



Concordia Discors.

***Understanding Conflict and Integration Outcomes of Inter-
group Relations and Integration Policies in Selected
Neighbourhoods of Five European Cities***

Final Report

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Preface. Essential features and fundamental assumptions of the Concordia Discors project.

I. The expression “Concordia Discors” comes from the Latin poet Horace’s epistles and has become paradigm of a dynamic state of “discordant harmony”. A fundamental assumption of this project is that integration is a dynamic achievement and it is not a rigid state nor the conceptual opposite of conflict. Therefore it is necessary to face, thematize and analyze the inter-group tensions associated with integration processes, as a precondition to deal with such tensions proactively and constructively. We have thus investigated different modes of intergroup relations, in particular the various shapes of conflict and cooperation, including intermediate patterns of interactions, seen as developmental dynamics of integration processes.

II. Another assumption concerns the view of intergroup relations. We have adopted the boundary-making perspective proposed by Fredrik Barth as early as the 1960s, according to which ethnic distinctions have a relational nature and they may (or may not) crosscut groups of shared culture or nationality. Therefore, our units of observation are individuals and organised groups, that we have not pre-clustered into ethnic groups since the existence and the configuration of such groups will rather be part of the research findings. Coherently with this approach we have looked not only at ethnic/migration cleavages but also at other relevant cleavages which structure interactions - overlapping, reinforcing or blurring the ones produced by migration - such as the cleavages based on socio-economic status, generation or length of stay in the neighbourhood. The choice of this approach is the reason why we use the term “intergroup relations” and not “interethnic relations”.

III. A third assumption inspiring this project is that places matter in shaping relations among groups. Given that contemporary cities are (increasingly) internally fragmented and too heterogeneous to be investigated as undifferentiated places, we focused our study on those specific areas in cities which share urban and social characteristics and are called quarters. We define the quarter as a sub-municipal urban entity, which is not necessarily an autonomous administrative entity, but whose identity is recognisable (although not necessarily with a shared perception of its exact geographical boundaries).

IV. Given these three assumptions, Concordia Discors have investigated intergroup relations at the quarter level, in order to produce a deep, strongly empirically-based and directly policy relevant understanding of integration and conflict processes.

We focused on the quarter specificities, nonetheless adopting a wide perspective and taking factors into account which belong both to the macro and micro levels. In particular, we analysed the role played in shaping intergroup relations by:

- Neighbourhoods as urban and social contexts;
- Everyday experience and relations;
- Information and representation flows of local media concerning the target neighbourhoods;
- Local policies producing their effects on intergroup relations in the target neighbourhoods, including political/electoral communication strategies.

V. We have referred to different disciplines and fields of study, using both quantitative and qualitative methods. The main methodological steps of the Concordia Discors project are the following.

- Analysis of social and urban context. The first step consisted in reconstructing the urban and social context of the target quarters and identifying common indicators describing the urban, social and migration contexts;
- Analysis of local policy communities' perceptions. We carried out interviews and focus groups with quarter-level policy communities (policy-makers, street-level bureaucracy, NGOs, etc) investigating policy frames (i.e. the cognitive dimension of policy, in particular the way in which immigration and intergroup relations are framed) and the measures that according to interviewees have influenced intergroup relations;
- Analysis of local media flows. This step of analysis was based on media contents of local and/or local sections of national newspapers depending on the specificities of media landscape of each city. First, we tried to understand how often the target quarters have been mentioned in association with immigration. Then, we analysed the contents of the news identifying the dominant representations of intergroup relations and of policy interventions on immigration and integration issues in the target quarters;
- Ethnographic fieldwork. We tried to catch the experienced intergroup relations through direct observation and interviews that allowed us to single out residents' representations of differences, on the one hand, and investigating everyday practices and daily encounters, on the other hand. In order to carry out an in-depth analysis, the ethnography was focused on a limited number of "interaction zones" for each quarter, which are regarded as significant in terms of intergroup relations and are geographically circumscribed. Furthermore, we reconstructed collective narratives of the neighbourhoods' recent history through the Neighbourhood Forums, half-day events engaging residents from different ethnic and socio-economic groups (local administrators, NGOs, ethnic associations, residents of various ages, shopkeepers, etc). This Forums also represented means of involvement of population of the target neighbourhoods thus enhancing the participatory nature of this research.

VI. The Concordia Discors project has adopted a comparative perspective which has been articulated over two levels:

- Comparison between different quarters within the same city;
- Comparison between quarters located in different cities and countries.

The project's specific focus has been on eleven quarters of five European cities, each of which has been investigated by one research partner: Barcelona by the Migration Research Group of the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Budapest by TARKI, London by COMPAS of the University of Oxford, Nuremberg by efms of the University of Bamberg and Torino by FIERI. A sixth partner, the Brussels-based European Policy Centre (EPC), has been in charge of the dissemination of results and of networking and institutional relations with decision-makers and civil society organizations at EU level.

For each city a Background report and a Final report have been produced, whereas the Synthesis report provides a comparative analysis of all eleven quarters of the five target cities.

Methodology¹

In order to investigate the nature of intergroup relationships and relations to the living environment a mixture of several methods was used. **Interviews** allowed us to explore the attitudes towards minorities and towards the neighbourhood as it is an appropriate method to get the frames of the relationships. The **Neighbourhood Forum** based on the PPP project (see below for details) was located in an elementary school and aimed to offer a possibility for parents, teachers and local experts to express their opinions about the neighbourhood and its inhabitants, and about the changes of their site.

Methods used only by the Hungarian team

The goal of **walking interviews** was to gain information about the intergroup relations among specific individuals focusing on the everyday experience of their neighbourhood: to single out residents' representations of differences, on the one hand, and investigating everyday practices and daily encounters. **Mental maps** were made in order to analyze the subjective evaluation of the living environment and the urban space and to explore the assumption that there is a hidden association between space and migrants. By designing a "map" and seeing the real place our interviewee succeeded in recalling "hidden" memories on places and people. The **Participatory Photography Project** (PPP) method also aimed to explore relations between the living environment and the minorities. Our target group consisted of non-Roma and Roma Hungarian and migrant elementary school children. Since children are too young to express their opinion in a framework of an interview we used the PPP technique as a tool to let them express themselves.

By combining the above mentioned methods we had the possibility to gain deeper and more sophisticated information about our research questions.

¹ For more details see Annex 1.

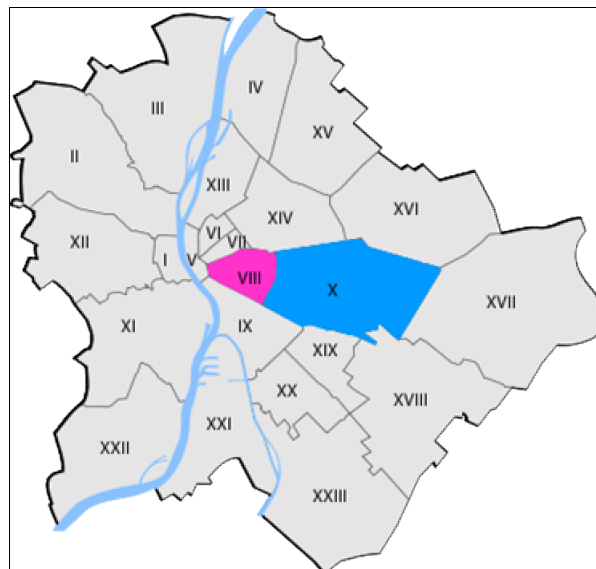
1. Quarters as contexts of social interaction: indicators and perceptions compared

1.1 Quarters as urban contexts

History

Budapest is located in the centre of the country and it is divided into two parts by the River Danube and into 23 districts (Figure 1). Each district is a separate administrative unit. While, Józsefváros (the first selected quarter-highlighted with pink) is situated in the heart of Pest, - Kőbánya (the second selected quarter-highlighted with blue) is a peripheral area. Both of them are considered as low-prestige urban areas.

Figure 1 The city of Budapest and the two selected quarters



The history of Józsefváros started with the partitioning of gardens after the Great Turkish War in the 17th century. In the beginning of the 20th century Józsefváros was the home of artisans, musician gypsies and poorer Jewish strata. The number of inhabitants reached a peak in 1910 (164,255 inhabitants). In the 1950's poorer unskilled workers from the impoverished countryside moved into the district in large numbers, while artisans, highly skilled workers and the wealthier social groups departed causing deprivation all over the district.

From the 17th century on, the area of Kőbánya was used to mine huge amount of limestone (the name of the quarter in Hungarian) distributed all over Hungary. Due to the primitive methods of extraction, the extensive and often un-plotted tunnel network, mining became dangerous so further work was banned in 1890. The basements and tunnels were used as wine cellars and breweries. In 1872 Kőbánya's population has increased rapidly. The majority of the newcomers consisted of labourers working in the factories from the neighbourhood. In 1901 the largest pharmaceutical factory in Hungary was founded in Kőbánya. In the 1950's the wine growing area was parcelled out, in these years the development of Kőbánya gained momentum.

Location

Józsefváros is located close to the centre of Budapest whereas Kőbánya is a peripheral area. Both quarters have highly developed public transport connection. The core area of Józsefváros is one of the busiest meeting points of Budapest. Kőbánya has several bus and tram lines which offer good connections to the city centre. The interviews confirmed the favourable location of Józsefváros as well: when asking interviewees about the advantages of the area the excellent public transport connection was often mentioned.

Kőbánya is a peripheral area where people mostly work and sleep. Although it has large public parks these spaces are mostly just old and unused industry yards (brown areas). One of our Hungarian interviewees- working in Kőbánya but living in another district- explained his relation to the quarter in the following way:

“I wouldn’t like to move here... I live in a house with garden; I have my own swimming pool, which is a luxury, why would I move in a place like this?” Hungarian man (Bp-K-KI-29-common representative of Taraliget-around 40).

Image

The image of Józsefváros shows a great heterogeneity. The buildings of the inner part preserved their aristocratic feature. Here the apartments built for the middle class are bigger than the average in Budapest. The central part called Palotanegyed (Palace Quarter) includes several remarkable buildings such as museums and universities. However, the other areas of Józsefváros consist of mainly old and dilapidated buildings. There are nine homeless shelters in the quarter which are strongly determining its image. These nine homeless shelters are obligated to host homeless people regardless their place of birth or previous place of residence. As a result they are full of homeless people who have come from the poorest segments (mostly from the Northeast) of Hungary.

Kőbánya has always been an industrial area but there is a constant effort on behalf of the municipality to minimize this industrial image. Although several factories were closed down the unused industrial buildings remained there and have a negative influence on the image of the quarter. The image-problem is mirrored by almost all of our interviews as well. One of the main problems of the inhabitants was image-related, as one of our interviewees said:

“I would try to change the industrial image of Kőbánya, because if you hear “Kőbánya”, mines and factories come to your mind.” (Short interview 10)

Local identity

In 2004 Józsefváros was divided into 11 parts (quarters) but only some of them have apparent local culture and identity. People living in the poorer parts of Józsefváros (especially in "Magdolnanegyed" and "Szigony-negyed") have a ghetto like subculture; which is demonstrated for example in the cartoon “The District!”². This comedy is about Hungarian non-Roma, Hungarian Roma, Chinese

² The Hungarian title “Nyócker” refers to the pejorative nickname of Józsefváros.

and Arab inhabitants of Józsefváros, about their alliances and conflicts (The trailer of The District!: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i73klreF-lo>).

Picture 1 Poster of The District!



Source: <http://www.planetdamage.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/07/nyocker01.jpg>

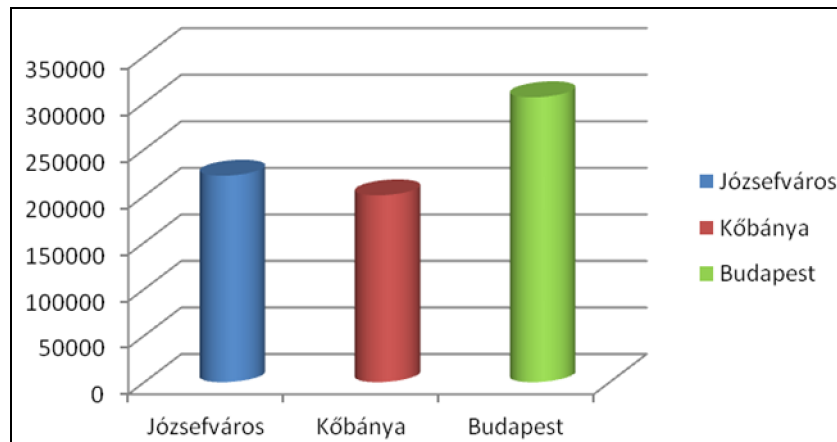
Housing, standard of living

Józsefváros and Kőbánya are both among the most underdeveloped quarters of Budapest in every aspect, but the causes are different. Kőbánya was an industrial area, which began to erode after the change of the system when most factories were closed down in the quarter leaving many skilled workers unemployed. Józsefváros is characterized by an ethnicized form of poverty, i.e. certain parts of it show the emergence of a Roma ghetto. According to a recent analysis Józsefváros and Kőbánya contain seven of the twenty six “crisis zones”³ of Budapest (Csanádi et al, 2010).

Concerning real estate price as a signal of prestige we found that our areas are among the less valuable places. Whereas in Budapest the average price of the flats in 2010 was 300,000 HUF/square meter, in Józsefváros the average price was significantly lower and in Kőbánya is even less.

³ Crisis zone are those areas of Budapest which are in critical status according to the municipality, and need urgent intervention in the next 5 to 10 years.

**Figure 2 Average price of dwellings in Józsefváros, in Kőbánya and in Budapest in 2010
(HUF/square meter)**



Source: https://www.otpbank.hu/OTP_JZB/file/Ertekterkep.pdf

Many of our interviewees complained about their housing situation. The general opinion was that they hate the area, because it is dangerous, but cannot afford to buy a new flat somewhere else, because they would not be able to sell their present apartment in Józsefváros for a reasonable price.

1.2 Quarters as social contexts

Józsefváros with a population of 82,000 and Kőbánya with a population of 80,000 are both considered as the most populous districts of Budapest. Since Józsefváros with the area of 6.85 square km is the fifth smallest districts of Budapest, while Kőbánya is among the largest ones with a surface area of 32.5 square km, the density of population is extremely high in Józsefváros compared to Kőbánya and even to Budapest. The population is decreasing in both districts.

Figure 3 The resident population per km² of Józsefváros, Kőbánya and Budapest

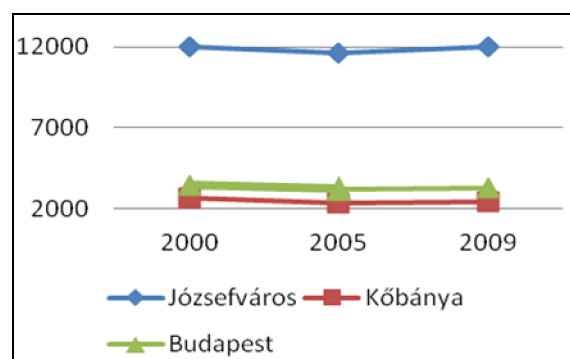
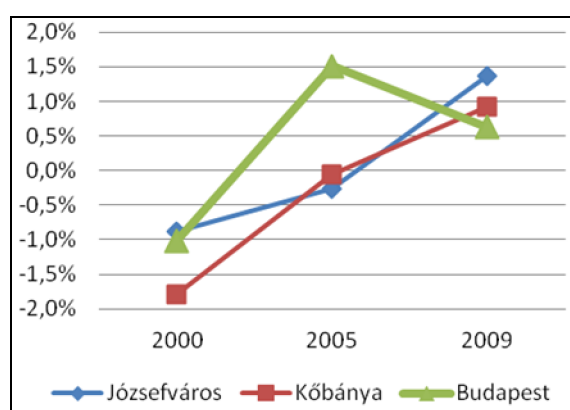


Figure 4 Internal migration balance of Józsefváros, Kőbánya and Budapest between 2000 and 2009

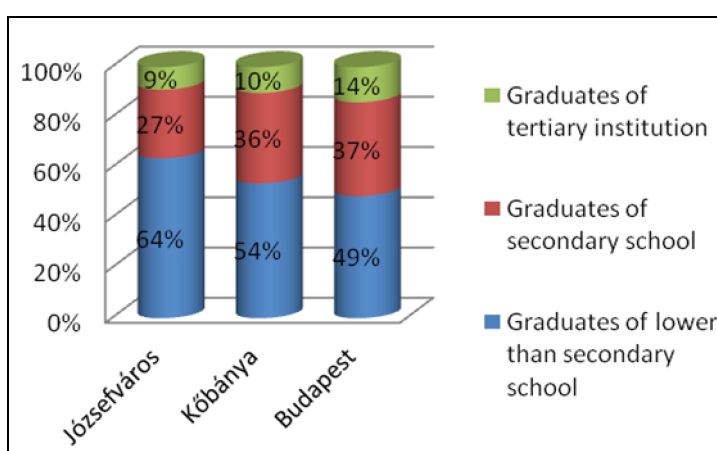


In 2009 similar to Budapest both Józsefváros and Kőbánya had positive internal migration balance. In the last decade the migration balance in the selected two quarters had been increasing constantly while the overall trend of Budapest shows a period of fast growth followed by a decrease.

Economy, employment

If compared to Kőbánya and Budapest, Józsefváros has a significantly higher rate of unemployment: 5% of the inhabitants of working age (aged 15–61 years) are registered jobseekers (in Kőbánya the proportion is 3.4%, in Budapest 3.7 percentages). Moreover, while in Józsefváros the proportion of long-term jobseekers is more than half of all jobseekers (53 percentages), in Kőbánya and in Budapest their proportion is only 40 percentages and 44 percentages, respectively. The distribution of jobseekers by education level mirrors the working and lower class background of the two districts: the proportion of jobseekers with lower than secondary education is 10% higher in Józsefváros than in Kőbánya which is 5% higher than in Budapest.

Figure 5 The distribution of registered jobseekers by education in Józsefváros, Kőbánya and Budapest in 2009



Source: Statistical Yearbook of Budapest

Poverty and unemployment compared to other districts of the capital are widespread in both quarters and almost all of the interviewees complained about the situation. According to an interviewee from Syria the situation is much worse than it was a few years ago.

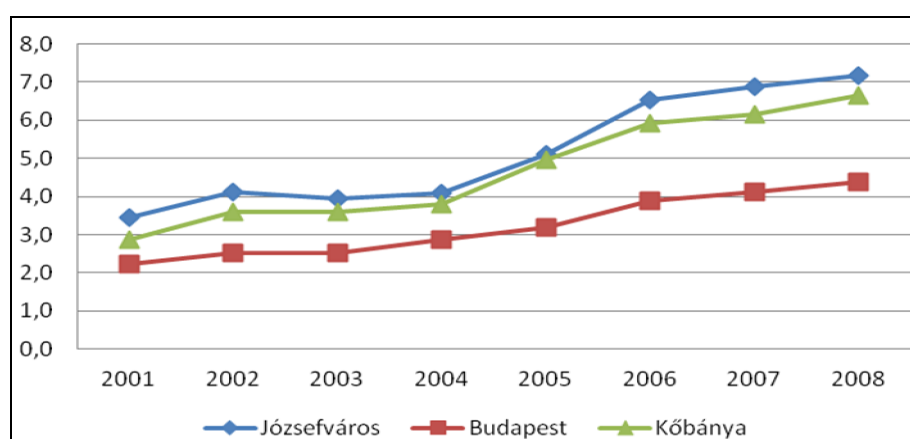
“I’m here for 10 years, here Hungary. There was never like this before. They come and beg for bread. They come to me and ask for 100-200 Forints (0.3-0.6 EUR) for bread. When I came here, nobody came to me with a child begging for 100 or 200 Forints for bread. But now poverty is huge, shop full with stuff, turnover zero.” Syrian man (Bp-J-I-14-second hand technical shop owner- 40).

1.3 Quarters as migrant destination

In the 1960’s-70’s only Greek migrants lived in a rather closed compound in Józsefváros and Kőbánya. They were replaced in the early 1990s by Chinese, Vietnamese and later African migrants. The primary reason why migrants come to Józsefváros is the proximity of the Four Tigers Market⁴. Either they work in the neighbourhood of the market or operate a shop or a restaurant nearby. Most of the migrants work in the field of commerce, and they are believed to be richer than the average inhabitants of Józsefváros. Most migrant groups are visible, especially Chinese, Vietnamese and African nationalities, however for the municipality they do not exist because they do not apply for social benefits.

Józsefváros has a high level of concentration of foreigners, and even higher in the young age group, where their ratio reaches ten percentage (Kőszeghy, 2010). In 2008 the ratio of foreign population in Józsefváros and Kőbánya was about seven percentages whereas in Budapest it is lower than five percentages in every observed year.

Figure 6 Percentage of foreigners in total population in Józsefváros, Kőbánya and Budapest



Source: Statistical Yearbooks of Budapest

Vietnamese and Chinese migrants show the highest concentration among migrants. Almost one fifth of the Chinese and more than ten percent of the Vietnamese migrants who live in the capital city are

⁴ Four Tigers Market is one of our selected sites. Read more about it in chapter 4.1.3.

settled in Józsefváros. Most migrants came from Romania, Serbia, and China. While the overwhelming majority of Romanian migrants are Romanian Roma, the Serbian migrants are mostly ethnic Hungarians. Foreigners living in Kőbánya can be characterized by the same parameters as the migrants in Józsefváros because these districts are neighbours and because of the proximity of the Four Tigers Market which attracts Asian migrants in both district.

2. Being a migrant in Budapest

For the better understanding of the main characteristics of migrants' living in the quarters we follow the categorization of migrants based on how the host society perceives them, i.e. how they appear in the dominant discourse of ordinary citizens in the two quarters. Migrants are stereotyped by the local population in two major groups (1) Asians and (2) non-Asians. The Asian category contains Vietnamese and Chinese while the non-Asian contains Africans and migrants from Middle East who are perceived as "Arabs" as it is not usual for a Hungarian to make difference between the different nationalities and ethnicities.

Asians (Vietnamese and Chinese migrants)

In the following part we characterize the Asian population through the Chinese and Vietnamese population.

The first generation of the contemporary Chinese Diaspora has arrived in the late 80's. They lived in rather closed business-based community, i.e. doing business mostly with each other. In most cases they left their children in China to learn Chinese and to be socialized within the Chinese culture. Those children who migrated with the family or were born in Hungary, however, can often help their parents to better understand their new environment since they speak Hungarian, were socialized in a different way and they were also more open-minded due to their age. In accordance with the findings of a recent research implemented by ICCR Budapest Foundation (2012) they often consider themselves half Hungarian - half Chinese because on the one hand they grew up here, on the other hand their cultural background (reinforced by frequent visits back home) comes from there.

According to Nyíri (2010) since Chinese migration has occurred mostly because of economic reasons they form a modern type of middleman minority, i.e. they generally don't plan to permanently settle down, they only come here to run a successful business, so if circumstances turn bad or their business goes bankrupt, they leave Hungary. This attitude is reflected clearly by the results of Örkény (2010). He found that almost one fifth of Vietnamese and Chinese would like to move back to the country of origin and they do not intend to stay here in the long run.

Language

Asian migrants from the first generation do not feel the need to learn Hungarian because they do not get in touch with Hungarians, neither in their private life nor in business. With the exception of one interviewee no one spoke Hungarian well. As one of our Vietnamese interviewee - who also did not speak Hungarian although he has been living here since 1997 - explained:

"My working language here is both English and German. Luckily I speak many other languages, so I don't have any problem here." Vietnamese man (Bp-J-24-owner of a travel agency company-unknown, around 50).

Others, especially those from the second generation who came here to study, make a huge effort to learn Hungarian because they want to make Hungarian friends and they want to be perceived as European citizens. Some of our younger interviewees who do not speak Hungarian well complained

about the false judgement of the Chinese community. According to the community Hungarians often are unfriendly with them but younger Chinese think that it is only the result of the lack of command of the Hungarian language:

“I don’t speak well, perhaps girls don’t like me because of this...Good, the neighbour is good, everything good... no girlfriend, because it is difficult for me, don’t speak well Hungarian.” Chinese man (Bp-J-I-10-shop owner-around 35-45).

The younger generation speaks Hungarian at least at a basic level and they make huge efforts to integrate into the host society.

“Chinese make friend with both Chinese and Hungarian. Chinese people like Hungarian people, they are in always a good mood. Just the language the problem, Chinese like Hungarian, but don’t speak Hungarian. Culture and traditions interest Chinese, but difficult. Chinese don’t speak Hungarian, Hungarian don’t speak Chinese, this relationship is difficult, and me too difficult to have Hungarian friend.” Chinese woman (Bp-J-I-26- European representative of a Chinese company-29).

The market- language

According to the findings of two sociology students on the Four Tigers Market there exists a so called “market-language”, a “lingua franca” mostly used by Asian migrants to communicate with Hungarian customers, employees and other traders. It has a limited vocabulary, containing only the words used in selling-buying situations. The vocabulary contains mostly numbers, sizes and quantities with a strong Asian accent which is understood by Hungarian buyers and the non-Asian vendors as well.

Integration

According to Örkény (2010) among immigrants Chinese have the strongest links to their mother country, while they do not feel close to Hungary. Our interviewees had strong links to their relatives and friends in China and Vietnam. They keep in touch mostly via internet and travel home as many times as it is possible even though it’s very expensive. Even if they had no money for it, they feel a strong need to go home and to keep in touch with those who live there. As told by one of our Vietnamese interviewee

“I go home twice or three times a year to see my parents and friends. With my parents mostly by phone.” Vietnamese man (Bp-J-24-owner of a travel agency company- around 50).

Almost all Chinese people read the Chinese newspaper⁵ which contains Chinese and Hungarian news as well. It seems that most Chinese migrants want to know everything about the news in China; it is at least as important as following the Hungarian news. As a Chinese woman said:

⁵ Read more about the newspaper in Media chapter.

“I always read what happens in China. Everything is in it, what happened in Hungary or China during the week. In the journal they speak about Chinese people here a lot, about the market, about Hungarians, about everything. I don’t read Hungarian journal, because I can’t read.” Chinese woman (Bp-J-I-26- European representative of a Chinese company-29).

Asians from the first generation do not want to live an integrated life; they generally have Asian partners with whom they have arrived in Hungary, they don’t speak the language and don’t have any Hungarian friends or acquaintances. In accordance with our findings Örkény (2010) points out that more 90 percent of the Chinese and Vietnamese have Chinese and Vietnamese partners. People from the second generation often have a Hungarian partner or would like to have one. The children of this generation-who were born here- speak Hungarian well and have Hungarian names.

All parents of the second generation want their children to speak Hungarian perfectly so they could help them at everyday procedures. A common phenomenon is that Chinese people are willing to send their children back to China for a couple of years so that they would learn the language and the culture. It means on the one hand that they don’t want lose their links to the culture and habits of their country of origin, on the other hand it means that they expect to move back to China. Almost all of our interviewees said that they feel close to the Hungarian culture as well, but they don’t want to lose their origins so they conduct their everyday life like ordinary Asians and they also feel the need to teach their children Chinese language.

The cultural difference between the first and second generation is absolutely visible. The second generation feels and wants to be perceived Hungarian so they keep Hungarian holidays and they want to do everything as Hungarian people do, and they don’t want to move back to China or Vietnam because their whole life is here. As one of our Chinese interviewee said for him China is a stranger country, and if he would go there, it wouldn’t feel like home.

“It is for nothing, it is like it doesn’t exist anymore, we have what is in use here. If I go now to China, it is weird. I am now free, it totally different.” Chinese man (Bp-K-I-4-security guard-43).**Errore.**

L'origine riferimento non è stata trovata.

Diaspora enclave

Most of Chinese and Vietnamese migrants live in the 8th and in the 10th district and they move there specifically because the first wave of Asian migrants have moved in these districts, and the following waves have joined to the already existing small but cohesive communities. It is common that new Asian migrants live with their acquaintances’ after their arrival while they search for an apartment with the help of the community.

The Chinese community seems to be a very cohesive one; they conduct their everyday procedures in the same way. For example if somebody from the community employs a Hungarian interpreter, sooner or later everybody from the community will hire this person through a word of the mouth referee system. They don’t care whether he is more expensive or not as good as the other ones, what matters is that he is well-known by another Chinese person. They need to trust the person they work with, and it is easier to do when another person from the community has already placed confidence in that person. For example almost all Chinese migrants have the same lawyer and tax advisor. Another good example is the travel agency where all of the Vietnamese migrants book their

tickets to Vietnam. This travel organizer never advertises because it is not necessary. His name spreads within the Vietnamese community. As he said:

“One tells to friend. Friend tells another friend, so we never make any advertising.” Vietnamese man (Bp-J-24-owner of a travel agency company- around 50).

Non-Asians (African and Arab migrants)

The aim of non-Asians to come to Budapest is more diverse and less defined than that of the business-oriented Asians. The non-Asians often come to try their luck sometimes without any clear plan what to do here. A Sudanese man told about the circumstances of his arrival. He came to Hungary alone, did not know the country before it. He claimed that he got here by a mistake. Hungary was not his destination, but Germany, but he couldn't afford to travel on.

It is common for African migrants (who often started their life as refugees) fleeing because of their war-stricken impoverishing, environmentally deteriorating undemocratic sending countries. As an Angolan man said:

“There, when I went to Angola, always problems of democracy, you see? Here, there is democracy.” Angolan man (Bp-J-I-19-skilled worker-43).

According to our interviewees for the first time Arab migrants often come as tourists and they decide to stay here and later they often marry Hungarian girls. Olomoofe's research (Olomoofe 2000), illustrate well the phenomenon that if an African or Arab arrives, and he finds a girl and marries her as soon as possible. As Örkény(2010) found the proportion of mixed marriages is relatively high (30 percent) in case of Arab compared to Asians. It is important for Africans survival, because they came alone, without the support of their family or friends; they suffer from culture shock in an unknown country. To have a Hungarian wife makes it easier to earn money and get permissions. Usually they also lack money, so a Hungarian wife makes it easier to settle down here, make friends and a family.

Language knowledge

Örkény's (2010) research points out that only 30 percent of Chinese, 40 percent of Vietnamese and Arabs speak Hungarian, but one fifth of Vietnamese and Arab interviewees don't speak and do not intend to learn the language. Our findings partially fit Örkény's one; we found that the non-Asian people speak Hungarian significantly better compared to Asians and they make efforts to make it even better because contrary to the closed Asian business circles and families, Africans and Arabs don't come as the part of a family and they have more chance to find a girl or friends with at least a basic knowledge. If they marry a Hungarian girl, they have to communicate with the Hungarian family and with the friends of the wife; one step leads to the other.

Integration

Contrary to Asians, Africans and to a lesser extent Arabs almost never travel back to their country of origin. Either because the situation is unsafe or politically unstable or they have a Hungarian family here and they don't feel the need to go, or they don't have enough money to visit the relatives.

Some of them don't even keep contact with the relatives. As one of our interviewees explained his situation:

"I miss parents, we call each other every week. But tickets expensive and, it's hard, but I want very much. My parents never here, but I invited them. If I go, it won't be good. I feel that there is no democracy, I hate it" . Egyptian man (Bp-J-I-27-hairdresser-25).

A huge difference between Asian and non-Asian migrants is that African or Arab migrants settle down in Hungary, start a new life and usually they do not want to leave Hungary anymore, as they have their family and friends here.

Marriage, children

Among Arab and African migrants mixed marriages with Hungarians are common, all of our African and Arab interviewees had Hungarian wife or girlfriend. They didn't feel the need to hide that one of the most important reasons of choosing to come (or to remain in) Hungary was that they wanted a wife. Olomoofoe (2000) points out the African community in Budapest shows some remarkable features. Their relationships are often based on a mix of financial considerations and love affairs; African migrants search for Hungarian lovers by whom they are patronized and financially supported. As a Syrian man explained:

"I never have any problems with paper, my wife did everything, she does it very well, me I don't. I'm not good at, I don't speak as good Hungarian but my wife she does every paper." Syrian man (Bp-J-I-14-second hand technical shop owner- 40).

Without a Hungarian partner it is difficult them to deal with official matters as well. An Angolan man explained the difficult situation of single African migrants:

"I have many problems here, it is the problem of migrations, you see. Migrations here, it is difficult. I need a document. You must marry to have document, isn't it true? You must make a boy or a little girl to have document, isn't it true? People marry to have documents, hmm?" Angolan man (Bp-J-I-19-skilled worker-43).

African migrants have also more Hungarian friends than Asian ones because they don't suffer from language barriers, especially if they have a Hungarian wife; it's evident, that they make several Hungarian friends soon.

"I have Hungarian and Egyptian friends too. We go parties with the Hungarian friends of my wife. They are my friends." Egyptian man (Bp-J-I-27-hairdresser-25).

To sum up the inhabitants of the selected sites would characterize the basic differences between Asian and non-Asian migrants as follows:

- Aim of migration: While Asian migrants come here to be successful at business, non-Asians usually do not have clear plans about what to do here.
- Marriages and language: Asians mostly choose (and often arrives with) Asian partners, so they do not speak Hungarian. Moreover, they neither need it nor have the time to learn Hungarian since they are too busy to do business and they do it mostly among themselves.

Among non-Asians mixed marriages are common and it is often based on financial considerations. The language knowledge of non-Asians is much better compared to Asians'.

- Financial status, job opportunities: In most cases Asian people coming to Hungary are wealthier than non-Asians so they are able to pay for the services of the interpreter and the lawyer. Asians mostly work in the field of commerce and they begin their carrier on the Four Tigers Market. Non-Asian (and especially African) people who are poorer as a rule, they generally work in lower prestige jobs.
- Migrant communities: In contrast with Asian people who come here because they are invited by their family or friends, African and Arab people often stay here by chance without having any friends or relatives. The Asian community is a very cohesive (perhaps even a closed) one, they help each other on every level. Compared to this the non-Asian (and especially the African) migrant society is very different. Even if they wanted to help each other they don't have the same opportunities so they are not able to act like the Asians do.
- Links to the county of origin: While Asian migrants are very well-informed about their country of origin, they follow local news, they travel almost every year to China or to Vietnam, and they don't want to lose the relations with the native country, non-Asians often never go back to their mother country and they often do not even get in touch with the relatives who remained home.

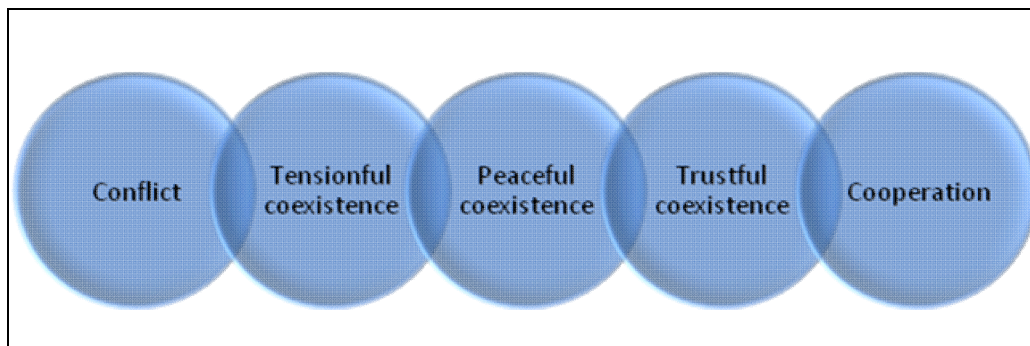
3. Quarters as contexts of intergroup relations: representations and interactions

Before entering the details of site- specific analysis of intergroup relations we have two conceptual issues to clarify.

The first one is that in the Hungarian context it is difficult? to analyze the intergroup relations in our sites by the dichotomy-model of conflict-cooperation. Based on our fieldwork we developed a continuum which identifies between the two poles several interim situations (Figure7). This continuum-approach is important because our sites show a great heterogeneity regarding their urban function i.e. working or residential or mixed areas, moreover the way migrants and the local majority perceive each other depends on the urban context and on the ethnic and age composition as well as on the social status of the majority which influences significantly the process of integration often very differently site by site.

The closest interim situation to the conflict pole is the tense co-existence, i.e. there are at least two ethnic groups both maintaining the boundaries but without any enmity between them, having no harsh and regular (not even mediated) hostility among the groups. The midpoint of the continuum is the peaceful coexistence, i.e. the groups live apart from each other; they have no contact with the members of the other group i.e. they do not care each other's presence. Trustful coexistence differs from peaceful coexistence in that the groups have rather positive impressions about the members of the other group, and develop fragile and in frequent ties, i.e. create a sort of embryonic form of cooperation.

Figure 7 The conflict-cooperation continuum

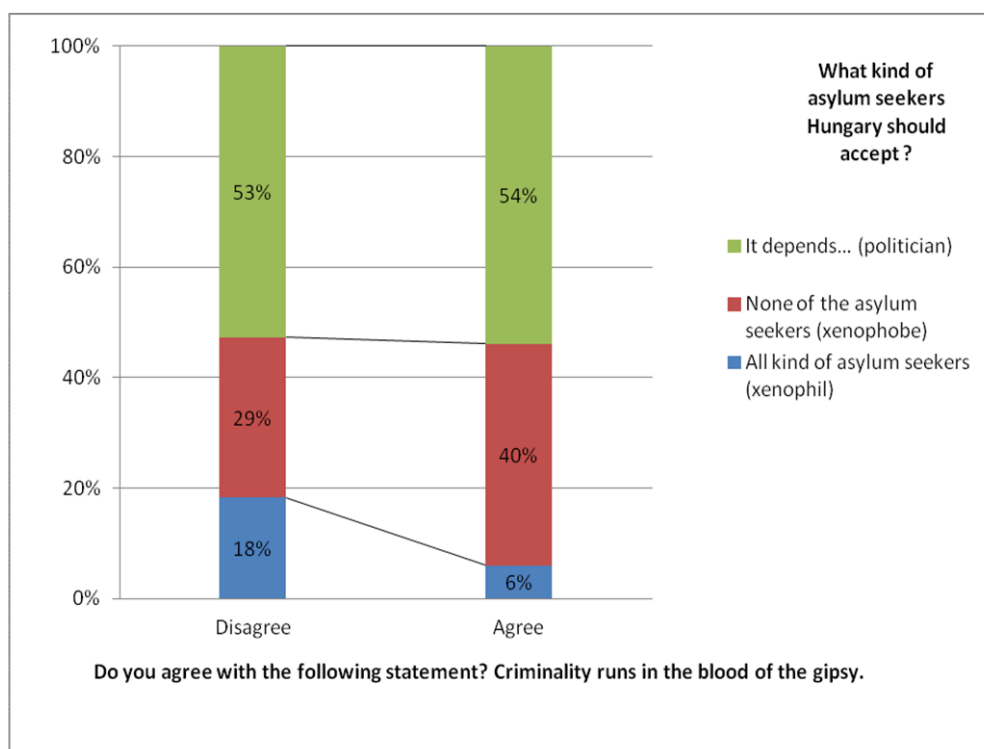


The second conceptual issue is that it is difficult to understand the migrant-Hungarian interaction without taking into consideration the tense relation between the Hungarian Roma and the majority. This phenomenon is present in both of our quarters. The relation between the majority and third country migrants in all quarters is significantly influenced by the explosive and constant conflict between Hungarian non-Roma and Roma. In this discourse Roma serve as the primary scapegoats⁶, a kind of 'common enemy' by the majority as well as by the migrants. As confirmed by several researches xenophobia and anti-Gypsy attitudes are closely connected, that's why we need to explain the issue before coming to the migrant-Hungarian relationship.

⁶ This was confirmed by several researches, for example: Sik (1995), Sik (1998)

For more than ten years TÁRKI has been examining Hungarian non-Roma's prejudice against Roma and migrants. The results have been almost the same for years; i.e. Hungarians are very hostile with Roma. A recent research of TÁRKI⁷ points out that almost the half of non-Roma Hungarians don't want to get in touch with a Roma person neither on the workplace, nor at home as a neighbour nor as a family member.

Figure 8 Composition of the level of xenophobia by anti-Gypsy attitudes. N=3000



Source. TÁRKI 2011

As Figure 8 shows the close association between those who have racist attitude against the Roma are significantly more likely to be xenophobes as well.

All of our Hungarian non-Roma interviewees on the 6 sites complained about the tensions between the Hungarian Roma and the non-Roma claiming it to be the key problem of the area. Roma people are perceived as the main reason of why the area is more and more unsafe. When we asked them to highlight on a mental map the places where they do not feel safe, all the non-Roma Hungarians and migrants said that the unsafe places are the ones with the high concentration of Roma: *"I don't like this district. Well how is it possible to like a Roma neighbourhood?"* Hungarian man (Bp-J-I-22-bakery owner-71). According to the interviewees the main reason of this tension is the high level of unemployment among the Roma. Before the transition Roma people had jobs in the factories, but after the system change they were fired and they could not adapt to the situation. According to our non-Roma interviewees the situation has become even worse since the financial crisis (2008), and

⁷ The report is available in Hungarian: http://www.tarki.hu/hu/research/migrants/tarki_eia_tanulmanyok_2011

they are afraid that if the government reduces social assistance, more and more Roma will be forced to turn to illegal activities.

Our interviewees agreed that most of the Roma have definitely changed in the past 50 years. Long ago those who lived in the quarters were musician Gypsies who were educated; and well integrated into the society. But they moved to better neighbourhoods and were replaced by “criminal-minded” (Hungarian and Romanian) Roma. According to our interviewees the new-comers live from stealing and fraud, they do not work and they are unable to integrate into the local community. As one of our non-Roma interviewee describes the negative change of the area:

“The neighbourhood has changed a lot. Before the transition there were no grills on the doors, nobody went in. A long time ago you could live with open door, but now we had to install security locks, and even like this they break in [...]. I have been living here since 1966. I didn’t like it at that time either, but it was different then. However, this district is located in a very nice place, and has beautiful houses. Now go to the square - it is full of dog excrement and Gypsies.” Hungarian couple N(Bp-J-I-13-jeweller-66) and I(Bp-J-I-13-jeweller-66).

Lots of our interviewees mentioned, that they were afraid about their own security, they are afraid of Roma and they had to equip their shops and flats with alarm and other devices for self-defence.

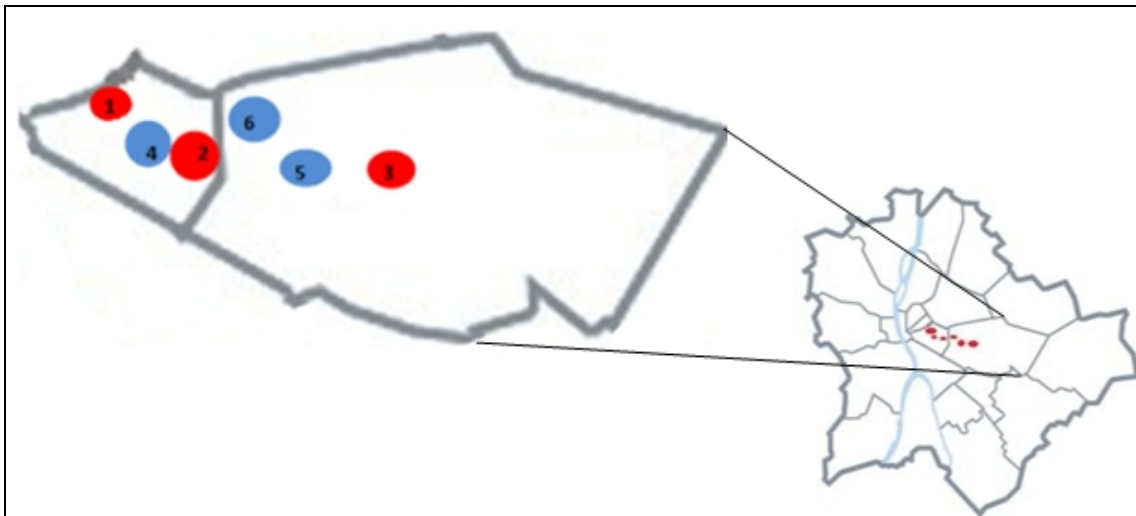
Roma people, however described the situation as being the regular victims of discrimination, and they believe that they need to work harder than a non-Roma to be accepted by the majority. Our Roma interviewees reported many cases when they suffered from discrimination. According to a Roma woman:

“If you would want to hear all of my stories about being a victim of discrimination, you’d had to sit here until midnight.” 28 /1 F., Hungarian Roma woman (Bp-J-I-28/1shop assistant-44).

The selected sites

When selecting the sites we tried to cover the most important areas of the life of a migrant; that is where they work and where they live. Three of the sites (Népszínház Street (1), Four Tigers Market (2) and Mázsa Square (3)) serve as the most important **working sites** (highlighted with red on the Figure 9) of third country - especially Asian migrants. Of course these sites differ from each other in many ways as we will show in the following part. Near to these sites there are 3 **residential sites** (the Orczy Building in Orczy Square (4), Taraliget Residential Park (5) and the building estate on Hungária Avenue (6)). All of these residential sites are situated near to the above mentioned working sites. This categorization, i.e. residential or working areas, is a key item of our analysis as one of the main focuses of this research is the influence of urban spaces on the interethnic relations.

Figure 9 The selected working (highlighted with red) and residential sites (highlighted with blue) within the two quarters and Budapest.



3.1 Intergroup representations and interactions in Józsefváros

The chapter focuses on the one hand on the influence of diverse urban contexts (i.e. working or residential sites) on intergroup relations, on the other hand on the role of immigration in urban changes perceived by the resident population.

3.1.1 Interaction site 1: Népszínház Street

It has always been a trader's site full of small family owned shops. Until the transition only Hungarian owned shops took place at site, then after 1990 Chinese and Arab shopkeepers appeared which causes different kind of difficulties for Hungarian businesspeople.

Népszínház Street is a special area, walking in the street you have the feeling like walking in a little village. People know each other, the shop keepers are standing in front of their shops and they are chit-chatting all day.

The results of mental mapping show that the main traffic routes, Népszínház Street as the 'axis' of the quarter and some significant squares got the highest percentage of identification; the street was mentioned by almost all of our interviewees apart from nationality. As Mental map 2 shows Népszínház Street is considered by Hungarians as an unsafe part whereas migrant interviewees do not share this opinion. Both of migrant and Hungarian interviewees mention that this area is one of the most important places, where migrants live or work, but the migrant's presence is not connected with the unsafe perception but with the high concentration of Roma population. The bad reputation of Népszínház Street can be linked with the proximity of so called "Magdolna-negyed"⁸ which is one

⁸ "Magdolna Quarter" in English

of the poorest and less safe areas of the city⁹. In accordance with walking interviews and mental maps¹⁰ one can say that this part is considered as the most unsafe part of the quarter with frequent burglaries and every kind of crime.

Picture 2 Magdolna Quarter.



Source of the photo: http://www.rev8.hu/csatolmanyok/eng_dokok/eng_dokok_2.pdf, page 7

Another bad part close to Népszínház Street mentioned by all the participants is the Diószeghy Sámuel Street, where mostly Romanian and Hungarian Roma live. One of our interviewee refused to walk there because he did not consider it safe.

Picture 3 “They toss the trash here; in front of the shop. This is in their blood, this society is beneath, this is a very bad society” Hungarian man (Bp-J-I-11- electrician and owner of a lamp shop-70)



⁹ „The backlog in terms of education is also the highest: proportion of people without primary school qualification is high and the number of those having university grade is low. As regard to the economic potential and employment position of the quarter this is one of the weakest areas in Józsefváros. Due to the permanent worsening of the physical state and the downward moving social spiral the quarter of the city being of a quarter for the poor is steadily detaching from the rest of the district.”(Kutsch, 2007)

¹⁰ Mental map 2

3.1.1.1 Conflict with Roma (including Romanian Roma)

The prejudice against Romanian Roma is very strong despite the fact that their native language is Hungarian. They are seen responsible for the terrible reputation of the area and are considered much more dangerous and harmful for society than Hungarian Roma people. The relationship between Romanian Roma and the host society could be observed only in this quarter, because they show a strong territorial concentration in this quarter, especially in certain apartments.

It is widespread believed that they are coming to Hungary “to try their luck”, i.e. they come here and they live from begging and cheating on Hungarians¹¹. They live in rented apartments (often 10-20 people live in a small apartment) which unavoidably lead to conflicts with the inhabitants. Of course people who lend apartments are seen to be prominent personalities of the gangland.

“There is a house in the Köztársaság Square (a square in the core area of site 1), where these “paralympic” Romanians live who are able to walk at home but on Blaha Square (a central junction in the downtown of Józsefváros) they lose this ability. There are two rented apartments for 10-20 people in the Napház Building. [...] Roma women who live here say that they are afraid to come downstairs because there are these people- this is a scandal” ” Hungarian man (Bp-J-I-17-shop owner-33).

¹¹ They often feign themselves as handicapped or force their children to beg.

Picture 4 Napház Building in Népszínház Street,



Source: Diána Berecz

3.1.1.2 Tense coexistence with African migrants

This is the only site among the selected ones where African people are present in a visible way. Hungarians judge them differently compared to other migrant groups. Many of our interviewees find that Africans and Roma have a behavioural similarity, they do not work and are not willing to work, they are loud and they are dealing with drugs. According to the interviewees the “black” people have multiplied in the previous years. Our Angolan interviewee said that he knew some African guys who are dealing with drugs, but he is not that kind a guy.

“I don't hide it. It is not a secret, is it? Here, people sell everything. Hemp, drugs, you see.” Angolan man (Bp-J-I-19-skilled worker-43).

Karácsony Sándor Street near to Népszínház Street is a popular place among Africans; a car repairer is operating there which is considered as the most popular place of the “black mafia”, several Africans can be seen there all the time.

According to Olomoofe (2000) and our Hungarian interviewees the reason of this negative attitude is that Africans are walking on the street wolfpacked all day long; however they don't starve, they are well-dressed, they aren't homeless, they live on an appropriate standard of living. They own shops where never enters a consumer, and Africans are just sitting on the stairways and chatting all day long and Hungarians have no idea what are they living from. As one of our experts explained the source of the negative attitudes towards Africans in the area:

“What isn't good I think is this loose walking of Africans in the Blaha neighbourhood, isn't good first because it is evident that they don't work from the morning until the evening, but they do something, I don't know what, but anyway it doesn't seem as if they worked in – let's say a factory. And then a part of the people deduces from this that here are these Negroes and they surely sell drugs and do bad things. So this is the negative prejudice against them.” Serbian man (Bp-K-KI-20-project manager at Budapest Esély-40).

Our African interviewees from Népszínház Street explained us what they are doing in this sites all day long. It is a well-known fact among the inhabitants of Józsefváros that a Mc Donald's fast food restaurant in the Blaha Lujza Square at the end of the Népszínház Street operates as the key meeting point of African people. None of our Hungarian interviewees knew what they do there, but they are present at this place in a very visible way. During the fieldwork we have spent more days in, because many of our interviews took place at this McDonald's because of the proximity of Népszínház Street and the restaurant was always full of African migrants. They didn't eat or drink anything, they were just sitting and chatting there and looking at each other's cell phone. We didn't understand the phenomenon. It was clear, that it is a really popular place among them because we haven't seen as many Africans in the whole quarter as in this particular restaurant. Our African interviewees explained the situation. They often spend their free time in this McDonald's because he can use his laptop there free and he can meet his friends and prospects there.

Picture 5¹² “At the McDonald’s some people they spend their time here. It is for people who search something; girlfriends or internet. These people they have laptops but no internet. There is internet here. We search for music, we copy them and everything.” Angolan man (Bp-J-I-19-skilled worker-43)



The main importance of this place lies first in the opportunity that it is close to the living area of the majority of the African community, second that it is allowed to stay here without any consumption and third there is a free Wi-Fi here, and they can communicate with the relatives and friends. The most common activity is sharing music files and pictures on their cell phone. Last but not least African men can here pick up girls easily.

3.1.1.3 Conflict with Asian migrants

Hungarians who don't work in commerce welcomed Asian people because they make the quarter more colourful and more living and they enrich Hungary with their culture and habits. But as mentioned before the majority of the host society of the Népszínház Street consists of shopkeepers and have a strong business- oriented view that is why they look at Asian and Arab migrants as competitors, and it is the reason why they feel antipathy for migrant shop keepers, especially for Asian ones. For Hungarian shop keepers and assistants Asian traders cause huge damages. Many Hungarian people have lived their life as a shop keeper, the prices were reasonable, they competed each other. With the appearance of the Chinese traders Hungarian began being squeezed out from

¹² Source of the picture: <http://www.michaeltaylor.ca/trams/hungary/buda-1342.shtml>

the market, because Chinese's prices were impossible to compete with. All of our Hungarian trader interviewees seemed to be very desperate; they can't imagine what to do to be able to compete with Chinese's prices. As the Chinese appeared, their turnover decreased suddenly and some of them went bankrupt. Hungarians always report the Chinese shop keepers because of the extremely cheap prices and unfair competition to the Tax Office, but there were no official measures taken. As a Hungarian salesman reported about the cheap prices of Chinese:

"I buy at higher prices from the wholesale than he sells it, which is 'funny'. Of course my turnover was radically reduced it fell by half since they are here, I can't see the fair competition." Hungarian man (Bp-J-I-17-shop owner-33).

According to Hungarians there is two main reasons why they can sell their products for such a low prices. First because they cheat on taxes and because foreign businesses can receive some kind of tax allowance unlike Hungarian shopkeepers, and that's the fact which makes the Hungarian shopkeepers really disappointed.

The second reason why they can be so cheap according to Hungarians is because they have their own network to purchase products.

The assistant of a Chinese trader confirmed the assumption about special purchasing conditions. According to this woman either Chinese people bring the clothes directly from China or they buy it from another Chinese wholesale trader with special conditions which are available only for the members of the Chinese community. This seems to be true according to the Hungarian assistant of a Chinese boss.

"For C.¹³ is it easy to get things more cheaply, because he brings all the products from the market to the shop. They help each other. For example, if C. has no money at the moment he can buy the shoes by credit, and it's allowed for him to pay later when the business boosts. And if he can't sell a certain product at the shop he can return the clothes back and they give back his money." Hungarian woman (Bp-J-I-18-shop assistant-27).

Almost all of the Asian migrants from Népszínház Street we interviewed had the same purpose to come to Hungary: business. They generally knew absolutely nothing about the country or Budapest; they just came here because of the favourable business opportunities. They have arrived mostly for the invitations of parents or relatives, who have ran a business already here. So they don't cared about where the target country located is or what it is like, the only thing is that the business is good here. We can say that the thinking of Asian people is really business –orientated in every respect.

¹³ C. is the Chinese boss of the Hungarian interviewee.



3.1.1.4 Peaceful coexistence with Arab migrants

The relationship between Arab and Hungarian people is not as troubled as the Asian-Hungarian ones. Hungarians have a partially diverse opinion about Arab traders despite the fact that Arabs squeeze them out the same way like Chinese shopkeepers do. They come to Budapest, buy shops, one after the other. It is an everyday phenomenon that an Arab buys more shops but he opens only one, and the others remain closed because he just wants to avoid anyone else to buy the shop and make a competition for him.

Picture 6 “Arabs specifically buy shops so that nobody else buys it, which would be a danger because another shop could seduce his customers. These premises sometimes stay empty for years.” Hungarian man (Bp-J-I-11- electrician and owner of a lamp shop-70)



Despite this business policy, Hungarian shopkeepers prefer Arab to Chinese shopkeepers. The reason is that Arab people are considered really wealthy and it doesn't hurt Hungarian people's sense for right. They simply accept the fact that Arabs have lots of money, they come here and buy as many shops as they can.

Hungarian people find this phenomenon simply weird but they don't dislike Arab people because of this behaviour. The reason why Arab shopkeepers seem to be more accepted is that the prices of Arab people are considered fair, Hungarian shopkeepers are able to compete with them. Arab sellers are not regarded as tax avoiders, and Hungarians don't perceive their own position completely hopeless and it is the most significant factor. If a Chinese arrives everybody knows that many of the Hungarian sellers will go bankrupt because of his unfair prices. If an Arab comes, nobody feels being in danger because both of them offer their products for similar prices. As a Hungarian shopkeeper said:

“There is no problem with the Arabs, with them we can compete, they sell on normal prices like me, it doesn't bother me, because we compete with each other. He sells cheaper, then I try to sell cheaper too, then he tries making some tricks, like special offers then I try to doing something.”
Hungarian man (Bp-J-I-17-shop owner-33).

Most Hungarians doesn't care the presence or have positive impressions about Arab people even if they are competitors of the Hungarian businessmen. This relationship is a good example for the peaceful coexistence. Hungarians and Arabs respect each other but there is no contact between them. As one of our Hungarian interviewees explained the situation of peaceful coexistence with the Arabs:

"Arabs are very normal. They do not bother anyone, they are normal. However we are not friends. We greet each other, we yell at each other if the Tax inspector comes, and that's it." Hungarian man (Bp-J-I-17-shop owner-33)

Hungarians who are not affected by business activities seem to prefer Arab to Chinese too because Arabs generally speak better Hungarian than Chinese and their behaviour is more friendly.

3.1.1.5 Urban changes caused by migrants

Since the project also aims to explore the role of immigration in urban changes as it is perceived by the population, first we tried to explain the major urban changes before describing the immigrant issue.

Almost all of our interviewees regardless of nationality shared the opinion that before the transition the situation of the area was much better than now regarding to the composition of the society. As can be seen on *Mental map 2* relatively many streets and places are highlighted as an unsafe area. We have to add, that the main reason of these negative changes are only weakly-connected with the immigrant issue. Even though that on *Mental map 1* the same places are highlighted as unsafe areas and as migrants' homes. The most important reason why Józsefváros and Kőbánya are considered as one of the most dangerous place is the presence of Roma and homeless people and the nine operating homeless shelters in the quarter, and as a result the horrible public sanitation and safety.

Apart from these problems all of our interviewees shared the view that the reputation of the area is worse, than it is in fact.

"When I came back, I was terribly afraid, that oh my God, even Dopeman¹⁴ said that here people die, and they are killed in the street... I love the 8th District, because it is like a small village: everybody knows everybody. If you live here for a long time, then it is even safe (laughing)." Hungarian man (Bp-J-I-17-shop owner-33).

The negative changes could be seen by migrant residents as well. Many of the complained about the poverty the quarter has to face.

There was only one woman among our interviewees besides on the politician who mentioned that the quarter is developing in the right way, but we have to add that this woman was interested in expressing this kind of opinion because she used to work at the police and this opinion was a belief rather than a realistic opinion.

In her (Hungarian woman (Bp-J-I-15-shop assistant-55) opinion, the quarter has changed a lot in the last 20 years: it became more pleasant and safe. There were a lot of restorations. Moreover, 10-15

¹⁴ A Hungarian rap singer who lives in Józsefváros

years before, there were a lot more theft and murders in the quarter, but since they installed surveillance cameras, the change is almost tangible. It is enough to compare the Népszínház street, where there are cameras, with other streets where there aren't. For example, in the Népszínház Street, since there are cameras, nobody dares to throw a chocolate paper on the street, and the dogs' owners are carefully to clean everything. However, one street from there „it is almost impossible to walk because of all the dog dirt and the rubbish”. Before the surveillance cameras, it was the same in the Népszínház Street too. Roma are caused a lot of trouble in the last 10-15 years, and the criminality was very high, but since 3-4 years, with the cameras, they changed a lot too.

3.1.2. Interaction site 2: Orczy Square

Orczy Building is a relatively new condominium; it was built in the early 2000's. According to our interviewees the building is quite trendy, while Orczy Square is rather a dilapidated area. A casino is situated next to Orczy Building which is used almost exclusively by Asians.

3.1.2.1 Peaceful co-existence with Vietnamese

Picture 7“Here it is totally a Vietnamese neighbourhood, I would nearly expect that they'd sell fish in the tram stop” (Hungarian man (Bp-J-I-23-waiter-25))



The newly built residential park serves as home for wealthier Vietnamese people working in the area mostly at the Chinese market, so the Orczy Building is a residential area. On mental Map 3 the site is highlighted by Hungarians and migrants as a place with a strong presence of migrants. This residential park differs from the area of the market and Népszínház Street, because there are no

shops here, this quarter is only for living for Vietnamese Chinese and Hungarian people. The site was always mentioned by all of our interviewees as the home of migrants, especially Vietnamese ones¹⁵. These migrants prefer the area to other parts of the quarter because it is very close to the market, and when they work more than 10 hours a day, the most important factor is the proximity of working place and dwellings. Similarly to the Chinese vendors from Népszínház Street Vietnamese inhabitants of Orczy Square have chosen the sites on economic considerations, they came to Hungary to do their business.

On the mental Map 3 it is clear that the area is being considered as an unsafe place by several Hungarians, but not by migrants.

The relationship between Hungarians and Vietnamese can be called peaceful coexistence. They live in the same building but they do not communicate with each other they do not even know each other.

3.1.2.2 Urban changes caused by migrants

The same process could be observed here as in the Népszínház Street; i.e the worsening public safety, and the increasing poverty but it is not associated to migrants, but overlapped on the Roma issue. Compared migrants', Roma's and non-Roma Hungarians' perception one can say that all of these group share the opinion that the area is not developing in the right way at all; the public security is becoming worse and worse as the composition of the citizens. More and more inhabitants lose their job which has negative effect on public security.

The only source of conflict between majority and Asian migrants is that Hungarian neighbours of Vietnamese migrants from Orczy Building often complained about the situation. According to them Vietnamese should adapt to the culture and practises of the host society, but it does not happen.

“The Vietnamese don't care about your needs; they are from a totally different background. He smokes his cigarette in front of the elevator, or they keep a chicken at home.” Hungarian Roma man (Bp-J-KI-21-8th district municipal representative-39)

¹⁵ See Mental Map 3.

3.1.3 Interaction site 3: Four Tigers Market

The area of the market is a typically working site which has a major influence on the process of the integration of the migrants who work here. The market has a major influence on the everyday life of the site, i.e. the inhabitants, shopkeepers, service providers in the vicinity of the marketplace. It was set up in 1990 and its presence of is the most important factor why Asian migrants choose Budapest for destination; either they work in the field of commerce or they operate shops or work at the market. All of our Chinese interviewees begun their career at the Chinese Market first as an assistant of a relative, and when the business went better they opened their own shops. When arriving to Hungary they don't know anything about the country as a rule, they are invited by relatives living in Budapest.



3.1.3.1 Tense coexistence with Asian sellers

All of our Hungarian interviewees shared the view that the Asian sellers work really hard for their money, and they live on a higher standard of living than Hungarian people. Two kind of behaviour was noticeable among Hungarian people.

Some people from the host society-mostly poorer inhabitants- welcome the market, because it offers the only opportunity for poorest layers to purchase new (contraband) clothes although the quality of their product is rather bad.

On the other hand the presence of the market causes difficulties for the local government because people working here have undeclared cash-in hand jobs on which no one pays any tax and national insurance. As a Hungarian man said:

“Immigrants who work on the Market can just be harmful to the district, because they don’t pay taxes; the government is not gaining anything from them.” Hungarian man (Bp-J-I-22-bakery owner-71).

The market serves with lots of urban legends for example about underground dressmaker’s shops operating in the basement of the market where fake logos are nailed to the clothes sold on the market or another is about a crematory which is located under the market.

Inevitably there are several forms of crime on the Four Tigers Market. According to two sociology students who examined the informality on the market every kind of illegal products can be purchased here for example guns, fake bills, gas sprays or fake identity cards. The prostitution is an everyday phenomenon in the area as well. One of the students was offered a prostitute job on the market by a Roma pimp. He also offered them electroshock weapons and fake identity cards during their fieldwork.

The tense coexistence takes place between the Asian vendors and the Hungarian non-Roma. The main problem with the presence of the market is that it lures every kind of criminals. The presence of the market is the main reason why Józsefváros is on the first place of criminal statistics. As one of our interviewees explained the reason why he does not like the market because of the Chinese vendors. The point is that members of the host society would have less problem with the market if it wouldn’t attract non- Chinese (mainly Hungarian Roma and non-Roma, Romanian) criminals.

“On the Chinese market everybody steals from everybody, but Chinese people don’t steal. They steal in the way that they don’t pay taxes...” Hungarian man (Bp-J-I-17-shop owner-33).

3.1.3.2 Conflict between Asian and Roma

Almost every single interviewee was able to recall an affair when Roma were beaten by Chinese. The source of problems between Roma and especially Chinese are not so diversified, it lies in the diverse attitude regarding to the labour and private property. To better understanding of the problem we have to be clear about how Chinese people think about the world of labour. The business is the most important field of their life, they work firmly for their money, and they subordinate everything to business. They don’t care about the living environment, because they only use their flats for sleeping. According to the common representative of Taraliget all the Asian inhabitants live in small flats apart from financial situation, even if they were wealthy and have an expensive car, because they use their flats only for sleeping. It is a common phenomenon that two Chinese families live in the same 60 square metre apartment.

That is the reason why they don’t buy luxury houses in the more attractive parts of Budapest. When choosing a place to live the only aspect is the closeness of the workplace. They don’t care about the

image of the shop, they don't do any kind of commercial activities, and their most important aim is to keep the prices as low as possible.

With this in mind we can imagine how important could be the role of money in life of Chinese people. They work very hard for every single penny, and if they have to pay for a service or anything else they expect as careful work as they would do. It is unimaginable for a Chinese people to have a rest on a workplace, and they couldn't tolerate this kind of behaviour from their employees either. More interviewees mentioned that Chinese migrants used to hire Roma employees, but these working relationships always turned to a disaster. At first it seemed to be a good decision for Chinese employers because Roma people were cheaper to hire than Hungarian labour force. But Chinese had to realize that Roma people's attitude to work doesn't fit to theirs, and Chinese can't tolerate this kind of moral, and they avenge this manners the way they are used to, with beating each other. These conflicts are present in the area of Chinese Market the most visible way. As one of our interviewees remembered on that cases:

"In the past 1, 5 years I saw at least five mass brawls when Asian beat Roma. The cause is always the same. Either Roma steal from them or they cheat by doing the work carefully." Hungarian man (Bp-J-I-22-bakery owner-71).

The second source of conflicts is that Chinese people can't stand if someone tries to steal something from them. Regardless the value of the stolen product they avenge it in a really harsh way. As all the shopkeepers said Roma are more characterized by this kind of behaviour. A Roma and non-Roma interviewees told a story about a conflict they saw.

"A lot of Chinese came and they nearly hit someone and they where around 8 – (G) Oh yes because they can't bear when someone steals from them, and most of them are Roma, and they don't know that these Chinese are capable of everything, so if these catch you, they punch you to death, they punch you to death, they don't care what they steal, the other time he stole one CD, and he hit him to death here, so... (F) but with sticks, so it is not enough to hit or something, but they hit until really, they want it like this, so these Chinese are quite dangerous when somebody does so." (28)/1 F., Hungarian Roma woman (Bp-J-I-28/1shop assistant-44) and /2 G .Transylvanian Hungarian woman (Bp-J-I-28/2-shop assistant-42).

3.1.3.3 Urban changes caused by migrants

The general picture our interviewees described that the social milieu of the site changed radically while it used to be an important railway station, now it became a crime hit area of the quarter.

The situation of the site has been worsening since the financial crises even more. The more people lose the job, the more turn to illegal activities to gain bit money, because they have no other opportunity, and that's why the number of drug users is increasing constantly.

The third and most common mentioned urban change caused by the market is the worsening public sanitation similarly to the Orczy-site. Hungarian and migrant inhabitants have a very reverse relation to the living and working environment caused by several reasons. First migrants arrived after the transition, so they are not able to detect the changes as precisely as Hungarians. They have no remembrances about the places, some of them live here just because of the favourable business

opportunities, so they regard the area only for a place where they can run a business, and they aren't emotionally attached to the site.

Hungarian inhabitants have a very different approach because they feel very close to the area, numbers of them were grown up here, and they care about the future and image of their quarters. This is one of the main sources of conflicts between migrants and the members of host society. All the Hungarians (both of Roma and non-Roma) mentioned the topic as a negative change mostly caused by migrants and Roma in the area of the market. But it wasn't mentioned by any migrants as an issue. Contrary to Asian and Arab people who just work here, and have no other affection to the area. They don't mind how the living conditions are, they don't like the area, and the only important thing is to be able to run a business profitably. As a consequent they don't care of the living environment, their shops often are messy and chaotic and Hungarian can't tolerate this kind of behaviour.

Picture 8 "Chinese are horribly dirty, they spit, they are untidy, dirtiness, filth, they don't take care of anything." Hungarian couple N(Bp-J-I-13-jeweller-66) and I(Bp-J-I-13-jeweller-66), "I went home one day and from the Arab shop I see that they sweep the trash out to the street." Hungarian couple N(Bp-J-I-13-jeweller-66) and I(Bp-J-I-13-jeweller-66)



Picture 9 Chinese “pet shop” at the Four Tigers Market



3.1.4 Interaction site 4: Mázsza Square

Mázsza Square technically belongs to Kőbánya, but as can be seen on Figure 9 it is relatively near to the Four Tigers Market. Mázsza Square functions as one of the most important wholesale centres for Chinese vendors from the Market and the customers are mostly Asian people as well. In contrast to Four Tigers Market or Népszínház Street where mostly poor, impoverished lower middle class and working class Hungarian people buy products from migrants, here Chinese-to-Chinese business dominates. As a result Chinese people working in this area rarely get in touch with Hungarians. The editorial office of a Chinese weekly newspaper is situated here as well.



3.2 Intergroup representations and interactions in Kőbánya

3.2.1 Interaction site 1: Taraliget residential park

Picture 10 Taraliget residential park



Source: Judith Sebő

Taraliget is a residential place but it differs from Orczy Building in that the park is enclosed by a high fence. It is a unique place which is surrounded by industrial buildings that are out of order, and where mainly better-off people (often Asians) live. According to the representative of the building Chinese choose this place as it is very close to the Four Tigers Market.

Picture 11 Taraliget residential park and an unused industrial building in front of it



Source: Judit Sebő

3.2.1.1 Cooperation with Asian migrants

We found two main fields of cooperation here between young Asian and old Hungarian ladies. First since Asian people work a lot, they have no time for looking after their children, so they hire Hungarian retired ladies “grannies” around 50-60, to babysit their kids. It can be a really beneficial relationship for both the partners. First the living conditions of Hungarian retired ladies are really awful because the sum of money they get is hardly enough for paying overhead costs¹⁶. So until Asian people hadn’t appeared these retired grannies were rather poor. The Hungarian grannies bring the Asian children from the school to home and they are very well-paid. They can receive from 60,000 to 80,000 forints a month per child. According to one of our experts:

“They lived a really poor life in a really small apartment before, and they always had to fear even if they can pay the overhead costs, and then an opportunity like this appears. And they begin to enjoy their life, and they turn again happy and friendly. Moreover they have a company of really cute and adorable babies. They won’t be lonely anymore, and this fact makes their life more open to everyone, they can feel important again.”

The other relationship takes place also between Hungarian retired women and Asian employers; Asians hire Hungarian retired old ladies as cleaning ladies.

¹⁶ For example the minimum amount of pension in Hungary is 102 EUR (30.000HUF)

3.2.1.2 Urban changes

The urban environment has definitely changed since the residential park has been built. Until those times only dilapidated industrial buildings could be found here, it was a low prestige-area, but after the appearance of the building estate it became a prestigious site. Since the construction company is under Chinese ownership, the positive urban change is strongly connected with the presence of Chinese migrants.

3.2.2 Interaction site 2 Hungária Avenue

Hungária Avenue 5-7 is a huge housing estate inhabited mostly by working and lower class citizens with a primary school in the middle of it which is widely known in Budapest as one of the few culturally mixed primary schools¹⁷. The housing estate used to house middle-class and upper working class families (a large proportion of them are military officers and various employees of the army since in its vicinity there was the only Military Academy in Hungary). Since the system change Asian traders bought many flats in the high-rise panel buildings, while in the more prestigious 3-4 storied buildings still non-Roma families live. According to the principal of the school there are no serious problems between migrant, Hungarian Roma and non-Roma children because they help them to integrate.

Picture 12 The entrance of Bem School



¹⁷ The homepage of the school: <http://www.bem-iskola.hu/>

It is located relatively near to Four Tigers Market, and almost all of its Chinese and Vietnamese inhabitants work there. According to the photos of the children of our participatory photography project they rarely leave their site. It functions as the basis of the children's living space. Except three of the participants everyone lives in the surrounding block of flats or in Hős (Hero) Street (Picture13). Although Hungária Avenue 5-7 is a quiet residential site surrounded by a fence, it is considered as a low prestige slum area because this abovementioned nearby street has a bad reputation and it should have been eliminated a long time ago. The site's residents often described Hős Street as the poorest and worst place in Kőbánya, with a high crime rate, linked with the fact that high number of Roma lives there. Four of our Hungarian Roma students are living there as they mentioned "on the clearer parts". According to them no migrants live there. One of the worst part is the so-called "building B".

Picture 13 Building B in Hős Street, picture by Joanna¹⁸



¹⁸ A participant from the PPP project

Picture 14 Joanna's garden, picture by Joanna



According to Joanna the public sanitation in the area is terrible and she accuses mainly her neighbours to cause the situation. All the garbage from the neighbours upstairs is landing right under Joanna's window. She felt that it makes no sense to move the garbage away because it comes again in the other day. The neighbours throw out things in a way that sometimes it gets stacked on the trees. Despite the controversial reputation of Hős Street the students feel safe here as they 'know almost everyone'. The perception and the judgement of the whole area are highly influenced by this particular street. Almost all of our interviewees complained about public safety and drug users. According to some of the parents on the Neighbourhood Forum there is no problem with migrants unlike Roma living in the Hős Street. The main problem is that the leisure time possibilities for kids are insufficient. The playgrounds of the building estate were destroyed to the wish of inhabitants ("kids are too loud") and they lack the money for reconstruction. Moreover the football ground situated in the middle of the building estate is not functioning anymore however students climb in the school's court to play football during the weekends.

3.2.2.1 Trustful coexistence with Asian migrants

The relationships between Asian migrants and Hungarians can be characterized by the trustful coexistence thanks to the Bem School which makes efforts to get Hungarian and migrant parents together. In accordance with the head of the school and the ex-mayor a recent study of ICCR Budapest Foundation 2012 (2012) found that regarding Asian children there are conscious assimilation efforts made; they learn Hungarian language very fast and they often mediate between

the parents and the office clerks. These children are top-grade students and make unbelievable efforts to reach their goals. They have extra, after-school lessons to compensate their disadvantages. Nevertheless they go to special Chinese Schools on the weekends to learn the Chinese language and culture. According to a recent study of ICCR Budapest Foundation (2012) the aim of Chinese parents with the weekend school is to let their children experience the “majority point of view” in the company of other Chinese pupils. At this site children have a key role in building intergroup relations. In the culturally mixed schools the Asian parents often meet other Hungarian parents or friends of their children, and sometimes they organize some events together which can lead to the trustful coexistence.

3.3 When places matter

In the case of our sites one can say that intergroup relations are developing in different ways depending on (1) the standard of living of the majority, (2) the level of Roma impoverishment, (3) the type of majority-migrant relations (working and/or neighbour relations).

The situation of Taraliget and Orczy Square are almost the same: both the Hungarian non-Roma and Asians living in these housing estates and high rise condominiums are relatively wealthy. Their relations can be described as peaceful co-existence peppered with minor grumblings of the Asians “improper behaviour” (noise, smell). Signs of cooperation can be observed as well, for example Hungarian pensioner women often take care of the children of busy Asian parents.

Intergroup conflicts are most visible in Népszínház Street, where petty traders (Hungarian Non-Roma and migrants)¹⁹, employees (Hungarian Roma and non-Roma) and inhabitants (non-Roma, Roma and migrants) live together in an impoverishing environment. The relation between non-Roma and migrant traders and among all three types of inhabitants is close to the state of tense co-existence.

The Four Tigers open-air marketplace serves all Budapest with cheap clothing and Chinese (or imported) products in general. “Asian” traders are in a hegemonic position and often employ Hungarian Roma and non-Roma informal workers. The co-existence is tense due to sharp competition, petty crime, and informality.

The Hungária Avenue 5-7 is a residential place for Asian working on the market and for rather deprived Hungarian. The coexistence in Hungária Avenue is trustful thanks to the culturally mixed school- which mediates efficiently between immigrants and Hungarians.

The site around Mázsa Square is a classic case of peaceful co-existence since the “Asian” wholesale traders mostly do business only with “Asian” customers and hardly have contacts with the relatively poor and overwhelmingly non-Roma inhabitants.

¹⁹ Some of the Hungarians are here for many decades, as the biggest flea market of Budapest used to be close to the area

4. Quarters as media images: narratives on places and narratives on people²⁰

4.1 The local media and the selection method

Józsefváros

Józsefváros is a free newspaper, boasts a circulation of 55.000 copies for each issue (every second week). The newspaper was founded in 1993 and it is owned by the local government. On the website of the local government of Józsefváros it has a web presence, and copies can be found retrospectively from 2006 in pdf format²¹. Past issues are available in the Metropolitan Szabó Ervin Library.

The newspaper has 7 sections: most edition features Local news, News of the local government, Culture, Sports, Education, Public security, Health and Mosaic sections. A section called “Minorities” existed for a short period of time between 2003 and 2004. The main goal of the newspaper according to the editors is to report the residents of the district about local cultural and social events, and to present the daily life of the district. Moreover national news is briefly covered by the paper.



²⁰ On the criteria for the selection of the local media articles that were analysed, see 6.

²¹ http://jozsefvaros.hu/jozsefvaros_ujsg

Kőbányai Hírek (Kőbánya News)

This free monthly newspaper owned by the local government was founded in 1990. It has a circulation of 33.000 copies. On the website of the newspaper²² issues of the past two years are available. Earlier issues can be gathered from the Metropolitan Szabó Ervin Library.

The newspaper is similar to Józsefváros in style and in content. Every edition features the following sections of “City hall” with news of the local government, “This happened”: important events in the district “Education” with news of local schools and kindergartens, “Culture” cultural events of the district, “Public security” with news of the police, “Local history” History of a certain place in Kőbánya, “Portrait Gallery” with the story of a famous people came from Kőbánya and “Sports”.



²² <http://www.kobanyaihitek.net/>

Helyi Téma

This free weekly newspaper owned by “Théma Lap- és Könyvkiadó Kft” was founded in 2004. It has a circulation of 54.000 copies. From 2005 every district in Budapest has had its own Helyi Téma, including Józsefváros and Kőbánya. Helyi Téma has 2 local pages, the articles from other pages are about city-related news. Helyi Téma is an independent newspaper dealing with public life of the districts. The newspaper has an on-line version²³ as well, but not all the news are present on the homepage. Unfortunately on-line news are available only from October 2010.



Reason of the choice

It was a really important aspect, that these newspapers are free as the two selected quarters are strongly hit by poverty, so the availability for every inhabitants was one of the most crucial aspects. Second, there are no other local newspapers in Józsefváros and Kőbánya which are published regularly.

²³ <http://helyitema.hu/>

4.2 Migration in the quarters

Migrants in printed media

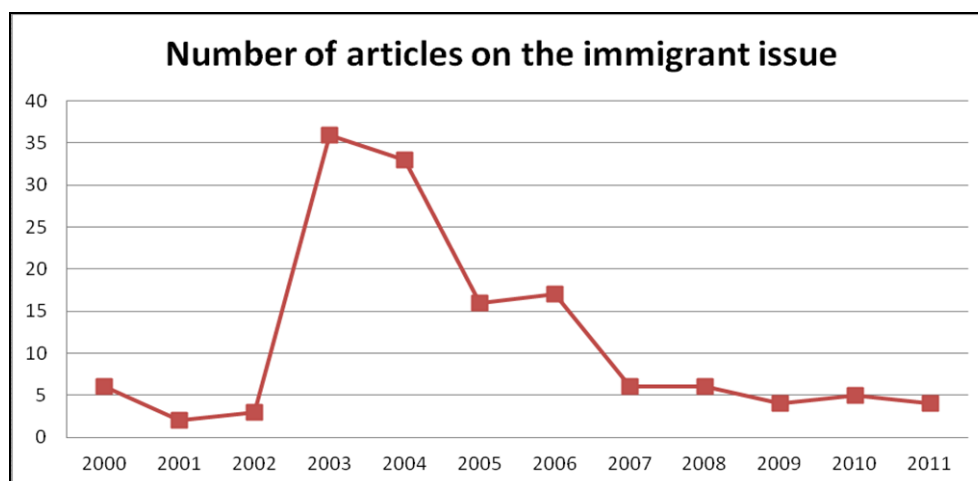
A recent study of the Hungarian Helsinki Committee (Prischetzky and Szabó, 2011) based on 300 articles (collected from 70 homepages) examined the negative stereotypes related to migrants in the Hungarian media. The report pointed out that since only two percent of the Hungarian population is foreigner, most Hungarians have no personal experience and everyday contact with migrants, therefore public opinion is highly affected by media which -for most people-is the only source of information about foreigners. According to this study journalists are not aware of their responsibility and articles regarding minorities are neither evidence-based nor precise enough. Migrants are often reported as criminals and homeless people while their personal life stories, which would be crucial for understanding the issue of immigration, hardly appear.

Analyzing the local media of Józsefváros and Kőbánya we found that the most important feature is the lack of news on migrants²⁴.

In Józsefváros issues from the last decade 138 articles. There was mention of about 14 minorities: Bulgarians (9%), Chinese (16% of all articles), Croatians, Egyptians, Greeks (7%), Kirghiz, Poles, Romanians (19%), Rusyn, Serbians, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Hungarians from Serbia, Vietnamese (9%) or “migrants in general” (22%).

The distribution of articles on the issue is highly uneven: half of the articles came from 2003 and 2004 when the newspaper had a section for minorities.

Figure 10 Number of articles on the migrant issue



When asking an editor of the newspaper why are migrants almost completely ignored by media he confessed that he has never even thought about this problem.

²⁴We analysed 240 issues of Józsefváros and 120 issues of Kőbányai News

Content of the articles

Table 1. Number of articles dealing with immigrants in “Józsefváros” newspaper

Social dimension	Area			
Frame	Economic	Social	Cultural	Total
Conflict	10	23	0	33
Cooperation	0	27	41	68
Total	10	50	41	101
Political dimension	Area			
Frame	Economic	Social	Cultural	
Non-policy	0	0	0	
Repressing or restrictive policies	1	0	0	
Positive policies of integration	0	0	0	
Other	36			

The most articles (more than one third of all articles) can be classified into the social dimension, and half of them belong to the cooperation category. They were about the description of a minority group, or personal life stories and everyday life of migrants.

Almost half of the articles belonging to the social area reported about conflicts in the “Crime” section of the newspaper. The overwhelming majority of these articles is about the illegal presence of the Four Tigers Market, police raids and the efforts of local government to eliminate it, or about drug sellers operating in the area of the market.

The articles from the thematic areas of culture (one third of all articles) reported about cultural events of the minority groups living in the area, for example exhibitions or folklore festivals. There were no cultural conflicts mentioned by the newspaper.

The most neglected and the most conflictual area was the economic one regarding the social dimension. Less than ten percent of all articles belong to the area, and all of them reported about conflicts. The articles were about police raids on the market but contrary to the articles in social conflict category, they always emphasised the value of the contraband goods found by the police.

As the issue of immigration could be considered as an insignificant issue from the point of policy, it does not appear in media discourse either. Only one piece of news could be found in the topic in the restrictive category. However we had to create an additional category within the political dimension, since we found several (26percent of all articles) articles about general information of the minority governments, such as opening hours, or news about the members of the minority government.

As for the typical topics related to the most often mentioned migrant groups:

- a. Almost one third of the articles about Romanians were related to culture, one third appeared in the local minority government news, and the rest was about Romanian criminals.
- b. Bulgarian migrants were never mentioned as criminals, they were almost always mentioned in connection with some cultural event.
- c. The media representation of Vietnamese people was the inverse of Bulgarians'. They were almost always mentioned in relation with crime, especially drug businesses.
- d. The news about the Greek minority was mostly about some cultural events and the description of the Greek community.

In the case of Kőbánya the issue of immigration is almost totally absent from the media, only 12 articles could be found among the last decade's news. They were about Chinese, Croatian, Greek, Polish and Romanian migrants, but one can say the topic is totally ignored by the media.

4.3 Media seen from below: the perspective of the residents

The perspective of migrants

Our migrant interviewees except of one Yemeni man do not read local newspapers since they cannot read Hungarian and local newspapers are available only in this language. Almost all of them complained about their difficulties with reading and writing in Hungarian, even if they can speak the language. That is why they do not follow news published in the Hungarian printed media but they read news of their country of origin on the internet or they are informed by the family members from the home country. Some of them even follow Hungarian news on English websites for example, because they are interested in the news of the country they are living in.

A Syrian interviewee does not read or listen to Hungarian news even though he has been living here for more than ten years, although he follows Syrian ones. His Hungarian wife reads the news sometimes, but he is not interested in local news.

However, migrant interviewees often watch Hungarian TV channels and listen to Hungarian radio stations because it is easier to understand than reading Hungarian newspapers.

B., the **Errore. L'origine riferimento non è stata trovata.** follows Mongolian and Hungarian news as well; she gets informed primarily through the television.

C., one of our Chinese interviewees regularly listens to a commercial Hungarian radio and watches Hungarian TV. He gets some Chinese news from his sister who follows it but he says it does not interest him.

Our Vietnamese interviewee follows only economic and political news of Hungary and Vietnam, but mostly international news, never the local ones. He mainly reads the news of the Central Hungarian News Agency in Hungarian (MTI).

Picture 15 The cover of “Új szemle”



Source: Judith Sebő

The Hungarian Chinese Community has its own free newspaper (called “Új Szemle”, “New Review” in English), which is very popular among the members of the community; all of our Chinese interviewees read this Chinese newspaper regularly (Picture 15).

Other communities don’t have their own newspaper.

The perspective of Hungarian residents

All of our Hungarian interviewees complained about the negative judgment of their locality in both the printed media and the television. According to them their quarters only appear in crime-related news which makes them really disappointed.

“I have a straight stroke when hearing in the TV about the “infamous” 8th district “ Hungarian Roma man (Bp-J-KI-21-8th district municipal representative-39).

They all shared the opinion that the reputation of the quarter is much worse than it is in fact. According to them national media almost never talks about migrants except in a few cases related to crime and the Four Tigers Market, like when the custom officers catch some Chinese on the Market.

“We can read only about migrants when the Chinese kill each other.” Hungarian couple N(Bp-J-I-13-jeweller-66) and I(Bp-J-I-13-jeweller-66).

All of our interviewees agreed that the issue of immigration is not a topic in the Hungarian media.

Almost all of our Hungarian interviewees -especially the elderly- read the local newspapers, because it is for free, and they receive them regularly, the newspapers are sent home. They all shared the opinion that these papers have never really dealt with immigration, perhaps because it is not an important issue, and the quarters suffer from more serious problems, like homelessness.

Two of our interviewees mentioned that they do not trust the newspaper Józsefváros, because it is edited by the local government and news are censored by the mayor.

5. Quarters as policy objects: frames and outcomes

As agreed by several researches (Tóttós 2009, Melegh, 2012) the issue of immigration could be considered as a non-topic not only for the Hungarian society at large and in the media but in the political discourse as well. There are several reasons for the marginalization of the immigration issue in Hungary.

First, there are few migrants, and the majority of them are ethnic Hungarians from the neighbouring countries.²⁵

“Migrants do not have any importance, because there are not so many yet. I think that they are only a few thousands in the district. There are some problems coming from the living together though... These problems result from the cooking, stories about the noise, things that come out from the otherness anyway. And this is also decreasing.” Hungarian man (Bp-K-KI-30-ex-mayor of Kőbánya-49).

Secondly, immigration from third countries is a relatively new phenomenon, because Hungary has been open to international immigration only since the transition (1990), and since then neither politicians nor civil organizations have developed experience and adequate tools for supporting migrants appropriately. It is not surprising therefore that Hungary does not have a comprehensive immigration strategy. Moreover, the current legislation on the immigrant issue is undeveloped, and the bits and pieces of immigration policy Hungary has is nothing else but the adaptation to the legal system of the EU (Tóttós, 2009).

Thirdly, Hungary currently suffers from more serious problems such as: the Roma issue; unemployment; homelessness and the debt crisis. As long as these problems persist, there is little chance that the immigration issue will be taken more seriously. It is therefore not surprising that only asylum seekers are supported from the central budget apart basic services, such as schooling and healthcare, to which migrants are entitled just like native Hungarians (Mészáros, Lastofka and Soltis, 2009). According to the rules of law in force the state is not in charge of the issue of immigration, so it delegates it to the municipalities. Earlier studies pointed out, that migrants are absolutely missing from the social provision system even though they would be entitled to some services like subsidized dwellings (Kőszeghy, 2007).

The local government of Budapest has no department for the immigrant issue; it has only one rapporteur who is in charge of equality of chances, including the migrant issue. In 1996 the municipality of Budapest founded Budapest Chance Nonprofit Ltd, and since 2003, the Equal Opportunity Office of the municipality of Budapest (FEMI) has been operated within the organizational framework of the Budapest Chance. FEMI's operation is financed by the municipality of Budapest, but there are no separate sources for migrants. FEMI receives 10 million forints (approx. 4000 EUR) from the local government, and all projects related to the equal opportunities - like unemployment, homelessness, Roma issue - have to be financed from this budget. According to the representative of FEMI they had only two migrant clients in the past two years, so we can say that there is no money spent by the government on migrants.

²⁵ In 2009 the ratio of foreign population in Hungary was 1,5% (184.000 persons), most of them ethnic Hungarians from neighbouring countries (Kőszeghy, 2010)

It is important to mention that there is no pressure on the government to deal with the issue because of the lack of well-organized lobby groups. So until the state is not forced to deal with the issue, they will not do so. As the head of the Social Policy Department of Budapest (J. S) said:

“The immigration issue is typically the field where there is urgent need for activities of NGO-s. It is an important but not the most important issue. The target group is small, we don’t know their needs. We have neither the human capital nor the financial sources for this field. Civil organizations are in charge of dealing with their problems. The central budget is short-cut, and everything we can do is helping civil organizations, but they must be well organised, and achieve some tangible results instead of simple begging. We are open for discussion, but it works only if they make efforts as well.”

Take for example the case of LECIM workshop organized by Budapest Esély (Budapest Chance) in the end of September 2011. The goal of the workshop was to initiate discussion between the government and 10 civil organizations who sent a letter to the government about their claims and proposals. The only problem with the workshop was that the representatives of NGO-s were not present, except for one. So there was nobody there to negotiate with. It is a very good example for the uninterested attitude of NGO-s. They had signed a letter, but were not present on the discussion.

As one of the organizers of the workshop said:

“There is no wonder why they aren’t here. Everybody is running after their money. They have no time for meetings like this, they must be working on some tenders at the moment.” (a representative of Budapest Chance)

Local governments

Each district has its own rapporteur (23 people, one for each district) dealing with equal opportunity issues including immigration. However, migration is not their priority issue, often they do not deal with migrants at all. We tried to contact the rapporteurs but only five answered our e-mails, and they could not help us. Their answer was always the same: *“I’m not in charge of the immigrant issue; we have neither information nor data about migrants.”*

The opinion of interviewed policy makers mirrored the marginal situation of immigrant issue.

“The Chinese, Arabs, Muslims [...] will develop their own institutions, and they will oppress this country. This time will come, believe me. Of course I am open toward everybody; I look at the human, not at the nationality” Hungarian Roma man (Bp-J-KI-21-8th district municipal representative-39).

Political parties do not have any views on immigrant issue. Unlike anti-semitism, EU-skepticism or anti-Roma policymaking not even JOBBIK the radical nationalist right wing party consider anti-immigration as a political asset.

NGO-s

There are two organizations with outstanding achievements on the field. The first one is Artemisszió Foundation²⁶ which has been operating since 1998 as a non-profit organization of public interest. It is

²⁶About Artemisszió: http://artemisszio.hu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3&Itemid=2&lang=en

aiming to achieve its objectives through researching, promoting and using the theory and practice of intercultural communication.

They provide wide variety of services like organizing intercultural and training programs and developing educational materials. The Foundation has a well aimed migrant-specific mentor-training program, related to the fostering of the social integration and the mentoring of migrants. The program is very useful because migrants can turn to the mentors with any questions about everyday-life problems, like job seeking, housing, how to find Hungarian friends, where to go out etc. The system works efficiently because of the good reputation of the Foundation and the numerous enthusiastic volunteers hired by them.

The other well known organization is Menedék - Hungarian Association for Migrants²⁷. The organization was established in 1995 as a civil initiative. It operates as a non-profit organization. In every year they realize several creative projects for migrants, like the current „Sunday lunch” and „Mosaic” projects. In „Sunday lunch” 5 Hungarian and migrant families meet and host each other, and at the end of the project they will also publish a cookbook. “Mosaic” is a very complex project: the association runs a social consulting office, which offers assistance for 220 migrants.

Another small, but relevant NGO is Ediktum Endowment for the Integration of Asian Migrants in Hungary which is a civil association that runs an information service for Chinese citizens and it can help in any question in connection with the residence in Hungary. There are several smaller NGO-s in the field but their programs are not relevant.

However NGO-s run their immigration related programs (mostly integration, advocacy, courses, etc.) on basis of some state and municipality and EU funds. These organizations spend much effort on marketing and lobbying as they need to raise funds. Their main problem is that NGO-s are not trained in such activities and they are disorganized, i.e. they ask for money separately from each other. The result is continuous lack of funding, competition and bad reputation.

“I don’t like NGO-s, they are always lobbying! The problem with civil society organizations is that 90% care only about asking money from the local government before they would do anything, before having any program” Hungarian Roma man (Bp-J-KI-21-8th district municipal representative-39). Why don’t they cooperate? “Because everybody has an axe to grind, and nobody wants to share anything with the others.” (a project manager at Budapest Chance).

Almost all new integration projects of NGO-s are funded by the EU’s European Integration Fund (EIF). As there is a fixed amount of money available for the organizations each year, they compete harshly to gain a share as big as possible. It is indeed a zero-sum game, in which they are not able to increase the available resources, so they can only benefit at the expense of others. That is the reason why they do not share anything with each other, why they do not submit joint applications. They have a fear of sharing their knowledge, human capital and valuable relationships. However it seems that as long as they are not willing to cooperate, the system cannot be sustainable and the funds spent on migrants will be without any significant results.

“It’s a nonsense that there is so much money spent on immigration in Hungary, while this is not a big problem in Hungary with immigrants who already succeeded in having a job and a resident permit

²⁷ About Menedék: www.menedek.hu

and who live even better than Hungarians. At the same time, there is no money for the Roma. There is more money for the integration of immigrant than it is needed.” (A.M, project manager of Menedék)

Summary

Since the volume of third country migrants in Budapest is low and there are other severe financial and social problems in the city- immigration is and will not be an issue. There is a permanent finger-pointing taking place between NGO-s and the state about their responsibilities and tasks. NGO-s do not operate effectively, they focus on surviving. They make some effort to lobby, but as these organizations do not act jointly they cannot reach any of their goals, what is more policy-makers consider them as “beggars” who have no beneficial activity. Until NGO-s do not change their self referential attitude, it will not turn better.

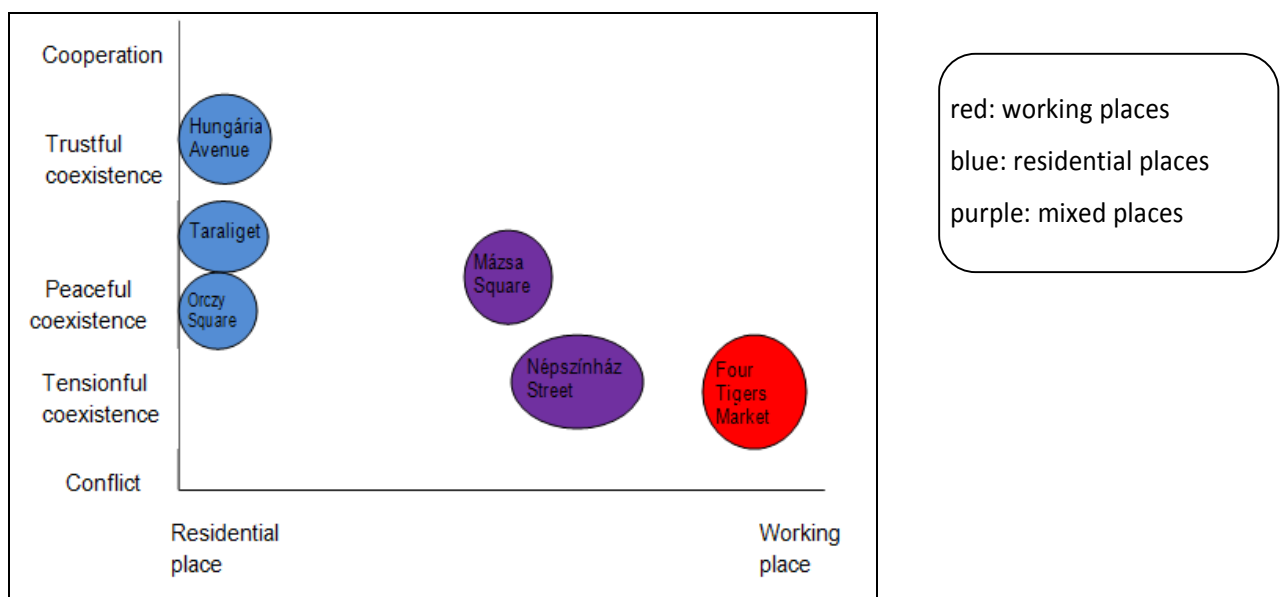
6. Conclusions

1. In contemporary Hungary even on a very general level the process of migrant integration cannot be properly analyzed using the dichotomous majority-minority model. The reason is the relatively (compared to the migrant population) large native Roma population which, while being part of the majority population, is living in ethnicised poverty as well as in fearful co-existence with non-Roma majority (i.e. on the one hand serving as a scapegoat, being discriminated, etc., on the other hand from their underdog position the generating tensions for the majority). The everyday forms of this tensionful co-existence between the non-Roma and Roma part of the majority is the context within which the integration of migrants should be analyzed.
2. The reason why the Roma and non-Roma tense co-existence strongly influences the context of migrant integration is that while the selected sites contain third country migrants in relatively high numbers²⁸ these are also the quarters with considerable Roma presence.
3. The impact of the Roma-non-Roma tension on migrant integration is controversial. On the one hand this diminishes the relevance of migrant integration, (i.e. this is not an issue compared to Roma integration), on the other hand the migrants are less in the focus of the generally intolerant Hungarian majority. In other words, since the Roma are the main target of prejudice and discrimination this makes the migrant integration less problematic as well as less important for the media and policymaking.
4. As to the current trends, the integration of migrants (being less challenging and less tense than Roma integration) is losing its importance due to the deterioration of the economic conditions of the population in general and of the Roma in particular since 2008.
5. The Hungarian majority constructed two stereotypes to identify and characterize migrants: the "Asians" and the "non-Asians". The former contains mostly Chinese and Vietnamese, the latter refers to Arabs and Africans. The most important differences between these two groups of migrants are that the "Asians" are hardworking folks (which is good) with strange customs (noisy, cooking smelly food which is bad) and also often unfair in competition (which is bad from the local petty traders' point of view). As about the latter groups, it can be said that there is hardly any prejudice against the Arabs (except that they become wealthy too smoothly), however there is a general consensus that all Africans are drug dealers.
6. Depending on the standard of living of the majority and on the level of impoverishment of the Roma, and also taking the basic features of majority-migrant relations into account (if they are working and/or neighbourhood relations), one could distinguish the following situations:
 - Taraliget and Orczy Square: both the non-Roma and „Asians" living in these housing estates and high rise condominiums are relatively wealthy. Their relations can be described as peaceful co-existence peppered with minor grumblings about the "Asians" improper behaviour (noise, smell).

²⁸ compared to other parts of Budapest, the city where most of the migrants live in Hungary

- Népszínház Street: Non-Roma (some of them are here for many decades as it was close to the biggest flea market of Budapest) and migrant petty traders, Roma and non-Roma employees and non-Roma, Roma and migrant inhabitants live together in an impoverishing environment. The relation among the non-Roma and migrant traders and among all three types of inhabitants is close to the state of tense co-existence.
- The Four Tigers open-air marketplace serves all Budapest with cheap clothing and Chinese (or imported) products in general. “Asian” traders are in a hegemonic position and often employ Roma and non-Roma informal workers. The co-existence is tense due to sharp competition, petty crime, informality.
- In the case of Hungária Avenue the migrant and non-Roma (and recently Roma) children learn in the nearby primary school (Bem School) which is widely known in Budapest as one of the few culturally mixed primary schools. The site is the closest to the state of trustful co-existence.
- The site around Mázsa Square is a classic case of peaceful co-existence since the “Asian” wholesale traders mostly do business only with “Asian” customers or petty traders and hardly have any contact with the relatively poor and overwhelmingly non-Roma inhabitants.

Figure 11 The allocation of the sites along the conflict-cooperation continuum and by the type of urban function.



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Annex

The methods

A.Walking interviews

Conducting interviews on the move has a long history mostly in ethnographic and other qualitative researches, where it is used in order to find out people's relations to places.

Walking interview as a research method

Interview techniques on to move²⁹ seemed to be a right method to become more familiar with the daily experiences of people, on which Carpiano mentions that the researcher can be "walked through" people's lived experiences of the neighbourhood" (Carpiano 2009: 264).

There are significant differences between how information is collected and observed during sedentary and during walking interviews. First, according to resources one major advantage of walking interviews is the possibility of accessing the attitude and knowledge of people on their surrounding environment. As subconscious reactions are major part of our daily routine, they can be observed during walking interviews by watching the behaviour of the interviewee while questioning him. This is one way of collecting information that might not be mentioned during a sedentary interview. Second, the interviewee is able to refer to a larger number of stories and memories as the go along interview walks through the places. The participant and their relation to their environment can be confirmation on the content of the interview, the memories and local specific knowledge that are connected to certain places can be recalled easier, as with a sedentary interview.

With the data and the participatory observation of walking interviews the researcher has the possibility to see the participants daily experiences in different levels like public spaces (during the walk), private spaces (during the meeting), and "micro publics" (at times both). Accompanying the participant the researcher can get a more comprehensive picture of the coherence of the participant relation with their environment.

According to earlier studies walking interviews practically must have one thing in common: the interviewee has to be familiar with the area where the walk takes place.

A commonly used more ethnographical method in is the 'go-along' method that is the hybrid of interviewing and participant observation, where the researcher follows the interviewees as they go on their daily routines, asking them questions along the way (Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003). Kusenbach mentions that with this method hidden and unnoticed habitual relations can be captured. The following five areas are particularly suited to explore with the „go-along" method: environmental perception, spatial practices, biographies, social architecture, and social realm. (Kusenbach 2003)

The literature mostly focused on describing the technical aspects rather than analyzing the outcomes of the walking interviews.

²⁹ There are different names for interviews on the move, „go along", „talking whilst walking", „walking interview" etc.

Implementation: The walking route

The walking part of the interview was preceded, depending on the interviewee, by a 15-45 minute talk, when we discussed the range of the questions and we decided on the walking route together. With fixed route we can get data about a particular location, but in that case we wanted to know more about participants stories, than about the locations. One of the main aspects, when picking the route, was a strong personal attachment of the interviewee, or at least the opportunity to link personal stories and memories to the selected locations.

The participants were asked to stay within some broadly defined boundaries, they had to tell about the subjective borders of the neighbourhood they live or work and we took the walk inside of that. It was easier to fix the route with those participants who lived there. One of them lived far from her work place so with her it was challenging to figure out the route.³⁰

We fixed the route together with the participants, offering the possibility to change some parts of that during the walk. That is the reason why there are some points where different participants route overlaps.

Equipment, technical background

We had to find the best way to coordinate three things at the same time; audio data with the geographical tracks, and photos about the mentioned places.

Capturing the route: for the easier use we decided to take a heart-trade monitor watch with a built in GPS (global positioning system), which helped me to follow the geographical tracks of the walked interviews and could fix important points. „The use of GPS gives the flexibility of a participant-determined route, but allows location to be tracked with a fair degree of accuracy.” (Jones & Evans 2010: 7) We took a digital dictaphone, that was easy to hang in the participants neck, and we synchronized the time of the watch with the Dictaphone, so backwards we could identify the track, with audio records.

An average compact camera was used for taking pictures of the places mentioned by the participants. We made additional pictures with street names on them, so that we can identify them later, however it was not necessary, because we could clearly remember, where the pictures were taken.

Recruitment

The interviewees have had to work or live in the neighbourhood for a minimum of 8 years, so they may have a knowledge about the district and its changes as well. In addition, the immigrants could not come from any EU, Western-European or North-American countries and they must have basic Hungarian language skills that shows some level of integration.

³⁰ We set a date for a walk in her neighbourhood, but unfortunately it never occurred, because she went missing. See later in the interview part.

It was difficult to find people who meet the above mentioned requirements, they have spare time, but they also work full time, they are willing to put effort into it and they are familiar with the neighbourhood. Another setback was the use of the camera and the dictaphone along with the situation and the walk itself that made some of the participants uncomfortable.

Some of the interviews did not take place because of the participants did not meet all the requirements, or they changed their minds or simply because of the environmental factors, like weather conditions. Once it was pouring rain and other times it was too hot for walking around in the city.

It was also challenging to pick the right time because the walk had to happen in an everyday situation and it could not be at night since the neighbourhood is not safe enough.

B. Mental mapping

The method

The concept of mental or cognitive mapping is basically a psychological process in which the individual gathers, organizes and decodes the spatial information related to his own environment and everyday activities. From the methodological side, the primary aim of the researcher is to collect and analyze the existing individual cognitive maps. Subjectivity and assignation of content value to specific elements of space is a central factor in mental mapping although the purpose of research, type of data collection and method of analysis decide on the extent of subjective elements must be relied upon. The scope of cognitive mapping and the use of maps is highly diversified, it was an interdisciplinary method even in the early stages of its formation and continuously widened its scope of application since then.

From our point of view the important field of mental mapping where the perception and evaluation of the urban environment is in the focus. This approach of systematic and scientific investigation of metropolitan areas has about a half-century history originated from the 1960 work of Kevin Lynch; *The Image of the City*. The study is important both theoretical and methodological aspects, outlining the research potential of mental mapping and gives a methodological guideline for combined cognitive mapping methods as well as practical examples. The main theoretical standpoints outlined by Lynch, mentioned below are important both in general terms and also in point of our research amongst immigrants:

- inhabitants of cities have a stable image at least of their close living environment and the space they 'use', attributing subjective meanings to objective elements of space
- everybody is trying to „find his place“ in the city mainly in order to facilitate the everyday activities in their own environment and making them 'comfortable'
- everybody inevitably develop a complete picture of the city especially for (self-)positioning and comparison

The process

Twenty-four maps were produced along with the interviews. We used the free recall method without using geographical reference points and traditional categories of specific elements of space. We asked respondents to indicate the routes and spaces they use for everyday activity and highlight the streets or neighbourhoods which they take as 'bad' or unsafe and those of inhabited by immigrants. The method of data collection defines and limits the possibilities of analysis because spatial information which are based on geographic reference and useable for relative or benchmarking representation are not available. The maps show significant differences in their detailation and the extent and positioning of the depicted area. Composition of the respondents is also an important factor in terms of what kind of differences can be found between the Hungarians and immigrants in identifying the environment. As special items or special categories of space elements haven't been identified previously, we had to organize them later.

C.Participatory photography (PPP)

The PPP project aims to analyze the social relations between immigrants and non-migrants in the micro-community of the neighbourhood, moreover aims to understand the impact and relation of immigrants to the urban environment.

Research Method and Literature Review

The participatory photography qualitative research project used a multidisciplinary approach, combining community based participatory action research method, visual research methods and PhotoVoice; enable the research participants to play an active role in the data gathering and analysis by taking and discussing photos.

According to Minkler and Wallerstein the “[c]ommunity based participatory research (CBPR) is a collaborative approach to research that equitably involves all partners in the research process [...] with the aim of combining knowledge and action for social change” (quoted in Flicker p.70). As Flicker points out, this method has mostly been used in health related research (ibid. p. 70-71). In Goodhart’s words this is a “participatory research method that uses a grassroots approach and photography to bring about social action” by voicing the underpowered groups and individuals, moreover by connecting them with policy makers (ibid. p. 53).

Visual research methods have been widely used both in sociology (Banks, Harper, Pauwels), anthropology and ethnography (Pink 2003, 2004, 2010). When implying these methods, mostly the researcher takes the photos and analyses them.

The literature of PhotoVoice can be divided into the discussions of the research method and into the practical guides, supporting the realization of a project. The social significance of photos and their ability to cross cultural and linguistic barriers (PhotoVoice) was crucial for our research project. According to Palibroda “Photo Voice is a participatory action research method [to study and improve social conditions] that employs photography and group dialogue as a means for marginalized individuals” (Palibroda p. 6). By using these methods the research subjects become active participants, co-researchers due to their active involvement (Palibroda p. 8). In general, the wide usage of photo cameras facilitates its usage in these participatory setting. According to Wang and Burris, Photo Voice is both a research method and a tool of empowerment, merged from documentary photography, feminist and education theory (Wang 1994, 1996, 1997, 1998). PhotoVoice uses photography to “educate, inspire and influence decision” making, which is not incompatible with the method’s traditions (Wang 1996:1939). As Wang and Burris importantly point out, the participatory approach of the method “is to avoid the voyeuristic quality that often characterizes professional photojournalists’ work” (Wang 1996:1939), which is crucial to avoid the power determined findings and the subjectivity of the researcher (ibid. p. 1396). The research subjects become visual anthropologists which allows them to provide an in depth and informal image of their world. As the researcher works in collaboration with the subjects the expected outcomes can not be identified, but such a methodology requires some flexibility (Palibroda p. 28).

The photo inspired group discussions or personal interviews are tools both of data production and analysis (Palibroda). This process includes the selection, contextualization and codification of the

photos (Wang 1996). Wang has developed the SHOWeD method to support these discussion, which contains the following question: “What do you See here? What's really Happening here? How does this relate to Our lives? Why does this problem or this strength exist? What can we Do about this?” (Wang 1997, cited from Wallerstein 1987). The Youth Empowerment Strategies (YES!) Project is highly relevant for our research as it “engaged youth as critical thinkers and problem solvers” (Wilson p. 243). As Wilson points out, the ideal discussion of the images

would (a) get below the surface description of a photographic image to describe the meaning of the picture as an asset or issue, (b) display thinking deeper than surface description of symptoms to analyze the social/political context that causes the situation, and (c) suggest an action step logically related to the problem and its cause(s) (ibid. p. 254).

The Photo Voice project are being made about a 14 week session with weekly meetings (Palibroda et al. p. 40). Some other project, using similar methods, also researched youth (Goodhart, Royce, Sands, Strack) or immigrants (Haque 2009, 2010), more specifically Modaresi worked with immigrant and minority students.

We used these methods and researches cases to develop our research process.

When developing the case specific research method we combined the heritage of visual research methods, CBPR and PhotoVoice. We aimed to involve the researched in order to enable them play an active role both in the data gathering by taking photographs and by discussing them with the researchers. This qualitative research method goes beyond participatory observation and actively involves the ‘researched’ as a partner and builds on their local knowledge. PhotoVoice and other CBPR related methods reduce the subjectivity of the researcher and shares the responsibility with a more diverse community, which can develop a less determined research. High number of case studies supported the implementation of this combination of methods, especially as many of them had been used with youth and in immigration research.

Implementation

Based on the above discussed methods and case studies we organized a four month workshop with weekly courses for students of the chosen primary school in Kőbánya, provided them photo cameras and asked them to document their surrounding and daily life, finally analysed the photos with in-depth interviews.

During the selection process of the participants we started to cooperate with a locally established institution in order to find better channels to the community and to possibly reduce the fluctuation. We chose to cooperate with a primary school, located in the Hungária Avenue subzone. The school is located on the border of Kőbánya and Józsefváros close to the Four Tigers Market therefore the school has students from Józsefváros and from Kőbánya as well. This area was selected based on the relatively stronger presence of immigrants. The school is surrounded with panel blocks, built between the 1930’s and 1970’s, used to accommodate military servants. Relatively high percentage of the students has immigrant backgrounds. In the selection process the headmaster of the school played an active part as she had the required knowledge and understanding about the student and about the micro-community in general.

The voluntary after-school workshop started in mid September 2011 and finished in mid January 2012. We have met with the student on a weekly basis, all together 15 times. During the four month period of the workshop all together 15 students showed up for a shorter or longer time, 13 of them participated at the final event of the workshop³¹. We have asked the parents to sign a permission, allowing their children to participate. For the students who lacked equipment the researchers handed out basic digital pocket cameras and batteries for the term of the workshop. Within the framework of the course the students learned the basics of photography. As a core element of the course the students have got weekly exercises: neighbourhood, home, friends, family, free time, holiday, Christmas, fashion and brands, idols and self portrait. These exercises functioned as guides to help them to express their opinion about a wide variety of topics. The photos taken by the participating students provide indirect or direct information about the research questions.

For the final event of the workshop we have organized an exhibition, inviting students, teachers and the participant's families, moreover professional workers from the field of immigration sociology and social work. The exhibited photos have been selected by the students, but the analysis included a slightly different and broader setting of photos. The parents signed a consent form, which allows the researchers to publish the images, taken by their children. At the final event of the workshop we not only aimed to open the exhibition but also to realize a neighbourhood forum. Our expectation from the forum was to generate discussion and raise questions about the main research questions. In order to prepare the situation for sensitive topics and issues we have used a theatre pedagogy method.

The selection and analysis of the photos took place with the participants in an inclusive way, it was crucial for the researchers to make these actions as participatory as possible. The participants made 3621 photos during the term of the course, the analysis includes 389 of them. After the selection we have used the photos to generate discussions and to interview the participants. The photos, made exclusively by the participants, gave the basis for the interviews, moreover as Wang states, the photos catalyst for discussion (Wang 1996:1396), allowing the participants to phrase their opinion. By talking through the photos the personal narratives became more and more clear, moreover the researches got information which would be hardly accessible with other research methods and could raised questions about previously hidden topics. Importantly the interviews gave the possibility to ask about the photos which has not been taken. This is what we called the hidden narrative.

In order to protect the privacy of the participants of the research we use nicknames and we also blurred all the faces on the photos.

During the workshop we had to face certain difficulties. The students often seem to be shy about taking photos of people, documenting their environment, especially if they have felt that it is 'ugly' or 'nasty' things. It was also a hard case, except the holidays, to motivate them to take photos about their home and family. On the other hand there was a clear development in their approach, by time they started to take photos more and more consciously.

³¹ For further details about the participants see Annex 4

Most of the PhotoVoice project least for 12 weeks, Wilson's YES! project was a rare exception. In our experience the 3-4 months term with children is too short both for research and empowerment purposes. For the children it took months to learn how to take photos consciously and to start to trust in the researchers, moreover to get rid of their inhibitions. The photos had become better and better by every week and the participants more and more enjoyed the project. By the time students started to go with the flow of opening up their lives and sharing their viewpoint. In a longer project the suspicious families might also decrease their stout resistance. We highly suggest to plan 8-10 month projects.

For the final of the workshop we have organized an exhibition, inviting students, teachers and the participant's families, moreover experts.

Brief portraits of the children of PPP project

Andreas and Claire

13-year-old Andreas and 11-year-old Claire are siblings, both coming from the neighbourhood's block of flats. They are living in a complete family, the mother is a teacher, the father is mechanic. The siblings took most of pictures of their homes, and of free time family activities.

Ann

Ann is of Vietnamese origin; she is 13 years old and was born in Hungary. She has been living in the neighbourhood for 12 years, in one of the Hungária Avenue block of flats. In her opinion she does not speak Vietnamese very well. She is the second one of three kids, lives in a complete Christian family. Her parents are babysitting for Vietnamese children.

Ann has an extraordinary interest for fashion, over 90 percent of her pictures dealt with that topic. She did not take pictures of people, not of her family and friends, although a high amount of her photos are self-portraits, imitating fashion photos in a high-level, considering her age and the technical background. Ann was the only one who used photography as a tool to construct herself.

Anette

Anette is a 12-year-old Hungarian girl living in the neighbourhood. Her parents are divorced, she does not have any contact with her real father, her mother is an accountant and her new partner is an English teacher, with whom they are moving together. Anette still lives with her mother and her older brother. She mostly took photos of people (like her mother and her partner) and of Anette's school friends.

Blanka

Blanka is 13 years old; she has been living in Hős Street for 12 years. She lives in a complete family, with her two sisters. Her mother is a cleaning lady, her father is unemployed. Her pictures are about her sisters, and friends.

Charles

Charles is a 12-year-old Hungarian boy. He lives in the neighbourhood. He lives in a complete family, has two brothers, one of them is mentally disabled. He took photos of excursions, and also made some family portraits.

Daniel

Daniel is a 12-year-old Chinese boy, who was born in Brazil, later lived in China, and who – for a year - lives with his parents and brother in Hungary. His parents worked at the Four Tigers Market. Daniel had difficulties with the Hungarian language, so he often did not understand the tasks. His few pictures are of a shopping trip with his family, and he also made some pictures from his home.

Domingo

Domingo is 12 years old, his father is Somalian and her mother is Hungarian. His dad came to Hungary as a refugee. According to Domingo, his reason was “dad went away, because kids take weapons [...] if we are travelling there, pirates, you know the Ethiopians and all the neighbour nations, everyone against everyone.” His parents are divorced; he lives with her mother, who is a secretary. He has been living in the neighbourhood almost since he was born. His father moved to Sweden for a few years ago, and he is working as a forklift driver.

Domingo took most of his pictures of his personal space and family events.

Joanna

Joanna is a 14-year-old Hungarian Roma girl; she has been living in the neighbourhood, in Hős Street, since she was born. Her parents are divorced, she does not know about her real father. Her stepfather is in prison, she lives with her mother and sister in the same house, as her grandmother. Her mother is a seamstress. She had the most comprehensive photo material from the group, took mostly pictures of her home, family and friends. Joanna is a disadvantaged Roma participant, who has recently been accepted to a special media program at a leading Hungarian high school.

Julia

Julia who has Roma origin, is 14 years old, comes “from the better part” of Hős Street, as she said. Her parents are divorced; she lives with her mother, sister, and grandfather at the same tenement. She did not tell what her parents’ professions are. Her father has a new family, and she has a good

relationship with her half-brother, 'cousin' as she calls him. Most of her pictures are taken at home. Julia's father and „cousin” often appear on her pictures taken at home.

Liana

Liana is an 11-year-old of Roma origin, who lives in Hős Street. She appeared casual on the courses, took photos mostly of her idols.

Vincent

Vincent is 12 years old, and has been living in the neighbourhood since he was born. He lives in a complete family, with his father, mother. His sister is much older than he is, she lives with his boyfriend. He rarely took photos but when he did most of them were about his home but his parents did not appear on them. At first, he was not allowed to take pictures at home, later on his parents - especially his mother - loosened up regarding taking pictures at home, but still forbid him to make portraits. Vincent's most photos are about objects, what shows a strong role of symbols and brands in his self-identification.

Sophia

Sophia is 13 years old, she is the only child from her mother, with whom she has been living in the neighbourhood since she was born. She has no relation with her father, who is a forklift driver. Her mother is a cleaner, and after school Sophia sometimes help her mother at work. Her mother did not want to appear on the pictures. She took a lot of pictures, most of them are dealing with her free time activities, she took just a few pictures of people

The Neighbourhood Forum

Place, time: 13th, January 2012, Bem József School (10th district, Kőbánya)

The neighbourhood forum took place in the same school as the PPP project because it was based on the photography project. The core program was the photo exhibition. The participants were some of the teachers and the head of the school, children, their parents and experts who were interested in the topic of immigration. There were special programs offered for children, for parents and for the experts. The event could be divided into four parts:

1. the exhibition based on participatory photography project
2. the role-playing game
3. the discussion with the parents
4. an expert discussion.

1. The exhibition

For the finish of the workshop we have organized an exhibition, inviting students, teachers and the participant's families, moreover professional working in the field of migration sociology and social work. The exhibited photos have been selected by the students, but the analysis included a slightly different and broader setting of photos. The parents sign a consent form, which allows us to publish the images, taken by their children. At the finish of the workshop we not only aimed to open the exhibition but also to realize a neighbourhood forum.

The selection and analysis of the photos took place with the participants in an inclusive way, it was crucial for us to make these actions as participatory as possible. After the selection we have used the photos to generate discussions and to interview the participants. The photos, made exclusively by the participants, gave the basis for the interviews, allowing the participants to phrase their opinion. By talking through the photos the personal narratives became more and more clear, moreover the researches got information which would be hardly accessible with other research methods, could raised questions about previously hidden topics. Importantly the interviews gave the possibility to ask about the photos which has not been taken. This is what we called the hidden narrative.

2. The role-playing game

The event started at 15 o' clock with the special 2 hour long game-faculty for the children. For this event 2 actors (-drama teachers) were hired by whom the game was held. The number of participating children varied between 15 and 25. Among the children there were Chinese, Vietnamese, and Hungarian (both non-Roma and Roma) students from the age of 10 to 13. Our expectation from the game and the forum was to generate discussion and raise questions about the main inquires of our research. In order to prepare the situation for sensitive topics and issues we have used a theatre pedagogy method.

About the games

The event was held and elaborated by the two above mentioned actors and it aimed to investigate whether the children's behaviour shows elements of discrimination or signs of racism. A fictional story enabled the students to indirectly talk about sensitive questions, which means, that theatre pedagogy played a much more important role than simple entertaining, it rather functioned as a research method.

Another aim of the game was that it could be used as a base of the "real" neighbourhood forum. Through the conversations with the parents it was a further aim to lure parents by offering an amusing program for children. In the second part the game was held simultaneously with the neighbourhood forum, and as the children wanted to stay longer, there was no other choice for the parents other than staying at the forum and sharing their opinion about the questions we asked them.

The first one hour was about introductions and making the suitable informal atmosphere to initiate the free deliverance.

The children's behaviour was free and informal; they were enthusiastic about the game as well. After the first hour, the real game began. It was a role-playing game, in which every child came up with a fictional personality for themselves. An age, gender, occupation, hobby, look and every feature of their character was imagined. For example there was a wrestler, and also a transvestite among the children. After finding out their personality they imagined that they were residents of a huge house. Every single detail of their house was visualized--from the surroundings to the color of the common house. After a while, a tenants' meeting was held with the leading of the drama teachers. At this part 15 children were present (6 boys and 8 girls, among the boys 1 Roma, and 2 Vietnamese, and among girls 2 Vietnamese)

The topic was given by the teachers: there are some empty apartments in the house and new, strange, and "unliked" people were arriving in the neighbourhood, who would like to move in. They call themselves "minangi" ("Minangi" in English), they look really weird, they are short and their hair is long. They are famous for their special Minangi cakes.

The question is: "What should we do? Should they be given a warm welcome?"

3. Discussion with the parents

The parent-conversation took place right after the photo exhibition, with the participation of 8 Hungarian parents and one Chinese parent.

All through the 45-minute-long conversation, an endless slideshow (photos with subtitles made in the Kőbánya neighbourhood) was shown in order to initiate the discussion concerning the district. The presented photos were made during the fieldwork of the so-called "one-minute-interview" in the end of 2011. The subtitles of the photos were the most expressive quotations of the interviewees, "the man from the street" (for example shop assistants, local habitants, caretaker of the elementary school etc.).

At the beginning of the conversation most parents were shy and silent, but after a while most of them started to tell us stories, and their opinion on the neighbourhood.

4. Expert-conversation

The participants:

Kata Bognár – Menedék Hungarian Association for Migrants

Dénes Szemán – Eötvös Loránd University-Centre for Intercultural Psychology and Pedagogy

Lahn Ahn – Eötvös Loránd University -Centre for Intercultural Psychology and Pedagogy

Zsuzsa Pósfai – photo voice expert, MA student in Urban Studies in Paris

Szivia Zatykó – researcher, expert on migrant children

Anna Medgyesi – Menedék Hungarian Association for Migrants

Gábor Csanádi – Eötvös Loránd University

Endre Sik – TÁRKI

Anikó Bernát – TÁRKI

Péter Langmár – photo voice expert involved by TÁRKI

The agenda:

Endre Sik introduced the project in detail, including the role and goals of the current action, i.e. the Forum. Péter Langmár presented the photo voice method in general and how we applied in the Hungarian fieldwork. The experts addressed some questions on the applied method and asked for some clarification regarding the details of the project and the photo voice method applied in the study.