts and prostitutes and so on and so forth. I would not try to put an equality sign between all these groups, because obviously they have different problems, goals, motivations, background and so on. What I would like to claim is that in the eyes of the majority society they are more or less the *others.* There must be so many narratives as individuals, maybe someone is empathizing with homeless people, but feel hatred for gays, or helps the immigrants but is against

activism. Nonetheless these are labels, which are stigmatizing these individuals. One of the main points of labelling theory, that individuals lose the right to self-identify themselves, because of certain behaviours or characteristics and they will be determined with labels that are used to classify them. Usually, it happens with minorities or those who are seen as deviant from the majority's standard. A social stigma is something that is a kind of stereotype, which affects the behaviour of those who are stigmatized (Goffman 1963). In the case of the Raval, this *otherness* and being the home for the people who are different is a part of the identity of the place according to local activists. This leads us to the next section where the *"Spirit of* the *Raval"* is analysed by showing the information, which was said about this by the informants.

"Spirit of the Raval"

In this section I would like to show the essence of the neighbourhood. How local activists formulate values of it and distinct from other places in the city. Angela responded to that question, *"What makes the Raval special for her?"* like this,

> *"Well, I think it is about solidarity, being in a big city like Barcelona where nobody knows each other. Creating a community in your neighbourhood is important. I never did it in other neighbourhoods in Barcelona and I lived in a lot of them, really in a lot of places. But here there is a community." (Angela)*

One of the most interesting claims from this quote is that she lived in several other parts of the city but did not experience that kind of community, which is present in the Raval. There are several things to interpret and understand from this claim. One thing is a deep love and enthusiasm for the Raval, which can be observed in the words of Angela and many other locals whom I talked with. Solidarity is one of the most frequently used notions in the transcript of the interviews. As it was mentioned before in the introduction of the neighbourhood: the Raval is different, in the following there is a collection of the responses to how activists see the Raval neighbourhood, how it is different from other parts of the city and what they like in these specialities.

> *"It is also a kind of freedom that people who are racially discriminated outside can move freely here and no one looks at them badly because people who lives in this neighbourhood are also racially discriminated or understands this is not any kind of problem or trouble that people come here and try to live as good as they can." (Pablo)*

"In some way we are all here because we want to be different and want to help each other because of that even if we have to fight against MACBA or the major-ship." (Ernesto)

The enthusiasm about the Raval can be detected from these quotes above. Ernesto's explanation refers back to *otherness* such as Pablo's opinion. From these parts it is clear that activists connect freedom to this place where they can be different. This freedom, which is mentioned by people who are inside the neighbourhood is interesting compared to the bad reputation of the place. It is mentioned in several studies that the Raval is a dangerous place, or a troubled quarter (Galindo et al. 2018:8; Scarnato, 2014; Arbaci & Tapada-Berteli, 2012:294; Elham, 2005:374-375). Although the Raval also has an artistic and cosmopolitan identity in recent years because of the changes and gentrification, I argue that the bad reputation is protecting the neighbourhood communities. While the outside seems dangerous and wild compared to other parts of the city, on the other hand from the inside is based on solidarity and strong community. Activism and occupations can scare away big companies. Criminals and bad reputation are creating several problems, but it is also true that they set back investments. This seems problematic from a macro level, or from the aspect of capital, could create a liveable space for the *others*.

The second point in this section to argue is the history of the district. The reason to include these aspects are based on anthropological methods, because many of the informants mentioned history as a source for the high intensity of activism in the neighbourhood. In the following there is a collection of these claims:

"I think solidarity is the most important, and we are very working-class people in the Raval. We have this tradition for leftist history, and fight for the rights. But we are poor really, I do not think people with real money live in this neighbourhood, and that makes you see if you do not fight for your rights with your brothers and sisters no one is going to do it. For me that is the thing." (Angela)

As it was mentioned before *solidarity* is between the most commonly used terms among the expressions of activists describing the neighbourhood. Working class identity and leftist history is a reference point, which is commonly used in the self-definition of locals. This implicates the fight for the rights, which was explained by Angela and mentioned by other informants too:

> *" I think because historically the Raval has been a fighting community ever since,*
> *with a lot of anarchism, with working class, but organised working class. With*
> *people who were very attached to the fight of each of the historical moments and*
> *with a lot of solidarity. I think that is why the Raval resists because if you think*
> *of it is the place of the city which resists gentrification attacks." (Laura)*

These claims of Laura are not only relevant regarding the history of the area. Working class identity, Marxist values and the fight for rights are clearly present in this explanation. In addition, what I want to underline is the importance of resistance in this definition of ravalian identity. Daniela's exposition from this topic also stresses the historical perspective:

> *"I think history plays a very important role in structural things, such as the*
> *historically working-class concentration in a way. The Raval was the*
> *neighbourhood where there were more factories in the city for many years. All*
> *those factories had also political organisations and syndicates" (Daniela).*

Regarding these claims it is clear that activists are conscious about the history of the neighbourhood, however in many cases they are from other parts of the city or from even further places. Daniela said that everything comes from somewhere and has a root in the past. The high intensity of activism in the neighbourhood has historical reasons. Ealham (2005) in his study about the history of the Raval neighbourhood proves that while the Raval became a centre of industrial revolution in the middle of the 1800's, along this it also became a place where labour movement and syndicates were concentrated. During the Franco area Barcelona including the Raval and the whole territory was punished because of their part in the Spanish Civil War (ibid, pp. 396-397). This opposition with the dictatorship was also strengthen the culture of resistance, which connected to anti-fascist, leftist values. As one of the informants explained who works in the Raval there were other neighbourhoods with strong industrial background where syndicates and organised working-class were very active, but these places lost this character in the latest decades. She explained the following argument when we were discussing the gentrification related to the Raval, however it would belong to the gentrification part it gives the title of the section so I would like to present this result here:

> *"It has been very very modified and there was a lot of investment to change its*
> *ways, but there is still the spirit of the Raval many organizations, which recall*

> *that spirit. There is one, which is called Raval Rebel and it is true. The Raval is a*
> *rebel place ever since and still is" (Daniela).*

Daniela claims that in spite of gentrification endeavours the *spirit of the Raval* is not broken yet. Somehow the Raval was able to preserve this character and it is a place of resistance and social struggle in contemporary times too. As it was mentioned before state-led gentrification tried to modify the character of the area, but because of the lack of social programmes it was unsuccessful in many ways. One of the findings of Degen's study from the Raval is that regeneration of the stone was done, and the city council made spectacular squares and public spaces, but at the same time social intervention was not followed by these gentrification programs (Degen 2017:150). At the conclusion she claims it is a more complex phenomenon why el Raval (especially the southern part) resist to commercialization and globalization than a single issue, but somehow it resists, my findings also prove this. One of the informants, who answered every question in a complex way, tried to show as many aspects as possible including opposition arguments to his own beliefs, had a change of tone in his voice when the situation of the Raval came up. We discussed several topics from touristification, the movement against it, gentrification, then a question came up about what he thinks will happen to the Raval. His voice changed to an emotional tune, which he did not use before and he said:

> *"It is been hard for el Raval and I think they will never make it to kill it somehow*
> *because it is really too strong. I mean it is still surprising to me, it is a really*
> *particular place. Let's see what it becomes, I do not know. At the moment there*
> *is still resistance there. Will to keep on living together in a lot of sense and I hope,*
> *and I will try to help within my possibilities." (Emilio)*

From the claims of Emilio, it is necessary to underline the strong commitment for the case of the Raval and resistance. He is committed to help the neighbourhood preserve its character for the benefits of locals. This supports the finding of Degen, which could be summarized as "El Raval se resiste"[2] (ibid, p. 153). It was fascinating to observe how a rational and intelligent person became emotional when the topic of the Raval came up. This is one of the reasons why I chose this topic to research to understand a bit more from this passion and love of the activists to this neighbourhood.

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[2] The Raval is resisiting.

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Krisztina Buk

Life strategies and parenting methods of intercultural families based on Milton J. Bennett Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS)

After graduation, I started my career as a child- and youth protection social worker in Budapest. From 2000 to 2007 I lived in Israel. After returning to Hungary, for ten years I worked in a Hebrew-Hungarian bilingual, family-run nursery, operated by an Orthodox Jewish foundation. In the course of my work, I have developed a close relationship with young mixed Israeli, Hungarian families living, working or studying in Hungary for a longer or shorter period of time.

Focusing on the multicultural Jewish community, I continued my studies, majoring in Cultural Anthropology. During my field research I used holistic, cultural relativist approach and collection of empirical data. The aim of taking notes, photographs, conducting interviews, documenting my observations was to shed light on what life is like from someone else's perspective. (Boglár 2001:8)

Through years of fieldwork, I have tracked and continued to follow the lives of dozens of families. To better understand the daily lives, mindsets, and feelings of the families observed, I take every opportunity to be present at their community events, celebrations, gatherings, and the like. These occasions provide an opportunity for friendly conversations. At the same time, it opens up the possibility of observing parent-child interactions.

In most cases the mother is Hungarian; the father is of a different origin. Most of the time, both parents are dual citizens, one of which is Israeli. It is common that the father originally came to Hungary to study, others came with their parents in the early 1990s, during the civil war in Georgia, while yet others came for economic reasons. Couples have lived in Hungary for 3 to 24 years, at times moving, or possibly moving back in a few years. They have previously lived in Israel, and many other countries.

The parents I interview are between 20-40 years old. They use Hebrew or English with each other, speak Hungarian, Hebrew, English, or occasionally the language of their grandparents with their children and usually learn each other's language.

As they explained, usage of English is preferred when discussing certain subjects, they do not want the children to understand. However, the children, because they do want to know what the discussion is about, pick up English rather quickly. In the stores or on the playground it happens that parents speak Hebrew others do not understand, thus creating a feeling of "chumminess" between parent and child. This type of language-switching is known as "code-switching". (Knipf, Komlósi 2001: 690–697)

Families connect with each other through their children. My observation is that their relationship is intertwined along their origins, language, and cultural heritage. At the same time, they make an effort to respect each other's faith, religious customs, or lack thereof. In their daily lives, one can observe the tendency to adapt to the habits of the social majority. At the same time, they are strongly tied to the country of their origin. After all, part of their families still live there.

These modern, urban, nuclear families live spread out in Budapest. As a result, my field of research is not a local area, but a *"mental space"*: experiences at a given time when I take part not as an outsider, but as a participant observer.
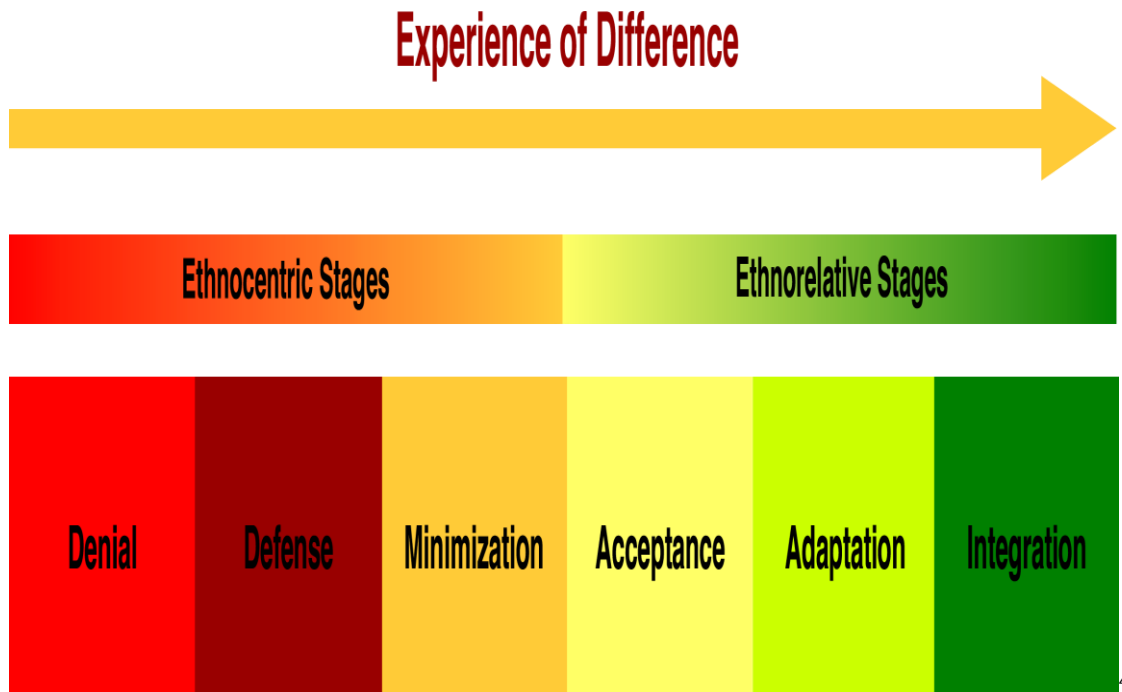
Anthropology, an empirical observation science, provides an opportunity to separate norms and practices while it also makes it possible to concretize the relationship of those two. (Wolff 2001: 7) For example, a parent reports being mindful of using the mother tongue when speaking to her child. Yet, in various life-situations it is observed that she uses mixed languages without even realizing it.

As for multiculturalism within the families: when two individuals from different cultural backgrounds with different mother tongues tie their lives together, they have to establish a new, shared way of organizing their life. New cultural, different verbal, perhaps even religious practices will present themselves. The members of the observed families belong to two or three different linguistic and socio-cultural mediums. (Buk 2018: 15-31)

In order to better understand the life strategies and parenting methods of intercultural families, I briefly describe Milton J. Bennett's model of intercultural sensitivity using examples from family accounts. (Milton 1998)[3] According to Bennett's

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[3] Milton J. Bennett holds a master's degree in psycholinguistics and a doctorate in intercultural communication and sociology. As a professor, he teaches intercultural studies.

interpretation, culture is not only what distinguishes one group of people from the other on the national level, but is distinguished by gender, age group, religious affiliation, occupation, and so on.

Experience of Difference

Ethnocentric Stages			Ethnorelative Stages		
Denial	Defense	Minimization	Acceptance	Adaptation	Integration

Ethnocentric, means that individuals judge others based on their own cultural experiences and point of view. Ethnorelativism maintains that cultures can only be understood relative to one another. Cultural difference is neither good nor bad, it is just different.

The first three stages of the intercultural sensitivity process are ethnocentric, as one sees his own culture as central to reality. Going further, that is, gaining experience while living together, the individual is increasingly moving towards an ethnorelativist perspective.

By the fourth stage, ethnocentric views are replaced by ethnorelativist views recognizing the value system of the other as equivalent. For multicultural families, if this does not happen, conflicts make cooperation very difficult and can result in family breakdown, as is may be the case.

Based on reports the model reflects the process of culturally mixed couples' experience during the period of becoming a family. At the beginning, the point of

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[4] https://jmoreno1496.wordpress.com/

references for the participants was different. In lack of personal experiences, the couples projected stereotypical views on each other. This naturally created problems. Working through those enriched and supported the process of becoming a family.

Denial of Difference - Stage 1.

We don't recognize the difference between our and the culture of the other.

For the individual, his culture is the only true one. They tend to simplify other cultures.

During my field research, some of my conversation partners remembered, when arriving in Israel from Hungary for the first time, they thought of the dietary customs and way of dressing as *"stupid"* simply because they were different from what they were used to.

Defense against Difference - Stage 2.

We recognize the difference, and as a result, we become defensive. It is typified by a dualistic way of thinking, us vs. them.

This position is accompanied by stereotyping in three different ways:

- Contempt: We consider the other culture inferior.

Several of my Hungarian conversation partners reported that at the beginning of their relationship, the home of Israeli husbands was considered too *"empty"*, *"without books"* or decorations. This has been stereotypically attributed to their "*dislike of reading"*, and this was judged negatively.

- Superiority: We consider our own culture superior to the other.

According to Israeli dads, the Israeli permissive-parenting is more effective than the Hungarian compliant-one, as evidenced by the fact that *"there are more Israeli Nobel laureates"*.

- Self-belittlement: Our own culture is devalued and other cultures are romanticized as superior.

This is typical of those who already know some of the other cultures and sympathize with it.

Many Hungarian mothers describe, Israeli parenting as "*very liberal"*. This encourages "*creativity"*. The Hungarian system on the other hand, according to them, "*takes away children's self-confidence"*.

Minimization of Difference - Stage 3.

The experience of similarity outweighs the experience of difference. *"After all, we are all alike."* People recognize similarities in the other culture over cultural differences, such as spiritual needs, loving care, and similar universal values.

When we realize that the difference between cultures does not mean difference in value, we arrive at ethnorelativism. Through our experiences we learn and understand that there is no absolute measure for right or wrong. There is an example of children not allowed to watch TV at home on Sabbath, while this is not prohibited at the maternal grandmother's house.

Acceptance of Difference - Stage 4.

People accept that others think differently about reality and attach a different value system to it. Different languages produce different ways of thinking. We recognize the cultural side of value creation.

Adaptation to Difference - Stage 5.

Individuals recognize the possibilities lying in various cultural approaches. Two ways of it is:

- Empathy: identify with or understand another's situation or feelings.
- Pluralism: numerous distinct ethnic, religious, or cultural groups are present within a society.

This may be the result of living in a different cultural relation system for an extended period of time.

A mom of Hungarian descent and a Georgian dad moved into a traditional community after their university years. It took them a while before they were able to adjust to each other's culture. It was harder for the less traditional mom, meanwhile she saw the cultural tradition represented by her husband as *'healthier', 'more hygienic', 'keeping the family together', 'leading to success', 'helping to achieve goals'*.

Over the years living together, my conversational partners experience a process of cultural adaptation. Their children are socialized within the complex system of families. Identity of the children brought up in a bi- or multilingual environment will not be the same as of their mothers or their fathers. Yet, they do develop a cultural sensitivity and are at home in both cultures. In that sense, they develop a multicultural identity. (Erikson 1991: 396–404)

Integration of Difference - Stage 6.

We become active participants in the other culture; we learn to examine and react to things from multiple cultural perspectives. We recognize that we may also use our differences as a resource in our daily lives.

Through interactions and conversations within the community, takes shape what the "cultural package" that families want to pass on to their children: *"respect of the family", "tolerance toward other religions and cultures", "appreciation of books, music, films, and theater", "education, knowledge"* are all part of it. Importance of language skills is emphasized.

Goals of their child upbringing are *"raising an open-minded person", "a world citizen", "someone accepting and capable of fitting in"* as an adult. It is seen as a way of introduction to other kinds of cognitive or mental structures.

In the next phase of the research, I would like to gain insight into the kinship system of intercultural families and their extended family relationships, life strategies and conflicts across borders. I attempt to explore cultural networking, the operation and impact of cross-border family and community relations at the level of events and interactions that can be experienced in the daily life of families. As for the methodology, the COVID situation has altered the previous research plan with difficulties around personal contacts.

Meanwhile, communication and "consumption of culture" is increasingly taking place online and through social media. So a multi-faceted examination of these dimensions is essential.

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Gergely Galovics and Peter Bodor

The various voices of national identities: a new method for the research of ethnic relations

Abstract

Border regions are often inhabited by people who in terms of their language and culture rather belong to the nation on the other side of the border, then to the majority nation of their own country. As the borders moved over the last centuries in Europe several times there are many ethnic groups who „get stuck on the other side" finding themselves in a minority status. In this situation while being influenced by the cultural and political system of the majority nation of their own country these ethnic minority groups are still trying to maintain the culture and language of their motherland. But what do the members of these groups consider to be their home and how do they perceive the region where they live?

Our contribution intends to show methodological approaches which can help us to understand the relation of ethnic minorities to the region where they live as well as to reconstruct the terms and labels used by them to describe their home and homeland. In order to get ecologically valid/naturalistic results, but in the meanwhile remain effective in retrieving data we have to conduct focus groups. Focus groups in our understanding are a useful method to obtain certain thematically focused discourses such as the denotative and connotative meaning of places or the place-identity as a constituent of the group identity (Proshansky). Undoubtedly data derived from focus groups are more artificial than everyday discourse, however we believe that by approaching the topic indirectly and with appropriate associative tasks we can still generate a good „semi-everyday discourse".

We will show our methodological approach in a research conducted on the members of the Hungarian minority living in Slovakia, where we tried to reconstruct the identity work as it is manifested in and through their discursive acts. According to the social construction of self (given by James and Mead as I and Me) the identity is not given but created partly by self-definition, and partly by definition given by others. As the

construction process can be taken as a discursive process (Harré), based on meaningful acts thus the identity constructed during a discourse connects persons to their own groups (i.e. theory of social identity - Tajfel and Blackwell). In our paper we will present what kind of place-related discourses and narratives are performed by our participants and how our discourse oriented method makes it possible to identify and explore various voices (Bakhtin) regarding the place identity among the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. We are convinced that by reconstructing the relation of ethnic minorities to the places and regions where they live we can overcome the conflicts created by the different political and administrative bodies and misunderstandings stemming from different cultures.

Keywords: place identity, ethnicity, discourse analysis

Introduction

The task of the present paper is to provide an overview of our developing approach to the study of identity relying on the „semi-everyday" discourse of members of the Hungarian minority living in Slovakia. Our paper stems from a project which seeks to describe and understand the ethnic Hungarians living in Slovakia. We are interested in various aspects of identity, thus we seek to understand the details, content, and tensions between different layers of identity, if there are any. In the present study we will analyze discourse obtained from focus groups. However, other related studies will rely on other material, including social media or political communication.

During our paper we will try to: (1) shortly present the subject group of our research – the Hungarians living in Slovakia - and explain why are they interesting for our interpretative approach; (2) explain why we consider the focus group method as a useful tool to obtain raw material about specific type of discourses, and show the general design of our research as well as (3) summarize the conceptual and theoretical background of our research. Finally, with the help of our discourse-oriented approach (4) we will examine some sections of the conservations of one of the tasks which the participants had during our focus groups, namely: where they had to plan a trip for a visitor from abroad which in their opinion is the best possible one-week program to learn about their culture.

In this part we will try to reconstruct the identity work performed by the participants of our focus groups paying particular attention to those sections where it is perceptible that the various political stances have an impact on shaping their identity.

The brief history of the Hungarian minority living in Slovakia

Let us briefly say a few words about who are the subject group of our study: the ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia. The territory of Slovakia was part of the Hungarian Empire before the I. WW. The number of Hungarians in Slovakia was 650 thousand at the time, but it fell to 456 thousand people according to the latest surveys in 2017, which is about a 30% population decline. At present, the Hungarians represent 8.4 percent of the total population.   The Hungarian minority living in Slovakia until the end of the First World War did not form a separate unit, even at the administrative level from the Hungarian nation, unlike the Hungarians in Romania, or Serbia. In general, such national minorities have two strategies if they want to keep their collective national identity which is different from the national identity of the majority (Ravasz 2013). One is a sort of standoffish logic that seeks to minimize the impact of the majority culture on the minority, denies the already existing effects made by the majority, and operates as a kind of a reservation. The other logic calls for openness, and it believes that the minority should reflect on its own diversity, which distinguishes them from the others and treats it as a value.

The so-called *reservation logic* reflects a rigid identity concept, where the goal is the preservation of the national identity, which must be kept at all costs. The users of the strategy attach great importance to keeping traditional values, beliefs and national symbols in order to maintain their identity. Contrary, other cultures and symbols are categorically rejected.

Reflection logic, on the other hand, is derived from the flexible meaning of identity as its name indicates, it reflects/responds to different cultural impacts and it is continuously reproduced in accordance with the dynamics of the identification. The strategy does not only ask the minority to get in touch with another culture, but also to reflect on their own culture, find the relevant differences, and integrate them to their own identity in order to maintain their own collective minority identity.

Due to the current minority status of the Hungarians in Slovakia, and the fact, that the two above mentioned competitive strategies were adopted by different Hungarian political parties throughout the history, and still represent the sharpest line of political

differences - between the more conservative party which prefer the reservation logic, and the more liberal party, which prefer the reflection logic - there is still a lot of identity work ongoing on an individual and collective level as well, which appear in their everyday discourses and thus they are an ideal subject group for our discourse oriented research.

The focus groups and their preparation for analysis: the general design of our research

In the present study we will analyze discourse obtained from focus groups. This section will briefly describe our methodological stance of our study and makes explicit the way of data generation our research relies on.

We decided to work with focus groups. Why focus groups? Because it is a relatively natural way of collecting discourse that is thematically oriented or focused to specific issues the research is directed to. Furthermore, the participants of a lively focus group offer different point of views on the debated issues, therefore making available for detailed analysis of the relevant lay conceptualizations just like the participants' related personal involvement. Of course data gathered from a focus group is more artificial than everyday discourses, but it is a more efficient way to obtain such data, less time-consuming and it still provides us with a good so-called „semi-everyday discourse".

We designed our research in order to gather semi-everyday discourses of Hungarians living in Slovakia. We did not want to involve our subject in a direct question and answer type of conversation regarding their ethnic identity such as a questionnaire or a more strict interview example. Rather, we wanted to have an access to their own way of formulating and debating the relevant issues. Thus, we intended to provoke discourse segments which will be somehow related to their national, ethnic and regional identity, and perhaps also will reflect the two above-mentioned logics of maintaining their own collective national identity.

In the light of these concerns we have recruited politically active people who are somehow connected to the two main Hungarian political parties in Slovakia, from which one of them is a more conservative party who on the basis of their political program prefer the reservation logic in order to maintain their national identity; and one of them is more liberal, who can be linked to the reflection logic based on their programs. Thus we have two liberal and two conservative focus groups.

Furthermore, in order to have comparable focus groups with similar socio-demographic characteristics our participants are from the Millennial generation between the age of 20-32, who are university students or already have completed their university studies. As politics in Slovakia is still a male dominated occupation our focus group participants are mostly men, however at least one woman in every focus group was present. In order to capture further identity layers of our participants beyond ethnic and political identity constituents our participants were recruited from different regions of Slovakia.   Members of one of the focus groups connected to each political parties are from Western Slovakia, and one from Eastern Slovakia in order to provide a possibility of different regional identities if there are any to occur in the discourses.

The guideline of the focus groups contained six main tasks, for example various word association games, which help us to generate identity-related texts. We discussed topics such as sports, home and homeland,or they had to plan a one week trip for students from abroad – and this task will be more carefully examined during this paper.

There was a moderator, who quietly tried to direct the conversation with the help of the activities, and intervene the discourse only if it's necessary, as to push back the conversation towards the relevant topic. Although we do not believe a full neutral stance of the moderator is possible, we have tried to take a restrained stance, applying mainly indirect methods for guiding the conversation.

We have recorded the focus groups by camera and dictaphone in order to prepare accurate transcriptions and catch the non-verbal aspects of the discourses as well. Our examples below are all from the transcripts of certain sections of focus group discussions.

Conceptual and theoretical background of our research

Identity and discursive identity

Identity of a person in our understanding is not something given, but it is created partly by the person through self-definition, and partly by definition given by others. A parallel historical formulation of social construction of self was given by the pragmatist James (James 1891). These insights were further articulated by Mead (Mead 1934) as I and Me. His ideas, sometimes referred to as symbolic interactionism, openly or covertly keep influencing sociologists and social psychologists till now.

A related contemporary formulation of the construction process of the identity claims that identity is created by meaningful acts or discursive moves of social actors

(Harré & Moghaddam 2003). Furthermore, we contend that identity connects persons to their own groups as proponents of theory of social identity (for example Tajfel and Blackwell) maintain.

Space, place and place-identity

In the current paper we will analyze sections of conservations from the task where the participants of our focus groups had to plan a trip for a visitor from abroad - either from Hungary or from some other country - which in their opinion is the best possible one-week program to learn about their culture. As a result we consider it important to say a few words about how the places appear in the identity, and to clarify a few conceptual differences.

Space endowed with human significance becomes a place (Canter 1977), which is sometimes called place-identity and considered to be a part of our identity (Prohansky 1978; Prohansky, Fabian and Kaminoff 1983). There are many reasons why some places can be important for someone and for what reasons they appear in the identity. It might be a personal one, but most often it is a community cause - as it's related to group membership, it's part of the collective memory, or a tradition.

We believe that places judged worthy to show to a visitor during our task are significant, meaning-laden places. An outside observer can judge that to be visited places are parts of the speaker's place-identity: attributed place-identity. An explanation of significance of specific places (to visit) could mention or imply various reasons, including significance for a group/community, due to the place's role in collective memory: member's own manifestation of place-identity

Strategies for reconstructing discursive identity

How can we open up and reconstruct people's identity grasped in the dialectic of action and happening through their own linguistic conduct, or through their discourse? In order to reconstruct identity from its occurrence and realization in the discourse, we will turn to some conceptual distinctions devised in speech act theory, which was described in detail in a previous work (Bodor 2012). The participants' contributions to a discourse can be taken as moves or utterances. For analytical reasons we will follow Searle (Searle 1969) in differentiating between the propositional content and illocutionary force of an utterance.

"In the thematic analysis – following the analogy of speech act theory and corresponding to the distinction between propositional content and illocutionary force – we will concentrate on the propositional content, or in short on the content occuring in the discourse." (Bodor 2012:130) Note that this type of investigation of identity is perhaps the most cultivated kind in sociology and social psychology. In typical research of this type it is primarily the analyst who interprets the speaker's speech as identity information. In other terms, in researches of this type the speakers' meaning of the relevant terms or sigs are rarely scrutinized, and the actual relationship what the subject him/herself creates between the subject's group membership (for example, nationality) *vis a vis* the evaluated content (for example, a typical food of the given nation) is not proved by the sociologist, but rather presupposed. The analysts during the thematic analysis consider the meaning as independent of context, and they take for granted that the investigated and the investigator share the same meanings. Studies based on surveys or interviews that ask their participants who belongs to a particular group such a nation on their relationship and evaluation of symbols (such as national flag or hymn), achievements (sport, science) or other stereotypical characteristics of the given nation like kitchen, attractiveness of people or natural beauties, etc. are examples for this strategy of investigation.

On the other hand Discourse-oriented analysis, aims rather to reconstruct performative aspects of a given discourse section. In other words, it aims to reconstruct the identity work performed by the speakers and it is primarily directed on how the speakers said what they said. This strategy attempts to recruit and mobilize both historical/inter-textual and contextual information in reconstructing what the speakers meant. "Furthermore, following the distinction Austin drew between primary and explicit performative, we will differentiate between the primary (or implicit) and explicit linguistic realization of the speakers' identity." (Bodor 2012: 131)

Implicit or presupposed knowledge lies behind the kind of identity work performed by primary (or implicit) identives. In other terms, it's a tacit self-positioning of the speaker. The researcher while reconstructing this perspective during the analysis tries to crawl of how the speakers positions himself with regards to the topic at hand and what identity claims his conduct is directed toward or implies.

In Explicit identity work on the other hand is indicated with the use of the pronoun „we", the corresponding verb conjugation and the first person plural. It may play a crucial role in conceptualizing and studying identity and „collective identity" (Kantner 2006). "By

using appropriate indexical signs the speaker makes it clear to her/his interlocutors – and to the occasional analyst, as well – that s/he is claiming or attempting to achieve some kind of identity." (Bodor 2012: 132)

A sample analysis: How does politics shape the discursive identity

As it was mentioned before in the following section we will analyze some sections of the conservations. Specifically we concentrate on talk appeared during the tasks which the participants had to work on during our focus groups, namely: where they had to plan a trip for a visitor from abroad. They were asked to put together a program which in their opinion is the best possible one-week program to learn about their culture. We have selected parts of the text that reflect the identity strategies used by our focus group participants recruited from the two Hungarian political parties in Slovakia that we mentioned above. We will present two excerpts from the discussion of the "liberal" party (Excerpt 1 and 2.) , and two excerpts from the conversation of the "conservative" (Excerpt 3. and 4) party. In these text segments we will show how the *reflective logic* was displayed by explicit and implicit identity claims, and how claims for the *reservation logic* could be detected. At the same time we will point out how these strategies interweave with other identity-forming logics (as different levels of regional identity) and how the speakers positioning themselves in the discourse against "other groups", how they create their in-groups vis a vis specific out-groups.

Excerpt 1:

The group of the "liberal" party that hosted a Non-Hungarian guest, included Vienna, Prague and Pest in their program. In the following section we are looking at their explanation given to the moderator. . The other subgroup also joins the conversation as well.

　　　　(Non-Hungarian   subgroup: S1,S2,S3,   Hungarian   subgroup: S4,   S5, Mod=Moderator)

Mod: Why Prague and Vienna? Or Pest?

S1: **Well, it's our region**

Mod: The surrounding region?

S2: **Well, yes, yes.**

S1: They are more "*party cities*".

Mod: But because they are *"party"*, or because?

S3: I actually ((choose these cities for the reason)), I said this point. I actually chose these cities, I thought.. how was it written there? So it is **Pest, Vienna, Prague and Bratislava**, so **all four of the cities that are important to me**. **I do not feel like a Czech, er Czech citizen, nor do I have any Czech consciousness, or anything similar. But these are the cities I think historically**

S4: **they are connected**

S3: **they are connected and they are connected to us as well**. And **in order to know this little minority**, if this was the topic, so if we are looking forward to them, **then these belong to us as well**.

Mod: So it helps you to - for example to show your own Hungaro-slovakian culture? You think it's part, an important part of it?

S3: That's right, by all means, by all means

S5: Sure

S2: Yes

As you can see, right in the beginning of this excerpt we have an explicit identity claim, as an answer to the question of the moderator in which the capital of some of Slovakia's neighboring countries, "*Prague … Vienna … (and) Pest*" are mentioned. Speaker S1 said "*Well, it's our region*" referring to the cities of Vienna, Prague and Pest. With the

first person plural the speaker S1 has not only an identity claim for herself, but also a claim for a collective identity of her group. She leaves the national framework and claims for a kind of transnational regional identity, which, considering cities, may be a central European regional identity. This identity claim is immediately confirmed by the speaker S2 ("*Well, yes, yes*".). Speaker S3 joins the conversation as well and starts to explain why she had chosen these cities to visit. She starts with an explanation, that these are "*all four of the city's which are important to me*". However she immediately clarifies that she does not identify herself as a Czech, which is a clear positioning of herself against "another group", an out-group. Showing these cities is for a reason that "*they are connected and they are connected to us as well.*" This is once again an explicit identity claim performed by using appropriate indexical signs of the first person plural. With this claim she makes it clear that although she do not identify herself as a czech on a national, ethnic level, but it is part of her identity in another respect; the layer of her regional (transnational) identity should not be mistaken by her not being and feeling Czech - that is being a member of an outgroup vis a vis being Hungarian. Furthermore she continues that "in order to know this little minority" referring to the Hungarians living in Slovakia, it is important to show them different aspects or layers of their identity, which are "played" at the same time and can not be separated.

Excerpt 2:

At the end of the same discussion: the other subgroup from the same focus group of the "liberal" party, which hosts an imagined Hungarian guest, refers back to the program of the subgroup who hosted the non-Hungarian guest.

(Hungarian subgroup: S4, S5, Non-Hungarian subgroup: S2, Mod=Moderator)

S4: Yeah! But I agree (pointing to the other group) that one, if an American comes ((here)), **in order to understand the Hungaro-Slovakian consciousness**, if it exists at all, then s/he **have to see the cities that were in the ((Austro-Hungarian)) Monarchy together with Bratislava**.

S2: Mhm (agrees with him/her)

S5: Well, Prague does not belong to it ((Hungarian Empire)), but **there are our brothers.**

S4: But Vienna, and Budapest belongs to it.

S5: I know, only the people from Prague (pause) they are the Slovakians, **the brothers, brother in-laws of the Slovakians from the Hungaro-Slovaks**, and **the Austrians are the brothers, brother in-laws of the Hungarians**. So it's two of us, we're all buddies. (Claps his hand) So.

S4: No, it can not be so separated. Not long ago (pause), they did not draw the borders long ago.

Later in the discussion they refer back to the section of text from the Excerpt 1. Speaker S4 agrees that "*in order to understand the Hungaro-Slovakian consciousness*" a foreigner who is not familiar with the region "*have to see the cities that were in the ((Austro-Hungarian)) Monarchy together with Bratislava*". Opposing the previous excerpt here the Speaker S4 not only refers to the importance of the regional context, but by mentioning the Hungarian Empire also draws attention to the historical context. In response to this Speaker S5 draws attention to the fact that Prague was not part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, so he believes that the historical analogy said by the Speaker S4 was not exactly accurate. However the Czechs are still connected to us, as they *"are our brothers*". With this he is referring to the saying that "Slovaks are brothers of the Czechs", which implies that he identifies themselves (at least partly) as Slovaks, as he is using first person plural. Later he explains that his ethnic identity is not only Hungarian, but it's - in our terminology - layered, and that the Slovak part/layer from their Hungaro-Slovakian identity is connected to the Czechs. At the same time the Hungarian part of his identity is connected to the Austrians, referring to the saying that the "Austrians are brother-in-laws of the Hungarians." With this presupposed knowledge about the "kinship-ties" of the four nations he implicitly claims for a layered ethnic identity. Therefore he does not exclude the majority nation from his identity, rather he reflects and integrates some part of it to his own. In our understanding it corresponds to the features of the reflection logic we described above.

Excerpt 3:

In the focus group of the "conservative" party one of the subgroups was presenting their plan for the trip, while a member of the other subgroup interjected.

(Hungarian subgroup: S7, Non-Hungarian subgroup: S6)

S6: Day Three: **Bratislava**, sightseeing. **Well, that would not be such a big sightseeing on my part**: the old town, the castle and the castle in Devín.

S7: **Well, there could be a lot to see there too**.

S6: Yes, it could be, but

S7: **The horse of Svatopluk up in the castle**. (he is **smiling while saying that, after which they start to laugh, but try to suppress it**)

Right in the beginning of this section we can see a use of an implicit identive when the speaker S6 is implicitly (not openly) denying the significance of the Slovak capital Bratislava (together with its monuments, etc.), as he is saying that "*it would not be such a big sightseeing*" on his part. Although immediately after this it seems that the speaker S7 tries to oppose it while saying that *"there could be a lot to see there too"*, it soon turns out that it will not be the case. Right after the seemingly opposing statement he mentioned the horse of Svatopluk in the Castle of Bratislava which is followed by a non-verbal, but very clear discursive tool: "smiling while saying it", and "laughing", which makes it clear that is was just a mocking comment, a joke. To understand why they were mocking it, it's important to know the context. The castle in Bratislava is a significant historical place for the Hungarians, and a lot of them saw the installation of the Svatopluk sculpture in 2010 as a provocative Slovak nationalist aspiration. They are arguing that there is no historical proof, that Svatopluk, the ruler of Great Moravia and who is occasionally been presented as a "Slovak King" had anything to do with the castle in Bratislava, and they believe the installation of the sculpture serve just for the expropriation of the place of their hungarian national identity. With this discursive act the symbols of the Slovak "other" culture and history are rejected, and thus their discursive utterance follows the reservation logic.

Excerpt 4:

In the same focus group of the "conservative" party at the end of the discussion the moderator asked the participants: what do they think, who would this program represent the best, or give a good picture about?

(Non-Hungarian subgroup: S6)

S6: Well, I think about **us, the „Csallóköz-ians"** ((Csallóköz is a region mostly inhabited by Hungarians in the southwest of Slovakia)) Well, **I don't know if Slovakia can give too much impression for a foreigner**… I mean **Bratislava is the capital, so it's a must**. But such **places as Komárno, Dunajska Streda and Somorín are important for me**. So it can give you a little taste of **our culture**.

Similarly to the previous excerpt the Speaker S6 is indirectly and implicitly (not openly) devaluating Slovakia, while he says that he "*don't know if Slovakia can give too much impression for a foreigner*". He even explains that he would show Bratislava just for the reason that it is the capital of Slovakia, "*so it's a must*" to show it to any foreigner who would come to visit. However, opposite to Bratislava there are significant, meaning-laden places as Komárno, Dunajska Streda and Samorín which are places of their regional "Csallóköz" identity. In the end of the text they explicitly confirmed that these places are a part of their collective culture/identity, and they can give a little taste about it to someone who would visit them.

Concluding remarks

In the current paper we have tried to describe briefly the conceptual background and certain empirical aspects of our approach to the study of identity relying on the „semi-everyday" discourse of members of the Hungarian minority living in Slovakia. We hope that by the sample analysis that we have provided we have managed to show some advantages of considering identity as realized through ongoing live discourse. There are at least three major advantages of considering and studying identity in and through its discursive realization.

(1.) *Dynamic*, partly actor, partly other initiated *aspects of identity* can be highlighted by scrutinizing its discursive details. In this way an emerging active concept of identity could be exposed to analysis as opposed to its static conceptualization. Consequently, identity can be captured as an intricate dance of denial of certain identity

aspects and claims for some other identity constituents. The more rigid versus more flexible realization of this process might correspond to the two strategies for maintaining collective minority identities.

(2.) Insofar one considers identity as something accomplished in and through discourse its complex multi-layered nature can be investigated empirically. It permits us to reflect and analyze various aspects and constituents of identities. These identity constituents could be even fragmented (as regional, national identity) and are played at the same time.

(3.) And last but not least, by interpreting the speaker's identity-talk by an inside "emic" (Pike, 1967) perspective, and scrutinizing the different identity relevant meanings of the relevant terms and signs, our approach allows us to explore the ambiguities within the person's social identity. In this way, multiply group memberships, their nested nature and even their definitions against various out-groups can be reconstructed empirically.

As our research is still ongoing we hope that with further data analysis we can refine our approach and create a usable model for the study of identity on a discursive level.

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Zsuzsanna Modla

Philanthropy as symbolic capital: Sinas, the "Golden man"[1]

Abstract

This study attempts to introduce and analyze the phenomenon of social responsibility in the light of Bourdieu's theory of capital to highlight that philanthropy can be a means of transforming economic capital into social capital.

According to my hypotheses, this symbolic practice is sometimes a strategic decision on the donor's part – even though Bourdieu himself expressed his doubt about it[2]. To deduce my theory some insight will be given into the activities of the Sina family – and par excellence Sina Simon – aiming to identify factors that can explain why only limited success crowned their intentions to be integrated into the Hungarian nobility.

Greek traders in Hungary - the beginnings

Greek merchants established significant commercial centers in Hungary from the 16th century. After Francis I. Rákóczi granted privileges to them in Transylvania in the first half of the 17th century, there was a significant increase in the Greek population of Northern Hungary in the second half of the century (Babanasis 2012). They played an important role in 18th-century Hungarian trade as well as in the development of early capitalism (Babanasis quotes Füves 2012) and urbanization. One of the sources of their wealth was the low tariffs[3] established for them by the Peace of Pozsarevac (1718), confirmed in the Peace of Belgrade (1739), and this privilege was one of the main reasons why in the 17th

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[1] Sina Simon's grandfather, sr. György Sina was one of the models for the protagonist of Mór Jókai's novel The Golden Man.

[2] He argues with historians who tend to "conceive symbolic practices as explicit strategies of domination, and to interpret generous or charitable conduct as 'calculated acts of class appeasement' (Bourdieu 1986:257)

[3] Greek traders paid only 3% duty, while domestic traders were required to pay 1 / 30th of duty and a range of other taxes.

century almost the entire Hungarian trade was in the hands of the Greeks. (Later, the authorities of royal Hungary tried to take away some of their privileges by a series of decrees; this came to an end with the Decree of Loyalty (1774) (Babanasis quotes Füves 2012).) The large amounts of capital they raised was used in mainly three ways: they purchased land, house and nobility, they also gave loans and invested in factories, banks, and other businesses[4], and they engaged in charitable, philanthropic practices: supporting the building of schools and churches, publishing Greek-language books and providing the salaries of teachers and priests.

Sponsorship, donation, charity - the Greek tradition

In the Greek history of the 18th-19th century, private donations were recorded in the following categories: national philanthropy, social charities, and private donations and sponsorships in the fields of culture, education and research, and healthcare. After all, all of them can be considered financial assistance (to individuals, ethnic and social groups, or public institutions) that involve a private intervention in public life (Chatziioannou 2012). Greek cultural history provides countless examples for traders living abroad who by donating posthumously join their national community because, as Chatziioannou points out, "charity is the terrain on which the nation-state's aspirations of unity and economic development meet the expectations of the private trader to gain national identity and social recognition" (Chatziioannou 2012:44-45).

Among the donors in the Greek diaspora, particularly in the Russian Empire from the 18th century a social archetype appeared: the „national benefactors", whose primary goals were the support of education – both primary secondary and higher education, research institutes, specialized institutions, and libraries. In parallel, in the second half of the 19th century, a "new" form of private intervention emerged, somewhere between mercy and charity, as a form of social philanthropy: acts with collective responsibility and public benefit, such as support for hospitals, kindergartens, poor houses, prisons, but also theaters, music schools and museums (Chatziioannou 2012).

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[4] In 1793, 67 Greek merchants had houses and shops in Pest, while 35 Greeks acquired (bought) noble titles (Popovics 1997: 3).

The Sinas - role models for the "national benefactor"

"Science is power; a power which, on one hand, prevails over the soulless nature through research and inventions [...]"
(Baron simon Sina's letter to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1858)

"The happiness of the peoples — the public welfare — lies directly in the education of the people themselves [...] – I am determined to promote the sacred purpose of school education [...] regardless of religious background, with incentives and scholarships, books and stationery..."
(introduction of Baron Simon Sina's foundation established in the Gödöllő-Hatvan-Lőrinci estate) [5]

To these "national benefactors" – appearing in the territory of the Russian Empire – joined donor merchants from Ipiros (now northern Albania) and western Macedonia who later moved to the northern Balkans and Europe. Such figures were, among others, Apostolos Arsakis and Evangelos Zappas in Romania, Nikolaos Stournaris in Italy and the Sina family, most notably the representative of the third generation, Simon, who became a significant philanthropist in Hungary during the Dual Monarchy era (Chatziioannou 2012).

Under the leadership of György Sina Jr., Sina Bank reached the peak of its development. At that time perhaps their only real competition was the Rothschild banking house. György Sina was undoubtedly one of the engines of Hungarian economic development. As the manager of István Széchenyi's private property, he took part in the establishment of the Danube Steamship Company, was part of the Tisza regulatory plan, and – despite all their conflicts, presumably stemming from their different habits – the most significant project of the two men was the Chain Bridge that Széchenyi called "the child of theirs". (Deák 2012:81)

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[5] In Hungarian: „A tudomány hatalom; oly hatalom, mely egy részről kutatásai s találmányai által a lelketlen természet felett vív ki mind több s több győzelmet s azt mintegy adózójává teszi, más részről fényt árasztó szövetnékénél fogva, a szellemi s erkölcsi világban szintúgy szétoszlatván lassanként a tudatlanság s előítéletek ködeit, midőn az értelmet fejti, a szívet nemesíti, a Valónak megismerésére s megkedvelésére vezet, egyszersmind a társadalmi hiányokból származó bajokat is orvosolja; s ekép egyént, nemzetet s végre az egész emberi nemet azon tökély s boldogságra képes emelni, melyben az Alkotó eszes teremtményeit adományai által, ha ezekkel kellően élni tudnak és akarnak, e földön részesíteni kívánta." (báró Sina Simon a Magyar Tudományos Akadémiához írt levele, 1858)
„Miután a népek boldogsága – a közjólét – egyenesen magában a népnevelésben rejlik: a magas kormány messzelátó bölcs intézkedéseit e részben is tehetségemhez képest őszinte jó szándékkal ohajtván támogatni és sikeresiteni – elhatároztam, hogy az oskolai nevelés szent célját, a jószágaimban létező oskolákban vallás különbség nélkül ösztön és szorgalmi dijjakkal, könyvek és írószerekkel az alább irt feltételek alatt előmozdítsam..." (báró Sina Simon Gödöllő-Hatvan-Lőrinci uradalomban létrehozott alapítványának bevezetőjében)

Simon, the son of György Sina Jr., represented as it was said "the civic thrift and accuracy of the German as well as the chivalrous waste of the Hungarian" (Pulszky 1884:204). And most probably this mixed attitude made him one of the greatest Maecenas of Hungary. The careful upbringing certainly served as the basis for his interest in arts and sciences, and just like his father, he had a good relationship with Széchenyi. By helping to implement his ideas, Simon became one of the greatest patrons of the public institutions that emerged and began to flourish in the era. After his father's death in 1856, Baron Sina Simon became one of the richest lords of the Habsburg Empire–– his inheritance amounted to about 80 million forints, and the land of the 29 family estates was 241,000 acres in total (Kerényi 2006:22).

The withdrawal from the economic life of the third generation of Greek, German and Hungarian wholesaler families alike was very common (Bácskai 2006). This was not the case with Sina Simon, although it is true that his aim was to increase social prestige rather than wealth, so he was no longer attracted to the opportunities inherent in business. For him, money was more of a tool with which he could live like a lord, and do good (Kerényi 2006) and gain social capital. He provided support in times of emergency (floods, fire, closure of factories) but also recognized the relevance of longer-term causes, so he subsidized economic initiatives such as the Hungarian Economic Association, founded in 1857, or the publication of Economic Magazines and the Budapest Review for years. As an enlightened, liberal[6] nobleman Sina Simon found it important to make his landlords interested in generating profits and also cared for the further training of his employees. He understood the necessity of the cultural and intellectual development of the Hungarian people – he supported the National Theater, the College of Fine Arts, and the National Museum as well. However, his most important but interestingly not as famous donation is the amount that he provided to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. On August 14, 1858, he made an offer of 80,000 forints, which was the first and largest private donation and which greatly contributed to increasing the support of other wealthy people.[7]

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[6] During his university studies, he was greatly influenced by Ludwig Rembolt, who was later dismissed from the university for his liberal views (Kerényi 2006:21).

[7] For eight years, the baron transferred 10,000 forints to the Academy's treasury each year, and the interest on the amount also belonged to the Academy, which has amounted to HUF 14,700 over the years.

In addition to public institutions, religious institutions could also count on the Sinas' help, regardless of their affiliation. Baron Sina Simon supported the construction of the Basilica, and also donated several times to the Evangelical and Reformed Church (Kerényi 2006). As a forerunner of his age – and in fact, even today – he considered the support of education to be one of the most important issues, so in addition to practical (e.g., horticulture, viticulture) education, he also monitored the operation of primary and higher education institutions. He considered it relevant to provide appropriate training for those who lived on his estate, so he often had children educated at his own expense, as did his wife. Baroness Sina provided education for 12 Catholic and 12 Helvic disadvantaged young girls (Kerényi 2006:28). Baron Sina Simon was also a classic Maecenas as he supported talented artists of his time, including Miklós Barabás. Among the several graphics and paintings the artist made for the Baron, the most significant is certainly *The Foundation of the Chain Bridge*, which Sina donated to the Gallery of the National Museum, which laid the foundation for his collection during these years.

According to the calculations of the contemporary Lőrinc Tóth, Sina Simon distributed donations in the total amount of 550,000 forints in the territory of the Monarchy from taking over her father's inheritance in May 1856 to March 1876 (Kerényi 2006:30). The Sinas were not only great benefactors of the Hungarian but also of the Greek nation. They donated the Athens Observatory and the Athens Academy to the Greek people – just to name a few.

György Sina Sr. wanted to become European: leaving the Ottoman Empire behind and founding the Sina trading house in Vienna – after renouncing his citizenship – he soon became the owner of the largest bank with business partners like the imperial court. In recognition of this, he was awarded the title of Austrian and later Hungarian Baron by Francis I of Austria. His son, György Sina Jr., used his wealth inherited from his father very well and made the family one of the most affluent and influential families in Europe. He considered himself a world citizen in the Habsburg Empire, but already practiced charity activity in Hungary. In 1838, for example, after the flood on the Danube, forty thousand forints were given to the flood victims, "with this amount, which doubled the royal gift, it ignited the private people's willingness to donate, which even the most arrogant did not dare to expect" (Némethy (ed.) 1938:97). The representative of the third generation, Simon, was a classical philanthropist who, as he believed in the Enlightenment, worked for a meritocratic world that could overwrite descent under the aegis of science. The

upward social mobility of the three generations of the Sina family was made possible by their economic capital and its "conversions". In my opinion, in this process philanthropy played a decisive role.

The social capital and the philanthropy

"Innocence is the privilege of those who move in their field of activity like fish in water."
(Pierre Bourdieu)

According to Bourdieu's theory, capital, which is "the principle underlying the immanent regularities of the social world" (Bourdieu 1986:241) could take various forms: not only economic, but symbolic, cultural, and social alike and they are somehow interchangeable.

Social capital is the totality of resources available as a result of belonging to a group (Galánati 2014), in essence the institutionalized (lasting) network connections and by a whole set of instituting acts designed simultaneously to form and inform those who undergo them (Bourdieu 1986:249). However, as Bourdieu points out, the existence of these networks is not a 'gift' but a continuous 'institutionalization activity', 'the product of individual or collective investment strategies', which are consciously or not, but sooner or later aimed at creating and maintaining socially beneficial relationships (Bourdieu 1986:249).

Philanthropy not only plasticizers the phenomenon of capital exchange – how money can become symbolic, social capital – but also offers a great example of Bourdieu's intention, insofar as he – with his capital theory – seeks to point out things that may not appear at first glance or show some other quality. Behind certain seemingly unselfish prosocial actions that are supposed to focus solely on the other's wellbeing, there may be other motivations in reality - sometimes not necessarily conspicuous even to the individual (donor), other times not at all.

Of all the types of capital, social capital requires the biggest capacity for abstraction – in fact even for the one who is enriching her/his social capital, it can remain hidden. In Bourdieu's approach, the investment is not necessarily conceived as a calculated pursuit of gain, but that it has every likelihood of being experienced in terms of the logic of emotional investment, i.e., as an involvement which is both necessary and disinterested (Bourdieu 1986:257). In the case of charity-philanthropy, it might be reasonable to

presume some kind of acquisition, accumulation, and conversion of capital in the background: philanthropy can be a tool for symbolic capital acquisition, meaning the process of converting economic capital into social one in order to acquire or confirm the desired social status.

So-called trade charities have always been sources of symbolic capital in different ages and cultures as well: tools by which traders have facilitated economic exchange by supporting trade infrastructure while strengthening their leadership as members of a national-religious community and as a local elite (Peterson 2005:88).

It is possible that the Sinas' philanthropy may also have been driven by the interest, among other factors, in becoming a fully recognized member of the Hungarian aristocracy. (Or, they might have thought that if certain "circles," such as the enlightened cultural elite allows them to step into them, and in it, philanthropy has a prominent role, other networks could open up.) The exchange acts of economic capital are coordinated by the market. In the case of social capital, they are organized by reciprocal (ethical) coordination, where the essential value is reciprocity (Galántai 2014:647), social capital is generated and affirmed by exchanges. However, the generous economic, scientific, and cultural development activities of the Sinas at one point remained without reciprocity …

The failed integration of the Sinas

Although in 19th-century Hungary the Sinas had unparalleled wealth and they showed enormous generosity and commitment either in economic or cultural fields, the family could not become fully embedded in the Hungarian society, even though [Simon] "rather wants to be a Hungarian landowner and patriot than a businessman and a world citizen" (Tóth 1876:16) - so they finally left the country after 1857.

The family with serious economic capital (as well as embodied, objectified and institutionalized cultural capital) was presumably predestined by a religion different from the majority – in accordance with the traditionally closed character both in thinking and in the value structure of the Hungarian society (Bíró-Nagy (ed.) 2016). But the success of their intention is also questionable from the point of view of Bourdieu's theory – due to the high cost of the work of transforming economic capital into social capital and also its undisguised nature. As Bourdieu suggested the different types of capital can be derived

from economic capital[8] but only at the cost of a more or less great effort of transformation (Bourdieu 1986:252), which is needed to produce the type of power effective in the field in question – there are some goods and services to which economic capital gives immediate access, without secondary costs; others can be obtained only by virtue of a social capital of relationships (or social obligations) which cannot act instantaneously, at the appropriate moment (Bourdieu 1986:252).

According to Bourdieu, economic capital is at the root of all the other types of capital, but its transformed manifestations can never be traced back to it. Capital can function most effectively when it is not recognizable as capital, that is, when its true nature is disguised [9].

The truth is that in the case of the Sina family, even the long-standing and not necessarily self-serving philanthropic activity could not "disguise" that it was essentially rooted in economic capital. Which means that their other capital could not exert influence because their economic capital root was not adequately hidden – and this (also) could have hindered their full integration into the Hungarian nobility. As Antal Deák points out when he talks about György Sina and István Széchenyi's "special alliance" (marriage of convenience): "Széchenyi was an *earl* and Hungarian, Sina was a *banker* and Greek" (Deák 2012:81).

Certain social institutions – like the one that declares someone as part of the nobility – create a symbolic constitution filled with the alchemy of consecration (Bourdieu 1986:250), and it can be endlessly reproduced in and through the exchange (of gifts, words, women, etc.). These exchanges – that must be based on mutual knowledge and

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[8] I do not necessarily agree with the suggestion that economic capital is at the root of all the other types of capital. In my opinion, being a member of a certain group and having an extended network, i.e., having a large amount of social capital, can be the basis for capital exchanges too. Indeed, belonging to a dominant group presupposes a large-scale possession of a capital, but this capital can also be a knowledge (the embodied state), sometimes an object (the objectified state), and the individual does not necessarily have to be wealthy... Networks (social capital), however, can realize opportunities where the possibility of certain capital exchanges arises, and even economic capital can be gained. Meanwhile, I agree that these transformed, disguised forms of economic capital are never entirely reducible to that. Indeed, they are able to produce their most specific effects only to the extent of their success at concealing (and not least from their possessors) the fact that economic capital is at their root.

[9] In the Kabil society studied by Bourdieu, not only the capital, which is difficult to grasp economically at first, plays an important role but also the attempts at concealing or denying the capital per se. In an economy that defines itself by rejecting the 'objective' truth of 'economic' practices (i.e., the law of 'raw interest' and of the 'egotistic'), 'economic' capital can function only if it succeeds in having itself recognized by making the true principle of its efficiency unidentifiable through a transformation (reconversion): symbolic capital is denied capital, recognized as legitimate, i.e., unidentified (méconnu) capital (Bourdieu 1980: 200, cited in Némedi 2004: 27).

recognition – implied and reproduce the group and reaffirm the limits of it – in trade and in marriage alike. The Hungarian nobility, as the "guardian of borders," found that the "newcomer to the group" Sinas could jeopardize the criteria for belonging to a group, "since any form of misalliance can change the group if it changes the boundaries of legitimate exchanges'' (Bourdieu 1986:250).

There were times when social capital was separated from economic capital - impoverished nobles could easily gain access to public office, while wealthy citizens could only be an exception (Galántai 2014:647). In the lifetime of the Sinas – in much of the modern age – although we can speak of the dominance of economic capital, which ultimately made the family noble and then baron, it could not have had an effect beyond one point: Sina Simon's daughter did not find a husband among Hungarian nobles and they did not develop a "brotherly kinship that has long been key in the relationship of aristocratic families" (G. Merva (ed) 2007:177). As a result of the disadvantageous marriages of the girls, the immeasurable wealth of the Sinas faded by the early 20th century.

In this way, the history of the family is also a symbol of a failed capital conversion.

Conclusion

Beyond one's altruism there are different motifs. Agreeing with Bourdieu I do not think that philanthropy – the Sinas' or others – only can be described and interpreted as a hypocrite act: "it is a naively Machiavellian view that forgets that the most sincerely disinterested acts may be those best corresponding to objective interest" (Bourdieu 1986:257). However, I do not agree with the statement that "a number of fields, particularly those which most tend to deny interest and every sort of calculation guarantees success, only to those who distinguish themselves by the immediate conformity of their investments, a token of sincerity and attachment to the essential principles of the field" (Bourdieu 1986:257).

In my opinion "sense of investment" (Bourdieu term) has relevance: charity is a great investment. Certain kinds of acts, like volunteering in a highly prestigious NGO or entering a circle of major donors, are enabling one's presence in circles that foster the accumulation of social capital. Whereas emphasizing the donor role leads to symbolic capital: respect given by the society and this hidden capital is also able to produce economic capital. Sina Simon possesses this Bourdieu suggested sense – he was one of

those noble-minded Hungarian lords, whose first and last thought was the prosperity of his homeland and nation. It is sad that the homeland and nation did not appreciate it much. And as I tried to point out, in the absence of being accepted by the society perhaps not only the religious-ethnic factor but also certain other factors played a role – factors discussed by Bourdieu's capital theory.

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Judit Sági

Ethnographic Fieldwork among Addicted People Sleeping Rough | Helping Relationships and Communication in Focus

In my paper I aim to outline, through my ethnographic research in the settlement of „Kőváralja", what ideas addicted people have of a good helper, of an appropriate helping relationship and of adequate communication. The problem statement was put to the test through qualitative methods as I carried out participating observations among addicted people sleeping rough while peering into the work of the local outreach service, under an ethnographic field study applying combined interview techniques.

My paper outlines the various dimensions of exclusion of the subjects of my study and provides a description of the venue of the study, my research methods and the characteristics of the addicted people sleeping rough in the town. I contrast the professional definition of the quality helping relationship and communication with the expectations of those of the target group that I examine. Finally, my proposition is that the beneficiaries expectations of the helpers exactly match the requirements put forth in the guidebook for the professionals.

Exclusion of Addicted People Sleeping Rough

This hardly accessible group of people that is burdened by multidimensional exclusion is relatively insufficiently examined. The FEANTSA (European Federation of National Organizations Working with the Homeless) defines homelessness and exclusion from dwelling, which describes them using three dimensions such as the physical, legal and social dimensions. The homeless people in my focus can be characterized with a total lack of security in all the three dimensions (Udvarhelyi, 2014).

Exclusion is further worsened by the constellation of the homeless life situation and addiction, which is not addressed by the care system as of now, therefore affected people drop out of both the homeless care and the addiction care.

US attorney and civil rights activist, philosopher Kimberlé Crenshaw, a leading scholar on critical race theory proposed the theory of intersectionality[1] in 1989, the theoretical framework of which matches the group of addicted people sleeping rough inflicted with multiple exclusions.

Intersectionality provides a framework to define the social problem of individuals and the group of people who simultaneously suffer from various types of discrimination and handicaps. It considers the overlapping identities and experience in order to come to an understanding of the complexity of prejudices. People are multiply disadvantaged by several sources of suppression. These are their identification marks such as race, class, sexual orientation, religion, disability and other. Intersectionality recognizes that these identification marks do not exist independently, moreover, their togetherness brings about the synergy effect of multidimensional and simultaneous suppression. Crenshaw proposes that we have to examine the interplay between these marks and the experience of people living in differently overlapping handicapped situations. We must examine them through a cross-sectional lens otherwise we cannot realize that the events that strive to address injustice against one group may perpetuate a system of inequalities against another (Crenshaw, 1989). Crenshaw intended to put the concept of intersectionality in practice and not just use it as a theoretical framework.

Addicted people find it most difficult to ask for help, which would be the very first step to gain access to the care systems which otherwise lack structural integrity and appropriate helping relationships. The fact that the quality of the helping relationships and the helpers' communication determine the life conditions and future perspectives of the vulnerable, distrustful and excluded group of people which my study focuses on may be obvious from the aspect of social work, however not highlighted enough.

The research looks at the local conditions to explore the interplay between the helping relationships, helping communication and the attitudes and activities of those employed by the authorities and in the social care system, who have an impact on the lives of the addicted people sleeping rough, and the present and future life conditions and possibilities of the addicted people sleeping rough.

The research also expands on the issue of prevention through the life paths, examining the potentials in the prevention and setting them against the crossroads of the

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[1] ywboston.org

life paths of the individuals where it might have been possible to depart from the vicious circle of gravitating towards homelessness and addiction, and the impact of self-reflection and the images of their own identity on the dichotomy of departing from or being stranded in their current situation.

A Brief Introduction of „Kőváralja"

The small town whose community is in focus used to be a medieval oppidum, later it grew into an industrial town as its native population was expanded with inbound labor meant for the coal mine in the wake of the second world war. Prior to the regime change, the settlement was a significant industrial area, so the native people, together with the families of settlers, could find a local job. The industrial and economic strength of the settlement faded and changed in the wake of the regime change, as no new industrial companies of national scale filled the gap in the economic sectors once so powerful at the national level. The town lost the biggest part of its former, industry-based role.

Following the close-down of the coal mine and the industrial companies the town missed taking on a new profile, and due to the failure of the socioeconomic structural change new economic problems were generated, which resulted in a huge loss of jobs, sustaining social and mental problems, which linger on even today. The municipality of "Kőváralja" is an example of an industrial town still bearing the signs of its past of a typical one-time medieval country town, in the wake of the regime change following ample-scale industrial close-downs, facing high unemployment and its implications ever since.

The causes of poverty in the town are deeply rooted in the economic structure prior to the regime change. In the planned economy there were numerous simple jobs which could provide relatively good financial means for those with only primary school education, and the education system preferred the development of practical, vocational knowledge to that of skills. This was in line with the economic requirements of the time. However, the regime change put away these jobs in the following short period.

The welfare system, inherited from the era of socialism, based on the concept of total employment and supplementary corporate supplies, was neither in its infrastructure, nor in its perspective able to address the new challenges.

The prevailing economic and labor market stagnation, the bleak vision of the future by the young perpetuate and reproduce the social and mental problems. The risk of

poverty and social exclusion, the plight of homelessness give rise to new issues of substance use and psychiatric problems, or sustain the old issues (HEP, 2018).

People who belong to the ethnic Roma community also live in the town, and they have their own elected representatives, however, their number is not over-represented compared to the non-Roma population (HEP, 2018).

Social care lacks psychiatric care and substance addiction treatment (Lakner, 2009), and in addition, the animosity developed towards the helpers, with the feeling of distrust deprive the needy of the necessary support to take the very first step towards asking for help, which limits their future options.

Ethnographic Field Work

Due to the vulnerability of the client group, I have changed the real name of the town into a fictitious one, which I also intend to use in the bibliography relating to the town.

I have carried out my research using qualitative methods. In the course of my ethnographic field work I have applied participating observations, both among the addicted people sleeping rough and at the outreach service on the streets, and I also used combined interview techniques, which I varied according to the objective of the research and the research questions.

The core of the ethnographic field work is being present in and diving into the life of the researched group, which „creates the kind of intimacy, homeliness and trust, which enables the external observer to interpret some social behaviors that most often seem to be irrational, thereby demonized. It is particularly true in the case of examinations of institutions or groups that would rather opt for the strategy of invisibility and lying low in order to ensure safe functionality" (Durst, 2017:88).

My participating observations served to gain a deep insight into the interactions and daily life conditions of the researched group, in their sheer reality and true living circumstances, which revealed the hidden interplay, contrasts and underlying essence of their existence to me. Meanwhile I could make ad-hoc interviews, informal conversations, in-depth interviews and elaborate on narrative life paths with addicted people sleeping rough.

The semi-structured interviews were meant to solicit more facile information, which I complemented for myself with the deeper content and possible contradictions that I had obtained from my participating observations.

I selected the interview types according to my research objective and research propositions, which were further determined by the given situation, the degree of mutual trust, the substance use of the subjects, their age, their health and mental conditions, the level of substance influence or the withdrawal symptoms.

Interviewing is one of the most widely used qualitative research methods, by which we mean semi-structured or unstructured interviews. Burgess (1984) calls them „dialogues with an aim". They feature an informal style and topic-orientation, but the researcher does not prepare a rigid list of questions, since the researcher builds up the dialogue as they progress with the research questions (Mason, 2001).

Sociological and publicity interviews must be distinguished. The latter one is a finished product, whereby the interviewers can also express their opinion or make a statement on the subject matter of the interview, whereas a sociological interview is the work process itself, when the interviewers must back off, as they can only be the catalyst that triggers the self-expression of the subject. During our research we must choose the interview technique that is in line with our objective. If we intend to gain certain information, a questionnaire or a semi-structured interview may be sufficient, whereas if we want to get a deep insight into the interplay between the expressed or tacit and subconscious content, the use of an in-depth interview would definitely be the most appropriate method. Through an in-depth interview more substantial answers can be compiled than by a questionnaire, as an informal interview may give the interviewee more room to emphasize certain things, dwell on others, while his/her emotional revelations, responses and nonverbal communication may provide lots of useful information for the interviewer.

A further advantage is that it provides more space to adjust to the individual, to get insight into the topic and create a better situation for a more profound conversation than the questionnaires. This can also reveal new content when recorded on tape on the second listening.

During an in-depth interview questions that may never be asked directly might be answered, or might go unanswered if asked directly, as the interviewee may still be unaware of his/her emotions and motives for action. The in-depth interview method is based on the assumption of the psychoanalytic personality concept that the human psyche has a hidden layer repressed in the subconscious which is equally important. This is the reason why we should create an adequate situation and an ambience of trust for the

interviewee during the interview, which allows the free flow of associations and of the images from the eidetic memory. The interviewing technique itself is a way of assessing the capability for empathy and the signs of extroverted behavior (Solt, 1998).

The first person to apply for the in-depth interview in Hungary was István Kemény, a prominent scholar of Hungarian sociology in the 1970s. He used his sociological research to understand the mindset and the social actions of the individual (Szabari, 2017).

Walking interview: as is called by Sally Mann (2019), this method supports the researcher to get a deeper insight into the narratives of the interviewee by „living it", by walking along the most critical stations of the life path of the interviewee. Walking along the venues of significance for the client provides much more key stimuli for the interview partner to recall memories and come up with narratives, understand his/her own life and life situation and assert the problems, all of which may lead to the solution (Mann, 2019).

The random interviews or conversations greatly match the other interview techniques and participating observations. In connection with people who dislike the interviewing situations, random interviews can be well applied due to their casual nature. What makes a difference between them and the mundane conversations is that the interviewer has a research goal to reach via the conversation. Accidentally dropped words, unfinished sentences and hints can provide an explanation and complete what was actually said, or may refer to some contradictions between the words used by and the actions of the interviewee. In addition, the researcher can use this as a means of orientation and mapping (EKF).

The interviewing techniques which are aligned with the given situation and the research objective may complement one another and the participating observation of the field work.

Features of Addicted People Sleeping Rough

Based on the records of the local homeless center and my own data there are about 15-20 people living on the street, all addicted. Their number changes according to certain factors and according to the seasons.

Their life has a seasonal feature. In summer they spend the nights outside, in winter they use the night shelter, particularly the elderly and those with worse health conditions.

The typical age group is between 40 and 50, some of whom have never entered the labor market or have spent very little time working, their level of education is primary school, with a few exceptions.

Substance use was present in their lives very early, even at the age of 13-14 (e.g. paint remover, alcohol, pills, aromatic compounds or other drugs). Generally, people sleeping rough are typically hazardous drug and alcohol users since their adolescence.

Their original families were not typically socially handicapped. Generally the parents and the grandparents also had substance use problems, and child rearing difficulties are also typical of them (inconsistent discipline patterns, warm-lenient parental style, or the good familial atmosphere in the beginning was suddenly replaced with a rigid-negligent or violent atmosphere as family problems went deeper) and, in addition, divorce, casualties, illnesses, a parent moving abroad, or other family crises can be detected among them. The substance use of the mother seems to be much more toxic than that of the father in their case, as well. In their families the mother or the grandmother was very often abused. It goes without saying that family problems mixed and mingled with other social problems, which, together with the substance use, made it even harder for them to address these problems.

The base substances that they use are still the cheapest spirits, sedatives, sleeping pills (earlier paint removers and aromatic compounds), although the synthetic marijuana called herbal is also typical. I have no data of intravenous users. Those who consume only alcohol or the ad-hoc substance users complete the drug career slower and deteriorate slower than those using drugs. The layer of youth using designer drugs (herbal) is a new phenomenon, their number keeps growing in the town.

The difficulties of non-conformity, the substance use and the behavioral problems arising from them result in their being expelled from the homeless hostels and they are imposed with a restricted access to the night shelters, too.

The number of those who belong to the ethnic Roma community is not over-represented among them, with ethnicity not being the primary cause of exclusion, however, it does appear in a broader dimension, as it is rather linked with the homeless life situation and sleeping rough.

The Quality Helping Relationship and Communication

The quality of the helping relationship and that of communication are priority and crucial elements in the cooperation with the traumatized, vulnerable group, which is inflicted with multiple exclusion, addictions and related psychiatric illnesses, facing complex and multiple problems and while sleeping rough.

The aim of the helping relationship is the intention to provide help, which is always consciously designed for the targeted individuals. Its content is determined by the specification of the task, the activity of the helper and his/her professional perspectives, as well as the emotional and conceptual background. The relationship is a tool for personal assistance, which attempts to arouse self-help capacities in the client. Its quality is determined by the effectiveness of the helping relationship. The core of the helping relationship is human communication, which is the most important professional tool of the social worker (Vályi, 2008).

Communication is part of human existence, a basic human psychological need, which is to be interpreted in a particular interaction, and its effectiveness is influenced by several various factors. The direction the conversation is going and its results depend on external factors or inappropriately encoded messages as well as the mental state of the receiving party, which cannot be overlooked in the case of addicted, psychiatric patients. The message has verbal (oral communication) and non-verbal elements (gestures, mimics, look, pitch, intonation, speaking pace, pose, proximity, touch, spontaneous and unconscious motions), which interact, complement and support one another or just contradict.

Mundane communication must be differentiated from the helping communication because in the course of the helping relationship the communication must be professional, mindful and professionally applied. The most important tool of the social professional is his/her trustworthy professional persona and communication (Csákvári et al., 2017).

„The helping relationship is a regulated interrelationship between the professional helper and the person who uses the human service, in which intervention for the interest of the client is applied through tailored communication tools" (Csákvári et al., 2017:14).

Its aim is to support the client to better organize his/her life than before. The helping conversation must always be done with a specific goal in mind, which is the biggest difficulty during the conversations with the aimless and homeless people. In such

situations initiating a conversation or addressing people in itself can be paramount, which may trigger internal processes that direct the client towards change (Győri, 2008). The helping relationship, which the whole assistance work is based on, is fundamentally determined by the quality of the way of addressing people. „The relationship is based on equal footing… Giving a level playing field means acknowledging and honestly admitting that the client and us are of the same social rank and status as citizens and that the client also has one sovereign life with responsibilities just like us even if our competences, knowledge, situations or life paths differ" (Győri, 2008:4). Although our situation is not the same as theirs, it does not mean that either of us would be inferior or superior to the other. The helper must work hard so that the clients accept equality, because it is the feeling of inferiority and being exposed that can break the ego and self-confidence. The acceptance of hierarchy by the client infantilizes the client, distorts its self-evaluation and the image of its autonomous and responsible self. Communication based on equality is an integral part of empowerment, which is not an assumed style but an honest and real behavior, that is congruent conduct. The helping conversation cannot be replaced with the most benign social administration if we intend to achieve the effect described above (Győri, 2008).

In the case of the substance using, mentally challenged and psychiatric patients this is even more emphasized. Substance use, mental and psychiatric problems may from time to time cause changes in the mind, in the perception, in the feelings and the emotional state of the humans. We must consider that their thinking and functioning deviate from the average. The deviance and changes described above may lead to such behavior that can unexpectedly be incongruent with the particular situation or the role partner. The person with an anxious or altered mental status may infer the most unfavorable interpretations for himself from the communication.

These situations require specific problem-solving methods, in which it is key to use the most appropriate communication strategy. Therefore, it would not be sufficient to keep the general rules of the helping conversation in the course of working with them but the helper needs a special knowledge in order to reach the goal of the communication while making it all the more effective and progressive. It can also be an efficient tool in our case if our communication is not about giving orders from a position of power or giving instructions and educating but applying the positive technique of request (Csákvári et al., 2017).

The extreme emotional state of the client caused by the complexity of its problems and its responses that deviate from the usual ones must be dealt with by the helper with an adequate professional skill and awareness, as is specifically proposed by the following table:

Symptom	Problem-solving
Disturbances of sense of reality:	Be simple and goal-oriented.
Difficulties of concentrating:	Be short, repeat yourself.
Status of being high:	Do not push talking, limit the information.
Weak judgment capacity:	Do not expect rational discussion.
Dominance of the internal world:	First draw clients' attention.
Uneasiness:	Recognize the uneasiness, its cause and find a way out.
Mood extremities:	Do not be offended at the words and actions.
Volatility of plans:	Stick with the reasons of the original plan, reasons may be once more reviewed.
Low empathy for others:	To be interpreted as a symptom, it does not relate to the person.
Withdrawal:	Initiate a conversation.
False beliefs:	Do not argue.
Fear:	Stay calm.
Lack of sense of security:	Client should feel the acceptance.
Low self-esteem:	Keep up positive and respectful behavior.

The proposed problem-solving methods for the difficulties caused by various symptoms of mental problems

Source: Woolis, 2003:85. cited by: Csákvári et al., 2017:58.

US psychologist Carl R. Rogers (1995) did not associate the concept of a helping relationship with a specific profession, he says that the peculiarity of the relationship is in the intention itself to give help. He includes here the activities of the laymen helpers and the teacher-pupil, adviser-client and parent-child relationships, too. He is known to have developed the concept of empathy, which he proposed as one of the key principles of the helping relationship. His perspective is personality-centered and takes on a humanist standpoint focusing on the subjective experience of the individual and on the subjective perception and interpretation of his/her life story. In his view it is in our human nature

we were born to strive to grow personally, to become mature, to give rise to positive changes, achieve self-actualization and reach the potentials of its capabilities.

He is also known for his client-centered or non-directive therapy, the premise of which is that the individual is the only one to appropriately decide which direction to take in order to bring about change. The therapist has a merely monitoring role, acting like a mirror, while the individual looks into his own problems, analyzing, taking his own course of actions, deploying his own resources.

The features of the client-centered helping relationship are consistency, dependability, reliability, the open expression of the emotions on both sides, a warm, caring and positive approach to the client, the emotional intelligence of the helper towards the state of mind of the client, the acceptance of the process of change and development on both sides, the self-awareness of the helper, the acceptance of the different faces of the client and the omission of evaluation and assessment.

The most important aspects in the helping conversation for the sake of effective communication are active listening, accompanying the problem, open identification of the problem, allowance for the revelation of emotions, summary of the message of the other party, making requests to specify, the continuous but not enforced eye contact, reinforcing responses, encouragement to continue talking and the „door opening" questions.

According to Rogers the key feature of the helping relationship is the *unconditional acceptance,* which is positive and emotional attention paid to the client, its non-directiveness, unconditionality, which means that the therapist does not expect any consideration in return. Unconditionality aims at the persona of the client, and not one of its traits or behaviors.

Empathy, which means assuming the same feelings, feeling in the same way. The therapist understands the feelings and desires of the helped party, and reflects them the most precise way possible. The therapist verbalizes the grasped and interpreted content and puts it in an adequate linguistic form. This way the therapist indirectly guides the other party as the therapist selects how and what he responds to and what he emphasizes during the reflection and verbalization.

Finally, the *trustworthiness*, *congruency* (Tringer, 2005). Communication can be considered to be congruent (identical, aligned), if the different verbal and nonverbal channels through which the communication travels show a perfect match, have the same direction, the communication is coherent and does not show disruptions (Csákvári et al.,

2017). The helper says what he thinks and feels and he is in line with what he has in his mind. This also appears in his nonverbal communication and the expression of his emotions is authentic. Incongruency arises if there is no harmony between the signals (Tringer, 2005).

The professional guidance issued for the outreach service considers the establishment of the helping relationship a primary objective. Its prerequisites are the establishment of trust and motivation in the client towards change. However dismissive of the client with the cooperation, an outreach service worker must undertake to continually be informed about the condition and the needs of his client.

The guiding principles of the outreach service are the respect of human rights and dignity, compliance with the principles in the Ethical Code of the Social Work, taking care of every person without discrimination, the respect of all the information obtained, the respect of self-autonomy, the refusal of using force to make them discontinue sleeping rough and the clear and straightforward conveyance of information to the clients. Its most important feature is that it provides its services by itself, which means being regularly present in the service area. This is even more emphasized in winter time, particularly in the evening hours (Professional Guidance for the Outreach Services 2011).

Expectations of the Beneficiaries of the Quality Helping Relationship and Communication

In the course of the participating observations I paid attention to the interactions and conversations between the addicted people sleeping rough and the formal helpers. I used the interviews in order to understand what helpers are welcome by a multiply excluded, vulnerable, hiding and more often than not drugged client. I analyze the interviews using them as data along the criteria of the relevant literature.

My findings show that the needs of the people that I examined can be mapped on the behavioral and communication patterns prescribed in the relevant literature. I support my conclusions with the following excerpts from some of the interviews.

The persons interviewed listed the following requests relating to the communication of the professionals:

The helper should behave as a professional, not as a private person. This means that they should use their professional persona during work.

The helper should not select from among the clients, they should give help in every case, they should not determine who is worthy of being helped and who is not. They should not discriminate according to who they are on good terms with or not.

There should be a level of communication, not condescending, indoctrinating, humiliating or offensive. They should pay respect to everyone alike. Instead of giving helpful instructions they should use the positive request technique.

The helper should not nurture hard feelings with the client, who is possibly under the influence of some substance, desperate or sometimes aggressive.

The client expects to be unconditionally accepted as individuals, to be treated with empathy, congruence and honesty by the helper.

The helper should not be driven by their emotions when talking to the client but by professional criteria.

The client expects understanding from the helper, they should like to feel better at the end of the conversation than before.

The helper should not ask about things that the client will not talk about.

The helper should not direct the conversation, they should let the client talk about what and how he/she wants to.

They should listen to the client, take them seriously and use every tool to provide help for the client.

„…She takes offense at things, like when I am having a bad day, because I do not have any booze, and I do not respond kindly but surely. And then she does not warm up my dinner but tosses it to me cold…" (Ákos, 42, client)

They should not treat their clients as children, they should let them solve their own problems and arrange their own matters, helpers should only support them.

They should understand and respond to the extreme emotional status of the client in a professional way.

They should not indoctrinate them because of the substance use, they should not be told how harmful it is and what consequences it may lead to.

They should not interfere in what the client says, they should not know better what the client feels and thinks.

They should talk briefly in a perceptible, understandable way. Their requests and advice should be achievable.

When the client refrains from talking, they should let it go.

They should speak with the client with due respect, they should accept their will and their own solutions.

„She should not talk to me in a condescending tone. Should she ask me nicely, I would do everything fine." (Isti 43, client)

They should be available any time, not just when they are in a good mood.

They should stay calm even if the client is tense, upset or anxious.

„Here was a good guy. But left soon. He did not give instructions, did not want to tell me what to do or not to do. He did not even expect me to say thank you or be good. He simply helped. I think that is what a good helper is like." (Ákos, 42, client)

They should accept it if the client will not use the hostel. They should help them even if they will never use it. They should not expect that the client goes to the hostel for the things they need. They should see them to the doctor if need be, to help them arrange official matters and protect their rights.

Based on my experience the target group that I examined is above the average sensitive to the way they are treated, the way they are spoken to and the quality of relationships. This comes from their deprived situation, the way of functioning that is attributable to the addicted and the psychiatric patients and to the difficulties of taking control over their emotions and temper. They assert their dissatisfaction every time, which can be the source of further conflicts in case of an inappropriate helping response.

Summary

The methodological fundamentals of my field work are presence, the immersion into the everyday life of my target group, understanding their perspectives, the identification of the root causes of what can be seen on the surface, and gaining insight into the connections and contradictions between these phenomena.

Due to the vulnerability, distrust, special lifestyle, substance habits of the target group and the implications of these, I was faced with several challenges and ethical dilemmas. The range of the study is limited therefore I can only mention some of these.

They have an aversion to the inquiring researcher as a result of their lifestyle being interspersed with drug use, drug dealing and supply. Goffman (2013) likened the activities of the researcher to those of a police officer for this reason.

Due to the complexity of taboos and withholding information this culture of isolation (Tuboly-Vincze, 2018) is hard to access and open up, as seclusion and the suppression of information both serve the daily survival.

In order to get an insight, I had to familiarize myself with the jargon that they use, how they use slang words and phrases and what for, and I also had to learn how many meanings a word or phrase could have (Riessmann and Lee Quinney, 2009).

The field work and the purpose of understanding the gained experience required me to familiarize myself with and come to an understanding of the inner rules, the standards, the behavioral patterns and the special inner ethical codes of the target group, along with the street rules (Tuboly-Vincze 2018).

Throughout the research I bore in mind the values of social work, such as responsive attention, trust, respect, unconditional acceptance and self-reflection, which helped me address the difficulties and the dilemmas in a conscious way. They served as a compass and guidance for my decisions, for the orientation in complex and difficult human situations and in my undertaking both the role of a helper and the role of a researcher at the same time.

The results of my research indicate that in Kőváralja the mutually bad relationship between the addicted people sleeping rough and the formal helpers became irreversibly perpetuated, which further worsens their already multiply excluded situation. The helping relationships and the communication of the helpers are inappropriate for the beneficiaries, therefore they do not trust the formal helpers to turn to for help, so the connection between the formal helpers and their clients sleeping rough has technically been disrupted.

The needs of the beneficiaries relating to the helpers perfectly match the quality helping behavior and communication prescribed in the literature, which indicates that helpers should put much more stress on the development of their professional persona, on the improvement of the quality of communication, forming new relationships, and

maintaining the existing ones along with the compliance with the professional criteria, getting new insights into addictions and psychiatric illnesses alike.

The appropriate helping relationships and level communication provided for the beneficiaries could considerably reduce the multiple exclusion they suffer from and make them take the very first step, which is asking for help, much easier for the ones in need.

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Kata Szabó

The relationship between the individual and groups

Introduction

Understanding certain social processes that occur in a society, it is inevitable to look at how it is constructed as each community is built up by individuals and they have a relationship both with each other and with groups themselves. These ties that interlink the people and groups co-operate through rules and common understandings, which define the functioning of the society. Thus, through these shared and agreed 'regulations' social systems are created, which "can only exist because human behavior is not random, but to some extent predictable. [...] We make such predictions continuously, and the vast majority of them are so banal that they pass completely unnoticed. But for each prediction of behavior, we try to take both the person and the situation into account" (Hofstede, 2001, p. 22). By doing so, we establish certain relationships with each other that allow us to operate collectively on a daily basis. As a result, a more or less well functioning society is created that has members who all contribute to its existence to a certain level.

The aim of the current essay is to introduce how the individual and the community exist together in a symbiotic relationship. In order to observe this phenomenon, we will have a look at Breiger's (1974) study on "The duality of persons and groups", and provide an actual case study through which it can be better exemplified how the two co-exist and are linked together. Through this example we will also be looking at Hofstede's (2001) theory on "individualism and collectivism" merged with Goffman's (1971) definitions of groups and individuals, and the "ties" that connect them. Additionally, we will take a glance at Schwartz and Sortheix's (2018) concept of the "subjective well-being" so that we can interpret the individuals' decision making process better in relation to the community. All of these works revolve around similar notions: the relationship between the individual and the community. By defining this relation and observing its characteristics, the aim is to obtain a more specific idea on the societal structures that define our everyday activities, as it seems to be one of the key mechanisms of the social dynamics that makes us function.

The scope of study

It is important to keep in mind that any given community is always comprised of individuals, who have their own thoughts, desires, experiences that define their identity and existence: "Individuals come together (or, metaphorically, "intersect" one another) within groups, which are collectivities based on the shared interests, personal affinities, or ascribed status of members who participate regularly in collective activities. At the same time, the particular patterning of an individual's affiliation (or the "intersection" of groups within the person) defines his points of reference and (at least partially) determines his individuality" (Breiger, 1974, p. 181). Such individuality which is built up by the said statuses and affiliations are part of one's identity which is also constituted by other factors. For example, one of the key elements in defining one's identity is the community itself (Hofstede, 2001), which will be described later. Nonetheless, in a society, even though each member shares an approximately similar cultural identity, there are small or subtle differences that can cause tension and conflict within the community. This phenomena can be described as the previously mentioned dichotomy of "individualism and collectivism" (Hofstede, 2001, p. 209). In order to better understand how this works in practice, we will be looking at examples from two sample locations, which will serve as case studies for the present research. One of the locations is Calabria, Italy, and the other one in Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen county in Hungary. By comparing these two regions an attempt will be made to find out more about the way young individuals (the so called 'Millennials', those who were born between the 1980s and mid-1990s) are part of the community they are from, and how they distance themselves after having lived far from these areas. How do the ties between the hometowns (the group) and the individual change? What do the relations look like once they have left these areas, and when they attempt to return? How do they identify themselves? How did the community influence the individuals' choices? These and similar questions will be answered in the course of this research in the hope to better understand the process through which Millennials have left behind their homes and are now trying to cope with the results of their decisions.

Individualism vs. collectivism

To begin with, there are so called "mental programs" (Hofstede, 2001, p. 21), which develop from birth as we are being influenced first by our closest relatives and later by teachers, peers, friends and colleagues. Through daily interactions we become capable of deciding what is right or wrong, what values to consider important and what to neglect more. The individual exists in

a community that is built up by other individuals who then establish the various systems (values, judgement, opinions) themselves by continuous feedbacking, re-evaluation, and re-assessment. Individualism and collectivism go hand-in-hand in every culture and "[i]t is reflected in the way people live together – for example, in nuclear families, extended families, or tribes – and it has many implications for values and behavior. In some cultures, individualism is seen as a blessing and a source of well-being; in others, it is seen as alienating" (Hofstede, 2001, p. 209). If the culture promotes individualism over collectivism, they would be more prone to find their own path in life, pursue education or a career based on such elements that aid their own prosperity rather than that of the family or the community they come from. As a result, they would be more inclined to leave the home environment in search of something more satisfying or challenging than what they were being offered originally. Furthermore, the so-called "self-concept" (Hofstede, 2001, p. 211) defines whether a person considers himself as an individual or part of a community. Based on this self image they will make decisions about choices that are either best for themselves or for the community.

Turning to the case studies: based on conversations with the locals firstly in Calabria a phenomenon emerged that they called the 'Mezzogiorno question'. This situation can be best described as the depopulation and desolation of the Southern regions of Italy by a large number of the population. These migrants usually seek work and settlement in the North or abroad. In addition, this area is generally associated with high unemployment rates and poverty. Furthermore, a narrative of dissatisfaction has emerged from the Millennials who have left Calabria, how they developed an ambivalent attitude towards the region: they are unhappy to live somewhere else but cannot seem to find a way to move back. After having observed the situation in Italy, it became apparent that a similar process has been on-going in Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen county in Hungary. By looking at its financial, economic and social status within Hungary, it becomes immediately apparent that Borsod is also suffering from depopulation and decay compared to the more central parts of the country. Even though in Hungary the youth's migration is more towards the capital, Budapest, rather than one larger area like in the case of Italy, a similar migration process can be observed in both countries: from the periphery to the center.

If we look at Calabria and Borsod county, the fact that some people have left their home and started a new path can be considered as a choice of individualist character. They gave up their ability to be a constructive member of the community, they have decided not to continue certain traditions and not to build the future of the region. By leaving, they have carried away

their knowledge, expertise and potency to somewhere else where these will be applied and benefited from. When looking at this process, an important question arises, however, which is whether these individuals decide to transfer to a place where they already know someone or they know of someone who has done the same thing, or do they choose a place where they have to start everything from scratch and build relationships, establish their existential circumstances all by themselves?

According to Goffman (1971) "the individual is linked to society through two principal social bonds: to collectivities through membership and to other individuals through social relationships. He in turn helps make a network of society by linking through himself the social units linked to him" (p. 188). However, based on Breiger's (1974) work it could also be possible that individuals are "linked to other individuals by bonds of common membership (as in interlocking directorates) or to the collectivities through social relationships (as in "love" of one's country or "fear" of a bureaucracy)" (p. 183). Firstly, the "membership" described by Goffman (1971) could be defined as the role of the 'migrant' that one takes up when decides to leave one's homeland (now we use the example of our case studies only, as there are various kinds of migrations and reasons for it which will not be the main focus here). Consequently, one would be linked to a collectivity of migrants who share a similar path, decision- and thought-making process as the others and thus they become grouped together within the society. The individuals are not specifically linked to one another because they do not necessarily have any social obligations to one another, and they might not even know about each other. For instance, the individual who has left Szerencs, his hometown in Hungary behind to attend university in Budapest, and the other who has done the same by leaving Catanzaro in Italy to start working in Milan share the same path in the sense that they have relocated but might not share any other common features at all. They belong to the collectivity of the migrants – thus they have a bond "to the collectivities through membership" (Goffman, 1971, p. 188) as well as they are "linked to other individuals by bonds of common membership" (Breiger, 1974, p. 183) but they are not linked to one another in either way through "social relationship" (Goffman, 1971; Breiger, 1974). In order for these individuals to share also such relationship, they would have to engage in certain interactions with each other so that they can acquire the roles necessary for the situation as "[i]t is seen that the individual is obliged to engage in specific activity in established situations, a bundle of obligatory dealings in each type of situation. Those whom he deals with in one type of situation have a role relationship to him. When he deals with the same individual in more than one type of situation, he has more than one role relationship to him, resulting in

an "over-all" relationship that is "multi-bonded" (Goffman, 1971, p. 188). Additionally to Breiger's (1974) work on the group and individuals discussed so far, it is important to mention Harrison White's concept of "cat-net" which defines how certain connections are formed based on shared attributes. This describes the duality of collective entities constituted by perceived categorical similarity and patterns of interaction based on relational cohesion and structural equivalence (Fokas et al., 2020, p. 3). By observing the factors of whether they have travelled alone or to a community they have known previously it could modify our way of looking at the individualism these people assert by their choices. Furthermore, the choices of the new location might be worth looking at too in order to understand the values they hold onto, if they are moving to an environment similar to the original one or they try to establish or join a community that gives them some sort of familiarity and thus comfort of the known. How does this work in practice?

The dragons and us

When talking to some people who have lived abroad for a longer period of time, it is often mentioned that they prefer to 'hang out' with and meet other foreigners rather than the natives of the country because they feel they share a certain familiar experience, they are remote and alone together in a new environment. This sensation might help them create a community in which they can represent and practice their cultural attributes and by joining together with others, they sort of alienate themselves from the strange environment in which they live – they create a shelter that can serve as a basis of collectivity and thus ending their individualistic role. As described by Hankiss (1977) we tend to invent so-called "dragons" which we create in order to cope with certain persons or other cultures that we consider alien or hostile due to differences that we cannot accept. Rather than trying to gain knowledge and familiarity with them, we demonize them and thus create a wall or separation from them so that their threatening existence can be viewed as a mysterious and dangerous dragon. By this alienation and segregation, however, an illusionary comfort is created in which we manage to settle down and create distance from the threat. For that reason, when settling into a community it is easier to join like-minded individuals with whom we can separate ourselves from the outside, foreign entities that we commonly consider threatening. Collectivity aids us in coping with everyday life. Again, the so called 'membership' creates a link between the individuals and between the groups and the individuals (Breiger, 1974).

Moreover, it is important to note that the individuals who migrate to other territories, despite their seemingly individualistic choice, are usually from collectivist societies, they grow up "among a number of people living closely together, not just their parents and other children, but members of an extended family – grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins, and sometimes also neighbors, housemates, co-villagers, and lords or servants. In this situation children learn to think of themselves as part of a "we"-group or in-group, a relationship that is not voluntary but predetermined by birth" (Hofstede, 2001, p. 225). For this reason, we cannot consider them entirely as 'individualistic' individuals just because they leave the community behind as they usually keep ties with their home environment. Additionally, this strong connection might also be a reason for the previously mentioned dissatisfaction that they feel in the new environment as they lack the family and friends they have grown up with, and possibly the cultural attributes that they learned during their childhood and adolescence. When moving to a new territory, for example (as the previous scenario showed) from Szerencs to Budapest, or from Catanzaro to Milan, the cultural difference is not very sharp and staggering as it would be with a completely foreign country, but there can still be certain elements or attitudes that are hard to get along with. For this reason, a sense of unease and unfamiliarity can cause home-sickness, loneliness and isolation. This might result in a stronger feeling of turning back to the roots and trying to re-enter the community that they have left behind in search of the familiar community they know well.

Nevertheless, since the individuals who have left their home region remain in close and frequent contact with their home, they visit the family and friends on a regular basis, they spend holidays and other celebrations together, there is always a feeling of safety that they can rely on as the ties are not cut completely and they might feel they have something to fall back on. This might be helpful in proceeding in their everyday lives as they feel that they have an insurance that they can always return to their home region without taking any major risk. However, it can also be an obstacle as they continuously miss what they have left behind and cannot feel entirely settled down in the new environment.

The subjective well-being

The so-called subjective well-being (SWB) which "represents how happy and satisfied we are with the life we are leading" (Schwartz and Sortheix, 2018, p. 1) comes into play here which will help us understand in this context how it influences the individual's life choices. Schwartz and Sortheix (2018) describe that there are "three universal requirements of human existence:

needs of individuals as biological organisms, requisites of coordinated social interaction, and survival and welfare needs of groups'' because of the collectivist nature of humans, "[p]eople cannot cope successfully with these requirements of human existence alone. To cope with them, people must articulate appropriate goals, communicate with others about these goals, and gain cooperation in pursuing them. Values are the socially desirable concepts used to represent and communicate these goals'' (p. 2). If the family or friendship ties are strong enough, they can fulfill the role of feedback and validation for our goals and thus create a secure environment for us to operate in. However, in the case of the relocated youth, the source of reassurance is back home and thus an everyday, direct relationship does not exist – they must find other sources of help, too. This might be the previously mentioned establishment of the community in which they gather together to fight the "dragon" (Hankiss, 1977).

If an individual settles down in an environment in which the cultural system and more specifically the values, are in agreement with his own, there seems to be a higher chance for SWB because there are other people who back up the choices of the individual and help him/her practice them (Schwartz and Sortheix, 2018). However, "expressing non-congruent values undermines SWB because others disapprove or even punish" while there is also a third possibility which "refers to internal value conflict, conflict within one's own value system that may diminish SWB. This happens if values internalized from the environment contradict the values a person already espouses" (Schwartz and Sortheix, 2018, p. 9). In this case a person's SWB greatly depends on the brought values as they do not allow him to ease into the new environment because a continuous contradiction or tension will be present that makes his/her everyday dealings difficult and unpleasant. For this reason, it can be that these young individuals do not find agreement with the environment they live in or they feel they need to give up certain identity qualities they find important in order to fit in.

The identity

When looking at the life choices and the way the individuals shift between groups, it is important to look at not only their cultural or social toolkit but also the way they construct their identity. So far we have looked at how the person is linked to the groups, how the individualist and collectivistic roles jump back and forth, and how the SWB also affects these relationships. Now, we would like to look at how the identity actually shifts based on the point of view we use and how a person can become an individual and a member of a group (a set of individuals) at the same time.

As previously mentioned, the societies we live in – and the overall society, the whole population itself – is built up of single individuals who are somehow related or correlated to one another. This relationship is the basis of study of many social scientific research (Goffman, 1971; Breiger, 1974) as they aim to describe what roles we obtain, hold and commute between throughout the daily interactions with each other. Goffman (1971) describes such relationships as follows, "In all societies there are "anchored relations" (or "pegged" ones) such that each end identifies the other personally, knows the other does likewise, and openly acknowledges to the other that an irrevocable starting has been made between them-the establishment of a framework of mutual knowing, which retains, organizes, and applies the experience the ends have of one another" (p. 189). In this sense, a community exists in which the individuals share some experiences that tie them together and create a common identity which cannot exist anywhere else but where they have been shared previously. These individuals know each other because of this commonality, and they know what to expect when they get into interaction; however, the same might not apply in the new environment and the previously described conflicts and tensions might arise.

In Breiger's (1974) study, he defines how through sociometric methods we can establish the way individuals are linked to each other or to groups and how these ties can be quantified. This approach can prove to be useful if we would like to understand how certain social relations change through time. In the case of our research, it would be useful to look at how these ties shift after the individuals have left the regions, and how new ties would be created or old ties would be re-created once they return. By doing so, we would be able to observe the dynamics of the communities and see how also the previously mentioned individualistic features turn back into collectivism as they re-emerge into the community. The question arises in this case: do the individuals who have shown individualistic characteristics shed this identity or they simply return to an identity that has been 'switched off' while they were 'outside' the community? How would the "social" and "personal identity" (Goffman, 1971) interact with each other? As described by Goffman (1971), "by "social identity," I mean the broad social categories (and the organizations and groups that function like categories) to which an individual can belong and be seen as belonging: age-grade, sex, class, regiment, and so forth. By "personal identity," I mean the unique organic continuity imputed to each individual, established through distinguishing marks such as name and appearance, and elaborated by means of knowledge about his biography and social attributes-knowledge which comes to be organized around his distinguishing marks" (p. 189). In light of this, we could say that the social

identity of the person would not change as those are pre-set characteristics of a person; however, the personal identity would be different once an individual has left his homeland as he would be obtaining new roles, experiences and inputs that would shape himself. As a result, he would be considered as an outsider in the home community once returning because he would not have been sharing the same experiences with those who have stayed, and this way he would become a non-member of the community. Additionally, he would also become a non-member because as we could see through Breiger's (1974) example, one would – besides the shared interests and affinities – need to be an active part of the community in order for him to be a real participant. Here we speak of these actions metaphorically – it can be that an individual is part of a community by attending the book club where he meets like-minded individuals and they create a society together – but in our case we speak of a larger, more abstract group which is the Calabrian community, for example. This way, we define a group that is labelled 'Calabrian' which covers various aspects. It defines their geographical location, their culture (cuisine, language, religion, beliefs, habits etc.), and their basic identity which is determined also by these. When they leave this land, they are still Calabrian, as "In our society there is the curious understanding that once two individuals have been thusly bonded, their relationship can change drastically but never revert to non-acquaintanceship; forgetting another's name or face can be excusable but calls for an excuse" (Goffman, 1971, p. 189).

In view of this, even though they leave the Calabrian community they would always be acquainted with it regardless of their current location and they would know its members as they share a common identity. However, as mentioned above, their identity would become manifold as they would become part of other collectivities which would contribute to their character, too.

Conclusion

This essay was an attempt to understand how individuals are part of communities, how they relate to each other, and how this system of relationships aids the functioning of societies as a whole. By using a case study of a group of individuals it was demonstrated what happens if one gets detached from a community, tries to settle down in a new one, or aims to re-settle in the original environment. The study of Breiger (1974) served as a basis of understanding how individuals and groups are related and how it can be mapped out from a sociometric perspective. An observation was made at Goffman's (1971) depiction of identity and how memberships are formed in a society. Additional, we observed Hofstede's (2001) descriptions

of individualism and collectivism which aided us in the comprehension of the previous two studies by defining how an individual's life choices might seem individualistic at first glance but later prove to keep his ties to the community through the course of his actions. In addition to this, we have also touched upon the so called subjective well-being of individuals (Schwartz and Sortheix, 2018) and which again direct and shape the social relations one has. We also attempted to unfold how the identity is changing through the journey these individuals take, and how their relationship to the community becomes more complex due to the new experiences.

All in all, the aim was to look at the complexity of societies and their building blocks, the individuals themselves, and how correlations can be made based on their activities, aims, and correspondence. In order to better understand such social processes it will be necessary to continue and deepen the current research by observing more specific cases of individuals from these two regions, and to compare and contrast them for formulating a more holistic picture of the situation.

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Dalma Tóth

Dilemmas of measuring social inequality │ An isochron method in connection with rural employment tendencies

Abstract

In this paper I seek to show a method designed to depict a segment of inequality related to geographical and social mobility, and not least, employment. Linking these inequalities in terms of access times is important because the distribution of jobs in some of the NUTS 'phasing-in' and 'phasing-out' areas are developed with a complex program. Work as a duty plays a cardinal role in an individual's life if we think of social norms and values, so in connection with inequalities it is influential to discuss it in the context of rural spheres. At the same time, work can also be interpreted as a mean of self-expression that presumably largely determines a person's carrier. In addition, to the deficiencies of infrastructural endowments, I examine the reasons of the factors that describe the cooperation between employees and employers. These include travel subsidies, company bus services and other supports, which can be characterized by key expressions of care, activation and investment. Considering the specificity, limits and possibilities of isochron maps, we can get closer to the peculiarities of the transport network of an area with the help of the background data which are to illustrate the access times through the approach of social inequalities, including employment opportunities.

Key words: isochron circles, labor market, access time, geographical inequality, social inequality

Introduction

The issue of social inequality is important at all times and places if we think of the organization of society, and not least, the career chances of the individual. The regularities of network-building structures are not self-evident — the diversity of social network systems and the implicit differences in statuses warn of attention to individual patterns (Blau, 1997). When examining the differences between people, it should be taken into account that not all phenomena can be considered inequalities, and not all inequalities can be seen from a human

and social point of view, as stated by Kolosi (1987). Thus social inequalities may raise additional questions (Farkas, 2018). In this paper I explain the differences of the social indicator in a theoretical overview, focusing on access times to clarify the concepts used when discussing the specifics of the measuring instrument.

Work as a duty often should play a cardinal role in an individual's life in the context of social norms and values. However, to state this principle from a social science approach would be far from free of value judgments. From the perspective of inequalities, the achievement of work can be examined not only by analyzing social ladders, but also by taking into account geographical factors, for which access times provide a good measure tool. The phenomenon of territorial differences and unequal development is considered an axiom in the spatial sciences. The existence of difference can be linked not only to social, but also to physical and economic inequalities (Faragó, 2016). The self-sustaining role and decisive nature of work, and thus its function, also supports its negotiation with inequality relations as a possible differentiating force in society. At the same time, work can also be perceived as a means   of self-expression, which greatly determines the individual and influences the life of people and their surroundings (Török, 2015). In the following, I will present this connection with the human ecological model (Welch, 1987).

In this work, I undertake to present and analyze the characteristics of transport networks with the help of the background data of the isochron maps, illustrating the access times through the approach of social inequalities, including employment opportunities and their deficits. In the socio-geographical approach my aim is to list the methodological features that can have an effect   on the outputs which are measuring access times. Last but not least, I draw up proposals that can form the basis of the development of a more adaptable measurement of the above mentioned system.

Employment inequalities

Work in the light of social inequalities

To address infrastructural inequalities, the European Union's cohesion policy reforms are responding to the social problems, too, by creating a redistributive system that can be seen as an investment. The amounts to be redistributed by the projects can be applied for considering different criterias. Europe is divided into several groups of regions according to NUTS. The regions were separated into different types compared to the percentage of national income per capita contrasted to the EU average. Accordingly, the most developed countries receive less support, while "phasing-in" and "phasing-out" (transition regions) and convergence regions are

in need of development. Hungary can also get support by meeting the criteria, and within this, a complex program allows for the wide availability of support for those who are attached. At the same time, in practice, the achievement of individual subsidies is tied to the population, which is limited to 10,000 people. If we take into account districts, and these centers, it can be seen that these populations are in most cases more than 10,000 people, thus these are excluded from these subsidies, benefiting those living on the periphery.

As a factor influencing decision-makers' preferences, Esping-Andersen (et al. 2001) writes that change cannot be approached by well-accustomed methods due to unknown circumstances. In today's society there are no longer any conditions that would in any case be a stable family background in the field of family socialization (Csákó-Murányi-Sik-Szabó, 2010), industry is no longer an exclusive employer (Dusek, 1999), further more people are major contributors in individualization. It appears even more unpredictable due to their prevalence (Beck, 1986). At the same time, the need for micro-level needs analyzing is well supported by the fact that qualitative indicators often influence the need for support in some situations (Czibere-Kovách, 2013; Förster-Szivós-Tóth, 1998).

In order to see the semiotics in the following I show the development of the Hungarian guidelines through two documents. One is the National Reform Program of Hungary and the other is the Convergence Program of Hungary 2018-2022. Both of the programs describe the trends and prospects of macroeconomic developments, as well as employment and public finance measures. Regarding the general goals, on the one hand, the creation of the strategic system is based on a review, and on the other hand, both programs try to fit into the EU and domestic requirements in the light of the predictable data. At the domestic level, the general objectives are mainly based on the economy and are accompanied by the objectives set by the EU. The reflection of the European Recommendations on Social Rights seems unique when we look at the directions. The achievement of the economic targets has been set in the convergence program in terms of sustainable growth, macroeconomic balance and improved competitiveness.

Macro-stabilization depends on the success of cooperation between the member states, the stability of their relations and in the internal market. With the development of the investment environment, viable investments have been made, which are related to the growth of new jobs, the SME sector and technology imports at the domestic level. Developments funded by EU funds in the sample area were assumed to meet macro-level needs. The attempt to stabilize labor market conditions is not highly reflected in the duality of investments promoting centralization (for instance construction of workers' hostels, new housing estates). While EU

funding targeted people living in the geographical periphery, local decision-makers supported investments that could be linked to centralization. The development of a district can be examined as a whole and in its structure. As if a district center is developed, it provides opportunities for those living in the district center. At the same time, the relocation of the workforce has a number of influencing factors (economic, cultural, social).

Among the efforts of the National Competitiveness Council, increasing employment has played a prominent role, based mainly on quantitative - rather than qualitative - bases. This may be because the   lower educational attainment of those living in the periphery implies the assumption that it is worthwhile to create jobs in these areas that adapt to these statistics. This attitude could also be seen as a criterion for short-term planning. To improve educational attainment, both access to education and other training-related factors could be improved - which would suggest long-term planning and encourage decision-makers to think about creating jobs requiring higher education.

Referring to macroeconomic developments and predictions, the compilers of the program expected a positive outlook in 2019, compared to the 2020 report. The current situation does not know yet how much of a barrier it will place in the implementation of improvements in the future. From the point of view of the external environment, the idea has emerged that it has entered the cyclical peak of the world economy, which is singularly related to the theory of Kondratyev cycles (Kondratieff, 1935). These cycles are also known as K-waves stated by Bernstein (1940). This formulation reflects on a clarification of the metaphor between the cycle and the wave formulation, as the cycle can be characterized by precise start and end points, while the wave describes a continuous trend whose boundaries are less definable by the need for precision. In terms of demand and supply trends in labor market processes, the term wave is much more advantageous in my opinion.

The analysis of the two documents showed that global processes have an effect   on Hungary as well, so the situation of both the EU and the USA and China also affects   Hungarian relations. The automotive industry plays a major role in the economy alongside the estate sector. In contrast to the increase in labor income, the performance measured in the industry shows an unexpected decline, which will certainly have an impact on labor income within a certain period of time. Growth therefore requires a buffer which makes it improve, capacity-building developments and government measures under the convergence program. The appearance of multinational companies in Hungary raises several questions from the point of view of the economy and society, including employees. For instance, the Samsung plant in Göd and the BMW site in Debrecen promise economic recovery. Considering employment, these

opportunities offer a good chance of increasing participation in the open labor market. And by reducing public employment, they are steering employees in a direction that also requires similar employee strategies. During this period, Schumpeter's theory of the innovation cluster may be significant, while the recession cycles had a number of innovations which were developed to solve the problems that can also be promising in the peripheral areas (Muraközy, 2010).

Inflationary processes also affect the quality of life and well-being of workers. Expected higher price indices could push up fuel and food prices, and at the same time inflationary pressures could make technical items, such as vehicles, more expensive, while wages and product prices change inversely. The availability of car usage among lower-income earners may thus face even greater barriers, increasing inequality in access. Lack of resources can ultimately not only result in a lack of geographical mobility, but can also have an impact on social and career mobility in an individual's life.

Government measures are preventive in nature and seek solutions to the above mentioned existing problems. Programs such as the Program for a More Competitive Hungary, which is responsible for competitiveness and increasing productivity, as well as the Family Protection Action Plan (CSOK, Baby-waiting Loan, no need to pay PIT for women who have given birth to at least four children). Language teaching for high school students is also responsible for macroeconomic development. The expansion of the Hungarian Village Program also belongs to these governmental provisions. Efforts to develop the peripheral areas can also be found in these programs, as these settlements with less than 10,000 inhabitants have a much more nuanced range of support. These measures are activating in practice, but the idea of investment and care can also be found in them (Csoba, 2017).

The law defined the main guideline of monetary and exchange rate policy, thus it was enacted, which can be linked to the Central Bank of Hungary. It has set price stability as its main goal. Closely related to this, it is the nature of interventions in the financial sector that counts the Central Bank's Market Loan Program as to achieve price stability through credit incentives. The creditworthiness of businesses and households depends on the standard of living, which is determined, among other things, by income, and thus by earning activity. Due to the nature of the loan, it assumes a certain amount of capital, for which the existence of gainful activity is essential. Social inequalities can also be seen in this area, as the spatial structure of employment in the periphery has come under pressure in the downturn cycles, as evidenced by the economic crisis caused by the pandemic. This trend is not new. Differences after the change of regime

have also been reported in several literature (Fazekas, 1993; Laki, 1997; Szabó-Katonáné, 2009; Pakurár et al., 2010).

Manifestations of territorial and social inequalities in terms of access times

In the analysis I focus on context dependence and subjectivity, taking into account Faragó's (2016) two systems of criteria. Although isochron maps are based on figures that suggest a higher degree of objectivity, their interpretation may be subjective. I have tried to avoid this approach as much as possible in order to have a mostly scientific but also a practical view.

As I have mentioned in connection with the dilemmas of isochron maps, the difference in time and resources between means of transport largely determines the possibility of access to single points (in this case the district center). I considered the district center itself to be the center, so I marked it with zero. I took the shortest time into account when calculating all three modes of transport. Due to the size limitations of this paper, there is no way to differentiate between the distances within the settlement. Accordingly, the data below do not include the approximate time that takes into account the distance from the settlement boundary or from the stops within the settlement when reaching any job.

I took into consideration the 'periphery' definition of Erdős (2000) when determining the time constraints. The maximum distance of three hours required to cover the distance between the agglomerations. According to Tóth (2006), in Hungary the two hours are the "watershed". To illustrate the negative quality of the periphery itself, I examined additions in the analysis that show the actual time required taking into account the waiting and intermediate times.

Calculations according to work schedules

Reaching the location of each place of work included the schedules by defining the time of possible shifts and the distance from the stop to the place of work as additional time. The example taken from practice is necessary because the development of timetables for corporate bus services in and around Nyírbátor is organized on the basis of the results of a research carried out in 2019 (Balcsók, Szarvák, Tóth, 2019). Adopting the method is relevant to the employee because it takes extra time in addition to travel time to get the job done accurately in order to be able to complete all other tasks. In terms of time before and after the start of work, I calculated a value of plus 30 minutes or close to it. When considering schedules, deviations of up to five minutes were also sampled for flexibility.

An important factor in examining the schedules of public transport was the category of time of day, working day and non-working day, as well as other categories of the practical dilemmas that may make changes to its schedule. In this analysis, I place the emphasis on examining the given conditions on an ordinary working day (which means the day of January 8, 2021). I tied the analysis dimensions to the work schedules. Due to the scope of the paper, I have listed two work schedules, which are *one shift* work (from 8 am to 4 pm) and *three shift* work. I chose these two work schedules because of the fact that in the public sector, the former and, in the case of multinational companies, were defined for most employees. And in the district, these two spheres employ the most workers. There are exceptions, of course, but I wanted to focus on the problem of the major society.

Consideration of the schedule is influenced by a number of factors. In my research, I sought to approach the achievement of jobs from the employee's perspective using data from one of the available public transport schedules. Accordingly, I made a distinction between the three shifts and the working hours between 8 and 16 hours on the basis of the data obtained during the preliminary situation analysis.

Alternative means of transport

It was important to consider alternative means of transport (cycling, walking) because of the preliminary situation revealed that within a certain distance, alternatives are brought to the fore not only by disadvantaged people, but also by workers who approach them with the intention of sport – daily or intermittent commuting to work. The two different attitudes show that while in one case the lack of opportunities gives rise to the use of alternatives, in the other case the use of leisure and resources is not decided by financial need.

Table 1 shows the dependencies, as I have listed data that shows the access times without influencing the schedule. My hypothesis did not contain either   the own car, nor the bicycle or the walking distance were tied to a timeline that would greatly determine the start of the departure time. I highlighted this because of the difference in time between the start of working time and the leaving time (i.e. the journey time) largely determined the attitudes of potential employees regarding their employment, as well as their chances, based on data from a survey conducted in 2019 in the district (Balcsók, Szarvák, Tóth, 2019).

Settlement	Car	Bicycle	On foot
Nyírbogát	8	30	123
Kisléta	14	49	195
Máriapócs	13	45	184
Nyírgyulaj	7	29	170
Nyírcsászári	6	21	154
Nyírderzs	11	33	150
Nyírvasvári	7	23	150
Terem	16	55	217
Nyírpilis	13	31	121
Bátorliget	19	63	251
Piricse	11	37	145
Encsencs	16	55	199
Nyírbéltek	20	70	274
Ömböly	27	95	373
Penészlek	29	101	396
Nyírlugos	25	98	395
Nyírgelse	16	65	285
Nyírmihálydi	17	71	305
Pócspetri	17	57	265

Table 1: Access time toward the district center by car, bicycle and on foot (minutes)

Source: Edited based on data from an online distance calculator database for 2021

Isochron maps and dilemmas

Peculiarities of isochron maps

The relationship between distances and time can be a central category in socio-geographical research, which has been reflected by several authors (Horváth, 1980; Illés, 1986; Nemes Nagy 1998; Lengyel-Rechnitzer, 2004). Measuring the distance between two geographical points is possible with a transport network approach provided by isochron maps. By providing a certain framework for measuring the distance between two points in time, it is possible to determine the amount of resources needed to make the distance between two points using the mentioned special cartogram (Dusek, Szalkai 2007).

When editing isochron maps, the specifics of different spaces must be taken into account, which can be geographical, time or cost spaces. The homogeneity, or heterogeneity of these

spaces greatly affects the complexity of the map. Homogeneous networks usually consider the elements of road and rail transport (Dusek, Szalkai, 2006). Approaching access times from center-periphery relations can be a good measurement tool to examine territorial-social inequalities (Balogh, 2002). The practical approach requires certain correlations to be accounted for on the basis of previously substantiated assumptions (Nemes-Nagy, Németh, 2005). Thus, the relationship between income and territorial inequalities (Sik, 1994) is also cardinal.

Faragó (2016) highlights two systems of criteria that can play an important role in analysis and interpretation. Two of them are the concept of subjectivity and context dependence. According to this, judging the value content of inequalities is rather subjective, which does not recommend judgements from a certain - in this case social - point of view. The other term used is relativity. This means that socio-territorial inequalities are relative. Compared to the previous pair of concepts, the criterion of desired objectivity cannot be met solely because of the existence of a constructed basis of comparison. The object of comparison may be a certain target group, including a social group. Its position can be shaped by various influencing factors; the external conditions can be said to be infrastructural conditions. However, it is not advisable to consider a dimension exclusively, as the complexity of the topic lies in the context. The reference base can also be approached geographically, so that the relativity of the interpretation of the data recorded with the measuring device (access times along different networks) can be fulfilled.

It is also important for the interpretation to take into account the axioms related to geographical, time and cost spaces, which were formulated by Tamás Dusek and Gábor Szalkai (2006: 50) as follows:

1. If two points coincide, their distance is zero.

2. If two points are different, their distance is more than zero.

3. The distance of point "A" from "B" is equal to the distance of point "B" from "A"

(symmetry axiom).

4. The distance between two points must not be more than their distance from a third point

(axiom of triangular inequality).

Limitations of isochron maps

The role of topographic maps basically helps to determine the location (Dusek, Szalkai, 2006). The determination of distances could also be measured in an overhead line due to the planar representation of the geoid surface, however, the result obtained in the majority of cases would differ greatly from the data obtained by measuring the road networks used in practice. As an occurance of the projection on the spatial approach, I do not consider the planar representation of the geoid surface for the representation of Hungary or smaller units in accordance with the recommendations of the literature (Dusek, Szalkai, 2007). By surveying inter-territorial interactions, we can get a complex picture of the infrastructural network of an area. In addition to the time taken, the cost dimension can also play an important role.

There are a number of dilemmas for depicting phenomena that are unequally distributed in space. In the present case, the design of the representation is influenced by the logic of the researcher's inclusion of the distribution ratios on the color-filled thematic map. Although the size differences of the area units can be seen on the maps shown in the paper, I do not attach much importance to this data due to the focus of the access times. I place the center-periphery relationship in the forefront, as spatial distribution and concentration are two of the main topics of my work. I determined the class intervals according to the orders of magnitude, and I also took into account the preliminary classifications.

Opportunities of isochron maps

When discussing inequalities, isochron maps may show real values that indirectly refer to presumably existing needs arising from income disparities (such as the introduction of a new bus schedule or the emergence of corporate services). According to Atkinson (2015), Stiglitz (2012), and Piketty (2015), solutions are needed to reduce inequalities that also examine income or wealth differences. The availability of different means of transport is the main topic of this work. At the same time, other influencing factors are present that may raise ticket and season ticket prices as well as fuel costs.

Separating inequalities into factors is not a new idea. In this writing, I also considered the correlation of some factors of geographical and social inequalities based on some of Shorrocks' (1980) ideas. The MLD-idex is an additive decomposable mark that can be used to measure inequalities. Characteristics of network design (in this case the presence of corporate bus services) may be important due to later developments (Hardi, 2000). On the inequalities of employment opportunities, Pettinger (2019) – who does not describe the problems of

Hungarian society in her work – can still project many perspectives on our society, which she believes to be discovered in the relationship between neoliberalism and capitalism.

Infrastructural opportunities and inequalities of the district of Nyírbátor

It can be said that the district of Nyírbátor is disadvantaged in terms of the geographical location and the classification because it is marked as to be developed with a complex program. It is located to the eastern periphery of the country, and with it its distance from the capital, greatly contributes to the permanence of its disadvantage. The lifestyle and employment opportunities of people living in the area are influenced by their peripheral location and cumulatively disadvantaged socio-economic conditions. The small village settlement structure weighs on the resident population with other disadvantages (Balcsók, Szarvák, Tóth, 2019).

Characteristics of the sample area

By linking demographic indicators to employment, I consider a fundamental issue that breaks the antagonistic stereotype between unemployment and employment. Homogenization of the two groups is a misconception that Judit Csoba (2009) also pointed out.

Links between demographic indicators and employment

The sample area is located in the northern corner of the Hungarian-Romanian border. It is surrounded by the districts of Mátészalka, Nagykálló, Baktalórántháza and Nyíradony. The correlations between peripheral location and employment can be found both in the (eastern) border, in the socio-economic conceptions, and in the settlement structure of small villages. To explore the actual connections, I focused on the availability relationships in this work. Thus, in examining the characteristics of the peripheral location itself, the number and sectoral classification of jobs in each settlement (from which work schedules and probable incomes can be deduced), I explore the geographical inequalities hidden in the locality by analyzing the road network of the small village system. These inequalities also affect social inequalities, as due to the average population of the settlements, the determination of the labor supply of the industrial park formed in the district center was certainly taken into account by the owners during the situation analysis. Its income and territorial correlations thus also appear at the local level (Sik, 1994). In addition, taking into account other employment-related factors, it is likely that the high unemployment rate in the district (as well as in the region) and the data that can be filtered from the graduate indicators (the skilled labor force is low compared to the national average) required fit the data of the major society mentioned above. The fact that work is

income-generating and subsistence-producing (Kaufmann, 1956; Flynn, 1986) it interacts with the incomes of the jobs created and the workers. The Nyírbátor district is constantly losing population, and there is a trend covering the whole of Hungary. The process is caused by the loss of migration and the natural decline of the population, among others (Balcsók, Szarvák, Tóth, 2019).

These trends can be analyzed from several perspectives. On the one hand, employment preferences also matter, which are adapted to the individual's possibilities (Török, 2015). On the other hand, what is included in the human ecological model depicts the individual in a complex system with priorities and needs (Welch, 1987). Life situations, rights, opportunities, rewards, and privileges are likely to influence these priorities (Grabb, 1984). If we think of the level of the individual, economic and other phenomena can also have a significant impact on the mechanisms associated with the reproduction of society (in this case, unemployment or jobs are significantly more disadvantaged indicators) (Hadjimichalis, Hudson, 2014). Atkinson's (2015), Stihlitz's (2012). Piketty's (2015) view that in order to reduce inequalities would also require an examination of income and wealth relationships underpins my proposition that describes the relationship between access times and resources and the productive nature of inequality. Considering the process nature of the phenomenon, Hradil's (2010) statement becomes valid. Linking the socially constructed nature of inequalities to the nature of lasting actions leads to the conclusion that the persistence of cycles / waves can also result in the persistence of inequalities.

Given the factors mentioned above, primary labor market supply has begun to take on greater proportions in the last decade and with the emergence of multinational firms in the district. After joining the EU, gates were opened and it promised workers a higher rate of eliminating unemployment. The development of the unemployment rate may have been shaped by the factors mentioned above. Although I do not have data on the current situation, I think it is important to acknowledge that the economic changes that took place in 2020 and 2021 and the measures that reflect them (redundancies, mass job losses) suggest that the trend of increasing the number of unemployed has continued. Given the nature of the process of the period, it may be interesting in the future what innovations the current situation will bring to the   Schumpeterian sense of the word (Muraközy, 2010).

The presence of the working age population to the total population in the Nyírbátor district has shown a declining trend in the last decade. The minimal increase can also be observed from 2017 onwards. Percentages above both the national and regional and county averages support the district's disadvantage. Employment and working age highlights a

variable (age) that is one of the cornerstones of this activity. In the future, it would be worthwhile to include, in addition to age, variables that made it possible to construct the MLD index (Shorrocks, 1980). Such variables could be gender, age of the head of the household, type of settlement of the place of residence, level of education of the head of the household, and, among other things, employment status.

Connections between accessibility and mobility

One of the most important factors determining the functioning of the labor market is the availability conditions: it does not matter how long it takes for (potential) workers to get from their place of residence to their place of work, or whether they can get there at all. The question is based on Kolosi's (1987) view of inequalities (from a human and social point of view), which is similarly relevant in the case of school-based and other training and retraining aimed at improving employment opportunities. Retaining the existing workforce is also a difficult task due to emigration and out-of-district commuting. If it is successful, the district center will clearly be a target for workers (as well as employees), supported by the 2011 census data. The number of people employed in Nyírbátor in 2011 was 2371, which is not relevant today due to the increase in the number of employees.

According to the time center optimization of the district center, a "watershed" of thirty-minute isochron lines shows access to the airline. Compared to the facilities of the surrounding districts, the district of Nyírbátor is in a good position, especially compared to the district of Fehérgyarmat. However, this data do not represent actual access times due to the exclusion of vehicle heterogeneity. The number of cars per thousand inhabitants in the district is significantly different from the national average (373). The availability of public transport is not always possible, as the railway network does not pass through some settlements. In addition to these physical limitations, there is also a limitation of possibilities, which is manifested in the schedules. Compared to Sebők's (2016) theory of labor market mobility, according to which mobility itself is created as an interaction between the employer and the employee, it basically assumes that either on its own (using a car or alternative means of transport) or the opportunities offered by the company (company buses) to the place of work. The assumption itself encounters practical obstacles, as the car is not necessarily available to the individual as an asset, nor is the company's investor attitude fundamental. Public transport appears among some of the employee's options. Their design is not formulated at the level of employees, but it can be seen at the macro level as a complex mapping (Velkey, 2019).

Reaching the workplace with one shift (8 a.m. – 4 p.m.)

I considered it important to indicate the time to reach the car approach for comparability. Among the various means of transport, the bicycle is considered in my analysis to be a means of lending mobility, which helps the employee to cover the distance between work and residence without having to wait and take a break. Flexibility is thus also relevant in this case (as the reader has already seen in the text of the "use" of alternative means of transport).

The waiting time shows how much time an employee has to get to work in the morning. This time should be a minimum of thirty minutes according to the selection criteria of the distance. The railway network of the Nyírbátor district is very deficient if the individual wants to reach the district center on an ordinary working day in the time zone between 6:00 and 7:30 - there are no services that would meet the criteria. The reason for this in most cases is that the railway network does not cross the border of the settlement, as in the case of Máriapócs – there is not an easily accessible station.

The study of settlements in the area was relevant for the railway transport (Nyírbogát, Máriapócs, Nyírcsászári, Nyírgelse and Nyírmihálydi). These three neighboring settlements are present as part of the route between nodes that do not specifically prioritize traffic between the given settlements (so the design of the lines does not necessarily adapt to them either). Nyírbogát, Nyírgelse and Nyírmihálydi are located on the Debrecen-Nyíradony-Nyírbátor line, which gives them a significant advantage by connecting the neighboring district center and the neighboring country seat. Máriapócs is located on the Nyíregyháza-Nagykálló-Nyírbátor line, which can also be an advantage. However, the availability of the county seat can give rise to further conclusions in some aspects. The ease of the procedure in economic-cultural and other matters (access to health, education, administrative (etc.) services) gives its positional advantage. Last but not least, Nyírcsászári is located on the Mátészalka railway line, which also serves to connect district centers. When analyzing the arrival times, both the train and bus timetables showed that Nyírcsászári   is located the closest to Nyírbátor, and the frequency and accessibility of the line are also the most favorable. However, this correlation is not meaningful, as it is not possible to approach the settlements of Nyírvasvári and Nyírgyulaj with similar values by rail (in the absence of the railway network), and Nyírbogát's data exceeded Nyírcsászári's data along with waiting and intermediate time.

In the case of the mentioned five settlements, it was relevant to achieve the work from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m., in which no line to Máriapócs was started after 4 p.m., which would have met the examination criteria. The already incomplete network and the lack of completeness of the services may in practice mean that the worker will not be able to use a particular means of

public transport in all cases. The support for multiple passes is not preferred by workplaces. In the face of such a technical obstacle, either flexibility and adaptation between the employee and the employer may be considered, or other solutions may be sought. Examples of this are alternative means of transport rather than using a car.

The difference between travel time by car and travel time by rail is not significant. However, the amount of time which takes for an individual to return to their home from leaving their place of residence shows a significant difference between those who use cars, trains, buses, or alternative means of transport.

The time achieved by using a bicycle is the most favorable in many cases, although the use of it is not the most practical (limitations of the weather). In addition to the negligible services of the railway, the bus may be the most suitable for commuters. However, it is noteworthy that with the eight-hour working time, workers living in the catchment areas of Nyírbátor district still have to spend an average of about two hours to cover the distance between their place of residence and their place of work by bus, which is an unreasonably high value. The data may also have been influenced by the fact that when examining bus timetables, I also focused on selecting the line that takes on the value closest to the minimum waiting time without transfer.

Traveling by car from the settlements in the district costs between HUF 3,613.5 and HUF 14,653.5 per month. The 9 and 15 HUF/km subsidy offered by the employer greatly contributes to the reduction of the employee's remaining costs. While the amount determined on the basis of HUF 9/km imposes a burden on the individual between HUF 1,669.5 and HUF 6,085.5, in the case of the subsidy set at HUF 15/km, the employee must always spend HUF 373.5 per month on his/her own job. Train passes would have a much cheaper price than bus passes, however, in the absence of availability, not all workers in the district can take advantage of this advantage.

Reaching the workplace with three shifts

Compared to the values assigned to a one-shift work schedule, the morning is the shift that shows similarity to the former, as there is only a three-minute difference between the average total bus travel time (where the more favorable value can be assigned to 8-16 hours). At the same time, there is a significant difference between the individual settlements, as in the case of Penészlek and Nyírlugos it is not possible to solve the return journey (taking into account the examination criteria). The residents of Nyírbogát also have a significant disadvantage, as in this settlement the district center cannot be reached in the morning by using a line that would suit their workforce. When comparing the approach by car and bus, we can observe that in the

morning work schedule the difference between the two values is significantly smaller, which, however, is still several times the time traveled by car.

Two correlations are likely behind the mentioned more favorable data. One implies that travel times may be reduced in the early hours of the morning, however, in practice this does not represent a significant change when considering all the travel time. The other assumption is that when scheduling, not only the needs of employees are taken into account, but also attempts are made to set a favorable schedule for other target groups. For example, the railway and bus network also serves the access of full-time students to educational institutions.

With regard to the "afternoon" shift, it can be said that the workplace was available in only one settlement according to the selection criteria. From Nyírbogát by rail, the daily commute takes only more than two hours in this case. This figure is a lot compared to driving an eight-minute car without exaggerating any gender. With the exception of three settlements (Kisléta, Nyírderzs and Ömböly), bus travel is not possible if we consider getting to work in the time before work.

Those who go on a "night" shift suffer a similar disadvantage as those who go on an "afternoon" shift. In this case, too, the district center can only be approached from Nyírbogát, but in this case the total time spent traveling exceeds three and a half hours.

Overall, it can be said that as long as there are relatively accessible lines available for one-shift workers, those taking three shifts, face a number of problems. When using means of transport, it is often not possible to choose a homogeneous means of transport, which in the case of public transport can create dilemmas. However, the use of combined passes would not solve the situation, as the lack of individual lines is much more the source of the problem.

Conclusion

In my writing, I sought to present a method designed to depict a segment of inequality related to geographical, social mobility, and also employment. The peculiarities, methodological limitations, and possibilities of isochron maps have shown that the basic idea is that both the aerial and car approaches show favorable values that can rightly support skepticism about inequalities. Measuring access times using different means of transport is an idea that can provide a more nuanced picture to support the diversity of resources.

Linking geographical and social inequalities in terms of access times is important because the distribution of jobs within the district is rare. Due to the nature of the district center, I assumed that given the receptivity of the factories present in the industrial park, workers would have to make a sacrifice of time to get to work. During the methodological

delimitation, I ignored the traffic within the center, because I focused on exploring the situation of the people living in the agglomeration.

From the point of view of the unskilledness and low income level of the local workforce in addition to public transport (bus and rail). I considered alternative means of transport (cycling and walking) and company buses. Examination of the timetables revealed that the railway network in the district affected five settlements outside Nyírbátor. However, involvement does not mean that it would meet the needs of those working in different shifts - even if they are located on the line connecting the district. The bus services ensure that those working in a one-shift schedule can go to work. However, the sum of the waiting time and the intermediate time in many cases exceeds two hours. Thus, on average, an individual spends two hours more time working and traveling to work than by car or by company bus. It can be said that car travel is within the thirty-minute "watershed" isochron circle, compared to the corporate bus services departing   from more distant settlements by more than a quarter of an hour. Nothing shows the usefulness of the presence of company buses better than the difference of more than one hour in the magnitude of time spent by public transport users and those using company buses.

As the travel time of the company bus services did not differ between the shifts (be it one or three shifts), I chose the travel time of the morning shift as the basis for the comparison. The use of the bus as a public transport service has in several cases encountered practical obstacles due to the lack of services. In the evening, traffic is not available for those working in the three shifts in the district from most settlements.

The company bus services did not cover some settlements (Nyírpilis), and due to the shortcomings of the railway and bus services, I considered alternative means of transport, cycling and walking as a suitable way to make the distance. Four of the neighboring settlements of the district center (Nyírbogát, Nyírgyulaj, Nyírcsászári and Nyírvasvári) were in a favorable position in terms of alternative means of transport. This distance can be done by bicycle in 21-30 minutes, so it meets the criteria of a thirty-minute "watershed" isochron circle. At the same time, the value and repair costs of the asset must be taken into account, which can be an additional cost for lagging social classes. The display of the walk is symbolic in this work. I just wanted to show, by indicating the values, the differences between those who use a means of transport, apart from those who use public transport and those who lack these means and services.

Even more to the "cost of time," I also examined material costs in terms of fuel costs, fuel subsidies, and season ticket prices. Fuel subsidies mainly affected those working in the public

sector, as well as those with jobs that are higher in multinational companies or working in the public sector. The difference between 9 and 15 HUF / km is significant in monthly breakdown, however, its extent is negligible compared to the minimum wage of skilled workers and other expenses of the individual. Support for employers launching company buses is exclusive. In this case, (as opposed to using public transport with already incomplete services), these services are favorable in terms of time and money (free of charge).

The extent of employment opportunities of people living in the district is thus well represented by the inequalities in access times. The meaning of the classification to be developed with a complex program shows deeper connections in this context.

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