“IF NO ONE CONSUMES US, WE WILL CONSUME OURSELVES”

NATIONALIST POLITICS AND EVERYDAY ETHNICITY IN A SZEKLER VILLAGE

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis is concerned with aspects of the everyday life of ethnic Hungarian and Roma people living in rural Szeklerland (Transylvania, Romania). An ethnographic research was conducted in a village of about 200 people. Results of observations and 17 interviews show that the way ethnicity emerges in the village mirrors the complex position of local Hungarians who are a majority in the village and the region but a minority in Romania. It was found that on the local level the Roma are the most significant outgroup, and villagers also use Romanians as an outgroup. When presenting themselves and the village, participants focus on three main problems (depopulation, subsistence hardships and estrangement) and do not paint an idealized picture. Contributing to research about the effects of nationalist politics on the micro level, the research found that although they vote, people are disillusioned with politics and are concerned only with local problems. Furthermore, it was found that strict symbolic boundaries are maintained between Roma and Hungarian villagers, and Roma are not reached by local or Hungary-based political actors either. The thesis argues that nationalist politics does not play a significant part in the everyday life of Hungarians in Szeklerland because people primarily focus on local issues and identities, and because nationalist politics does not give an answer to problems that truly matter for them.

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CHAPTER 1 − INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 2015, Viktor Orbán, prime minister of Hungary said in Transylvania: "This is a fairy garden that is ours too. We have a special, strong connection to it; it is not an outside world for us, to which we relate as outsiders. Rather, we see a world here in which we are present too"[1]. The town of Tusnádfürdő[2], where PM Orbán said the above words, lies in Hargita[3] County, where 83% of the population is ethnic Hungarian[4]. The town is home to a youth festival that has been organized every summer since 1990[5], and is considered a traditional platform of the governing party of Hungary, Fidesz. Today the event is famous for the speech of Orbán from 2014 when he introduced his idea of Hungary as an 'illiberal state'[6].

Hargita, Kovászna[7] County and parts of Maros[8] County constitute the area of Székelyföld[9]. The ethnic Hungarian minority of Romania is concentrated in this region of Eastern Transylvania. The territorial autonomy of Székelyföld has been a hot topic in Romanian public discourse, propagated by parties representing the ethnic Hungarian population of the country. While the current Hungarian government supports the claim of autonomy in principle[10], it has focused more on giving non-residential citizenship to transborder ethnic

[1] *http://www.szekelyhon.ro/vilag/orban-erdely-a-mienk-is*. Originally Hungarian quotes are translated by me. The original versions are to be found in Appendix C.
[2] Băile Tuşnad. For clarity and uniformity the Hungarian name will be used of Transylvanian villages, towns and counties, as well as parties in the text, providing the Romanian names – and English, if applicable – in footnotes. However, I will use to English term 'Szekler' instead of 'Székely' when using it as an adjective.
[3] Judeţul Harghita.
[4] "Populaţia După Etnie La Recensămintele Din Perioada 1930-2011 – Judeţe [Population by Ethnicity in the Censuses between 1930-2011 - Counties]."
[5] *http://tusvanyos.ro/index.php?menu=8*
[6] *http://mandiner.hu/cikk/20140728_orban_viktor_a_munkaalapu_allam_korszaka_kovetkezik_beszed_tusvanyos_2014*
[7] Judeţul Covasna.
[8] Judeţul Mureş.
[9] Ţinutul Secuiesc; Szeklerland.
[10] *http://www.origo.hu/itthon/20130215-kituztek-a-szekely-zaszlot-a-parlamentre.html*

Hungarians. This was introduced in 2010, resulting in over 120 thousand extra votes[11] for Fidesz in the parliamentary elections of 2014.

Apart from being a politically strategic location for local and kin-state-based Hungarian politicians, Székelyföld is also an emblematic space. The fact that Orbán's speech took place in Tusnádfüdő carries extra meaning as the town has become the symbolic headquarters for those who believe in the romantic-nationalist ideal of a transborder Hungarian nation. Pap[12] argues that this ideal is essentially ambivalent. He says there are

> "two discursive strategies when portraying Transylvania: symbolic incorporation and internal orientalism. The first identifies the region as an authentic bearer of Hungarianness, while the second posits the "modern', "urbanized", "developed" Hungary in opposition with the "exotic", "natural", "traditional", "pristine" Transylvania".

This ambivalence is reflected in Orbán's description of Translyvania as a 'fairy garden' – mystical, untamed, even slightly eroticised, a typical orientalist image – as well as something that 'we' (Hungarians in Hungary) know as our own. What is more, the idea that the region somehow represents the essence of Hungarianness (those who live there are more Hungarian than those in the mother-country) is also a recurrent theme of Transylvania-related discourses in Hungary[13].

This paradoxical view of the character of Transylvania dominates not only political speeches, such as Orbán's, but also the identity-building programme Pap's[14] thesis focused on. This programme in turn influences the accounts of teenagers from Hungary who visited co-ethnic communities of the 'lost territories' within its frames. Taking a Transylvanian perspective, Brubaker and his colleagues[15] researched ethnic relations in Kolozsvár[16] for years

[11] *http://www.valasztas.hu/hu/ogyv2014/861/861_0_index.html*
[12] Pap, "Encountering the Nation beyond Borders: Hungarian High School Students, Tourism and the Micromanagement of Nation-Building," 53.
[13] Ilyés, "Az Emlékezés És a Turisztikai Élmény Nemzetiesítése [The Nationalizing of Remembrance and Touristic Experience]."
[14] Pap, "Encountering the Nation beyond Borders: Hungarian High School Students, Tourism and the Micromanagement of Nation-Building."
[15] Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*.
[16] Cluj Napoca.

during the reign of a radical nationalist Romanian mayor. Although the display of national symbols all over the place and anti-Hungarian local policies suggested that ethnic tensions dominated everyday life in the city, Brubaker *et al*. found that concerns of people are rarely framed in ethnic terms. Furthermore, they identified two separate worlds, a Hungarian and a Romanian, and found that people can live almost exclusively in one or the other.

In the present thesis my aim is to reveal whether ethnicity plays as a significant part in Székelyföld as the prevalent rhetoric in Hungary suggests. I have been inspired by the ethnographic approach of Brubaker *et al*.[17] who let their participants speak, listened to them but did not "insist [ethnicity] into relevance". I also agree with their citation of Hobsbawm, who said that nationhood and nationalism "cannot be understood unless also analysed from below, that is in terms of the assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people"[18]. I have been curious whether the ambivalence introduced above is also apparent between the way Székelys present themselves and the way they are portrayed in the mother-country. Furthermore, with my research I would like to narrow a gap in the literature: Roma inhabitants of Transylvanian territories with a dense Hungarian population have often been neglected when researching the effects of nation-building policies.

I went to look for answers in a village in Maros County, where every inhabitant is ethnic Hungarian with the exception of a couple of Roma families. The village seems to perfectly fit the stereotypical frame Pap's participants used to characterise Transylvania: it's tiny, hidden, and cows are walking on the streets. According to this frame, its inhabitants are supposed to be "closer to nature, friendlier, community-oriented and hospitable"[19]. I spent 12 days in the village, conducting formal interviews, taking part in informal chats and different events, and constantly observing how people behave, what they talk about, what lies in the focus of their

[17] Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*, 168.
[18] Ibid., 13.
[19] Pap, "Encountering the Nation beyond Borders: Hungarian High School Students, Tourism and the Micromanagement of Nation-Building," 55.

weekdays and festivals. I paid close attention to the appearance of politics – of local parties and of the Hungarian government – and collected information about its importance in people's lives.

1.1 THESIS STRUCTURE

Following this Introduction, in Chapter 2 the theoretical framework of the thesis, built on the literature of everyday ethnicity and minority identities, is set out. Chapter 3 introduces the contextual background: it is an overview of the literature about the situation of minorities in Romania, Hungarian minority politics in Romania and in the kin-state, and Roma–non-Roma relations in Transylvanian villages. Chapter 4 attempts to justify the choice of methods in data collection and analysis, and reports on details of the fieldwork, including challenges and dilemmas. In Chapter 5 findings are presented in the order of data collection. Data are analysed and interpreted, and connected to the theoretical and contextual literature in Chapter 6. Concluding remarks, suggestions and an overview of the thesis follow in Chapter 7.

1.2 TERMINOLOGY

It is important to explain and justify how and why certain terms are used throughout the thesis. Brubaker *et al*.[20] use the term 'categories' when talking about Hungarians and Romanians. They emphasise that when they

> "refer in a generalizing manner to "Hungarians" or "Romanians," […] [these terms] refer to sets of persons sharing a nominal ethnonational category membership, with no implication that the sets constitute solidary groups. It is useful to refer to these sets because they differ, on average, from one another, in ways that are relevant for our study".

In the case of this thesis, such designations are used to refer to Hungarians and Roma, and rarely to Romanians. It is important to establish here that although the categories 'Roma' and 'Hungarian' are not necessarily mutually exclusive, in the case of the village, the (one single)

[20] Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*, 210.

family I identified as Roma identify themselves as such (or Gypsy/*cigány*) too, and claim that they are *not* Hungarian. Their mother-tongue is Romani (they use the term Gypsy/*cigány* to name the language they use) and they also differ from the majority of the village "in ways that are relevant for our study". When the term Roma/Gypsy is used in connection to the village this family is meant and I dare to apply both these terms due to the fact that these are what they use to identify themselves.

Apart from this family, I met another two elderly sisters who never told me they were Gypsy or Roma but everyone else in the village identified them as such (without any negative connotation, rather in a matter-of-fact way.). They did not deny being Roma either, and they never said they were Hungarian. They do not belong to the 'Roma sample' of the research.

I would also like to make it clear in what sense 'national(ist) politics' is used in the thesis. Nationalist here does not mean radical nationalist, right-wing extremist, racist politics. Rather, I refer to political actions and rhetoric that focuses on the unification of the nation (nation-building politics) or is concerned with the nation as such in particular (*nemzetpolitika*). Efforts of the Hungarian state to include transborder co-ethnics in the nation, and efforts of Hungarian parties in Romania (which are, in this sense, national(ist) by nature) are covered.

PART I – LITERATURE REVIEW

CHAPTER 2 – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter sets out the theoretical background of the research. There are two main fields of theories connected to ethnicity that provide the basis of the current study. First, the concept of everyday ethnicity is discussed: the (non-)significance of nationalist politics and ethnic entrepreneurship in the everyday lives of people. Second, the chapter covers issues connected to minority identities, minority ethnocentrism, and symbolic boundaries.

2.1 EVERYDAY ETHNICITY

The aim of this subchapter is to introduce a number of theoretical – yet often empirically grounded – considerations of the processual workings of ethnicity and nationalism in everyday life. The theoretical conceptualisation of ethnicity on the level of 'ordinary people' helps us formulate research questions about everyday ethnicity in the observed village.

2.1.1 Ethnicity is not a thing in the world

Brubaker[21], introducing the concept of 'ethnicity without groups' created an important distinction between politically motivated attempts to define ethnic groups (as well as nations, races etc.) as fixed and factual, and the analytical approach that aims to understand these categories in the process of happening. He suggests that we understand and analyse these common-sensually bounded elements of social life as "relational, processual, dynamic, eventful and disaggregated terms"[22]. This does not mean that ethnicity is not real and significant as a

[21] Brubaker, "Neither Individualism nor 'Groupism': A Reply to Craig Calhoun"; Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups."
[22] Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups," 4.

category of practice. Furthermore, Brubaker[23] makes a distinction between groups and categories: while using the latter allows the researcher to focus on processes, narratives and relations[24], political projects can also apply them as bases for group-creation.

Apart from emphasizing the processual nature of ethnicity, Brubaker[25] describes this concept as a cognitive category, as a 'perspective on the world'. In the next two sections we look at whether people apply the 'prism' of ethnicity[26], and when they do, how they use it while interpreting, understanding and moving in the world.

2.1.2. Ethnicity in everyday practices

In this section I examine how ethnicity works as a way of seeing the world; which are the situations when it 'happens' in everyday life. The difference between the nationalism/nationhood represented by elites, states and other political forces, and practices applied by everyday people, is described in the literature with a number of terms. Eriksen[27] tells apart formal and informal nationalism: the former refers to (ideological, political, cultural, bureaucratic) actions of the modern nation state, while the latter covers activities of civil society (such as rituals or sports events). Coining the widely used term of 'banal nationalism', Billig[28] argues that it is mundane practices and symbols that reproduce nationalism and nations on a daily basis, reminding people of their position within 'the world of nations'[29].

It is important to note that ethnicity in everyday life, just like on the level of nationalist politics, can only be understood relationally; through creating boundaries and defining

[23] Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups."
[24] Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*.
[25] Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups."
[26] Karner, *Ethnicity and Everyday Life*.
[27] Eriksen, "Formal and Informal Nationalism."
[28] Billig, *Banal Nationalism*.
[29] Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*.

'Others'[30]. The idea that ethnicity makes sense only in contrast with outgroups, and that border creation is the main act of ethnicity-maintenance was first introduced by Barth[31] in 1969. Comparison with an outgroup is a basic mechanism of social identity development[32]. As Feischmidt[33] puts it, "the concept of homogeneity is realized through the institutionalization of identity on one hand, and through the visualisation and separation of otherness on the other". When the 'Other' is identified by the ingroup, it becomes marked. Brubaker *et al*.[34] explain that it is usually the minority that constitutes a marked category, while belonging to the unmarked category is the privilege of the majority.

When taking a look at ethnicity from below, Brubaker *et al*.[35] attempted not to force ethnicity onto the surface but they did identify several aspects of everyday life where ethnicity emerged. Such 'ethnic triggers' include completely natural practices such as speaking a language[36], which can easily become a spectacular signal of ethnicity in a multi-ethnic setting (also see Papp[37]). Citizenship is a category produced by the state which, if it becomes marked, can also turn into a basis and sign of individual ethnic identities[38]. On the other hand, rituals and symbols that develop on the level of ordinary people might emerge into political significance[39]. In sum, the presence of ethnicity in everyday life is observable on many different levels, and it is not always clear-cut whether certain phenomena belong to the sphere of the

[30] Karner, *Ethnicity and Everyday Life*; Feischmidt, "Megismerés És Elismerés: Elméletek, Módszerek, Politikák Az Etnicitás Kutatásában [Cognition and Recognition: Theories, Methods, Politics in Ethnicity Research]."
[31] Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Culture Difference*.
[32] Tajfel, *Human Groups and Social Categories*.
[33] Feischmidt, "Mindennapi Nacionalizmus És a Másság Cigányként Való Megjelölése [Everyday Nationalism and Marking Otherness as Gypsy]," 403.
[34] Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Billig, *Banal Nationalism*.
[37] Papp, "Az Etnocentrizmus Szerkezete a Kisebbségben – a Fókuszcsoportos Beszélgetések Alapján [The Structure of Ethnocentrism in the Minority – Based on Focus Group Discussions]."
[38] Papp, "Kisebbségi Identitáskonstrukciók a Kettős Magyar Állampolgárság Által [Minority Identity Constructions via Dual Hungarian Citizenship]."
[39] Patakfalvi-Czirják, "Szimbolikus Konfliktusok És Performative Események a 'székely Zászló' Kapcsán [Symbolic Conflicts and Performative Events Connected to the 'Szekler Flag']."

'above' or the 'below'[40]. Ethnicity happens from top-down and from bottom-up, visibly and in a hidden manner, but always in relation to an 'Other'. It is especially true when one belongs to a marked minority and is therefore regularly categorized and treated on the basis of his or her ethnicity.

This overview of situations in which ethnicity can emerge in everyday life leads us to questions about ethnic triggers in the researched village: questions about the marked/unmarked nature of the Hungarian majority of the village, which is a minority in Romania, about outgroups that help the majority identify itself, and about mundane situations in which ethnicity is enacted.

2.1.3 When ethnicity is not there

Finally, we take a look at cases where ethnicity is not applied as a lens through which one sees the world. Brubaker *et al*.[41] observed in Kolozsvár that ethnic identification is not always salient in everyday life (not even in times of politically heated tensions) and the concerns of people are generally not formulated in ethnic terms. Furthermore, they found that through the production of a world where their ethnicity is unmarked, it has become less significant for the Hungarian minority too.

Papp[42] suggests that there are often tensions within the 'group' that is considered unified from outside or above that matter more than interethnic conflicts. Moreover, Feischmidt[43] argues that in cases when ethnicity is a potential perspective present in the situation but does not become relevant, it is usually due to the appearance of another system of social categories

[40] Vertovec, *Transnationalism*.
[41] Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*.
[42] Papp, "Kisebbségi Identitáskonstrukciók a Kettős Magyar Állampolgárság Által [Minority Identity Constructions via Dual Hungarian Citizenship]."
[43] Feischmidt, "Megismerés És Elismerés: Elméletek, Módszerek, Politikák Az Etnicitás Kutatásában [Cognition and Recognition: Theories, Methods, Politics in Ethnicity Research]."

and identities[44]. For instance, Fosztó[45], examining Roma–non-Roma relations in a Transylvanian village, devoted a whole book to "the way religious ideas and rituals contribute to the creation, maintenance, and transformation of people's sense of belonging and how these practices shape people's social relationships". Substituting 'religious' with 'ethnic' would also make perfect sense, which shows that identities constructed around different ideologies often function in a similar manner, on the individual and communal levels.

Treating ethnicity as omnipresent leads to a further flaw: ignoring the significance of individual decisions and practices[46]. It is essential to consider the interaction of all given characteristics (such as gender or class) of an individual in order to understand to what extent ethnic identity determines his or her position and possibilities within society – as well as how significant this belonging is for them[47].

The acknowledgement of the fact that ethnicity is not always relevant and often other perspectives are applied to look at the world is important for the present study too. When formulating hypotheses about the significance of ethnicity in everyday life (see Chapter 4) the theoretical considerations described above are also reflected upon.

2.2 MINORITY IDENTITIES

This subchapter aims to set up a theoretical framework that will help conceptualize minority-majority relations in the research setting. In the researched village a national minority (Hungarians) constitutes a local majority – members of which are nonetheless regularly reminded of their minority status by politics addressing their 'marked-ness' in Romania, as well

[44] Verdery, *Transylvanian Villagers: Three Centuries of Political, Economic, and Ethnic Change*.
[45] Fosztó, *Ritual Revitalisation after Socialism. Community, Personhood, and Conversion among Roma in a Transylvanian Village*, 3.
[46] Papp, "Kisebbségi Identitáskonstrukciók a Kettős Magyar Állampolgárság Által [Minority Identity Constructions via Dual Hungarian Citizenship]."
[47] Feischmidt, "Megismerés És Elismerés: Elméletek, Módszerek, Politikák Az Etnicitás Kutatásában [Cognition and Recognition: Theories, Methods, Politics in Ethnicity Research]."

as in cases when they leave the locality. On the other hand, there is a local minority (Roma) who have a minority status on two different levels. They are Roma in Romania, and they constitute a minority within the Hungarian minority[48] too, both locally and in the transborder sphere of the Hungarian nation (through media and – the lack of – political representation).

Describing the situation in the village illustrates what we set out in the previous subchapter: ethnic categories change constantly, shifting their marked and unmarked natures. Below follows an attempt to build up a theoretical foundation that is able to reflect on all processes of this complicated set-up.

2.2.1 Forms of minority status

Tajfel[49] dedicates a whole chapter in his influential work 'Human groups and social categories' to the social psychology of minorities. He argues that minority status is primarily about subordination, specific traits and self-consciousness, rather than numbers. Minority groups are recognized as different from the majority both from inside and outside the category, and the perception of clear boundaries between lower status minority and higher status majority is a condition of separation. In order to maintain such clear boundaries, members of both categories need to understand that minority individuals cannot simply cross the boundaries towards the majority. It is also important that members of the minority are considered similar based on their category membership, irrespective of individual characteristics. Finally, members of the minority need to see themselves as sharing a nature different from the majority. Tajfel[50] holds that the division of minorities from majorities might be a result of exclusion from outside or of a 'tradition' of separation based on certain cultural or social differences.

[48] Kerényi and Bárdi, "A Magyarul Beszélő Külhoni Romák [Hungarian-Speaking Transborder Roma]."
[49] Tajfel, *Human Groups and Social Categories*.
[50] Ibid.

Minority individuals often go through complex processes of self-identification. Their experiences of inclusion and exclusion among the majority affect how they relate to their own category and the majority outgroup. Namely, when they feel they are accepted as members of the minority they tend to identify more with the larger category (majority) as well[51]. Moreover, when members of the minority are in touch with members of outgroups and their "social identity is salient, [they] self-stereotype themselves in terms of what characterizes the ingroup in relation to a relevant outgroup"[52].

Members of minorities more often than majority individuals have to face their 'other' status and thus need to reflect on their category membership. Apart from this, there are cases when their status within society or within the minority group is not clear-cut and simple at all. Van Dommelen *et al*.[53] describe situations in which individuals are seen and see themselves as members of more than one minority categories. They point out that it is not self-evident how such individuals build up their personal identities, whether they use all their group memberships to do so or prefer one over the other. They also claim that the acknowledgement of the existence of people who belong to one or the other category does not mean that those who belong to both at the same time would identify with such "partial in-group members"[54].

Xu *et al*.[55], on the other hand, focus on scenarios in which national minorities become numerical majorities and vice versa. They set out that ethnic identity is usually stronger among members of non-dominant minorities but it also matters whether individuals belong to numerical minorities or majorities. They emphasize that experiencing numeric majority decreases the importance of ethnic belonging, while being exposed to an ethnically mixed

[51] Molina, Phillips, and Sidanius, "National and Ethnic Identity in the Face of Discrimination: Ethnic Minority and Majority Perspectives."
[52] Verkuyten and De Wolf, "Ethnic Minority Identity and Group Context: Self-Descriptions, Acculturation Attitudes and Group Evaluations in an Intra- and Intergroup Situation," 782.
[53] Van Dommelen et al., "Constructing Multiple in-Groups: Assessing Social Identity Inclusiveness and Structure in Ethnic and Religious Minority Group Members."
[54] Ibid., 387.
[55] Xu, Farver, and Pauker, "Ethnic Identity and Self-Esteem among Asian and European Americans: When a Minority Is the Majority and the Majority Is a Minority."

environment may strengthen the ethnic affiliation of majority individuals. That is, the significance and nature of ethnic identity varies situationally.

2.2.2 Minority ethnocentrism – creating the 'Other'

In this section the exploration of the effects of belonging to a marked category – a minority – is continued with the discussion of minority ethnocentrism. Already the founder of prejudice studies, Allport found it an intriguing question whether victims of prejudice are likely to stigmatize others or not. Members of a minority can be prejudiced towards their own category, the majority or other minorities. (About the attitudes of Transylvanian Hungarians towards different outgroups see Papp[56] and Veres[57].) The topic is underresearched and results provide contradictory answers to the question[58].

Verkuyten's[59] research is based on a number of socio-psychological theories that explain the background of minority prejudices. He refers to Tajfel and Turner's (1986) Social Identity Theory explaining ingroup-favouritism, and to Wills' (1981) downward comparison theory, which argues that self-esteem can be increased by comparing oneself or one's group to less fortunate others or degrading outgroups. Feischmidt[60] also emphasizes that the process of 'othering' (defining certain groups as problematic, deviant or subordinate) becomes extremely important in times of insecurity. When the ingroup is in an endangered position, it is crucial to "find or create those even more miserable than them; from whom they can distance themselves and thus sense their situation as more secure, worthy or higher".

[56] Papp, "Az Etnocentrizmus Szerkezete a Kisebbségben – a Fókuszcsoportos Beszélgetések Alapján [The Structure of Ethnocentrism in the Minority – Based on Focus Group Discussions]."
[57] Veres, "Az Erdélyi Magyarok Nemzeti Kisebbségi Identitásának Alakulása Kárpát Panel Tükrében [The Formation of National Minority Identity of Transylvanian Hungarians in the Light of Carpathian Panel]."
[58] Saphiro and Neuberg, "When Do the Stigmatized Stigmatize? The Ironic Effects of Being Accountable to (Perceived) Majority Group Prejudice-Expression Norms."
[59] Verkuyten, "Personal Self-Esteem and Prejudice among Ethnic Majority and Minority Youth."
[60] Feischmidt, "Mindennapi Nacionalizmus És a Másság Cigányként Való Megjelölése [Everyday Nationalism and Marking Otherness as Gypsy]," 416.

The third socio-psychological theory used by Verkuyten[61], the principle of self-congruity suggests that high self-esteem goes together with the acceptance of others, while lower self-esteem correlates with their rejection. Likewise, Phinney *et al*.[62], studied relations between three different ethnic minority groups in schools. They found that a secure group membership correlate with the acceptance of others, while a weaker social identity causes less positive ingroup attitudes, which in turn leads to the rejection of others.

Ten years later Verkuyten[63] introduced another potential reaction to the degradation of one's category membership: reactive ethnic identity, emphasizing "the value and self-defining importance of their ethnic background in response to negative characterizations by society". Similarly, recognition by the majority leads to stronger identification with the superordinate group and a weakened minority identification[64]. On the other hand, minority on minority prejudice can be the result of an attempt to conform to assumed majority expectations. When one's identity is devalued by the majority, they try to gain approval by devaluing others in a similar manner[65].

As shown by the above two sections minority identities can be quite complex. There are many different emotional and behavioural responses to the experience of belonging to a marked category. Understanding these responses is crucial to the present research, but also this complexity is in part what motivated me in this endeavour.

[61] Verkuyten, "Personal Self-Esteem and Prejudice among Ethnic Majority and Minority Youth."
[62] Phinney, Ferguson, and Tate, "Intergroup Attitudes among Ethnic Minority Adolescents: A Causal Model."
[63] Verkuyten, "Ethnic Group Identification and Group Evaluation Among Minority and Majority Groups: Testing the Multiculturalism Hypothesis," 134.
[64] Molina, Phillips, and Sidanius, "National and Ethnic Identity in the Face of Discrimination: Ethnic Minority and Majority Perspectives."
[65] Saphiro and Neuberg, "When Do the Stigmatized Stigmatize? The Ironic Effects of Being Accountable to (Perceived) Majority Group Prejudice-Expression Norms."

2.2.3 Symbolic separation (hierarchy of minority and majority)

This section takes a look at theories that map out what happens once 'othering' has taken place: the creation and maintenance of symbolic boundaries and intergroup hierarchies.

In order to maintain social identity symbolic boundaries are essential[66]. They are "the socially constructed lines between "us" and "them" that define group differences and demarcate social hierarchies"[67]. These boundaries are drawn according to the intentions of privileged actors and groups, and they contribute to the maintenance of existing power structures. It is hard to redraw them, although those without power have the chance to "contest and reframe the meaning of social boundaries"[68] with the help of symbolic action. With the aim to do so some cross borders they are supposed to stay behind, while others choose to challenge the border between themselves and the majority completely by drawing another one to separate them from an even lower-status, stigmatized outgroup[69]. The existence of symbolic boundaries necessarily lead to the pervasiveness of social hierarchies[70]. These hierarchies have an important function: they 'stabilize', 'maintain' and 'regulate' existing structures in the social world and administer the behaviour of individuals, making sure they do not act against the rules set by boundaries[71].

Feischmidt[72] describes in detail what happens when the behaviour of a marginalized, subordinate category (in this case Roma in villages in Hungary) begins to diverge from the rules. She claims that 'offences' committed by Roma and resented by non-Roma are in all cases examples of dissolution of the previous order that was based on separation and hierarchy. When

[66] Lamont and Molnár, "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences."
[67] Guetzkow and Fast, "How Symbolic Boundaries Shape the Experience of Social Exclusion: A Case Comparison of Arab Palestinian Citizens and Ethiopian Jews in Israel," 152.
[68] Olitsky, "Beyond 'Acting White': Affirming Academic Identities by Establishing Symbolic Boundaries Through Talk."
[69] Guetzkow and Fast, "How Symbolic Boundaries Shape the Experience of Social Exclusion: A Case Comparison of Arab Palestinian Citizens and Ethiopian Jews in Israel."
[70] Jacoby and Mansuri, "Crossing Boundaries: How Social Hierarchy Impedes Economic Mobility."
[71] Santamaría-García et al., "'If You Are Good, I Get Better': the Role of Social Hierarchy in Perceptual Decision-Making."
[72] Feischmidt, "Mindennapi Nacionalizmus És a Másság Cigányként Való Megjelölése [Everyday Nationalism and Marking Otherness as Gypsy]."

people who were considered members of an *underclass* step up from the bottom of the hierarchy and turn visible, they become problematic and dangerous (also see Bíró and Bodó[73]). To have an anthropological take: they are dirty, impure, polluting[74].

2.3 CONCLUSION

The aim of Chapter 2 was to take a look at the theoretical literature about everyday ethnicity and minority identities. The ways in which ethnicity emerges and fails to emerge in everyday life were discussed, as well as the significance of the 'Other' when understanding the ingroup. Then different forms of minority identity were listed and the processes of minority ethnocentrism and 'othering' were described. Finally, we touched on the importance of symbolic separation between minority and majority and the maintenance of hierarchies.

These themes lead to some of the research questions of this thesis. These will be set out at the end of Chapter 3, which introduces the contextual background of the research, identifies some gaps in the contextual literature, and contributes to the formulation of research questions.

[73] Bíró and Bodó, "Öndefiníciós Kísérletek Helyi Környezetben [Experiments of Self-Definition in Local Settings]."
[74] Douglas, *Purity and Danger*.

CHAPTER 3 − CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

This chapter provides information about the contextual background of the thesis, based on previous studies conducted in the area (both in the physical and in the social sense). Four fields of research are set out. First, the situation of Hungarian and Roma minorities in Romania; second, the political representation of the Transylvanian Hungarian minority in Romania (especially Székelyföld) and Hungary; third, the dual minority status of Transylvanian Hungarians in Romania and Hungary; and fourth, qualitative analyses of Roma–non-Roma relations in Transylvanian villages. Hopefully these topics provide substantial background information, in the light of which the researched village can be understood better.

3.1 MINORITIES IN ROMANIA

The two largest minorities of Romania are the Hungarians and the Roma. Census data from 2011[75] indicate 6.1% (1.2 million) ethnic Hungarian citizens (decreasing from 7.1% in 1992 and 6.6% in 2002) and only 3% Roma. However, it is estimated that in reality the Roma minority outnumbers the Hungarian[76]. This subchapter briefly introduces the historical and present-day position of these two minorities, pointing out differences between their situations. For the sake of the present research, it is important to understand the discrepancies between the positions of the two communities that exist despite their shared minority status. Representatives of both minorities live in the researched village too.

[75] "Populaţia După Etnie La Recensămintele Din Perioada 1930-2011 – Judeţe [Population by Ethnicity in the Censuses between 1930-2011 - Counties]."
[76] Martin and Straubhaar, "Best Practice Options: Romania"; Ram, "Romania. From Laggard to Leader?"

3.1.1 The Roma minority of Romania

When aiming to discover the history of the Roma minority of Romania, Viorel Achim's analysis[77] is probably the most important source. As the main source of their current difficulties, he identifies imperfect emancipation after centuries of slavery, which focused only on legal aspects and ignored economic and social issues. The enslavement of Gypsies[78] began at once after they arrived to Wallachia and Moldavia in the 14th century, while abolition of slavery started in the mid-19th century. WW II was also a period of persecution for Roma: deportations to Transnistria and abuse by gendarme took place during the Antonescu regime.

As Ram[79] puts it, "regarding minorities in particular, the communist legacy of Romania had to build on was one of forced assimilation and denial of minority rights". The Roma population was in an even worse position than Hungarians, being refused to be recognized as a 'co-inhabiting nationality' by the communist regime. Between 1948 and 1989, Roma did not appear in political documents and there were no special policies aiming for the progress of their situation. Although their living conditions generally improved, many Roma communities disappeared during this period due to forced settlement and the demolition of neighbourhoods[80].

The report of Human Rights Watch[81] provides a list of violent attacks against Gypsy communities, which took place in both Romanian and Hungarian neighbourhoods and villages after the 1989 revolution. While steps have been taken towards their inclusion, these "coexist […] with exclusionary policies and practices. […] As long as this paradoxical environment persists, substantive progress in improving the situation of Roma will continue to be exceptionally slow"[82].

[77] Achim, *The Roma in Romanian History*.
[78] Achim (2004) uses the terms Roma and Gypsy interchangeably. I will also do so.
[79] Ram, "Romania. From Laggard to Leader?," 180.
[80] Human Rights Watch, *Destroying Ethnic Identity. The Persecution of the Gypsies in Romania. A Helsinki Watch Report*; Achim, *The Roma in Romanian History*.
[81] Human Rights Watch, *Destroying Ethnic Identity. The Persecution of the Gypsies in Romania. A Helsinki Watch Report*.
[82] Ram, "Europeanized Hypocrisy: Roma Inclusion and Exclusion in Central and Eastern Europe," 17.

Prejudice against Gypsies is also high in Romania. Fleck and Rughiniș[83] found that 15.6% of non-Roma respondents would ban Roma people from the country, and only 17.9% of them would accept a Roma family member. The intersectionality of hardships is typical in the case of the Gypsy population. Vincze[84] discusses social and geographical marginality, which are discursively treated as natural when it comes to Roma who are not only poor but also excluded. Moreover, most of the time, the representation of Roma in the media reinforces stereotypes: "conflicts between Roma and the majority society are headline news […], but with few exceptions the means of representation and access to decision-making are entirely in the hands of the majority"[85].

The political representation of Roma is weak and does not match the numerical and proportional significance of this minority within Romanian society. This has a number of reasons, including the suspicious attitude of Roma towards elections and the unclear representation of interests by Roma political parties[86]. Compared to Hungarians, the Gypsy minority of Romania has a large disadvantage: the lack of a kin-state, which comes with the lack of practical benefits and symbolic empowerment[87].

3.1.2 The history of the Hungarian minority in Romania

Coming from a completely different historical track, the story of the Hungarian minority in Romania begins only in 1918 when a mass assembly in Gyulafehérvár[88] proposed union with Moldavia and Wallachia on the 1st of December. This meant the *de facto* end of Hungarian dominance in Transylvania, although *de jure* Romanian unification took place only in 1920 in

[83] Fleck and Rughiniș, *Come Closer. Inclusion and Exclusion of Roma in Present-Day Romanian Society*.
[84] Vincze, "Socio-Spatial Marginality of Roma as Form of Intersectional Injustice."
[85] Fosztó and Anăstăsoaie, "Romania: Representations, Public Policies and Political Projects," 351.
[86] McGarry, "Ambiguous Nationalism? Explaining the Parliamentary under-Representation of Roma in Hungary and Romania."
[87] Ram, "Democratization through European Integration: The Case of Minority Rights in the Czech Republic and Romania."
[88] Alba Iulia.

accordance with the Trianon treaty[89]. The Hungarian population constituted a numerical minority in Transylvania even earlier (although not in Székelyföld)[90]. After the formation of Greater Romania public administration and education were taken over by ethnic Romanians completely, and the 'colonization' of Hungarian- and German-speaking cities by Romanian-speakers began[91]. The ratio of Romanians was also increased by the emigration of the Hungarian intelligentsia to Hungary from the new, foreign nation-state. For a few years during WW II, Northern Transylvania was reattached to Hungary and occupied by the Hungarian army, leading to many atrocities committed against the minority Romanian population[92].

In the early communist period nationalist sentiments in general were suppressed by the state, followed by the existence of the so called Hungarian Autonomous Region in the three Székely counties between 1952 and 1965[93]. However, after Ceauşescu gained power in 1965, the Romanian communist regime turned into a rather nationalist one: there were many anti-Hungarian measures taking place, including forced industrialisation and urbanization, attempting to dissolve Hungarian villages[94].

The early 1990s were not free of ethnic violence against the Hungarian minority[95]. A major clash between Hungarians and Romanians in Marosvásárhely[96] in 1990 left six people killed and many injured[97]. Despite the initial tensions, several positive changes have taken place regarding the rights of Hungarians since 1989. The scale and efficiency of Hungarian political representation is incomparable with that of the Roma, and the Hungarian minority also enjoys support from the kin-state. Furthermore, Hungarians do not share the socio-economic

[89] Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*.
[90] Szász, *Erdély Története 1830-Tól Napjainkig [The History of Transylvania from 1830 to Today]*.
[91] Veres, "Az Erdélyi Magyarok Nemzeti Kisebbségi Identitásának Alakulása Kárpát Panel Tükrében [The Formation of National Minority Identity of Transylvanian Hungarians in the Light of Carpathian Panel]."
[92] Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*.
[93] Bottoni, "Szeklerland as the New Crimea? A Low-Potential Conflict."
[94] Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*.
[95] Ram, "Romania. From Laggard to Leader?"
[96] Târgu Mureş
[97] Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*.

marginalization that Gypsies suffer from, which is unsurprising, considering centuries of majority position in the region. Even so, today Hungarians are a minority not only numerically but also in terms of power and also experience inequality. Kiss[98] argues that asymmetric power relations between the unmarked category of Romanians and the marked category of Hungarians lead to assimilation, and says that Hungarian ethnic blocks that provide cultural and linguistic reproduction for this minority are economically peripheral.

3.2 THE REPRESENTATION OF TRANSYLVANIAN HUNGARIANS

In this subchapter the present-day representation of the ethnic Hungarian minority living in Transylvania is examined. The first section takes a look at efforts of the Hungarian state to 'reunite' the nation; the second section discusses what Hungarian parties in Romania aimed for and achieved in the past decades. The aim of this subchapter is to introduce the 'nationalist politics', the significance and appearance of which in everyday life is the focus of this thesis.

3.2.1 Efforts of the Hungarian state: Status Law, dual citizenship

In Hungary, the discourse about the territories lost in 1918-20 has always been vivid but has become an especially significant issue since the fall of communism. The 1989 amendment to the Constitution included 'taking responsibility' for those parts of the nation that live abroad[99]. During the first governance period of PM Viktor Orbán, in 2001 a so called Status Law was prepared to 'preserve the cultural and linguistic identity' of ethnic Hungarians living in neighbouring countries in the form of a Hungarian ID that provided them several benefits to

[98] Kiss, "Etnikai Rétegződési Rendszer Erdélyben És Romániában. A Magyarok Társadalmi Pozíciói [The System of Ethnic Strata in Transylvania and Romania. The Social Positions of Hungarians]."
[99] Küpper, "From the Status Law to the Initiative for 'Dual Citizenship': Aspects of Domestic Hungarian and International Law."

enjoy in Hungary. The Status Law caused much tension in international relations; not only did neighbouring countries resent but several European organs also criticized the law[100].

Although citizens of Hungary did not support the idea of granting dual citizenship to transborder co-ethnics in a 2004 referendum about the issue, one of the first moves of the second Orbán-government was an amendment to the Law on Hungarian Citizenship (1993/LV) in 2010[101]. This amendment allows ethnic Hungarians living abroad to become non-residential Hungarian citizens through a simplified naturalization process. The new law on the election of MPs[102] from 2013 allows citizens without residency to vote for party lists via post. In the 2014 elections, 43.55% of citizens living in Hungary supported Fidesz, while more than twice as much in terms of ratio, 95.49% of those voting via post voted for them[103].

In sum, under Orbán's leadership, the Hungarian state has attempted to integrate transborder Hungarians into the nation not only symbolically but also practically, benefitting both the governing party and the new citizens themselves. For ethnic Hungarians living in Romania, Hungarian citizenship is a symbol of national belonging, something they seek as members of a minority in a state where they cannot identify with the majority nation[104]. Efforts of the Hungarian state to bring transborders symbolically 'home' contradict its support for territorial autonomy, which would be a solution focusing on making a compromise in their geographical home. Nonetheless, the conservative government in 1994, as well as Orbán and Fidesz later on have supported the cause of autonomy, at least in principle and symbolically[105].

[100] Kovács, "The Politics of Dual Citizenship in Hungary"; Tóth, "Kin Minority, Kin-State and Neighbourhood Policy in the Enlarged Europe"; Neumayer, "Symbolic Policies versus European Reconciliation: The Hungarian 'Status Law.'"

[101] *http://net.jogtar.hu/jr/gen/hjegy_doc.cgi?docid=99300055.TV*

[102] *http://net.jogtar.hu/jr/gen/hjegy_doc.cgi?docid=A1300036.TV*

[103] *http://www.valasztas.hu/hu/ogyv2014/861/861_0_index.html*

[104] Kiss and Barna, "Erdélyi Magyarok a Magyarországi És Romániai Politikai Térben [Transylvanian Hungarians in the Political Spaces of Hungary and Romania]."

[105] Amariei, "Romania: The Unsettled Szeklers"; Bochsler and Szöcsik, "Building Inter-Ethnic Bridges or Promoting Ethno-Territorial Demarcation Lines? Hungarian Minority Parties in Competition."

3.2.2 Efforts of Hungarian parties in Romania

The history of the political representation of the Hungarian minority in Romania began after the 1989 revolution with the foundation of RMDSZ[106]. Even before this largest organization of Hungarians became a member of the government coalition in 1996, the representation of each national minority in the Romanian Parliament by at least one MP had been guaranteed by the Constitution since 1991. The Council of National Minorities, founded in 1993, advises the government on minority issues[107]. Ever since 1996, RMDSZ has been taking part in the governance of Romania almost all the time. Although many of its efforts were blocked and compromises had to be made[108], in government the party achieved the 1999 amendment to the education law (providing the legal basis to use minority languages in public education from primary to university level[109]), the usage of minority languages in local public administration, and the foundation of Hungarian departments at the Babeş-Bolyai University in Kolozsvár.

However, the history of the post-1989 representation of the Hungarian minority in Romania is not that of only one big party. Although RMDSZ is still the strongest political organization of Hungarians in Romania, there are many others too. Due to its constant participation in the government since 1996, the position of RMDSZ became more moderate on several issues[110] and their challengers (first within the party, then as separate organizations since the early 2000s) have taken a more radical stance[111].

The most divisive issue of different Hungarian parties is that of territorial autonomy for Székelyföld. Even before leaving RMDSZ, the so-called Reform Bloc of the party advocated immediate autonomy, while the leadership went for a 'step-by-step strategy'. After it became a

[106] României Magyar Demokrata Szövetség; Uniunca Democrată Maghiară din România (UDMR); Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (DAHR)
[107] Ram, "Romania. From Laggard to Leader?"
[108] Eplényi, "Székelyek És Autonómia - Tervek a Mérlegen (2003-2006) [Szeklers and Autonomy - Plans on the Scale (2003-2006)]."
[109] Martin and Straubhaar, "Best Practice Options: Romania."
[110] Ţipţer, "The Szekler Autonomy Initiatives."
[111] Bochsler and Szöcsik, "Building Inter-Ethnic Bridges or Promoting Ethno-Territorial Demarcation Lines? Hungarian Minority Parties in Competition."

coalition partner in the government, RMDSZ dropped the controversial cause of territorial autonomy[112]. The first internal splits in the party took place in the early 2000s, leading to the formation of many different organizations, supported by the (then and now) governing party of Hungary, Fidesz[113]. The rivalling organization EMNT[114] remains the strongest Hungarian opposition to RMDSZ, although a new Hungarian party, MPP[115] was founded in 2007. However, none of the new organizations managed to become more popular than RMDSZ, despite the support received from the current leadership in Budapest. In 2014, RMDSZ completed a consensual plan[116] about autonomy together with MPP, based on a document produced by EMNT, but the plan is still being debated on different forums[117] and it has not been proposed to the parliament as an actual bill[118].

3.3 THE DUAL MINORITY STATUS OF TRANSYLVANIAN HUNGARIANS

This subchapter aims to sum up the complex experiences of Transylvanian Hungarians as members of a minority both in Romania and in the mother-country. Hungarians living in Székelyföld are hard to categorize not only because they are majority (regionally) and minority (in Romania) at the same time, and belong to a transborder nation too, but also because they maintain ambivalent relationships and positions within both civic/national communities[119]. Although they are not a diaspora or migrants, they do have 'de-centred attachments'[120], belonging to both localities (physically and symbolically) and to neither of them at the same

[112] Ţipţer, "The Szekler Autonomy Initiatives."
[113] Bochsler and Szöcsik, "Building Inter-Ethnic Bridges or Promoting Ethno-Territorial Demarcation Lines? Hungarian Minority Parties in Competition."
[114] Erdélyi Magyar Nemzeti Tanács; Consiliul Naţional Maghiar din Transilvania (CNMT); National Council of Transylvanian Hungarians (NCTH)
[115] Magyar Polgári Párt; Partidul Civic Maghiar (PCM); Hungarian Civic Party (HCP)
[116] *http://kitekinto.hu/karpat-medence/2014/08/06/elkeszult_a_szekelyfoldi_autonomia_tervezete/#.Vmb9h_nhDIU*
[117] *http://www.maszol.ro/index.php/belfold/36107-megkezdodott-a-kozvita-az-rmdsz-autonomiatervezeterol*
[118] *http://mandiner.hu/cikk/20150929_romania_lakossaganak_het_szazaleka_tamogatja_a_szekely_autonomiat*
[119] Papp, "Az Etnocentrizmus Szerkezete a Kisebbségben – a Fókuszcsoportos Beszélgetések Alapján [The Structure of Ethnocentrism in the Minority – Based on Focus Group Discussions]."
[120] Vertovec, *Transnationalism*.

time. This dual minority status is closely connected to their ambivalent representation in public discourse in Hungary, which was pointed out in Chapter 1, and leads to a research question of the present thesis about self-representation in the researched village.

3.3.1 Ambivalent relationship with Hungary

While Transylvanian Hungarians widely consider themselves members of the Hungarian nation, and much less of the Romanian nation[121], their attitudes towards the kin-state and its inhabitants are far from purely positive. Regional and local identities play a significant role in their lives[122]; cultural codes and independent institutions are developed in order to symbolically and practically separate them from both local and transborder majority elites. Local communities remain somewhat detached from the 'world of Politics', which needs symbols applicable in everyday life to be understood and internalized by such communities[123]. As Papp[124] sets out, despite the introduction of dual citizenship, the division from the kin-state makes it impossible for this minority to turn into a diaspora.

Based on interviews conducted with fresh non-resident citizens, Pogonyi[125] explains that Hungarians living in Romania have been deeply affected by the failure of the 2004 referendum[126], while finally receiving the opportunity to become Hungarian citizens in 2010 was considered as a 'compensation' for all offenses committed by the kin-state in the past. Their reasons to apply for citizenship were mainly based on identity and symbolism, rather than

[121] Kiss and Barna, "Erdélyi Magyarok a Magyarországi És Romániai Politikai Térben [Transylvanian Hungarians in the Political Spaces of Hungary and Romania]."
[122] Ibid.; Veres, "Identity Discourses on National Belonging: The Hungarian Minority in Romania"; Papp, "Kisebbségi Identitáskonstrukciók a Kettős Magyar Állampolgárság Által [Minority Identity Constructions via Dual Hungarian Citizenship]."
[123] Patakfalvi-Czirják, "Szimbolikus Konfliktusok És Performative Események a 'székely Zászló' Kapcsán [Symbolic Conflicts and Performative Events Connected to the 'Szekler Flag']"; Papp, "Kisebbségi Identitáskonstrukciók a Kettős Magyar Állampolgárság Által [Minority Identity Constructions via Dual Hungarian Citizenship]."
[124] Papp, "Kisebbségi Identitáskonstrukciók a Kettős Magyar Állampolgárság Által [Minority Identity Constructions via Dual Hungarian Citizenship]."
[125] Pogonyi, "Perceptions of Hungarian External Dual Citizenship in the US, Israel, Serbia and Romania."
[126] Kovács, "The Politics of Dual Citizenship in Hungary."

practicalities. Papp[127] had similar results, and he argues dual citizenship creates dual ties, a sort of hybrid identity among transborder Hungarians.

The ambivalent attitudes of Transylvanian Hungarians towards the mother-country and its inhabitants do not remain unreturned. On one hand, Transylvanian Hungarians appear in discourses in Hungary as 'true Hungarians'[128]; their homeland is widely considered as the location where 'authenticity' can be experienced[129]. 80% of Hungarians in Hungary consider transborder co-ethnics members of the nation (unlike Roma)[130] and 80% would also accept them in any close relationship, up to family membership[131].

On the other hand, it is mostly elites who perform solidarity towards transborder co-ethnics, while for the average citizen "individual efforts to make ends meet are more important than national solidarity"[132]. What is more, studies showed that Transylvanian Hungarians often face discrimination in Hungary and, what they said was especially painful, are regularly called 'Romanian'[133]. A possible response to having a minority status in both countries[134] is 'reactive ethnic identity'[135] (see Section 2.2.2). Such a reaction has been evoked not only among those Transylvanian Hungarians who moved to Hungary and experienced the devaluation of their ethnicity, but also among those who remained at home as a result of the failure of the

[127] Papp, "Kisebbségi Identitáskonstrukciók a Kettős Magyar Állampolgárság Által [Minority Identity Constructions via Dual Hungarian Citizenship]."
[128] Feischmidt, "Mindennapi Nacionalizmus És a Másság Cigányként Való Megjelölése [Everyday Nationalism and Marking Otherness as Gypsy]."
[129] Ilyés, "Az Emlékezés És a Turisztikai Élmény Nemzetiesítése [The Nationalizing of Remembrance and Touristic Experience]."
[130] Papp, "Kárpát Panel – Magyarország. Gyorsjelentés 2007 [Carpathian Panel - Hungary, Report 2007]."
[131] Simonovits and Szalai, "Idegenellenesség És Diszkrimináció a Mai Magyarországon [Xenophobia and Discrimination in Present-Day Hungary]."
[132] Erőss, "Magyarok, Romák, Székelyek, Kínaiak. Kerekasztal-Vita, Kutatások És Publikációk – A Kisebbségkutatás Új Iránya [Hungarians, Roma, Szekler, Chinese. Roundtable-Debate, Researches and Publications – The New Direction of Minority Studies]."
[133] Pulay, "Etnicitás, Állampolgárság És Munkaerőpiaci Kategorizáció [Ethnicity, Citizenship and Categorisation in the Job Market]"; Zakariás, "Identifikációs Narratívák Magyarországra Áttelepült Erdélyi Diplomások Élettörténeteiben [Narratives of Identification in the Life Histories of Transylvanian Professionals Living in Hungary]"; Veres, "Identity Discourses on National Belonging: The Hungarian Minority in Romania."
[134] Pulay, "Etnicitás, Állampolgárság És Munkaerőpiaci Kategorizáció [Ethnicity, Citizenship and Categorisation in the Job Market]."
[135] Verkuyten, "Ethnic Group Identification and Group Evaluation Among Minority and Majority Groups: Testing the Multiculturalism Hypothesis."

referendum in 2004[136]. At the time only 37.49% of those allowed to vote took part in the referendum (thus it was invalid), although slightly more voted yes (51.57%) than no (48.43%)[137]. In addition, rejection by co-ethnics may result in minority ethnocentrism against a number of different outgroups[138].

3.3.2 Problematic position in Romania

The 'social location'[139] of the Hungarian minority in Romania is complex. It is hard to conceptually grab where they belong: culture, nationality, ethnicity, citizenship, homeland, kin-state and country mix in descriptions of their position. Brubaker *et al*.[140] differentiate between ethnocultural, citizenship and country identifications. Veres[141] makes a distinction between cultural nation and civic nation. Kiss and Barna[142] identify mother tongue, personal choice and citizenship as the most determinative factors of national belonging in people's opinions.

Opinions of the Romanian public about Hungarian nationalizing efforts are generally sceptical and involve fears of 'fragmentation of state sovereignty'[143]. According to a recent poll by INSCOP Research[144], only 7.1% of respondents had a positive opinion about territorial autonomy plans, while 72.2% expressed negative attitudes. One of the main counterarguments is that the idea of autonomy is unconstitutional, but there are also other fears present in the Romanian discourse: secession, too much use of a minority language, too much emphasis on

[136] Papp, "Az Etnocentrizmus Szerkezete a Kisebbségben – a Fókuszcsoportos Beszélgetések Alapján [The Structure of Ethnocentrism in the Minority – Based on Focus Group Discussions]"; Pogonyi, "Perceptions of Hungarian External Dual Citizenship in the US, Israel, Serbia and Romania."
[137] *http://www.valasztas.hu/nepszav04/main_hu.html*
[138] Feischmidt and Zakariás, "Migráció És Etnicitás. A Mobilitás Formái És Politikái Nemzeti És Transznacionális Térben [Migration and Ethnicity. The Forms and Politics of Mobility in National and Transnational Spaces']."
[139] Fosztó and Anăstăsoaie, "Romania: Representations, Public Policies and Political Projects."
[140] Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*.
[141] Veres, "Identity Discourses on National Belonging: The Hungarian Minority in Romania."
[142] Kiss and Barna, "Erdélyi Magyarok a Magyarországi És Romániai Politikai Térben [Transylvanian Hungarians in the Political Spaces of Hungary and Romania]."
[143] Ram, "Romania. From Laggard to Leader?"
[144] *http://www.kronika.ro/belfold/romania-lakossaganak-het-szazaleka-tamogatja-a-szekely-autonomiat*

regional policies. Perhaps most importantly, opponents do not think that autonomy is necessary at all[145].

3.4 THE SITUATION OF ROMA IN TRANSYLVANIA

This last subchapter takes a look at the literature introducing attitudes towards the Roma population in Transylvania in particular. Section 3.4.1 focuses on ways of boundary maintenance in villages (referring back to Section 2.2.3 about symbolic borders and hierarchy), while Section 3.4.2 informs the reader about the position of Hungarian-speaking Roma in Transylvania. Both sections provide information that is used to formulate questions about interethnic relations in the researched village.

3.4.1 Roma–non-Roma relations in Transylvanian villages

Results from small-scale qualitative studies in Transylvanian villages confirm the general tendency in Central and Eastern Europe that the Roma minority has become a reliable option when it comes to 'othering'; they are often used as a category against which majorities identify themselves[146]. These studies are important to look at because several characteristics of rural life and ethnic issues in the region can be identified through them, and they provide methodological information that is used for the present research.

Local-level researches from the past two decades in Transylvanian villages report about strict boundary-maintenance between Roma and non-Roma (may they be Hungarian or Romanian) both physically and symbolically, which is key to a seemingly balanced, peaceful cohabitation[147]. Fosztó[148] tells about the 'symbolic domination' of certain spaces by Hungarians

[145] Ţipţer, "The Szekler Autonomy Initiatives."
[146] Dupcsik, *A Magyarországi Cigányság Története [The History of Gypsies in Hungary]*; Ruzicka, "Continuity or Rupture? Roma/Gypsy Communities in Rural and Urban Environments under Post-Socialism."
[147] Bíró and Oláh, "Roma Népesség a Székelyföldi Településeken [Roma Population in Szekler Settlements]."
[148] Fosztó, "Interetnikus Kapcsolat Székelyszáldoboson. Cigány – Magyar Egymás Melett Élés [Interethnic Relations in Székelyszáldobos. Gypsy – Hungarian Cohabitation]."

and Gypsies in a village in Kovászna, and how crossing the borders and staying in the space of the other ethnic group is uncomfortable for villagers (see Engebrigsten[149]). While Gypsies moving into the village centre may cause fear among the majority[150], such change of living space can be a tool of integration for the Roma[151].

Bakó[152] describes how stereotypes about the bad work ethic of outgroups help Romanian, Hungarian and Roma communities of a Southern Transylvanian village express their separation from each other on the symbolic level. Furthermore, when they must interact, Roma and non-Roma have to follow a set of norms, expressing their non-equal status. These norms include one-sided informality and the compulsory use of the majority language[153], as well as the godparenting of Roma children by Hungarians, which institution is based on the economic dependency of Roma, rather than friendship[154]. Romantic relations and close friendships are also policed between Roma and non-Roma, although economic relations are actively maintained[155]. However, power asymmetries are reflected in an imbalanced system of dependencies: the minority relies on the help of the majority but not vice versa[156]. Bíró and Oláh[157] report that families that 'mixed with Gypsy blood' are also kept track of and insulted.

[149] Engebrigsten, *Exploring Gypsiness. Power, Exchange and Interdependence in a Transylvanian Village*.
[150] Túros, "Magyarok, Románok, Cigányok: Ki van a Középpontban? [Hungarians, Romanians, Gypsies: Who Is in the Centre?]"; Bíró and Bodó, "Öndefiníciós Kísérletek Helyi Környezetben [Experiments of Self-Definition in Local Settings]."
[151] Fosztó, "Szorongás És Megbélyegzés: A Cigány-Magyar Kapcsolat Gazdasági, Demográfiai És Szociokulturális Dimenziói [Anxiety and Stigmatization: The Economic, Demographic and Socio-Cultural Dimensions of the Gyps-Hungarian Relation]."
[152] Bakó, "Cigánymódra – Magyarmódra. Együttélési Viszonyok Egy Mikorközösség Sztereotípiatörténetein Át [Gypsy Way – Hungarian Way. Cohabitation through the Stereotype Stories of Micro-Community]."
[153] Fosztó, "Szorongás És Megbélyegzés: A Cigány-Magyar Kapcsolat Gazdasági, Demográfiai És Szociokulturális Dimenziói [Anxiety and Stigmatization: The Economic, Demographic and Socio-Cultural Dimensions of the Gyps-Hungarian Relation]."
[154] Bakó, "'Mi Házi Magyarok Vagyunk…' Egy Bardócszéki Romungro Közösség Identitása Egy Gyilkosság Tükrében ['We Are Domesticated Hungarians…' The Identity of a Romungro Community from Bardócszék in the Light of a Murder]."
[155] Fleck and Rughiniș, *Come Closer. Inclusion and Exclusion of Roma in Present-Day Romanian Society*.
[156] Bakó, "'Mi Házi Magyarok Vagyunk…' Egy Bardócszéki Romungro Közösség Identitása Egy Gyilkosság Tükrében ['We Are Domesticated Hungarians…' The Identity of a Romungro Community from Bardócszék in the Light of a Murder]."
[157] Bíró and Oláh, "Roma Népesség a Székelyföldi Településeken [Roma Population in Szekler Settlements]."

There is the question of how to treat Roma if they break the unwritten rules of hierarchical cohabitation. Bíró and Bodó[158] describe the case of a village in Hargita where the growing number of Gypsies caused anxiety among local Hungarians. They set out that Hungarians changed from singular to plural 'you' when talking to Roma, emphasizing the ethnic tone of personal relations. Examining the sensitive balance of a Hungarian village in Kovászna, Bakó[159] found that the differentiation between 'good' and 'bad' Gypsies disappeared in an instant after a Roma youth was accused of murder and all Gypsies became enemy.

3.4.2 The situation of Hungarian-speaking Roma in Transylvania

According to Bíró and Oláh[160], Roma have lived in Székely territories since the 16th century, and their numbers were the highest in Maros among the three counties throughout the centuries (the 2011 census indicates almost 47,000 (8.5%) Roma in Maros[161]). The two scholars say that most Roma of Romania speak the majority language of the region they live in; two-thirds of those living in Székelyföld speak Hungarian as a first or second language. Nonetheless, Hungarian-speaking Roma of Transylvania are generally neglected by political actors. Moreover, they are not considered members of the Hungarian community by non-Roma Hungarians, the majority of whom feel aversion towards Roma[162].

Discussing the situation of transborder Hungarian-speaking Gypsies in a radio podcast, László Fosztó[163] explained that Roma in Romania who speak Hungarian are concentrated in Székelyföld. Romani is the mother-tongue of some of them but even if they identify as Gypsy

158 Bíró and Bodó, "Öndefiníciós Kísérletek Helyi Környezetben [Experiments of Self-Definition in Local Settings]."
159 Bakó, "'Mi Házi Magyarok Vagyunk…' Egy Bardócszéki Romungro Közösség Identitása Egy Gyilkosság Tükrében ['We Are Domesticated Hungarians…' The Identity of a Romungro Community from Bardócszék in the Light of a Murder]."
160 Bíró and Oláh, "Roma Népesség a Székelyföldi Településeken [Roma Population in Szekler Settlements]."
161 "Populaţia După Etnie La Recensămintele Din Perioada 1930-2011 – Judeţe [Population by Ethnicity in the Censuses between 1930-2011 - Counties]."
162 Veres, "Az Erdélyi Magyarok Nemzeti Kisebbségi Identitásának Alakulása Kárpát Panel Tükrében [The Formation of National Minority Identity of Transylvanian Hungarians in the Light of Carpathian Panel]."
163 Kerényi and Bárdi, "A Magyarul Beszélő Külhoni Romák [Hungarian-Speaking Transborder Roma]."

or Roma they feel closer to the local Hungarian than to the national Romanian majority. Fosztó stated that the condition of the integration of Gypsies into the Hungarian ethnic community is that non-Roma acknowledge that Roma are human beings in the first place. Furthermore, it would be important that the two minorities recognize their shared vulnerability.

The Roma population of majority Hungarian territories in Romania is not targeted by local and kin-state-based politicians either. According to Erőss[164], approx. 35-40% of the student body of (Hungarian) schools in Székelyföld are Roma and there is a competition in the assimilation of these Gypsies between Romanians and Hungarians. Nevertheless, nation-building policies in Hungary do not target Roma specifically. It is hard for Gypsies to get into influential positions of decision-making in Hungarian parties in Romania too[165].

3.5 CONTEXTUAL GAP

With the help of the literature set out in this chapter two main gaps in the contextual literature have been identified that I wish to narrow with the present research. First, even though the effects of nation-building political actions on Transylvanian Hungarians, as well as public opinion about these have been widely measured, Roma inhabitants of territories with a dense Hungarian population have been neglected. One aim of this research is to better understand to what extent are they reached by Hungarian national(ist) politics and how this is connected to their marginalized position within the local community.

Second, although villages of widely rural Transylvania and Székelyföld have been examined by several scholars before, and many aspects of everyday life have been covered by these studies, the appearance and effects of national(ist) politics have not been analyzed yet.

[164] Erőss, "Magyarok, Romák, Székelyek, Kínaiak. Kerekasztal-Vita, Kutatások És Publikációk – A Kisebbségkutatás Új Iránya [Hungarians, Roma, Szekler, Chinese. Roundtable-Debate, Researches and Publications – The New Direction of Minority Studies]."
[165] Kerényi and Bárdi, "A Magyarul Beszélő Külhoni Romák [Hungarian-Speaking Transborder Roma]."

CHAPTER 4 − RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 five research questions have been formulated about theoretical dilemmas and contextual gaps.

Based on the literature of ethnic triggers (2.1.2) and 'when ethnicity is not there' (2.1.3):

1) *When does ethnicity emerge in the village? Which situations, themes function as ethnic triggers?* Hypothesis: Most of the time people are concerned and happy, sad and relieved, focused and relaxed about other things, and their issues are not articulated in ethnic terms.

Based on the literature of forms of minority identity (2.2.1), minority ethnocentrism (2.2.2), the dual minority status (3.3) and the attitudes towards Roma (3.4) of Transylvanian Hungarians:

2) *Which outgroups provide the basis of comparison for the Hungarian majority of the village when they need to identify themselves, and why? When and why do they need these outgroups?* Hypothesis**:** The process of 'othering' does not always concern the same outgroup. According to the nature of difficulties (practical or symbolic) the outgroup chosen to represent 'different' and 'worse' changes.

Based on the literature of the dual minority status of Hungarians (3.3):

3) *Is there a discrepancy between the way villagers present themselves and in the way they are portrayed in Hungary?* Hypothesis: Yes, villagers do not see themselves and their life in such a romantic light; they are aware of problems that obscure the ideal image that lives in Hungary.

Based on the literature of the representation of Transylvanian Hungarians (3.2):

4) *What are the ways in which policies and rhetoric of the Hungarian state and local Hungarian parties influence concerns and appear in the village?* Hypothesis: People in the village do not

talk about politics on a daily basis. They make use of some of the advantages provided by the Hungarian state but are not deeply concerned with the ideological background of those.

Based on the literature of symbolic boundaries (2.2.3) and the situation of the Roma in Transylvania (3.4):

5) *Is the marginalized position of the local Roma minority reflected in their attitudes towards nationalist politics?* Hypothesis: Yes, the Roma living in the village do not take part in the symbolic nation-building communicated through media and local politics. The strict hierarchy and separation described as the condition of peaceful cohabitation in Sections 2.2.3 and 3.4 have not been dissolved in the village, which leads to the impossibility of local integration.

PART II − THE RESEARCH

CHAPTER 5 − METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I set out and explain the choices made both during data collection and analysis. The first part refers to the methodological literature in short; the following sections provide the details of fieldwork and analysis. Finally, I take a look at the ethical issues that arose during the research as well as limitations that should be taken into consideration regarding this thesis.

5.1 METHODOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The research was planned from the very beginning to be qualitative. This approach restricts the amount of collected data, therefore the validity of results cannot be measured in the same way as in the case of quantitative studies. Nonetheless, the aim of this research is the deep understanding of complex experiences and intertwined emotions, as well as the everyday, 'interactional emergence'[166] of ethnicity. To this end a complex set of qualitative methods seemed suitable[167].

5.1.1 Methodological triangulation

Silverman[168] claims that "methods should be our servants, not our rulers". The intention of my choice of qualitative methods was to apply those that a) are possible to use in the field; and b) will reveal the information I am looking for. In order to achieve the deepest and most useful data I decided to combine two methods – that is, apply methodological triangulation.

First of all, I used semi-structured in-depth interviews. These 'controlled conversations' are designed to explore opinions on, and understandings of certain issues in a flexible way, with

[166] Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*.
[167] Silverman, *Doing Qualitative Research*.
[168] Ibid., 11.

open-ended questions[169]. In Rapley's[170] phrasing, during interviews "speakers collaborate in producing retrospective (and prospective) *accounts* or *versions* of their past (or future) actions, experiences, feelings and thoughts"[171]. I arrived to the field prepared to conduct informal interviews (conversations) as well because literature suggested that formal interviews were likely to be rejected in a village setting[172].

Second, anthropological methods seemed naturally applicable in the field. As Strong (quoted by Rapley[173]) put it, "no form of interview study, however devious or informal, can stand as an adequate substitute for observational data". What is more, in their greatly inspirational book, Brubaker *et al.*[174] also argued that "ethnographic observation remains indispensable for any study that is concerned with everyday life" – and this was exactly what my research was concerned with. If done well, participant observation helps the researcher see the lives – thoughts, emotions, problems – of the studied people partly from inside. This involves some amount of actual participation as well as interviews and chats[175]. During my visit to the village, whenever I was not interviewing people or writing up in my room what I saw, I attempted to take part in as many social encounters as possible and I also observed people quietly.

Finally, it is important to mention the tradition of rural community studies. Fosztó[176] defines community studies as a 'form of research' that has been used to study well-defined units of complex societies in a multi-layered manner, for instance to produce monographies of villages. Furthermore, justifying the approach of his own study, he proposes to focus on a

[169] Byrne, "Qualitative Interviewing"; Bryman, *Social Research Methods*.
[170] Rapley, "Interviews," 16.
[171] Italics in original.
[172] Fosztó, "Interetnikus Kapcsolat Székelyszáldoboson. Cigány – Magyar Egymás Melett Élés [Interethnic Relations in Székelyszáldobos. Gypsy – Hungarian Cohabitation]."
[173] Rapley, "Interviews," 29.
[174] Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*, 384.
[175] Delamont, "Ethnography and Participant Observation."
[176] Fosztó, "Szorongás És Megbélyegzés: A Cigány-Magyar Kapcsolat Gazdasági, Demográfiai És Szociokulturális Dimenziói [Anxiety and Stigmatization: The Economic, Demographic and Socio-Cultural Dimensions of the Gyps-Hungarian Relation]."

specific issue because the introduction of the unit as a whole would have required a book, rather than a chapter. I suggest that my current case study follows the same track as Fosztó's examination of Roma-Hungarian relations in a Transylvanian village.

5.2 DETAILS OF DATA COLLECTION

In this subchapter the practical conditions of data collection are described, namely the locality, participants, timing, and the researcher's position as well as unexpected experiences in the field. The below information is based mainly on the fieldwork, although some of it comes from previously published literature about the village.

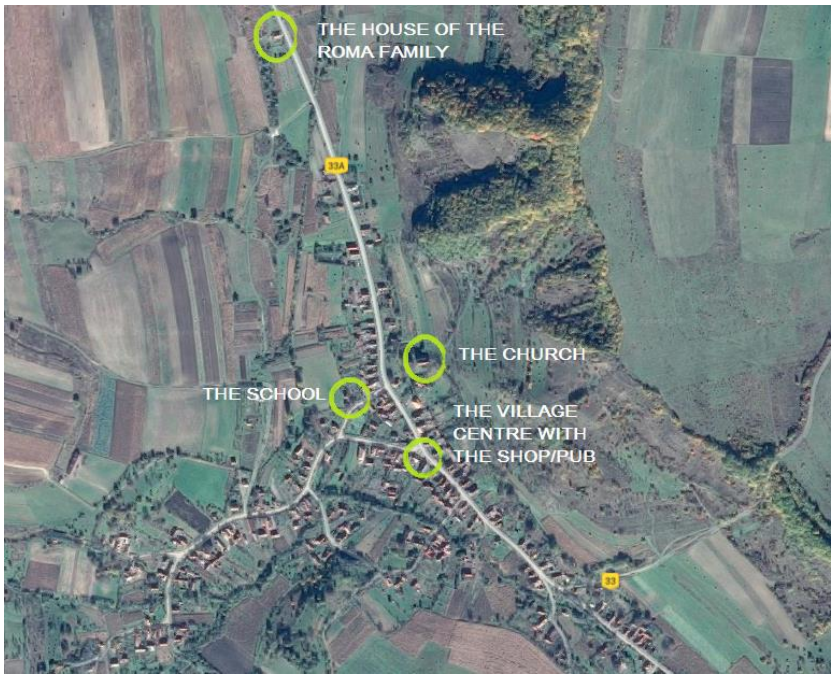

Image 1: The view of the village from above. Four significant locations of the village (the church, the school, the village centre with the shop/pub and the house of the Roma family) are signalled with green circles.
Source: Googlemaps.

5.2.1 Location (characteristics of the village)

The village lies in Maros County between the county centre Marosvásárhely and the spa town of Szováta[177]. Together with six other small villages they constitute one municipality, and they share a local government and mayor. The main sight of the village is its church that was built in the 13th century and offered to a Hungarian saint, after whom the village has been named.

[177] Sovata.

Today the church and the congregation of the village belong to the Transylvanian Calvinist Church. The bust of the saint was erected in front of the church in 2006 thanks to an initiative from Hungary to connect all villages in the Carpathian Basin that carry the name of the saint. The village shop/pub is in the 'village centre', a rather big square in the middle of the village where people gather every evening.

Image 2: The bust of the saint with the belfry and the church in the background.
Photo: BL, April 2016.

Image 3: People gather in the 'village centre' in front of the shop/pub in the evening. In the foreground members of the Roma family can be seen.
Photo: BL, April 2016.

With a population of 236 people[178] the village had the most inhabitants among the seven villages of the municipality in 2011. Nonetheless, the population has been steadily decreasing since the collectivisation of agriculture in the 1960s. The population of the village was the highest in 1910, when the census counted 640 inhabitants (630 Hungarians, 8 Germans and 2

[178] "Populaţia Stabilă Pe Judeţe, Municipii, Oraşe Şi Localităti Componenete La RPL_2011 [Stable Population by Counties, Municipalities, Cities and Component Localities at the Census of Population and Housing 2011]."

Romanians). Census data from 2011[179] indicate 1203 inhabitants in the whole municipality, including 9 Romanians, 1161 Hungarians and 16 Roma. However, the mayor said only the two policemen of the municipality were Romanian but there was a large number of Roma inhabitants. In the researched village lives only one extended Roma family of 15, about 300 meters outside the village border on the way to Marosvásárhely.

Most villagers work as farmers although agriculture is not flourishing. Farmers reported decreasing prices of their products. Many fields and hillsides where wheat and grapes used to grow are now unused. The average age is quite high in the village; some old people moved back after retirement from towns where they spent their active years, while others worked as farmers all their lives and now live on a very small pension. The village has a kindergarten and a primary school where children are taught together between the ages of 6 (reception) and 10 (4th grade). Later they need to commute to a town 6 kilometres away which has a secondary school. Many young people move away from the village when they finish secondary school and either start working or go to university in Marosvásárhely or Kolozsvár. Since they study in Hungarian and live in a wholly Hungarian village until the age of 18, most of them struggle with the Romanian language when they leave home.

Image 4: People sowing potatoes in the fields.
Photo: BL, April 2016

[179] "Populaţia Stabilă După Etnie – Judeţe, Municipii, Oraşe, Comune [Stable Population by Ethnicity – Counties, Municipalities, Cities and Communes]."

5.2.2 Timing

I spent 12 days in the village to conduct my research in the first half of April, 2016. During this period I stayed in the house of a married couple around the age of 50, whose two adult children already moved to Marosvásárhely. This couple was not included in the interview sample but some of my informal findings are based on chats and observations in their house.

Early April is a period when agricultural works slowly begin in gardens and fields. I saw many people ploughing lands and sowing potatoes. It was during my stay that the cattle of the village were taken to graze in the fields for the first time this year. Church services were held in the congregation's guest house because, as I learnt, they use the church, which is cold and stands on the top of a hill, only in the summer.

Image 5: Pine-branching – the custom of decorating gates with pine branches and ribbons around Easter at houses where little girls live.
Photo: BL, April 2016

Image 6: People waiting for their cows to come home in the evening.
Photo: BL, April 2016

5.2.3 Participants

During the fieldwork I organized and conducted formal interviews with altogether 25 people. I tried to have a balanced ratio of gender and age. I allocated my participants into three age sets: young (18-35 years old), middle-aged (36-60 years old) and elderly (above 60). The youngest participants were 20 years old, the oldest was 88 years old. Table 1 shows the number of participants in the six categories (according to age set and gender):

	female	**male**	
young	3	4	**7**
middle-aged	5	4	**9**
elderly	6	3	**9**
	14	**11**	**25**

Table 1: The number of participants in the six categories (female/male and young/middle-aged/elderly)

However, some of the interviews were not individual. Four interviews were conducted with two people present (three married couples and a pair of sisters). The sample included further three married couples, a pair of brothers and the kindergarten and primary school teachers, to whom I talked separately but I count these as double interviews, rather than individual ones. See Table 2 of the interviews below.

	female individual	**female double**	**male individual**	**male double**	**married couple**	
young	2	0	2	1 (brother)	1 (0)[180]	**6 (5)**
middle-aged	1	1 (schoolworkers)	1	0	2 (3)	**5 (6)**
elderly	1	1 (sisters)	0	0	3	**5**
	4	**2**	**3**	**1**	**6**	**16**

Table 2: The number of interviews.

Of the 25 participants seven were so called ‘experts’, people who have special knowledge about the village because of their profession: the pastor, the mayor, the kindergarten teacher, the primary school teacher, the lady (a retired teacher) who created and leads the local ethnographic museum, a nurse working in the homecare network of Caritas[181] and the shopkeeper. Three participants were members of the extended Roma family. Another two (the

[180] One married couple consisted of a young woman and a middle-aged man, thus the uncertainty.
[181] http://www.caritas.org/where-we-are/europe/romania/

couple of sisters) were identified as Roma by other inhabitants of the village but they did not say it themselves. Other demographic data of the participants (who are in an order of age) are to be found in Table 3, together with pseudonyms and details of interviews.

	Pseudo-nym[182]	**Age**[183]	**Gen-der**[184]	**Profession**[185]	**Ethni-city**	**Birthplace**[186]	**Interview**	
							Length	**Location**
1.	Rita	20	F	housewife, temporary jobs	Roma	village, 3.5 km, got married here	31 mins	home
2.	Robi	20	M	car repairman	Hun.	L	20 mins	home
3.	Zoli	23	M	*shopkeeper*	Hun.	L	20 mins	shop
4.	Nóra	24	F	kindergarten teacher	Hun.	L	82 mins	home
5.	Előd	26	M	forester	Hun.	town, 150 km, both moved here as child/teenager	20 mins	home
6.	Árpád	35		carpenter			35 mins	home
7.	Zsuzsa	34	F	primary school teacher	Hun.	city, 30 km, got married here	23 mins	home
8.	György	M	M	farmer, builder		L	25 mins	
9.	Zsolt	37	M	*mayor*	Hun.	L	35 mins	home
10.	Emese	M	F	psychologist	Hun.	town, 70 km, both moved here for job	60 mins	home
11.	Tamás	M	M	*pastor*				
12.	Anna	M	F	*kindergarten teacher*	Hun.	nearby villages (exact place unknown), commute here	20 mins	kindergarten
13.	Ildikó			*primary school teacher*			24 mins	school
14.	Edit	40	F	housewife, temporary jobs	Roma	village, 25 km, got married here	30 mins	home
15.	Bálint	M	M	temporary jobs		L	30 mins	
16.	Dalma	50	F	*nurse*	Hun.	village, 40 km, got married here	30 mins	home
17.	Berta	65	F	retired (unknown jobs)	Hun. /Roma	village, 30 km, both got married here	35 mins	Berta's home
18.	Joli	67						
19.	Kató	73	F	*museum leader*	Hun.	village, 7 km, got married here	45 mins	garden
20.	Ilona	71	F	housewife	Hun.	L	40 mins	home
21.	József	75	M	retired factory worker				

[182] In cases when two names are present in one box the interview is counted as double. Interview length indicates whether I talked to the two people at the same time or separately.

[183] When the exact age is unknown, the age-set is provided: Y = young, M = middle-aged, E = elderly.

[184] F = female, M = male

[185] Experts are signalled with *italics*. There are other participants who have the same professions as experts but are not signalled because they work in other settlements and thus are not considered local experts.

[186] L = local. When someone was born elsewhere, the type of the settlement and the distance from the village is given, as well as the reason of moving to the village.

22.	Magda	73	F	retired factory worker	Hun.	L	44 mins	home
23.	Károly	80	M	retired wall painter			30 mins	
24.	Mária	73	F	housewife	Hun.	L	35 mins	home
25.	László	88	M	retired factory worker, farmer				

Table 3: Demographic data of interviewees

5.2.4 Circumstances of data collection

The interviews were semi-structured: I prepared a list of questions (see Appendix A) about everyday life in the village that I hoped would make people talk. I did not reveal the exact focus of my research, rather I told people that I was aiming to map the everyday life of the village, how people live here, what problems they have to deal with. The topic of ethnicity came up by itself most of the time (at least in the form of references to ethnic issues) and I tried to follow up on these points[187]. Furthermore, I asked all interviewees about issues connected to ethnicity more directly too towards the end of interviews.

My sampling methods were mixed. The choice of expert participants was self-evident; I just had to approach all people who were in an expert position. I was unsuccessful in only one case: the policeman of the village, a Romanian man who lives in the neighbouring village was not allowed to speak about his job at all. The sample included a few people I had known earlier but most of them I had not spoken to before the research. They were suggested by gatekeepers according to my requested criteria of age and gender. Roma participants were approached by myself and despite the lack of gatekeepers they were extremely helpful and welcoming.

[187] Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*.

Image 7: The building that is home to the kindergarten and the primary school with a Romanian and an EU flag hanging on it. On the left the football pitch of the village.
Photo: BL, April 2016

Interviews were organized in person or with the help of gatekeepers. I took a copy of the information sheet (see Appendix B) with me to all interviews and everyone who wished to read it had the opportunity to do so. Almost all interviews were conducted in the homes of the participants. In most cases, the setting was quiet and ideal for interviewing; sometimes children or animals caused noise and disturbed the discussions. I talked to the kindergarten and the primary school teachers in the rooms where they work, and to the shopkeeper in the shop/pub. The longest interview took 82 minutes; the shortest ones were 20 minutes long. The mean of the interview length was 35 minutes. All but one interview were sound-recorded with the permission of participants. (In one case I did not get permission to switch on the recorder but after leaving the venue I tried to recall everything that had been said and recorded my own voice.)

Apart from formal, organized interviews I took part in countless informal interactions and participated in everyday events of village life. I went shopping and chatted in front of the shop/pub on several evenings; joined a group of young people on a Saturday night when they went clubbing in Marosvásárhely; attended a choir practice and a church service in the congregation's guest house; went to the kindergarten for one morning and played with the children, and observed what happens during milk collection at my hosts' house. Furthermore, I

often observed the village centre from the porch of the house. I returned to my computer regularly and took detailed notes of encounters as well as observations. My 'fieldwork diary' that includes the notes is almost 10,000 words long.

5.2.5 Researcher's position and experiences in the field

It is essential to reflect on my special position in the field. I have visited the village regularly since I was 1 year old with my family and very close friends who have owned a house in the village centre but have not lived there for a long time. Therefore I had known the village and some of its inhabitants before the field visit, and many people knew who I was – or at least who I 'belonged to' – when I arrived. I considered this position an advantage: I was clearly an outsider, a girl from not just any city but the capital of the kin state. But I was also an insider to the extent of having almost relative-like friends from the village, remembering 'old times' (what the village looked like in the 1990s), and knowing some local issues. Based on my previous experience in the village and elsewhere in Transylvania I expected locals to be welcoming and willing to talk.

The field visit fulfilled the expectations in some ways. Almost everyone was really helpful although most of the time they did not understand why would I be interested in their everyday lives. When I went to their homes, participants usually offered me beverages and sometimes even thanked me for visiting and asking. When they realized who I was related to or remembered they had met me a long time ago they became especially kind towards me.

However, some difficulties did arise during the fieldwork that I had not been perfectly prepared for. First of all, it became rather frustrating towards the end of my visit that every time I met someone they asked me where I had been, what I had done. My flourishing relationship with the Roma family caused some tension between non-Roma villagers and myself. Most people were at least surprised to hear that I had been talking to the Roma and on one occasion

someone even said he thought I wanted to move 'there' because I had been visiting them so often. I found it hard to balance between my temporary researcher position and my permanent position as a regular visitor of the village. (About connected ethical issues see Subchapter 5.4.)

It is important to note that I spoke Hungarian with every participant, which is the mother-tongue of all but the Romani-speaking Roma. Although the local dialect is different from mine, my previous experience helped me understand villagers with ease.

5.3 ANALYTICAL METHODS

When analysing the collected material, Geertz's guidance to ethnographic research was followed. He warns that "what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to"[188]. Despite the complexity of the field, analysis has to identify and organize truly meaningful themes, and in a way that reflects the richness of the material. That is, providing a 'thick description'.

Attempting to 'take the reader to the heart' of the researched village I applied Sunday's[189] 'inductive' analysis, based on thematic coding, rather than prior categorization of data. First all interviews were transcribed and certain themes were identified throughout the material. These included themes brought up by me during the interviews as well as recurrent themes that came up without direct questioning and had significance for the research.

Before data were interpreted and relinked to the existing literature (Chapter 6), they were categorised and described[190] in the logic of the fieldwork to aid better understanding (Chapter 5). "Theory within this framework is not conceived in terms of logical deductions but rather through relations between observed phenomena"[191].

[188] Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 9.
[189] Sunday, "Expanding Borders: Creating Latitude for Hungarian-Minority Autonomy within Transylvania, Romania, and a New Europe,".
[190] Matthews and Ross, *Research Methods: A Practical Guide for the Social Sciences*.
[191] Sunday, "Expanding Borders: Creating Latitude for Hungarian-Minority Autonomy within Transylvania, Romania, and a New Europe," 18.

5.4 ETHICS

The literature lists some ethical problems that should be avoided during research[192]: harm to participants, lack of informed consent, invasion of privacy, deception, and breaking confidentiality. The research fulfilled (almost) all these requirements. Villagers were not harmed in any way during participant observation or interviews. The research was overt; everyone I met was told that I was writing my thesis about the village, although participants were not fully informed about the focus of the research (which can be considered a form of deception). All interviewees were volunteering; their privacy was respected; their permission was asked for before switching on the sound-recorder. Those who wished to read the information sheet were also given contact details to be able to make complaints to my supervisor. Participants were guaranteed confidentiality that is respected throughout this thesis, including the name of the village itself. I chose not to describe the village in an identifiable manner because in that case some interviewees, especially the experts, would be recognizable due to the small size of the village.

I would like to reflect here on some issues that arose during the fieldwork due to my dual position of 'temporary researcher' and 'permanent regular visitor'. Sometimes I found it hard not to respond to – often prejudiced – opinions that I did not agree with, and to diplomatically refuse to reveal my own stance on certain political and social issues. Furthermore, there are people included in the sample with whom my relationship has exceeded a formal researcher–participant relationship. I am not certain that such developments are perfectly ethical but I found it impossible to avoid them completely, partly due to the fact that I am going to continue returning to the village in the future as a regular visitor.

[192] Bryman, *Social Research Methods*; Bulmer, "The Ethics of Social Research."

5.5. LIMITATIONS

I would like to raise attention to a number of limitations that should be taken into consideration when evaluating this thesis. First of all, I am aware that concerns may arise regarding the choice of research setting, the village itself. My partly insider position, as set out above, certainly affected the way my participants related to me, and this had not only advantages (e.g. honesty) but also disadvantages (e.g. expectations that I had to live up to). Moreover, it is likely that I would have done the research and the analysis differently had I not been to some extent emotionally involved with the village and its inhabitants. That is, choosing another village probably would have made this thesis more objective.

Second, the research focuses partly on the situation of Roma inhabitants. Considering that only one family lives in the village who proudly display certain ethnic markers, openly identify as Gypsy and are treated as such, the sample is extremely small. It is problematic to draw any sort of conclusion based on research findings considering their situation, and these conclusions should be treated with caution.

CHAPTER 6 – FINDINGS

In the present chapter I set out the results of the data collection in the village in a descriptive manner. The data were collected in three ways: through observations, informal conversations, and formal interviews. Throughout the fieldwork some of the research questions were not asked directly, therefore the structure of the chapter does not follow those questions completely (except in the case of Subchapters 5.4 and 5.5 that match research questions about nationalist politics and the position of Roma). The interpretation of results follow in Chapter 7, which will be organized in a way that mirrors the logic of the research questions.

Here, first the everyday life of the village is discussed based on observations and the major themes of formal interviews. Second, situations are described in which ethnicity emerged during my observations or in the interviews with no or little direct questioning. Third, opinions about 'nationalist politics' collected during formal interviews are introduced. Finally, the position of the Roma of the village is set out and explained.

6.1 EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE VILLAGE

During my stay in the village I identified three main fields of problems that villagers are concerned with: depopulation, subsistence hardships and estrangement. These three issues dominated formal interviews and many informal chats; clearly, apart from individual private problems, such as health or relationships, mostly these are on the minds of villagers. A fourth problem, the seclusion of the village came up a bit less often. The fifth section includes positive accounts of village life as told by villagers in formal interviews when they were asked to introduce the village. These findings will lead us to answers to research questions about emerging ethnicity and self-representation.

6.1.1 Depopulation and aging

Most of my initial encounters with villagers included their warning: this village is dying. The process of intense depopulation began around the 1950s and 60s due to the collectivisation of agriculture.

> "There was this collectivization, unfortunately, because I strongly liked agriculture too. But there was this collectivization. And, well, the people left, the people left to the city, to here and there. And now the people is small here. Small, indeed." (László, 88[193])

Károly (80) one of the people who left. He came back to the village only after retirement:

> "I was home for a while but then when the collective came, when the village got collectivised, well, then I went to [Maros]vásárhely. I became a house painter."

What is more, even those young families who stayed in the village decided to have fewer children than their forefathers.

Today six children attend the kindergarten but none joined the group this year and they do not expect any child to reach kindergarten age next year either. The lack of children in the kindergarten means that the primary school will run out of pupils too in the near future. Both local teachers told me that in two other villages of the municipality both institutions had to be closed down already due to lack of children.

Nevertheless, young people who decided to stay and settle down in the village see things in a much more positive light. Some of them in their early twenties even talked about a growing number of children compared to their own 'generation'. Furthermore, they are optimistic about the sense of community (see 5.1.3 and 5.1.5).

6.1.2 Subsistence hardships and what they cause

Inhabitants of the village have traditionally lived off of agriculture. However, history challenged the current practices of subsistence three times in the past 50 years. According to Kató, collectivisation 'killed the masters' spirit' of villagers and destroyed their traditional

[193] Numbers given after pseudonyms of participants indicate their age or age-set. Original Hungarian quotes are to be found in Appendix C.

knowledge of agriculture. In the communist period the so-called 'agricultural engineers' guaranteed the success of production. But when farmers got back their lands after the regime change, they were left without any professionalism and had to 'start everything all over again'.

Furthermore, the changes of agricultural production brought by the EU affected the village badly. The milk of the village – now given by about 20 cows, a number reduced from 600 just 50 years ago – is sold to a German company that pays very little for it because it is cheaper to import from Hungary. People say other products, such as pork or wheat, are also selling for a record cheap price.

Due to the fact that agriculture is tiresome, unpredictable and recently also a bad business, several people decided to make ends meet in other ways. Kató thinks that the lack of willingness to farm is partly caused by social psychological factors:

> "It's interesting what a huge effect public discourse has in these secluded villages. 'It's not worth it, I'm not crazy to…' That's how they begin the sentence. It really influences public thinking so much that there is absolutely no willingness to work, to live".

A significant issue that emerged during formal interviews and was also one of my striking observations is alcoholism. Drinking has always been a part of everyday life, rather than only a tool of celebration in the village but now it seems to be a widespread anomie among men. Apart from seeing a number of people drinking in front of the village pub every evening and being offered alcohol all the time, I learnt about this issue primarily from people who moved to the village from elsewhere, such as Emese, the wife of the pastor:

> "I think this community dissolves itself because it is incapable of living. I think it will dissolve itself because alcoholism is huge, there is an alcoholic in every, or every other household. It is a norm here. It is very sad, women work and maintain the useless men. […] These things are all connected, connected to why there are no children, no rising generation. Many women left their husbands."

6.1.3 Estrangement and conflicts

The third, perhaps most often mentioned problem is connected to the functioning of the community. It may be due to a high level of nostalgia as well as real changes in the social

structure that almost all informants above the age of 25 mentioned the issue of estrangement along with 'envy', 'greediness' and 'rivalries'.

> "The whole way of thinking changed, and many things changed for the worse, people distanced themselves from each other. I tell you, everything is different. People don't have time for each other. Back in my childhood there were football matches every Sunday, there was a bowling field, everyone came to bowling, even the older ones. And dozens of children came to the football pitch, adults, young adults, there was a football team, there was a community life." (Zsolt, 37)

The lack of meeting points – such as collective work in the fields or the above mentioned football pitch – is considered a source of enmity among people. Another widely mentioned problem is the 'materialistic world' of our time.

> "People became worse, one is worse to the other, they are greedier than back in my childhood. […] It used to be different, money didn't dominate so much." (György, middle-aged)
>
> "Then the Swiss, the Dutch, the Belgians came and brought those clothes and shoes. […] Huge envy came from those donations." (Kató, elderly)

Tamás, the pastor thought that the lack of communal sentiments is an even larger problem than depopulation, and it will eventually lead to the dissolution of the community.

> "I believe that there could be great opportunities to maintain these small communities […] But as far as I see it, this sort of thinking *with* a community has disappeared. And this loss is a more significant one than the decreasing number of people."

One of my striking observations was how prevalent the practice of gossiping is in the village. Everyone felt entitled to ask me about details of the fieldwork and to say their opinion about my decisions. This kind of communal regulation, the constant surveillance of each other's private life, which thus ceases to be private, is a norm in the village. Even the pastor reflected on it in his sermon during the church service I visited, and warned the congregation that judgment and gossiping are bad customs that hinder the development of the community.

6.1.4 The seclusion of the village

Many of my informants reflected on the fact that quietness and the proximity of nature do not come without sacrifice. The village is hard to approach and it is also almost impossible to leave it without a car, despite the fact that leaving is often a necessity. When villagers need to see a

doctor, go shopping or would like to go out in the evening they must travel to the small town 6 kilometres away or even to Marosvásárhely. This makes life complicated especially for immobile elderly inhabitants. According to the primary school teacher, the secluded nature of the village has an effect on children too who see less of the world growing up here.

6.1.5 The positive sides of village life

Dalma (50), who came from another micro-region of Transylvania, said people in her husband's village were 'friendlier' and 'more open' than back home.

> "Here everyone knows everyone. There's love everywhere and they try to give everything to any stranger… I don't know whether they inherited this or where it comes from but compared to how poor the village is – because they are very poor, they have very little money from farming – they would give all that tiny amount they have to anyone"

Interviewees in their twenties were likely to contradict the concern of older villagers about estrangement. Robi (20) emphasized the speciality of the village's young community:

> "Well, the community is good [here]. There are only a few young people but they stick together. We go out together. […] I observed [in other villages] that young people on weekends, when we go, they do not, they just keep to themselves. […] When I go to [a village 7 kilometres away], there everyone is so reserved. Here life is a bit more exciting."

Many informants emphasized that they enjoy quietness and the proximity of nature; 'they could never live in a block of flats'. Some of both young and old interviewees said that their main source of joy is gardening, planting, walking in nature, fishing or hunting.

6.2 ETHNICITY EMERGING

Although the hottest topics of the village are not of ethnic nature in particular, I witnessed many situations in which people interpreted things from an ethnic perspective. These happened both during observation and in formal interviews even without direct questioning. Furthermore, people shared stories with me in which their ethnicity played a crucial role. In this subchapter I will set out the most important 'ethnic triggers' identified during the fieldwork.

6.2.1 Depopulation

> "Before, when the weather was nice like this, everyone was outside, people were working all over the fields. Now there is no one because the village is dying. The whole thing is empty. But the stinky Romanians will come, move in, and then it won't be empty"

– said a middle-aged man on the first day of my field trip when I told him that I was writing my thesis about the everyday life of the village. Based on my observations the issue of depopulation is the single most important trigger of ethnicity in the village. The two other main issues were rarely ethnicized − subsistence hardships were considered something that Romania suffers from, partly due to EU regulations, while estrangement was understood in a local frame − but the decrease of the village population was often interpreted through ethnic lens. Károly (80) overtly, though half-jokingly, connected the future of the village with the future of the Hungarian minority in Romania:

> "Back then [in my childhood] people didn't have pension, they just lived as well as they could using the land and their own two hands… Now they are really scared [of not having enough money], that's why the number of Hungarians is dwindling. [*Laugh*] This village here will go extinct in no time."

Interestingly, apart from Romanians, 'migrants' came up in discussions about depopulation. Ildikó, the primary school teacher of the village, when talking about the lack of children, considered that maybe immigrants will fill up the places. Then she added:

> "Or they will blow us up and then we'll be even less. Who knows what the future brings"

People often reflected on the fact that Roma families usually raise more children than Hungarian ones. Whenever I heard Nóra (24), who works in a kindergarten in a nearby village, talking about her job with other villagers, one of the first questions she always received was about the ethnic composition of her group. Even though Ildikó told me that she was satisfied with the attendance of local Roma pupils at the primary school, I heard a grandmother blaming the Roma family for the prospective close-down of the kindergarten and the school. In her opinion, they could save the institutions but they choose not to, keeping the children at home.

6.2.2 Ethnic purity

For some participants, the small number of Roma inhabitants – as compared to other villages of the municipality – was the first thing that came to their mind when I inquired about the differences between their village and others. Tamás set out that integration on the congregational level might be a challenge for his colleagues working in villages with a larger population of 'Roma nationality'. The lack of Roma may be considered a rather positive characteristic of the village, as shown below.

> *Me: Do you think your village is different in any way to other nearby villages?*
> Árpád (35): Yes, there is a difference, there aren't as many Gypsies. […]
> *Me: And what is it that's different due to the small number of Gypsies here?*
> Árpád (after a long silence): I cannot say anything to this.
> *Me: But this was the first thing you said, I'm just curious how you see it.*
> Árpád: Yes, because in reality I do not hate Gypsies. On some level there are proper ones, I don't have any problem with those, but on average they are not an ethnic group about which you can say that they are really proper. Usually they are venal, they steal… […]
> *Me: Do you hear about these things in the news or experience them personally?*
> Árpád: In the news! I've never run into such a problem, thank the dear good God, and I hope I won't either.

Apart from the small number of Roma, the complete lack of Romanians is also striking in the village. The participants said it is a specificity of the 'area'. According to the mayor, the two policemen of the municipality are Romanian but they both married Hungarian women and their children do not even speak Romanian fluently. The majority status of Hungarians in the village is so taken-for-granted that it is hardly reflected upon, except when compared to more mixed settlements or areas.

> "In this area there are very few Romanians and Hungarian people don't really speak Romanian. Here the language is a difficulty, for them it is difficult to speak Romanian, to do certain things in Romanian. Not for me, I'm happy that I speak it. For those who live in town, in [Maros]vásárhely, there it's different, there Romanians and Hungarians are together in a ratio of 50-50." (Zsuzsa, 34)

The lack of Romanians mostly manifests when it comes to language barriers that villagers face – rarely at home, often when they leave the area (see Section 5.2.3).

6.2.3 Language

Due to the overwhelming usage of Hungarian in the village, it is rare that people need to speak Romanian at home, but it is not unprecedented. Dalma, a nurse responsible for homecare in the municipality, grew up and studied in a region where half of the population is Romanian. She thus not only speaks Romanian perfectly (just like Zsuzsa from Marosvásárhely) but actually finds it hard to explain technical terms to locals in Hungarian. She also told me that whenever people need to write official letters, they come to her or Zsuzsa for help.

Apart from those who grew up in mixed towns, most villagers struggle with Romanian. The education of the official language begins in kindergarten and primary school, where large Romanian flags remind the children in which country they are. During my visit, the kindergarten teacher practiced numbers and colours with them, and they also sang a song in both languages. Both teachers told me, however, that due to the lack of Romanians in the area it is extremely hard for children to learn the language fluently. Nóra (24) explained the situation:

> "I would like to speak [Romanian] but for that I should use it. I should use it but I don't like that because… Since we were children we have been raised in a way… They did not force us but they taught us as if we had known it all along for some reason. […] They treat it not as a foreign language but as a language that we should speak automatically. I think this expectation causes shame and this way it's hard to say a word. That you know that you should speak it well. It's always been embarrassing to say something in Romanian."

Language use is not only an ethnic trigger in itself but also the most fundamental manifestation of minority – majority relations in the country. When they leave their home, villagers get into situations all the time where their minority status becomes significant. I learnt about these mostly from formal interviews. When it did not come up by itself – some participants, for instance, told me that they were watching the news in Romanian – I asked everyone how they felt about the official language. Most of them said it was going 'ok' because they did not have a choice, they had to use it during work.

> "I understand it because I worked for 6 months in a place where I was among pure Romanians. […] In the first month I was like zero, I did not understand a word, or I did but I could not answer at all. […] It was a bit hard but then I got used it, I got better." (Robi, 20, car repairman)

> "I had to learn Romanian because I had to explain, when I went somewhere, I had to talk to the lady about what colour she wanted, how she wanted things to work." (Károly, 80, house painter)

Men who were enlisted in the military had the chance to learn Romanian there too. However, for elder ladies, such as Mária (73), who hardly left the village and have never worked anywhere else, situations in which they should use Romanian constitute a huge challenge. She told me a story about such a case, becoming more and more outraged as she spoke.

> Mária: There should be equality; one is above the other, even though he is only a man too! Why cannot we have a word? It is written everywhere: Romania. For God's sake, Romania or not, Hungarians are also working, not only Romanians! There should be equality! *[She continues with the description of an event when she had to go to a clinic with a broken wrist but none of the doctors spoke Hungarian.]* For what the hell do they study at university if only in Romanian…?
>
> László (her husband): My boy, Romanians are not taught in Hungarian! Only Hungarians have to learn Romanian but not vice versa.
>
> Mária: They should be taught! There should be equality! Not only Romanians are taken to the hospital, man! Hungarians are also taken there!

What is more, stories of people who were told not to speak Romanian in public circulate in the village. Apart from discrimination and difficulties connected to language use, participants did not report about offences they suffered because of their Hungarian ethnicity.

Although the village is dominated by Hungarian language and cultural practices, sometimes the most banal everyday actions connected to Hungarian language use can also be placed into the context of resistance when the actor attaches extra meaning to it.

> "I listen only to Hungarian music. […] This can be anything from 'mulatós'[194] to rock, metal, anything, it just has to be in Hungarian. […] I watch Hungarian channels. […] And we are in a Hungarian community, we speak Hungarian. If there are parties we usually choose those that have a Hungarian audience." (Árpád, 35)

6.2.4 Anti-Gypsyism

Finally, I would like to introduce situations in which the anti-Gypsy sentiments of Hungarian villagers appeared on the surface without much or any apparent trigger. It happened once that the middle-aged man quoted at the beginning of Section 6.2.1 came up to me while I was

[194] 'Mulatós' – a popular musical genre, similar to Romanian 'manele'.

playing with his kindergarten-aged children and started to talk about how Gypsies live off of social benefits and that is the reason why they have many children. After I did not react to his angry outburst, he walked away muttering something about 'stinky, dirty Gypsies'.

Although the event seemed to take place out of the blue, it happened two days after the man's wife asked me where I had been and I told her that I visited the Roma family. The wife was also full of thoughts about the matter; she set out that she thought the Roma were not being honest with me and listed a number of bad experiences (mostly with Roma from other villages). Although I never brought up the topic myself, villagers asked me where I had been almost every time we met, and they were eager to comment when they learnt I spoke to the Roma. An elderly couple, József and Ilona reacted with the below dialogue.

> József: You've been to the Gypsies? But those are… Well, maybe not when you visit them once. But when you get in touch with them, they look only for profit!
> Ilona: Well, they are Gypsies…
> József: *Because* they are Gypsies…[195]

Apart from references to stereotypes about Gypsies and shock over my communication with the Roma family, I observed aggressive behaviour against a 13-year-old from the Roma family. Although he joined the group of teenage boys hanging around the village centre regularly and at first sight seemed to be integrated among them, he quickly turned into a subject of ridicule whenever the opportunity emerged. Once he took away the bicycle of a small child to play with it, to which Zoli, the shopkeeper in his twenties reacted with the following sentence:

> "Put down the bike of the kid, you nigger, or I will kick you!"

6.3 NATIONALIST POLITICS

In this subchapter I set out what I heard from people during formal interviews about politics and policies targeting them as Transylvanian Hungarians by local and kin-state-based political agents. These topics did not come up during observations at all, I had to ask people about them

[195] Italics by me – BL.

directly in almost all cases. Villagers' relations with local politics and politicians are personal and full of scepticism, while news from Hungary reach the village through the filter of the mainly state-owned Hungarian media. A similarity between local and transborder politics is that neither of them appear in everyday discussions.

6.3.1 Local Hungarian parties

During my stay in the village I never heard anyone randomly talking about party politics. Sometimes people complained about the state of the roads and how the promise to asphalt them was not kept by the local leadership yet, due to the lack of money. About other issues, such as general satisfaction with Hungarian parties in Romania, they had to be asked directly during formal interviews but most of them said they were 'not interested in politics at all'. Many held that politicians, Hungarian or Romanian, seek only their own profit and that politics 'is a lie'.

> "I was disappointed with politics and politicians so many times. I really used to believe in the amending power of communism. […] This order turned upside down in me; I thought that leaders lead us to the right direction." (Kató, museum leader, retired teacher)

> "[The failures of local Hungarian parties] made people indifferent towards politics. […] I imagine politics as a large, tumorous cell which has grown too big and is becoming a burden. It is impossible to get rid of it because the host would die but in reality it is unnecessary, burdensome, in many respects obstructive and demoralising." (Tamás, pastor)

Apart from the general disillusionment with politics, participants expressed dissatisfaction with Hungarian parties in Romania for the lack of cooperation. Most of them supported RMDSZ and said there should not be any other party because the fracture of Hungarians strengthens Romanians. I also heard a story about EMNT organizing a commemoration on the Hungarian national holiday in the municipality centre and RMDSZ putting together another festive event in one of the other villages after learning about their plan. The national holiday ended up as a test for citizens of the municipality – in the end, more people attended the ceremony organized by RMDSZ. Occasions were recalled by villagers when the division of the Hungarian community led to the election of Romanian mayors in other majority Hungarian settlements.

Everyone knows Zsolt, the mayor – a member of RMDSZ – who grew up and has always lived in the village. They trust him as a representative and sometimes also turn to him with their personal problems. Many informants assured me that they would vote for him no matter the party behind him. Everyone I asked takes part in the municipal elections in order to influence the local situation. According to Zsolt, when he was elected 4 years ago only five people voted for the new Hungarian party EMNP, despite their 'very intense campaign'. He also told me about his confusion caused by the support of rival parties by the Hungarian government.

> "I think I can tell you that I have been really disillusioned with politics in Hungary. There were certain people who, I know, are considered charismatic in Hungary but working as politicians in Romania we have been really disillusioned with them, for example Viktor Orbán. […]
> These parties [EMNP and MPP] were certainly financed from Hungary, they might have been created from Hungary too. […] I think creating a party on purpose to break up a community, an active community, I think this is a crime."

6.3.2 Politics in Hungary

The rhetoric of the Hungarian government reaches the village to some extent through television and the internet. I did not meet anyone who was critical of the current leadership in Hungary, apart from Zsolt who suspected their work behind the Hungarian opposition of RMDSZ. Yet even he was forgiving because RMDSZ–Fidesz relations began to be amended[196]. One informant, Magda (73), who followed all government-friendly Hungarian TV-channels, expressed her enthusiasm about the work of Orbán and criticised the political and civil opposition in Hungary. Her opinion on matters in Romania also reflected a more authoritarian, conservative worldview. She praised the Ceauşescu-regime on several occasions and about the regime change she said:

> "The great freedom came and the great lack of money came. […] I don't like that there's freedom and it's possible to go here and there, I'll tell you why. I don't like it because the youth, and the young married couples, everyone leaves."

[196] *http://www.hetek.hu/belfold/201505/az_erdelyi_magyar_politika_az_orban_tokes_szakitas_utan*

Surprisingly, an issue on which the propaganda from Hungary reached the village (probably through the above mentioned channels) is migration. Although the xenophobic campaign of the Hungarian government against migrants and refugees[197] did not target transborder Hungarians specifically, it also influenced them, as shown by its appearance in Mária's (73) narrative.

> *Me: Do you follow news from around the world to some extent? In the TV?*
> Mária: Of course! I keep my fingers crossed! I keep my fingers crossed for them!
> *Me: For whom do you keep your fingers crossed?*
> Mária: For the migrants[198], why are they not sitting at home where they were born? Why do they pollute the air here, damn! I cannot understand what's going on there that makes them leave with a backpack; where did they live before? How did they live?
> *Me: There's a war.*
> Mária: There used to be wars before too and yet people did not travel away! They were suffering, hiding here and there, where they could but now everyone with two legs is here, for God's sake!

6.3.3 Non-residential citizenship

Out of the 23 interviewed villagers 11 have Hungarian citizenship (received since the introduction of non-residential citizenship), and three are planning to apply for it. For most of those who are Hungarian citizens, the fact that they 'feel Hungarian' was a self-evident and natural reason to begin the simplified naturalization process.

> "I think this nicely complements what I am, my sense of Hungarianness. Because if someone asks what nationality I am of, it is obviously not a question but I can only show them my Romanian passport, no matter what I say. So I think this is the right thing." (Tamás, middle-aged)

Practical reasons were also listed by several interviewees but they were often eager to pin down that they were not opportunistic.

> "There was no specific reason. I think the crowd. [*Laugh*] Peer pressure. If others have it I should have it too. And that I'll use it. This might sound like I'm opportunistic or something but it doesn't depend on this paper whether I feel Hungarian. Many people when they get this document say "now I'm officially Hungarian". Maybe a Hungarian citizen or I don't know. But Hungarian? He used to be Hungarian before too." (Nóra, 24)

[197] *http://budapesttimes.hu/2016/03/18/anti-migrant-campaigns-bend-public-minds/*
[198] It is hard to translate to English but instead of the correct Hungarian term 'migráns' she used the word 'migráncs'.

On the other hand, some chose not to make use of the opportunity of non-residential citizenship. 9 (the majority of them elderly) interviewees do not feel the need to own a Hungarian passport.

Opinions varied greatly on whether membership in the transborder Hungarian nation (and, coming with that, Hungarian citizenship) should or could involve having a voice in the internal workings of Hungary. Zsolt (37) was against voting in the Hungarian elections:

> "I don't know whether borders will change but as long as they are this way I would never vote for a politician in Hungary. I mean I can't have a say in the politics of another country".

Előd (26), on the other hand, was very clear that in order to be fair with the Hungarian government he had to return the favour.

> "They did quite a lot in the past 5-10 years, maybe even more. In the first years, when I was still in school, they helped me with that Hungarian money or how to say. I have seen that they help us, Transylvanian Hungarians, and I'd like to return that with voting. We also got this citizenship opportunity, I think this is also good. So if I can help the current leadership with my vote…"

6.4 THE POSITION OF THE ROMA

In this subchapter the situation of the Roma inhabitants of the village is discussed from their own point of view. Forms of segregation and signs of symbolic separation in the village are described, followed by information about the political involvement and ethnic identity of Roma. Data set out in this subchapter helps us answer the research question about the marginalized position of the Roma minority.

6.4.1 Minority status of Roma in the village

When they talked to me, members of the Roma family, especially the elder ones who have lived there for long, avoided complaining about their situation in the village. Nonetheless, when I asked her to formulate the difference between Hungarians and Gypsies, Edit, the matron of the Roma family identified the maintenance of boundaries as the primary basis of difference.

> "Well, there is a big difference because Gypsies do not mix with… Hungarians do not mix with Gypsies, and Gypsies are not welcome among Hungarians so there's a difference. Hungarians make friends with Hungarians and Gypsies stick to Gypsies. There is a difference, isn't there?"

The house of the Gypsy family lies hundreds of meters outside the village border. Members of the family go to the village only with a reason; they either visit the shop, try to sell things to Hungarians, go to work in someone's garden or fields (including the 13-year-old boy), or ask for help. Edit and her husband Bálint take pride in their status in the village as trustworthy Gypsies. They set out the idea that they are treated in the way they treat others, therefore they would never steal or not pay their debts. 'We are not Roma like *that*', they said, and recalled occasions when Hungarians lent them money or products.

It is apparent that the older they get, the harder it is for Roma to get involved with the majority. Kindergarten and primary school aged children play together with Hungarian kids and their ethnicity is noted only when there is a conflict. The teenage boy is constantly tested among his peers, while adults do not mix with Hungarians of their age. When members of the Gypsy family appear in the village centre, it is impossible not to notice that they sit or stand separately from others (see *Image3* in Section 4.2.1). Formal greetings are exchanged but they never stay to hang around with Hungarians.

Roma named a number of ethnic markers that make them different from Hungarians. One is clothing; when talking about another Gypsy family (possibly Berta and Joli) women told me that it is hard to tell they are Roma because they wear trousers. Rita (20) identified early marriage and unemployment as Roma customs, saying "that's how we do it".

> "It would be good if there was a place [to work] because then we would earn a little money. Say, where we are, for us, Gypsies, it is not easy for us. Say, for Hungarians, for them it is easier because they are different. […] We have to go to find work and live. And this is a bit hard for us. This is life for us, Gypsies."

When the Roma learnt that I was not a teenager as they assumed but 25 years old, and not yet married and a mother, the whole family expressed shock and kindly urged me to settle down and have children as soon as possible.

The Roma use Romani at home but they speak Hungarian fluently and with ease too. Their linguistic repertoire is far wider than that of most Hungarian villagers but it does not bring

them respect or recognition from the majority. Having lived in a mixed town for a decade, Edit and Bálint speak Romanian perfectly, while Rita, who comes from another village of the municipality, does not muster it. She told me about her and her Romanian-speaking sister-in-law's difficulties. Note that she used the terms 'Hungarian' and 'Romanian' very rarely, instead she referred to them as 'this' or 'that' language.

> Rita: I learnt [Hungarian] in school. It's good because I can't write and can't read very well but I learnt the language so I can speak.
> *Me: I cannot hear that you didn't grow up speaking Hungarian.*
> Rita: No, but I stall a bit as I speak.
> *Me: It's easier for you to speak Gypsy.*
> Rita: Yes. These are the two languages for us. The language we speak now and Gypsy.
> *Me: And do you speak Romanian?*
> Rita: I don't really speak Romanian. The other one does… […]
> *Me: Does she come from a Romanian village?*
> Rita: Yes. The language we speak now she does not speak.
> *Me: She doesn't speak Hungarian.*
> Rita: No. So I speak this language but I don't speak the language that she speaks.
> *Me: So Gypsy is your common tongue. And isn't it hard for her to live in a Hungarian village?*
> Rita: It is. She told me it is. I also asked her. It's a bit hard for her. But it's also hard for me because I don't speak the language she speaks. I understand it but I cannot talk back. It's bad that I cannot speak that language.

6.4.2 Political involvement

Although the Roma made it clear that they do not identify as Hungarian, they are trustworthy voters of Hungarian parties (Fosztó, 2003). The mayor said that 'Gypsies love him very much'

> "I treat everyone equally; I can handle their behaviour and I think I'm very popular among them. […] They come in and I know they are honest, you can't really trust Gypsies but these clan leaders or how to explain, these elder ladies to whom a whole Gypsy family, 30-40 people, listens; they say 'Mr Mayor, you don't have to tell us anything, anywhere we go we'll vote for you, Mr Mayor'."

On the other hand, talking to the Roma family revealed that they are in fact told what to do.

> *Me: How do you choose who to vote for?*
> Rita: They told me they would give me a piece of paper and there's a tulip [the symbol of RMDSZ] on it. One must vote for that, so I vote for that…
> *Me: Do you know which party that is?*
> Rita: I don't know. They only told us to vote for the tulip.

Me: Who told you?

Rita: Those who sit there and stamp the papers.

Edit was more cautious when reporting about being told who to vote for.

Me: How do you choose from the many choices you have?

Edit: Well, we vote for who we have to. Who we have to.

Me: I see. And how do you know…?

Edit (giggling): We learn about it.As shown by their non-conscious voting behaviour, members of the family are not well-informed about their political options. When asked about Hungarian citizenship, Rita and Edit consistently talked about work permit in the context of family members' jobs in Hungary. It was only Bálint who heard about the opportunity of dual citizenship and asked me whether it was true that he could get it if he proved his ancestors were Hungarian. He was clearly the most informed member of the family; and he was also eager to talk about family history, how his father and grandfather fought in WW I and II 'for this village and for Hungary'.

Following the description of research findings, Chapter 7 attempts to interpret them and place them in the context of the theoretical and contextual literature.

CHAPTER 7 − DISCUSSION

In the present chapter I interpret the findings and place them within the frames of the theoretical and contextual literature. The structure of the chapter is organized in the order of the research questions, which are also answered in this chapter:

> *1) When does ethnicity emerge in the village? Which situations, themes function as ethnic triggers?*
> *2) Which outgroups provide the basis of comparison for the Hungarian majority of the village when they need to identify themselves, and why? When and why do they need these outgroups?*
> *3) Is there a discrepancy between the way villagers present themselves and in the way they are portrayed in Hungary?*
> *4) What are the ways in which policies and rhetoric of the Hungarian state and local Hungarian parties influence concerns and appear in the village?*
> *5) Is the marginalized position of the local Roma minority reflected in their attitudes towards nationalist politics?*

The chapter is organized into five subchapters to cover all research questions. The questions are answered through the analysis and interpretation of data collected during observation, informal chats and formal interviews.

7.1 ETHNICITY EMERGING

7.1.1 Ethnic triggers

Our first research question was concerned with the emergence of ethnicity in the village: when and through what kind of mediums does ethnicity come to the surface? In Chapter 6 four types of ethnic triggers were identified: the topics of depopulation and the ethnic purity of the village; stories about difficulties with Romanian; and random expressions of anti-Gypsy sentiments. Situations in which ethnicity emerged in the village can be categorized into three types, reflecting the complex 'both minority and majority' status of villagers.

The first kind of ethnic trigger functions on the local level. In these situations Hungarians talk and act from a majority perspective. Reflections on the ethnic purity of the village belong to this type, situations in which Hungarians acknowledge their privileged status

in the micro-region and the village. Reflecting on being a majority is possible only with the background knowledge of being a minority in the country, that is, the presence of a significant outgroup − the Romanians[199].

> "Now it doesn't happen at ours but if there's a party and Romanian persons are present, than there has to be Romanian music too, and not everyone likes that. But it doesn't happen at ours. Here tradition can survive on this level, the Hungarian music, the old dances and so on." (Árpád, 35)

On the other hand, the lack of local Roma was also mentioned often when discussing ethnic purity. This leads us to the second type of ethnic triggers.

The second type is connected to both the minority and the majority status of Hungarians. Random expressions of anti-Gypsyism are intertwined with both local superiority and power, and fears about a potential crisis caused by larger groups of Roma. The idea that local Gypsies are 'behaving well' only because they are few and are 'too scared to do something' lies in parallel with depictions of Roma as the symbol of danger (see Section 7.2.1).

Furthermore, the topic of depopulation, which put the ethnic lens on people the most often, was also formulated in a way that expressed both local and country-level concerns. First, this theme functioned as the expression of a deeply local issue, the 'dying of the village', which worried and depressed the population, especially older generations, to a great extent. Second, it was connected with concerns about the future of the Hungarian minority in Romania.

The third type of ethnic triggers came up only in recollections of past events, and is connected to the minority status of Hungarian villagers. They told stories about language difficulties, which are the single most important sign of their minority ethnic belonging when they leave the safe, majority Hungarian area of the municipality[200]. However, the ethnic trigger switches to the ethnic mode within the village extremely rarely.

[199] Karner, *Ethnicity and Everyday Life*.
[200] Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*.

7.1.2 When ethnicity is not there

In Chapter 4 it was hypothesized that the concerns of people in the village are generally not articulated in ethnic terms. Even though a number of ethnic triggers have been identified, it is safe to say that the hypothesis has been confirmed. Two (subsistence and estrangement) of the three most widely discussed problems were never framed in ethnic terms, and even the issue of depopulation was not always ethnicized. This finding confirms Xu *et al*.'s[201] statement that the significance of ethnic affiliations decrease even among national minorities in situations where they constitute a numerical majority.

7.2 OUTGROUPS

As explained in Chapter 2, ethnicity makes sense only through boundary-creation and the definition of outgroups. Minority ethnocentrism, the prejudice of minorities can be directed against the majority, another minority, or even themselves[202]. Previous studies showed that Transylvanian Hungarians differentiate themselves from both the Romanian majority and Hungarians from Hungary, and opinions about both these outgroups are more negative in Székelyföld compared to other Transylvanian regions[203].

The second research question asked which outgroups does the majority of the village identify itself against, and why. Our hypothesis that he process of 'othering' does not always concern the same outgroup was confirmed. In this subchapter functions of the most widely 'used' outgroups are discussed.

[201] Xu, Farver, and Pauker, "Ethnic Identity and Self-Esteem among Asian and European Americans: When a Minority Is the Majority and the Majority Is a Minority."
[202] Papp, "Az Etnocentrizmus Szerkezete a Kisebbségben – a Fókuszcsoportos Beszélgetések Alapján [The Structure of Ethnocentrism in the Minority – Based on Focus Group Discussions]."
[203] Veres, "Az Erdélyi Magyarok Nemzeti Kisebbségi Identitásának Alakulása Kárpát Panel Tükrében [The Formation of National Minority Identity of Transylvanian Hungarians in the Light of Carpathian Panel]."

7.2.1 Roma

When ethnic triggers switched discussions into the 'ethnic mode', the category of Gypsy was chosen the most often to describe things that are different, dangerous, and worse than 'us'[204]. The situations in which the Roma outgroup gains significance can be grouped into three types.

First, many remarks about the difference between Gypsies and Hungarians were connected to situations of border-crossing. According to Feischmidt[205], when the hierarchical order of majority and minority is endangered or dissolved, when the minority leaves its subordinate position, they become dangerous and offensive for the majority. As expected, in the researched village boundaries between Hungarian and Gypsy spheres are strictly policed, and many signals indicate the position of the Roma within the social structure of the village (see Section 6.4.1). During my fieldwork, my involvement with the Roma family was perceived by several Hungarian villagers as an offence against the social order. Reactions to this offence varied from a surprised facial expression to the unprovoked hostile monologue discussed in Section 6.2.4, and – by the same man – the questioning about whether I want to move in with the Gypsy family (described in Section 5.2.5).

Another type of border-crossing was the regular appearance of the 13-year-old Roma boy in the village centre, and his attempts to join the group of majority adolescents. Leaving the sphere of his family (and ethnic category), he became fair game; everyone was free to make fun of, or even physically insult him. He never fought back; offences seemed to be a price he accepted to pay for being included in the peer group.

Second, the Roma population was the most significant outgroup when discussing the depopulation of the municipality. Although in the researched village a switch in the ethnic ratio

[204] Dupcsik, *A Magyarországi Cigányság Története [The History of Gypsies in Hungary]*.
[205] Feischmidt, "Mindennapi Nacionalizmus És a Másság Cigányként Való Megjelölése [Everyday Nationalism and Marking Otherness as Gypsy]."

is not an imminent danger yet[206], Gypsies were often referred to as a counter-example to non-Gypsy families that have less children and the growing number of Roma was kept track of.

Third, the Gypsy category was often applied as a general scapegoat when talking about problems. These occurrences included the use of the word Gypsy as a synonym of stealing and the suggestion that the appearance of Gypsies would definitely lead to issues. As pointed out in Section 7.1.1, expressions of relief about the small number of Roma in the village (see Section 6.2.2) also have this function. The prevalent anti-Gypsy sentiments in the village might be examples of adaptation to the assumed opinion of the majority[207]. They can also function as the creation of a new border between the Hungarian minority and an even lower-status outgroup, with the intention to dissolve the boundary between the ingroup and the higher-status Romanian majority[208].

However, general stereotypes were connected with the scolding of the local Roma family only once, in the case of the family described in Seciton 6.2.4. Based on downward comparison theory and the principle of self-congruity[209] I suspect that they were exceptionally hostile towards this outgroup because of their difficult financial situation, although this assumption has not been proven.

7.2.2 Romanians

The Romanian majority of the country is not a significant outgroup in the village on a daily basis. They are hardly ever present in the village geographically, and were rarely mentioned in informal chats. They only came up in formal interviews when asked about directly.

[206] Fosztó, "Szorongás És Megbélyegzés: A Cigány-Magyar Kapcsolat Gazdasági, Demográfiai És Szociokulturális Dimenziói [Anxiety and Stigmatization: The Economic, Demographic and Socio-Cultural Dimensions of the Gyps-Hungarian Relation]"; Bíró and Bodó, "Öndefiníciós Kísérletek Helyi Környezetben [Experiments of Self-Definition in Local Settings]."
[207] Saphiro and Neuberg, "When Do the Stigmatized Stigmatize? The Ironic Effects of Being Accountable to (Perceived) Majority Group Prejudice-Expression Norms."
[208] Guetzkow and Fast, "How Symbolic Boundaries Shape the Experience of Social Exclusion: A Case Comparison of Arab Palestinian Citizens and Ethiopian Jews in Israel."
[209] Verkuyten, "Personal Self-Esteem and Prejudice among Ethnic Majority and Minority Youth."

The function of one type of these stories was to present villagers (members of the Hungarian minority) as victims. Unlike Roma, who were introduced as a dangerous but also subordinate group, Romanians were described in these stories as holders of power who 'hate us for no reason' and have the opportunity to humiliate Hungarians, especially using their linguistic supremacy (see Section 6.2.3 with Mária's recollection about her defenceless situation in the healthcare system).

Another type of stories presented Romanians as inferior to Hungarians in some ways. These stories made use of the existence of a mother-country. In these cases, storytellers referred to the transborder Hungarian nation (their membership in which can be proven by dual citizenship), which can compete with the majority position of Romanians. Magda (73), for instance, recalled the memory of Greater Hungary and suggested that

> "they should put it back [borders] in the way it used to be, and give everything back to Hungary. Indeed, Viktor Orbán would not undertake all these crazy Romanians. I think."

Finally, some villagers told stories about the similarity between Romanians and Hungarians living in Romania and focused on the shared human nature of the two groups. During an informal conversation an elderly couple even recalled atrocities committed by Hungarians in power during WW II against Romanians. Such a sympathetic narrative, emphasizing similarities between the groups never appeared in stories about Gypsies[210].

> "We don't hate Romanians as such because there's no reason. They are also human, there are trustworthy Romanians as well as Hungarians." (József, 75)

7.2.3 Hungarians from Hungary

When describing the hardships of their minority status, villagers rarely used co-ethnics living in the kin-state as an outgroup which cannot understand their heroic existence. (Possibly as an act of politeness towards me, a Hungarian from Hungary.) On one occasion, the idea that

[210] Kerényi and Bárdi, "A Magyarul Beszélő Külhoni Romák [Hungarian-Speaking Transborder Roma]."

Transylvanians are more Hungarians than those in Hungary[211] was presented to me as a 'fact' that I as a social scientist should also acknowledge.

> "Well, really, in Transylvania, I'm not trying to show off but I think, you also work and do research in this field, I think [here] people are more Hungarian than in Hungary. I mean purer Hungarian people, they haven't mixed so much, […] more characteristic, more worthy people live here. This is a fact." (Zsolt, 37)

7.3 SELF-REPRESENTATION VS. REPRESENTATION IN HUNGARY

The third research question asked whether there is a discrepancy between the way villagers present themselves and the way they are portrayed in Hungary. It was hypothesized that the answer is yes, villagers do not see and present their lives in such a romantic light, and focus more on issues that do not fit the idealized image that is prevalent in Hungary.

It is likely that my partly insider position in the village helped a great deal to collect honest answers to the question of self-representation. Every informant was exceptionally straightforward about problems in the village; they even reflected on the discrepancy between the narratives they shared with me and the image of the village that tourists and occasional visitors see. This helped me confirm the hypothesis and argue that although in some ways villagers' self-representation matches the stereotypes, most of the time they reflect on problems that are much more complex than representations in Hungary suggest.

7.3.1 Matching stereotypes

As set out in Chapter 1, Transylvania is represented in the kin-state in an ambivalent manner: it is both similar to Hungary or even more Hungarian than the kin-state, and different –

> "less modernized, or even uncivilised. This underdevelopment sometimes appears euphemistically. In this case Transylvania is synonymous with the idealized village, the idyll of agrarian society: it means a lifestyle closer to nature, a society more community-centric"[212].

[211] Ilyés, "Az Emlékezés És a Turisztikai Élmény Nemzetiesítése [The Nationalizing of Remembrance and Touristic Experience]."
[212] Feischmidt, "A Magyar Nacionalizmus Autenticitás-Diskurzusainak Szimbolikus Térfoglalása Erdélyben [The Symbolic Occupation of Transylvania by Hungarian Nationalist Authenticity-Discourses]," 7.

In Section 6.1.5 the positive aspects of life in the village were listed. Among them quite a few match the stereotypes that characterize Transylvania-related discourses in Hungary, as well as how the public imagines Transylvania. The image of the 'poor but kind' peasant (appearing in Dalma's narrative) is a topos of folk tales. The comparison of the village with a fantasy world (cf. 'fairy garden') came up in the description of how tourists see the place:

> "These walkers come from the Netherlands, from Germany, from all countries in the West and they also love the quietness, the beauty. They get that old-time atmosphere which they know only from fairy-tales or the houses of their grandfathers." (Kató, museum leader)

Interviewees sometimes said that even though they see things going the wrong direction among themselves, for someone coming from outside they would still seem friendlier and more community-oriented than the average. These characteristics, as well as many informants' enthusiasm about nature (see Section 6.1.5) match the stereotypes displayed by Pap's[213] interviewees.

7.3.2 Beyond the stereotypes

Far more often than painting the idealized picture that fits the expectations of a visitor from Hungary or Western Europe, villagers told me that things were not the way they used to be. As shown by the first four sections of Subchapter 6.1, issues such as the lack of cooperation, greediness, and distance between neighbours are considered major problems in the village. Some villagers also suffer from the prevalence of gossiping and being locked up in the village due to its seclusion, not to mention widespread alcoholism.

Some of these issues are directly connected to aspects of life in Székelyföld which are considered positive from the mother-country. For instance, it is obvious from the other side that the 'untouched' character of villages causes not only a lack of comfort (e.g. un-asphalted roads pollute the air with much dust) but also a serious struggle to survive without the necessary

[213] Pap, "Encountering the Nation beyond Borders: Hungarian High School Students, Tourism and the Micromanagement of Nation-Building."

means of subsistence. Arguably, subsistence hardships are a major cause of alcoholism. Speaking of it, alcohol itself is another stereotypical image attached to Transylvania, but the downside of its consumption rarely reaches nationalist discourses. Another example: being 'more Hungarian' and heroically maintaining a minority identity and culture in another country comes with the hardships Hungarians face when they need the Romanian language. This issue is also one that is not simply 'embarrassing' (as described by Nóra in Section 6.2.3) but restricts the opportunities of youths from majority Hungarian territories in Romania to a great extent.

7.4 NATIONALIST POLITICS IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Research question no.4 inquires about the significance of national(ist) politics in the everyday lives of villagers: how policies and rhetoric of local politicians and those from Hungary targeting them appear on a daily basis and affect their concerns and decisions. The hypothesis that people are hardly concerned with 'high politics' was confirmed, as well as the suspicion that the nationalist rhetoric of the Hungarian state does not reach them at full blast.

First of all, the complete lack of the appearance of names of politicians, parties and policies in everyday talk was striking. The fact that several villagers stated they were 'not interested in politics at all' confirms too that they do not believe that politicians with a high profile could contribute to the solution of their everyday problems.

Interestingly, this complete loss of belief in politics does not mean that villagers do not take part in elections. However, their decisions are overwhelmingly based on local-level motivations. In such a small community, where everyone knows everyone, personal relations influence the choice of representatives. According to Nóra (24), the opinion of the mayor matters even during parliamentary elections: people are likely to vote for the candidate who is supported by the mayor they trust. This leads to the lack of support for alternative Hungarian parties. Furthermore, the issue of territorial autonomy, which has been the source of rupture

between RMDSZ and its 'Reform Bloc' (see Section 3.2.2), is not a matter of importance at all. László (88) remembered the Hungarian Autonomous Region that existed between 1952 and 1960[214], where Hungarians had the chance to 'control things'. Other than that, no-one mentioned the option of territorial autonomy, possibly because their county Maros is not Hungarian in such a large ratio as Kovászna and Hargita.

When it comes to the outreach of the Hungarian government, it is safe to say that villagers are not as disillusioned as in the case of Romanian politics. The importance of emotional motivations of people when applying for non-residential citizenship is not surprising considering that

> "Transylvanian Hungarians have been construed in the Hungarian and Transylvanian Hungarian public spheres as members of a border-spanning Hungarian ethnocultural nation"[215].

However, a large number of interviewees referred to practical reasons too, and it was mostly elderly people who were not so touched by the rhetoric of national unification.

> "It's not bad, it's a good feeling but the thing is that we could not make much use of it now. No matter how we are. If we were younger we would have already applied for it a long time ago." (Ilona, 71)

This contradicts the idea that 'getting back what was taken away from them' was particularly important for the older generation who lived back in the 'Hungarian world' (before 1920 or during WW II), as suspected, for instance, by Tamás, the pastor of the village. Moreover, in some cases practical benefits provoked more satisfaction among villagers with the current Hungarian government than the opportunity to make their Hungarianness official.

> "If I think about the fact that the Hungarian state has enough money to support children in minority with a certain amount of money, those who study in Hungarian schools… […] I get as much from the Hungarian state as from the Romanian. I cannot understand how it is possible that someone else has enough money to even send some abroad, to give like this, and here we don't have enough for anything". (Zsuzsa, 34)

[214] Bottoni, "Szeklerland as the New Crimea? A Low-Potential Conflict."
[215] Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*, 332.

7.5 THE POSITION OF THE ROMA

The final research question asked whether the marginalized position of the Roma of the village is reflected in their attitudes towards nationalist politics. Both hypotheses have been confirmed. Firstly, symbolic boundaries and hierarchy are strictly maintained, as described in Section 2.2.3 and Subchapter 3.4, which leads to the lack of local integration. Second, Roma inhabitants of the village are not reached by nationalist politics and are not conscious when voting.

In Section 6.4.1 many signals of symbolic boundaries were described, such as geographical segregation and formal interaction. Moreover, in Section 7.2.1 it was set out that there are always consequences when offences are committed against these borders. Here it is useful to refer back to Fosztó's[216] thoughts about the exclusion of Roma within the Hungarian minority of Romania. He emphasized that due to structural reasons, such as unemployment, even existing relations on local levels began to crumble, and prejudices are on the rise. He also pointed out that the acceptance of Roma as human beings is a condition of their inclusion − as set out in Section 7.2.2, being considered in some ways similar is a privilege of the Romanian outgroup; in the village Gypsies are never mentioned on the same page as Hungarians.

Moreover, neither the Hungarian state, nor local Hungarian parties found an efficient way to reach marginalized Roma communities. The disadvantages of Gypsies, for instance Rita's inability to read and write and therefore to receive sufficient information before voting, are taken advantage of by political actors. Despite the fact that a large ratio of pupils in Hungarian schools in Székelyföld are Roma[217], attempts of the Hungarian state to unify the nation – either the rhetoric or the policies – are not successful in their case. Whether this ignorance happens on purpose or Gypsies are simply forgotten by politicians in Hungary

[216] Kerényi and Bárdi, "A Magyarul Beszélő Külhoni Romák [Hungarian-Speaking Transborder Roma]."
[217] Erőss, "Magyarok, Romák, Székelyek, Kínaiak. Kerekasztal-Vita, Kutatások És Publikációk – A Kisebbségkutatás Új Iránya [Hungarians, Roma, Szekler, Chinese. Roundtable-Debate, Researches and Publications – The New Direction of Minority Studies]."

remains a question. However, political actions such as such as Orbán's speech in 2015[218] about how Hungarians are 'forced' to live 'together with Roma' suggest that the exclusion of Gypsies from the idea of the nation on the rhetorical level does not happen accidentally. The point is that the minority status of Roma in the village and in Romania is not balanced from the mother-country's side; they fall freely through the nets of all communities that would have the chance to integrate them.

[218] *http://mandiner.hu/cikk/20150908_ezt_mondta_orban_a_roma_magyar_egyuttelesrol*

CHAPTER 8 − CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this thesis I set out to explore three questions connected to the situation of the Hungarian minority of Romania. I was interested in the importance of ethnicity in their lives, the way they present themselves and their concerns in the light of their representation in Hungary, and the position of the Roma minority of majority Hungarian territories. In order to find answers I spent two weeks in a small village in Maros county, where I interviewed, observed, and chatted with Hungarians and Gypsies. What I found is a set-up much more complex than essentializing depictions of the 'fairy garden' Transylvania in Hungary suggest.

Findings about the situational emergence of ethnicity are in line with theories that emphasize the processual and complex nature of ethnicity. From a fully majority perspective it is hard to imagine what it is like when the experience of being majority and minority at the same time leads to the constant challenging of one's social identity. Relations with outgroups in the village mirror the general tendency in Central and Eastern Europe that takes Roma as the ultimate 'Other'. The vulnerability of Roma makes it possible even for other − symbolically or economically − powerless groups to feel superior towards them. The only Gypsy family of the village live in an ultimate minority position. I have to say, their warm-heartedness and enjoyment of life does not reflect their ever so difficult financial and social situation.

Summing up the findings described in detail in Chapters 6 and 7, I draw two main conclusions. One is about the overwhelming significance of the locality in the life of villagers. Several previous studies found already that local and regional affiliations play a major part in the identities of Transylvanian Hungarians[219]. Their detachment from both Bucharest and Budapest lead to the fact that they can best identify with people who share both of their minority

[219] Papp, "Kisebbségi Identitáskonstrukciók a Kettős Magyar Állampolgárság Által [Minority Identity Constructions via Dual Hungarian Citizenship]."

category memberships[220]: those who are of Hungarian ethnicity (a minority in Romania) and live in Romania (a minority in the transborder Hungarian nation)[221]. These findings were confirmed in the researched village, where the importance of the locality is most apparent when it comes to political participation. Contributing to the literature about the effects of nationalist politics on the everyday life of Transylvanian Hungarians, I argue that the rhetoric and even the practical benefits aiming to unite the nation are not effective enough to play a major part in the lives of people on a daily basis.

The second conclusion is concerned with the issues of the village. It was striking in the field how preoccupied villagers are with the three major problems: depopulation, subsistence and estrangement. They explained how the three issues are connected (see Image 8).

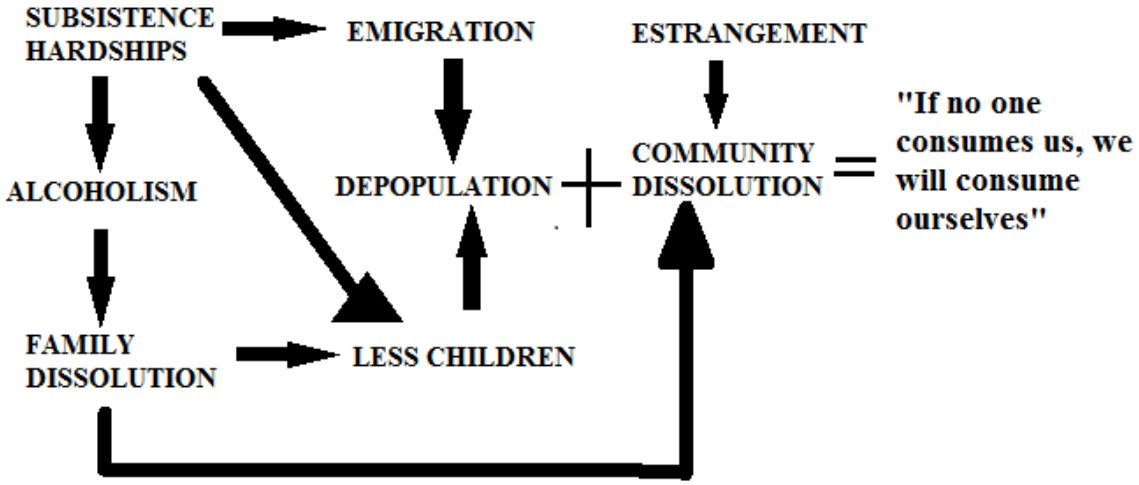

Image 8: The structure of problems in the village

The quote that provides the title of thesis comes from the pastor of the village. His bitter comment expressed an understanding that major problems of the village − a village that is a 'typical' example of heroic refuge for minority Hungarians in the nationalist imagery − have in fact nothing to do with being oppressed in Romania. I argue that to the real issues of Hungarians

[220] Van Dommelen et al., "Constructing Multiple in-Groups: Assessing Social Identity Inclusiveness and Structure in Ethnic and Religious Minority Group Members."
[221] Veres, "Az Erdélyi Magyarok Nemzeti Kisebbségi Identitásának Alakulása Kárpát Panel Tükrében [The Formation of National Minority Identity of Transylvanian Hungarians in the Light of Carpathian Panel]."

living in Székelyföld, issues that concern them on a daily basis and endanger their individual and communal existence, the nationalist rhetoric of unification and the symbolic-practical benefits (such as dual citizenship) provided by the kin-state do not give a sufficient and helpful answer. I believe that future studies and serious socio-political consideration would be necessary to find an effective way of helping these people to survive as individuals, families, and, coming from that, as a community.

In parallel with that statement, I would like to emphasize that the situation of Hungarian-speaking Roma of Székelyföld should be addressed by political actors locally and from Hungary. As Fosztó[222] explained, Székelyföld is an economically disadvantaged region, both Hungarian and Gypsy communities are badly affected by socioeconomic hardships, and this is something that local politics should deal with. I would like to add that as long as the Hungarian state 'takes responsibility' for transborder co-ethnics and attempts to integrate the Hungarian-speaking population of neighbouring countries into the nation, it is also responsible for those Gypsies who identify as Hungarian or just live in Hungarian communities and contribute to the student body of Hungarian schools.

I hope that this thesis contributes to the understanding of the reality of everyday life in Székelyföld through the case study of a small, secluded village, where cows are walking on the streets. One of the main lessons of this research is that nationalist politics does not only leaves people mostly unaffected in their emotions, but also makes a much greater mistake. While it tries to solve non-existent problems, it ignores others that need to be handled urgently and professionally. I believe that the future of minority Hungarian and Hungarian-speaking Roma communities of Transylvania lies not in the creation of ties to Budapest that never existed but in local action, community development, and wise support from those in power for initiatives that take into consideration the unique and complex character of this region and its people.

[222] Kerényi and Bárdi, "A Magyarul Beszélő Külhoni Romák [Hungarian-Speaking Transborder Roma]."

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A − INTERVIEW INFORMATION SHEET

Information about the interview

I am Borbála Lőrincz, I am a second year student of the Nationalism Studies MA Program of Central European University (CEU), Budapest. For my thesis I do a research in [your village]. I attempt to map the everyday life of the village, the viewpoints of local people.

This interview is conducted within the frame of this research. In my thesis both the village and the participants will appear anonymously, without names. It will be impossible to identify them. You have the right to withdraw any time and to refuse to answer a question. With your permission the interview will be audio-recorded. The recording will be used only when analysing the material, apart from me no one else will hear it.

I am truly grateful for your cooperation and help!

Borbála Lőrincz

[Name of the village], April 2016

If you need further information or you would like to make a complaint, please contact my supervisor Luca Váradi at [email address].

Participants were given the above information sheet in Hungarian.

APPENDIX B − INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1) Personal questions

- Tell me about your life!
- Where were you born, where did you grow up?
- What did you study? Where did you work? What do you do?

2) Opinions about the village

- How would you introduce the village to someone who hasn't been here yet?
- Compared to other nearby villages is your village in any way different?
- Since you were little / since you moved here in what ways has the village changed?
- Do you like to live here or would you like to move somewhere else?

3) Communication and media

- Do you have friends, relatives who live further away (in other villages, towns, counties, maybe countries)? Can you keep in touch with them? How?
- How far have you travelled?
- Do you follow the news? How? Are you interested in politics?
- What kind of TV programmes / online materials are you interested in?

4) Interethnic relations

- Do you speak Romanian? Where did you learn it?
- Do you know Romanians?
- Have you had any experiences of discrimination?

5) Politics (connected to media consumption too)

- Are you interested in politics?
- Are you satisfied with local Hungarian parties / with parties in Romania?
- Do you follow the news from Hungary?
- Do you take part in elections? Why? And in the Hungarian elections? How do you decide who to vote for?
- Do you have a Hungarian citizenship? Why?

6) Additional questions (in case there is a long silence)

- Who can you turn to when you need help? What kind of problems did you have recently?
- What brings you the most joy in your life? What are the things without which you couldn't live?

APPENDIX C − ORIGINAL HUNGARIAN QUOTES

Chapter 1, Page 1, Footnote 1 (Viktor Orbán)
"This is a fairy garden that is ours too. We have a special, strong connection to it; it is not an outside world for us, to which we relate as outsiders. Rather, we see a world here in which we are present too."
Original Hungarian: "Ez egy olyan tündérkert, ami a mienk is, tehát ehhez van egy sajátos, erős kötődésünk, ez nem egy külső világ a számunkra, amihez mint kívülállók viszonyulunk hanem ebben egy olyan világot látunk, amelyben mi is benne vagyunk."

Chapter 2, Page 8, Footnote 33 (Margit Feischmidt)
"the concept of homogeneity is realised through the institutionalization of identity on one hand, and through the visualisation and separation of otherness on the other".
Original Hungarian: "[a] homogenitás képzete egyrészt az azonosság intézményesülésén, másrészt a másság láthatóvá tételén és elkülönítésén keresztül valósul meg".

Chapter 2, Page 13, Footnote 60 (Margit Feischmidt)
"find or create those even more miserable than them; from whom they can distance themselves and thus sense their situation as more secure, worthy or higher".
Original Hungarian: "megtalálja vagy megteremtse a nálánál még nyomorultabbat, akiktől elhatárolódva aztán saját társadalmi helyét biztosabbnak, méltóbbnak, magasabbnak érzékelheti".

Chapter 3, Page 26, Footnote 132 (Gábor Erőss)
"individual efforts to make ends meet are more important than national solidarity".
Original Hungarian: "a nemzeti szolidaritás érzésénél erősebb az egyéni boldogulásra törekvés".

Chapter 6, Page 49, László (88)
"There was this collectivization, unfortunately, because I strongly liked agriculture too. But there was this collectivization. And, well, the people left, the people left to the city, to here and there. And now the people is small here. Small, indeed."
Original Hungarian: "sajnos lett ez a kollektivizálás, mert én is szerettem a mezőgazdaságot erősen. De lett ez a kollektivizálás. Hát, elment a nép, elment a nép városra, ide-oda. Aztán azért most már kevés a nép itt, na. Kevés, biza."

Chapter 6, Page 49, Károly (80)
"I was home for a while but then when the collective came, when the village got collectivised, well, then I went to [Maros]vásárhely. I became a house painter."
Original Hungarian: "Aztán egy darabig itthon voltam, aztán mikor a kollektív jött, hogy lett, kollektivizálták a falut, hát akkor aztán elmentem Vásárhelyre. Szobafestő lettem."

Chapter 6, Page 50, Kató (museum leader)
"It's interesting what a huge effect public discourse has in these secluded villages. 'It's not worth it, I'm not crazy to…' That's how they begin the sentence. It really influences public thinking so much that there is absolutely no willingness to work, to live".
Original Hungarian: "Érdekes máskülönben, az ilyen félreerő falvakban annyira hatással van ez a közbeszélgetés. Ó, nem érdemes, nem vagyok bolond, hogy. Így kezdik a mondatot. Annyira befolyásolja a közgondolkodást, hogy tényleg, tényleg, se munkakedv, se életkedv"

Chapter 6, Page 50, Emese (wife of the pastor)
"I think this community dissolves itself because it is incapable of living. I think it will dissolve itself because alcoholism is huge, there is an alcoholic in every, or every other household. It is a norm here. It is very sad, women work and maintain the useless men. […] These things are all connected, connected to why there are no children, no rising generation. Many women left their husbands."
Original Hungarian: "Én azt gondolom, ez a közösség fölszámolja magát. Mert életképtelen, ezt gondolom. Én azért gondolom, hogy felszámolja magát, mert nagy az alkoholizmus, minden háznál vagy minden második háznál van alkoholbeteg, ez itt egy norma. Olyan szomorú, te, az asszonyok dolgoznak és tartják a semmirekellő férfiakat. […] ezek mind összefüggnek ugye, hogy miért nincs gyermek, nincs utánpótlás. Sok nő meglépett, tehát otthagyta a férjét.

Chapter 6, Page 51, Zsolt (37)
"The whole way of thinking changed, and many things changed for the worse, people distanced themselves from each other. I tell you, everything is different. People don't have time for each other. Back in my childhood there were football matches every Sunday, there was a bowling field, everyone came to bowling, even the older ones. And dozens of children came to the football pitch, adults, young adults, there was a football team, there was a community life."
Original Hungarian: "Tehát teljesen megváltozott a gondolkodásmód, sok mindenben nagyon rossz irányba haladott ez a dolog, tehát nagyon eltávolodtak az emberek egymástól. Mondom, hogy teljesen más minden. Tehát annyira nincs idejük az embereknek egymásra, tehát ilyen összejövetelek, amik… Az én gyerekkoromban minden vasárnap focimeccsek voltak, tekepálya volt, mindenki járt, az idősebbek is, tekézni, amire még én emlékszek. És több tízesével a gyerekek oda a fotballpályára, felnőttek, felnőtt fiatalok, volt focicsapat, tehát ez a közösségi élet…"

Chapter 6, Page 51, György (middle-aged)
"People became worse, one is worse to the other, they are greedier than back in my childhood. […] It used to be different, money didn't dominate so much."
Original Hungarian: "Annyiban változott, hogy rosszabbak lettek az emberek, egyik a másikkal, kapzsibbak, mint annak idején, gyerekkoromban. […] Régen azért más volt, nem dominált ennyire a pénz az emberek körében."

Chapter 6, Page 51, Kató (elderly)
"Then the Swiss, the Dutch, the Belgians came and brought those clothes and shoes. […] Huge envy came from those donations."
Original Hungarian: "Jöttek ide például a svájciak, a hollandok, a belgák. És hozták a sok ruhát, cipőt. […] És olyan irigykedés, egymásnak ugrasztás, ebből a sok csomagból."

Chapter 6, Page 51, Tamás (pastor)
"I believe that there could be great opportunities to maintain these small communities […] But as far as I see it, this sort of thinking *with* a community has disappeared. And this loss is a more significant one than the decreasing number of people."
Original Hungarian: "Én hiszem, látom, hogy jó lehetőségek vannak az ilyen kisközösségek megmaradására. […] Viszont én azt látom, hogy kiveszett ez a fajta közösségben való gondolkodás. Akkor ez nagyobb veszteség, mint a létszámveszteség."

Chapter 6, Page 52, Dalma (50)
"Here everyone knows everyone. There's love everywhere and they try to give everything to any stranger… I don't know whether they inherited this or where it comes from but compared to how poor

the village is – because they are very poor, they have very little money from farming – they would give all that tiny amount they have to anyone"
Original Hungarian: "Itt mindenki mindenkit ismert, mindenütt szeretet, és minél jobban próbálnak mindent-mindent odadni akármilyen idegennek… nem tudom, ezt örökölték vagy honnan van nekik, de a faluban amilyen szegénység van, mert nagyon szegények az emberek, gazdálkodásból nagyon kevés pénz jön, és úgy is azt a kevesüket, ami van, odadnák akárkinek."

Chapter 6, Page 52, Robi (20)
"Well, the community is good [here]. There are only a few young people but they stick together. We go out together. […] I observed [in other villages] that young people on weekends, when we go, they do not, they just keep to themselves. […] When I go to [a village 7 kilometres away], there everyone is so reserved. Here life is a bit more exciting."
Original Hungarian: "Hát, jó a közösség. Fiatalok páran, kevesen, de azért összetartanak. Jókat szoktunk menni szórakozni. […] Hát, ott például megfigyeltem, a fiatalok is, hát, így hétvégente, amikor elmegyünk, semmi, ők ott elvannak magukkal. […] Már ha felmegyek M[…]-ra, ott mindenki olyan béhúzódott. Itt azért pörög az élet egy kicsit."

Chapter 6, Page 53, middle-aged man
"Before, when the weather was nice like this, everyone was outside, people were working all over the fields. Now there is no one because the village is dying. The whole thing is empty. But the stinky Romanians will come, move in, and then it won't be empty."
Original Hungarian: "Régen, amikor ilyen szép idő volt, végigmehettél a falun, mindenhol emberek voltak, kinn dolgozott mindenki a határban. Most meg senki, mert hal ki a falu. Üres az egész. De majd jönnek a büdös románok, beköltöznek, akkor nem lesz üres."

Chapter 6, Page 53, Károly (80)
"Back then [in my childhood] people didn't have pension, they just lived as well as they could using the land and their own two hands… Now they are really scared [of not having enough money], that's why the number of Hungarians is dwindling. [*Laugh*] This village here will go extinct in no time."
Original Hungarian: "pedig akkor régebb még nyugdíj se volt az embereknek, mer a föld, a két keze után éltek meg akkor is az emberek, de most jaj, már úgy félnek, azért fogy ki a magyarság (nevet). Ez a falu mindjárt kihal itt."

Chapter 6, Page 54, dialogue of Árpád and me

Me: Do you think your village is different in any way to other nearby villages?
Árpád: Yes, there is a difference, there aren't as many Gypsies. […]
Me: And what is it that's different due to the small number of Gypsies here?
Árpád (after a long silence): I cannot say anything to this.
Me: But this was the first thing you said, I'm just curious how you see it.
Árpád: Yes, because in reality I do not hate Gypsies. On some level there are proper ones, I don't have any problem with those, but on average they are not an ethnic group about which you can say that they are really proper. Usually they are venal, they steal…
Me: Do you hear about these things in the news or experience them personally?
Árpád: In the news! I've never run into such a problem, thank the dear good God, and I hope I won't either.

Original Hungarian:

B: Van, amiben más szerinted, mint a környékbeli falvak?
Árpád: Hát, van különbség, igen, nincs annyi cigány. […]

B: És attól, hogy kevesebb a cigány, mi van, ami más így a faluban?
Á: (hosszú csend) Erre nem tudok mit mondani.
B: Csak rögtön ezt mondtad, kíváncsi vagyok, hogy hogy látod.
Á: Igen, mert én valójában nem utálom a cigányokat. Valamilyen szinten most vannak rendesek is, azokkal semmi bajom, de ugye átlagban véve ők nem az a rendes népcsoport, akikre azt lehet mondani, hogy tényleg rendesek, hanem általában haszonlesőek, meg lopnak, meg…
B: Hírekben szoktál erről hallani vagy így személyesen?
Á: Hírekben. Még nem volt ilyesmi, hogy benne legyek ilyesmi problémában, hála a drága jó Istennek, és remélem, nem is fogok.

Chapter 6, Page 54, Zsuzsa (34)
"In this area there are very few Romanians and Hungarian people don't really speak Romanian. Here the language is a difficulty, for them it is difficult to speak Romanian, to do certain things in Romanian. Not for me, I'm happy that I speak it. For those who live in town, in [Maros]vásárhely, there it's different, there Romanians and Hungarians are together in a ratio of 50-50."
Original Hungarian: "ezen a vidéken, itt nagyon kevesen vannak románok, és a magyar emberek sem igazán tudnak románul. Itt a nyelv nehézség, tehát nekik nehézség az, hogy románul is kell beszélni, hogy románul is kell bizonyos dolgokat végezni. Nekem nem, én örvendek, hogy tudok. Már aki a városban lakik, bent Vásárhelyen, ott már másabb, ott románok, magyarok együtt vannak fele-fele arányban"

Chapter 6, Page 55, Nóra (24)
"I would like to speak [Romanian] but for that I should use it. I should use it but I don't like that because… Since we were children we have been raised in a way… They did not force us but they taught us as if we had known it all along for some reason. […] They treat it not as a foreign language but as a language that we should speak automatically. I think this expectation causes shame and this way it's hard to say a word. That you know that you should speak it well. It's always been embarrassing to say something in Romanian."
Original Hungarian: "Ez olyan, hogy szeretnék tudni, de ahhoz beszélni kellene. Használni kellene, azt pedig nem szeretem, mert… a románnal már gyermekkorunk óta úgy nevelték belénk… nem kötelezték, hanem úgy adták le, mintha mi kellene tudjunk románul valahonnan. […] Nem úgy veszik, mint idegen nyelvnek, hanem olyan nyelvnek, amit mi kellene tudjunk. És szerintem ez az elvárási kényszer, hogy van egy ilyen szégyen, mikor már tudod, hogy kellene tudjál, s olyan szégyen volt megszólalni végig."

Chapter 6, Page 55, Robi (20)
"I understand it because I worked for 6 months in a place where I was among pure Romanians. […] In the first month I was like zero, I did not understand a word, or I did but I could not answer at all. […] It was a bit hard but then I got used it, I got better."
Original Hungarian: "Érteni értek, elég jól, mert 6 hónapot egy olyna helyt dolgoztam, ahol sült románok közt voltam. […] Első hónapom zéró, ott semmit nem értettem, hát érteni értettem, de válaszolni semmit nem tudtam. […] Kicsit nehéz volt, de aztán belejöttem, megszoktam."

Chapter 6, Page 56, Károly (80)
"I had to learn Romanian because I had to explain, when I went somewhere, I had to talk to the lady about what colour she wanted, how she wanted things to work."
Original Hungarian: "Hát meg kellett tanuljak románul, mer kellett magyarázni, mikor elmentem valahova, kellett a nagyságával beszéljek, hogy milyen színt akar, s hogy akarja csinálni."

Chapter 6, Page 56, dialogue of Mária (73) and László (88)

Mária: There should be equality; one is above the other, even though he is only a man too! Why cannot we have a word? It is written everywhere: Romania. For God's sake, Romania or not, Hungarians are also working, not only Romanians! There should be equality! […] For what the hell do they study at university if only in Romanian…?

László: My boy, Romanians are not taught in Hungarian! Only Hungarians have to learn Romanian but not vice versa.

Mária: They should be taught! There should be equality! Not only Romanians are taken to the hospital, man! Hungarians are also taken there!

Original Hungarian:

Mária: Hát legyen egyenlőség, nem egyik feljebb van, mint a másik, pedig ő is csak egy ember. Há mér nem lehet az embernek szava? Mindenüvé ki van írva, Románia. Hát az Istók bassza meg, Románia, nem Románia, de a magyarok is dolgoznak, nemcsak a románok! Na! Akkor legyen egyenlőség! […] Há mi az Istenért tanulja az egyetemet, ha csak mind románul, há…

László: Há magyarul nem tanítsák azokat, fiam, akik románok! A magyarnak meg kell tanulni, de a románnak nem muszáj megtanulja magyarul

Mária: Tanítsák! Legyen egyenlőség! Há a kórházban nem mindenkit csak románt visznek, ember! Na de nem mind csak románt visznek, magyart is visznek a kórházba!

Chapter 6, Page 56, Árpád (35)

"I listen only to Hungarian music. […] This can be anything from 'mulatós' to rock, metal, anything, it just has to be in Hungarian. […] I watch Hungarian channels. […] And we are in a Hungarian community, we speak Hungarian. If there are parties we usually choose those that have a Hungarian audience."

Original Hungarian: "Csak magyar zenét hallgatok. […] Ez most lehet a mulatóstól egészen fel a rockzenéig, a metálig, bármi, csak magyarul szóljon. […] Magyar csatornákat nézek. […] Meg magyar közösségben vagyunk, magyarul beszélünk. Ha bulik vannak, akkor is általában azokat választjuk ki, ahol többrészt magyar közösség van."

Chapter 6, Page 57, dialogue of József and Ilona

József: You've been to the Gypsies? But those are… Well, maybe not when you visit them once. But when you get in touch with them, they look only for profit!

Ilona: Well, they are Gypsies…

József: Because they are Gypsies…

Original Hungarian:

József: Cigányoknál? De azok olyanok… talán egy látogatásnál nem. De ahogy az ember kapcsolatba kerül velük, csak a hasznot lesik!

Ilona: Hát, cigányok…

József: Mert cigányok…

Chapter 6, Page 57, Zoli (shopkeeper)

"Put down the bike of the kid, you nigger, or I will kick you!"

Original Hungarian: "Tedd le a gyermek biciklijét, te néger, mert megrugdoslak."

Chapter 6, Page 58, Kató (museum leader, retired teacher)
"I was disappointed with politics and politicians so many times. I really used to believe in the amending power of communism. […] This order turned upside down in me; I thought that leaders lead us to the right direction."
Original Hungarian: "Annyiszor csalódtam már a politikában, s a politikusokban. Én valamikor tényleg hittem a kommunizmusnak az emberjobbító erejében […] Na, annyira felfordult az a rend bennem, hogy hittem, hogy jó felé vezetnek a vezetők."

Chapter 6, Page 58, Tamás (pastor)
"The failurees of local Hungarian parties] made people indifferent towards politics. […] I imagine politics as a large, tumorous cell which has grown too big and is becoming a burden. It is impossible to get rid of it because the host would die but in reality it is unnecessary, burdensome, in many respects obstructive and demoralising."
Original Hungarian: "sokszor apróbb vagy nagyobb kudarcok egy idő után, azt látom, hogy az embereket közömbössé tették a politiak iránt. […] Úgy képzelem a politikát, mint egy hatalmas, hatalmas ilyen daganatos sejtet, ami túlnőtte magát, és annyira túlnőtte magát, hogy igazából kezd terhes lenni. Nem lehet megválni tőle, mert belepusztul a gazdaszervezet, de igazából szükségtelen, terhes, sok szempontból akadályozó és demoralizáló."

Chapter 6, Page 59, Zsolt (mayor)
"I think I can tell you that I have been really disillusioned with politics in Hungary. There were certain people who, I know, are considered charismatic in Hungary but working as politicians in Romania we have been really disillusioned with them, for example Viktor Orbán. […]
These parties [EMNP and MPP] were certainly financed from Hungary, they might have been created from Hungary too. […] I think creating a party on purpose to break up a community, an active community, I think this is a crime."
Original Hungarian: "úgy gondolom, hogy ezt elmondhatom, hogy én nagyon kiábrándultam a magyarországi politikából. […] voltak egyes emberek, akik tudom, hogy Magyarországon ilyen karizmatikus személyiségnek számítanak, deviszont romániai politikusként dolgozva nagyon kiábrándultunk pl. Orbán Viktorból. […]
"ezek generálva voltak, az is lehet, Magyarországról voltak, biztos, onnan voltak finanszírozva, de lehet, onnan voltak létrehozva is. […] amikor szándékosan egy pártot azért hoznak létre, vagy azért tevékenykedik egy párt, hogy egy közösséget, egy tevékeny közösséget szétszakítson, azt egyenesen bűnnek tartom."

Chapter 6, Page 59, Magda (73)
"The great freedom came and the great lack of money came. […] I don't like that there's freedom and it's possible to go here and there, I'll tell you why. I don't like it because the youth, and the young married couples, everyone leaves."
Original Hungarian: "Megjött a nagy szabadság, s megjött a nagy pénznélküliség. […] Hogy szabadság van, lehet ide-oda menni, én ezt nem szeretem, megmondom, miért. Azért nem szeretem, mert az ifjúság, s a fiatal házasok, mindenki elmegy."

Chapter 6, Page 60, dialogue of Mária and me
Me: Do you follow news from around the world to some extent? In the TV?
Mária: Of course! I keep my fingers crossed! I keep my fingers crossed for them!
Me: For whom do you keep your fingers crossed?

Mária: For the migrants, why are they not sitting at home where they were born? Why do they pollute the air here, damn! I cannot understand what's going on there that makes them leave with a backpack; where did they live before? How did they live?

Me: There's a war.

Mária: There used to be wars before too and yet people did not travel away! They were suffering, hiding here and there, where they could but now everyone with two legs is here, for God's sake!

Original Hungarian:

B: És tetszenek valamennyire követni a világ eseményeit? Tv-ben?

Mária: Há hogyne! Drukkolok én! Én drukkolok nekik!

B: Kinek tetszik drukkolni?

Mária: A migráncsoknak is, hogy mér nem ülnek otthon, ahol születtek? Mért zavarják itt a levegőt, a guttába belé! Én fel se tudom fogni, hogy mi van ott, hogy egy hátizsákkal eljőnek, hol éltek eddig? Hát hogy éltek?

B: Hát háború van.

Mária: Régebb is volt itt is háború, de nem utazott el a nép! Szenvedett, s bújkált erről-túl, ahol lehetett, de hát mostmár az Istennek amennyi kétlábú van, mind itt van!

Chapter 6, Page 60, Tamás (middle-aged)

"I think this nicely complements what I am, my sense of Hungarianness. Because if someone asks what nationality I am of, it is obviously not a question but I can only show them my Romanian passport, no matter what I say. So I think this is the right thing."

Original Hungarian: "Azt gondolom, hogy ez egy szép kiegészülése annak, ami vagyok, annak a magyarságtudatomnak, ami vagyok. Mert hogyha valaki megkérdezi azt, hogy milyen nemzetiségű vagyok, akkor ez nyilván nem kérdés, viszont az útlevelelemet felmutatva csak a román útlevelet tudom felmutatni, és hiába magyarázok neki bármit is. Ezt így úgy helyénvalónak érzem."

Chapter 6, Page 60, Nóra (24)

"There was no specific reason. I think the crowd. [*Laugh*] Peer pressure. If others have it I should have it too. And that I'll use it. This might sound like I'm opportunistic or something but it doesn't depend on this paper whether I feel Hungarian. Many people when they get this document say "now I'm officially Hungarian". Maybe a Hungarian citizen or I don't know. But Hungarian? He used to be Hungarian before too."

Original Hungarian: "Nem volt különösebb [oka]. A tömeg szerintem. *(nevet)* Tömegvonzás. Ha van másnak, legyen nekem is. S hogy hasznát veszem. Ez lehet, úgy jön le, hogy haszonleső vagy valami, de én most nem attól érzem magam magyarnak, hogy meglesz ez a papír vagy nem. Sokan kikapják ezt az okmányt, s akkor hogy „most már hivatalosan is magyar vagyok". Esetleg magyar állampolgár vagy nemtom. De magyar? Attól még magyar volt azelőtt is."

Chapter 6, Page 61, Zsolt (37)

"I don't know whether borders will change but as long as they are this way I would never vote for a politician in Hungary. I mean I can't have a say in the politics of another country".

Original Hungarian: "nem tudom, fog-e változni, tehát amíg a határok így vannak, ahogy most vannak, én sosem szavaznék magyarországi politikusra, tehát én nem szólhatok bele egy más országnak a politikájába"

Chapter 6, Page 61, Előd (26)

"They did quite a lot in the past 5-10 years, maybe even more. In the first years, when I was still in school, they helped me with that Hungarian money or how to say. I have seen that they help us,

Transylvanian Hungarians, and I'd like to return that with voting. We also got this citizenship opportunity, I think this is also good. So if I can help the current leadership with my vote…"
Original Hungarian: "ugye elég sokat tettek az elmúlt 5-10 évben, talán több is, az első években, amíg iskolás voltam, segítettek azokkal a magyar pénzekkel vagy hogy mondjam. Láttam azt, hogy tesznek értünk, erdélyi magyarokért, és ezzel viszonoznám én is, hogy szavazok. Meg megkaptuk ezt az állampolgársági lehetőséget is, ezt is jónak tartom. Ezért [ha a] szavazatommal hozzá tudom segíteni a mostani vezetőket, akkor…"

Chapter 6, Page 61, Edit (matron of the Roma family)
"Well, there is a big difference because Gypsies do not mix with… Hungarians do not mix with Gypsies, and Gypsies are not welcome among Hungarians so there's a difference. Hungarians make friends with Hungarians and Gypsies stick to Gypsies. There is a difference, isn't there?"
Original Hungarian: "Há nagy a különbség, mert a cigányok nem vegyülnek… a magyarok nem vegyülnek a cigányokkal, meg nincsenek bévéve a cigányok a magyarok közt s így már különbség van. A magyarok magyarokkal barátkoznak, s cigán pedig a cigánhoz húz. Há már van különbség, nem?"

Chapter 6, Page 62, Rita (20)
"It would be good if there was a place [to work] because then we would earn a little money. Say, where we are, for us, Gypsies, it is not easy for us. Say, for Hungarians, for them it is easier because they are different. […] We have to go to find work and live. And this is a bit hard for us. This is life for us, Gypsies."
Original Hungarian: "ha lenne, hogy tudjunk menni dolgozni, legyen olyan hely, akkor az jó lenne, mert keresnénk egy kicsi pénzt. Azér mondjuk úgy, hogy mi ahol úgy vagyunk mi, a cigányok, azér nem könnyű nekünk. Mondjuk úgy, hogy a magyaroknál, azoknál már könnyebb, mer azok már mások. […] Már mi kell menjünk, hogy keressünk munkát, éljünk meg, aztán. Azért nehéz egy kicsit nekünk. Nekünk olyan az élet, a cigányoknak."

Chapter 6, Page 63, dialogue

Rita: I learnt [Hungarian] in school. It's good because I can't write and can't read very well but I learnt the language so I can speak.
Me: I cannot hear that you didn't grow up speaking Hungarian.
Rita: No, but I stall a bit as I speak.
Me: It's easier for you to speak Gypsy.
Rita: Yes. These are the two languages for us. The language we speak now and Gypsy.
Me: And do you speak Romanian?
Rita: I don't really speak Romanian. The other one does… […]
Me: Does she come from a Romanian village?
Rita: Yes. The language we speak now she does not speak.
Me: She doesn't speak Hungarian.
Rita: No. So I speak this language but I don't speak the language that she speaks.
Me: So Gypsy is your common tongue. And isn't it hard for her to live in a Hungarian village?
Rita: It is. She told me it is. I also asked her. It's a bit hard for her. But it's also hard for me because I don't speak the language she speaks. I understand it but I cannot talk back. It's bad that I cannot speak that language.

Original Hungarian:

Rita: Iskolában tanultam meg. Jó, mert nem tudok írni, nem is tudok úgy olvasni, de azért megtanultam a nyelvet, hogy beszéljek.
B: Hát nem hallatszik, hogy nem így nőttél fel.

Rita: Há nem, de azért kicsit akadok, amikor beszélek.
B: Könnyebb cigányul beszélni.
Rita: Igen. Nekünk ez a két nyelv. Ez a nyelv, amit beszélünk most, s a cigány.
B: És románul tudtok?
Rita: Románul nemigen tudok. A másik tud, a másik… […]
B: Olyan faluból származik?
Rita: Igen. Ő onnat származik. Ezt a nyelvet, amit tudunk mi most, ezt nem tudja ő.
B: Ő nem tud magyarul?
Rita: Nem. Na aztán, én tudom ezt a nyelvet, csak én nem tudom azt a nyelvet, amit ő tud.
B: De a cigány a közös nyelvetek. És neki nem nehéz, hogy itt egy magyar falu van…?
Rita: Dehogynem. Mondta, hogy nehéz kicsit. Kérdeztem én is tőle. De azért egy kicsit nehéz neki. De azért nekem is nehéz, mert nem tudom azt a nyelvet, amit ő. Mert értem, de nem tudom visszafelelni.

Chapter 6, Page 63, Zsolt (mayor)
"I treat everyone equally; I can handle their behaviour and I think I'm very popular among them. […] They come in and I know they are honest, you can't really trust Gypsies but these clan leaders or how to explain, these elder ladies to whom a whole Gypsy family, 30-40 people, listens; they say 'Mr Mayor, you don't have to tell us anything, anywhere we go we'll vote for you, Mr Mayor'."
Original Hungarian: "Ennek ellenére én minden embert szinte egyformán veszek, tudom is kezelni az ő viselkedésüket, és szerintem nagyon is népszerű vagyok nekik. […] bejönnek, tudom, hogy őszintén mondja, nem nagyon lehet hinni a cigányoknak, de ilyen klánfőnökök, hogy magyarázzam, ilyen idősebb hölgyek, akikre tényleg egy cigány család, lehet 30-40 tagú, hallgat, és mondja, hogy polgármester úr, nekünk nem kell semmit mondjon, és nem kell, hogy, mi akárhova megyünk, mi úgyis a polgármester úrra szavazunk."

Chapter 6, Page 63-64, dialogue of Rita and me
Me: How do you choose who to vote for?
Rita: They told me they would give me a piece of paper and there's a tulip [the symbol of RMDSZ] on it. One must vote for that, so I vote for that…
Me: Do you know which party that is?
Rita: I don't know. They only told us to vote for the tulip.
Me: Who told you?
Rita: Those who sit there and stamp the papers.
Original Hungarian:
B: És milyen alapon szoktatok választani?
Rita: Há, nekem úgy mondták, hogy adnak egy olyan papírt s arra van egy tulipán. Arra kell szavazni, aztán én arra…
B: Azt tudod, hogy melyik párt?
Rita: Nem tudom. Nekünk csak az mondták, hogy a tulipánra.
B: És ki mondta?
Rita: Ott amelyik ott vannak, hogy adják azt a pecsétet.

Chapter 6, Page 64, dialogue of Edit and me
Me: How do you choose from the many choices you have?
Edit: Well, we vote for who we have to. Who we have to.
Me: I see. And how do you know…?
Edit (giggling): We learn about it.

Original Hungarian:

B: És akkor hogy szoktak választani a sok választás közül?
Edit: Hát, akikre kell. Akikre kell. (mosolyogva)
B: Ühm. És honnan tudja, hogy…?
Edit: Megtudjuk (kuncogva).

Chapter 7, Page 66, Árpád (35)
"Now it doesn't happen at ours but if there's a party and Romanian persons are present, than there has to be Romanian music too, and not everyone likes that. But it doesn't happen at ours. Here tradition can survive on this level, the Hungarian music, the old dances and so on."
Original Hungarian: "ez nálunk most nem jellemző, de ahogy egy közös összejövetel van, vannak román személyek is, akkor a zene is akkor már román, kell legyen román zene is, azt nem mindenki kedveli. Itt azért ez nálunk nincs. Itt azért még a hagyomány, az meg tud maradni ilyen szinten, hogy magyar zene, meg ez a régi csárdás, meg keringő, meg ilyesmi."

Chapter 7, Page 70, Magda (73)
"they should put it back in the way it used to be, and give everything back to Hungary. Indeed, Viktor Orbán would not undertake all these crazy Romanians. I think."
Original Hungarian: "Tegyék vissza úgy, ahogy volt valamikor, adják vissza mindent Magyarországnak. Ejsze Orbán Viktor nem vállalná el ezt a sok bolond románt. Énszerintem."

Chapter 7, Page 70, József (75)
"We don't hate Romanians as such because there's no reason. They are also human, there are trustworthy Romanians as well as Hungarians."
Original Hungarian: "Mint olyan, nem gyűlöljük a románokat, mert nincs amiért, ők is emberek, s van románban is becsületes ember s nem becsületes, magyarban is ugyanúgy."

Chapter 7, Page 71, Zsolt (37)
"Well, really, in Transylvania, I'm not trying to show off but I think, you also work and do research in this field, I think [here] people are more Hungarian than in Hungary. I mean purer Hungarian people, they haven't mixed so much, […] more characteristic, more worthy people live here. This is a fact."
Original Hungarian: "Tehát tényleg Erdélyben, most nem dicsekvésképpen, de szerintem most, azon a szakterületen is dolgozol és kutatsz, tehát szerintem magyarabb emberek laknak, mint Magyarországon. Tehát tisztább magyar emberek, nem vegyültek annyira össze, […] karakteresebb, és többértékű emberek laknak, tehát ez tény."

Chapter 7, Page 71, Footnote 212 (Margit Feischmidt)
"less modernized, or even uncivilised. This underdevelopment sometimes appears euphemistically. In this case Transylvania is synonymous with the idealized village, the idyll of agrarian society: it means a lifestyle closer to nature, a society more community-centric".
Original Hungarian: "kevésbé modernizált, sőt egyenesen civilizálatlan. Ez az elmaradottság olykor eufemisztikusan jelenik meg. Erdély ekkor az idealizált faluval, a paraszti társadalom idilljével szinonim: természetközelibb életformát, közösségelvűbb társadalmat jelent."

Chapter 7, Page 72, Kató (museum leader)
"These walkers come from the Netherlands, from Germany, from all countries in the West and they also love the quietness, the beauty. They get that old-time atmosphere which they know only from fairy-tales or the houses of their grandfathers."

Original Hungarian: “Hollandiából, Németországból, minden országból jönnek nyugatról ezek a gyalogos turisták, na, ők is odavannak a csendért, a szépségért, megkapják itt azt a régiséget, amit ők esetleg csak a mesében, vagy a nagyapáiknak a háza környékén láttak.”

Chapter 7, Page 74, Ilona (71)
“It’s not bad, it’s a good feeling but the thing is that we could not make much use of it now. No matter how we are. If we were younger we would have already applied for it a long time ago.”
Original Hungarian: “Nem rossz, mert jó érzés, na, csak az a helyzet, hogy ejsze mi már sok hasznot nem húzunk belőle. Ha így vagyunk, ha úgy vagyunk. Ha fiatalabb volna az ember, már rég megcsináltuk volna.”

Chapter 7, Page 74, Zsuzsa (34)
“If I think about the fact that the Hungarian state has enough money to support children in minority with a certain amount of money, those who study in Hungarian schools… […] I get as much from the Hungarian state as from the Romanian. I cannot understand how it is possible that someone else has enough money to even send some abroad, to give like this, and here we don’t have enough for anything”.
Original Hungarian: “ha csak arra gondolok, hogy a magyar államnak van pénze a kisebbségi sorsban levő gyermekeket támogatni minden évben egy bizonyos összeggel, aki magyar iskolában tanul… […] Tehát hogy a magyar államtól is kapok annyit, amennyit a romántól. Tehát nem tudom felfogni, hogy ha másnak van pénze még külföldre is, hogy adjon így, és itt nekünk nincs semmire.”

APPENDIX D − LISTS OF IMAGES AND TABLES

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Image 2 (page 37): The bust of the saint with the belfry and the church in the background. **Photo**: BL, April 2016

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