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Ph.D Thesis Summary

Hires-László Kornélia

Everyday ethnicity
Hungarians of Beregszász on the role of ethnic categories

Supervisor:

Dr. Tóth Lilla Ph.D

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Department of Sociology and Social Policy

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Table of contents

1 Background and overview of the research

In my dissertation I would like to present the worldview experienced by the Hungarians of Transcarpathia, especially Hungarians of Beregszász, and its development. The analysis focuses on the ethnicity present in everyday life. The thesis is based on two main scientific perspectives: (1) The vision and worldview of every human being is influenced by some ideas, conjectures, memories, fears, nostalgia, and is formed in a historical, cultural, social process, and these are shaped by myths, religions, ideologies, superstitions, direct or indirect philosophical ideas. Through the worldview, ordinary people shape their lives, their selves, see the world and themselves in it (Hankiss 2005: 254; Berger – Luckmann 1996). (2) Within ethnicity, we primarily aim to show whether we can see such parameters and characteristics that are used to delimit, separate, make visible, stigmatize the given ethnicity in the mixing and juxtaposition of ethnicities (Horváth 2006, Feischmidt 2010, Barth 1969, Jenkins 2002 [1997], Brubaker 2009, Wimmer 2008, Yang 2000). As well as, perhaps most importantly, the coexistence of ethnicities; the themes, areas that provoke conflict between the two dominant local ethnicities (Hungarians and Ukrainians). By presenting the formation of opinions, it becomes clear which persons are in charge of the development of public opinions. What aspects of different policies /

decisions are actually considered important and relevant by ordinary people.

The thesis is based on the study of everyday ethnicity carried out by Brubaker et al. (2005/2011), who focused on ethnically defined activities, relations between Hungarians and Romanians in Cluj-Napoca. The research carried out by Brubaker et al. (2011) also tried to justify the approach represented by Brubaker and Cooper (2000), but several researchers (Messing 2006, Lőrincz 2008) attacked the study and the emphasis was on thinking in groups excluded from the theoretical approach. The individual-centered approach adopted in Anglo-Saxon countries is felt in Brubaker's (2001) approach, where groupless self-definitions, ethnicity, become dominant over European thinking, where group (category) thinking has a past: ethnicity is constructed in it and through it (Marko 2004). This is why the identity theory of Abdelal et al. (2006) is applied in the analysis, who argue that identity cannot exist without the meanings created by its members, and in this sense the extent to which group members share meanings is emphasized. Based on these, on the example of Beregszász, the paper aims to examine how thinking in ethnic categories appears in different worldviews, and these opinions are not considered to be static or constant, but constantly changing due to situations, conversations, ideologies, social events.

In Transcarpathia, Beregszász is a predominantly Hungarian settlement – the city has become the cultural and political center of the Hungarians living as a minority in the region in recent decades, as well as many other ethnicities. The main goal of the paper is to gain insight into a segment of the ethnic image of the chosen settlement, with the greatest emphasis on everyday life. It shows the process of forming opinions what different views we can see within a given topic, and in what form these opinions conflict with each other and affect each other. Furthermore, analyzes targeting ethnicity have all been designed to show which characteristics become relevant in the creation of ethnic boundaries and which areas may occasionally result in conflict. Ethnicity and its neutralization is presented in both social and situational contexts.

2   Research methods

The study of ethnicity requires a qualitative research method, as this is not primarily a subject that could be explained by examining a given phenomenon, therefore several topics and phenomena must be captured. Secondly, due to the plasticity and variability of ethnicity, it is site-specific, as the ethnic relations developed within each settlement have a different character based on their own social organization and customs. In the light of these, the focus is on a single settlement, Beregszász, based on the example of Cluj-Napoca, where the ethnicity experienced in everyday life is presented, on the basis of

the given social and ethnic characteristics. Among the epistemological frameworks, social constructivism (Berger – Luckmann 1996, Burr 1995, Jorgensen – Philips 2002, Galbin 2014) and discourse analysis (Jorgensen – Phillips 2002) as well as content analysis (Clarke 2005, Braun – Clarke 2006) are used for evaluation.

In order to examine the everyday ethnicity of the Hungarians of Transcarpathia and the city of Beregszász, a focus group discussion with the inhabitants of the settlement was prepared, which is the most important source of the dissertation to present the chosen topic. The topics of the conversation were mainly based on the topics that can be related to everyday ethnicity. Focus group interpretation and analysis are complemented by the emerging and increasingly popular linguistic landscape analysis (Shohamy – Ben-Rafael 2015).

3 Research results, contribution of the thesis

Thanks to the focus group method and the content and discourse analysis, one can see examples of the formation, development and collision of opinions, through which the differences of views and individual differences could be seen, which have been ignored in other analyses so far.

(1) For each thematic analysis, it is concluded, that whatever the topic, opinions differ, and no matter how static they may seem,

they are constantly evolving due to changes in life situations and discourses. Based on social constructivism (Burr 1995), the peaceful coexistence of ethnic groups is influenced by various factors: the manipulability, values and vehemence of group members, the activities of the media, power struggles between adjacent ethnic groups, past events, historical moments and ideologies that influence current political actions. These factors have created a worldview in Transcarpathia and Beregszász that, in the interest of peaceful coexistence, Hungarians avoid ethnic confrontations with other ethnic groups living in other cities. This is the most important statement, which one must see as a summary, if we look for ethnicity in the daily activities of the people, the Hungarians of Beregszász.

(2) The conclusions drawn in a similar research conducted among Hungarians in Cluj-Napoca, Transylvania are similar in many respects to the overall system of ideas of the present research. The concept of the "Hungarian world" was formed as strong and concrete among the Hungarians of Beregszász as it was among the people of Cluj-Napoca, and local civic initiatives and the network of institutions emphasizing ethnocultural features around the Hungarian world play an important role in this process. We can see such a division in the mix of language use / monolingualism, belonging to a dual or triple ethnic group, belonging to religious denominations, separating / blurring national and citizenship categories, choosing the language of

instruction, degree of loyalty to political parties, visiting Hungarian cultural events created with the help of NGOs and the city hall.

(3) In the case of the separation of ethnic borders, one can see that the most important characteristic is therefore culture and language use. Focusing on everyday life, attending Hungarian cultural events becomes important for some Hungarians, while for others, occasions and communities related to their religiosity are much more important. For those who socialized primarily in the Hungarian environment, Hungarian cultural events become important, but for those who lived / live in an ethnically mixed environment and attended a Ukrainian / Russian-language school, cultivating Hungarian traditions, following, attending and organizing cultural events is less crucial. Through culture, the Hungarian ethnic group belonging to the minority aims to present itself and to strengthen their confidence with the increased quality and ethnic nature of cultural activities and events. With this cultural dominance, they try to push the Ukrainian ethnic group belonging to the state nation backwards and favor their own group. Cultural confidence reinforces *relational comparisons* at the group level (Abdelal el al. 2006), *social competition* (Tajfel – Turner 1979), and *self-defense biases* at the individual level (Smith – Mackie 2004: 335–339), i.e., highlighting the positive characteristics of one's own group, emphasizing the low quality of cultural programs organized by the local Slavic ethnic group, they can increase the confidence of their own.

(4) The opposition between the state language (in this case Ukrainian) and the minority language (Hungarian) is increasingly present in the separation of ethnic borders. This issue has come up regularly, especially in the choice of language of instruction, the difficulties of learning Ukrainian, the difficulties of lack of knowledge of everyday Ukrainian - the use of the official language. The prestige of ethnic groups can be increased or decreased by legal opportunities and economic interests. The participants in the conversation mentioned the period when belonging to the Ukrainian ethnic group was more advantageous, calling it the "Ukrainian fever". This was replaced by the "Hungarian fever" / "wave" / "fashion". Currently the Hungarian ethnic group has a much higher prestige value. Various subsidies from the motherland increased the prestige of the Hungarian ethnic group in parallel with the expansion of Hungarian citizenship. The use of language and the choice of language of instruction is one of the most dominant issues in the everyday life of Hungarians in Beregszász, and the issue of ethnic identity through the use of language is seen differently by everyone, adapted to their individual way of life. The prestige value associated with a language shapes the everyday use of the language and the positive or negative experience of belonging to an ethnic category.

(5) Nationality and citizenship are two categories that are the same for some ethnic groups but different for others. In the case of a minority ethnic group, such as the Hungarians of Beregszász, it is

quite clear that although most of them consider themselves to be of Hungarian nationality, they live their daily life as citizens of another state (there has been some change with the introduction of dual citizenship). Previous research has not identified cases and individuals in which the two concepts of nationality and citizenship are blurred for some reason. The case presented in the dissertation is not unique, but it is very rare for someone as a member of a minority to think of citizenship as an ethnic category - previously, in the Soviet era, nationality was recorded in official documents, and now their Ukrainian ID certifies the citizenship only, so for some people nationality means citizenship as well. A Hungarian-speaking person living in a mostly Hungarian environment has so far not faced the phenomenon of citizenship not matching his/her nationality. Ethnic category membership in this form can generate even more complex cases where the concept of nationality is not clear / blurred with the notion of citizenship.

(6) Prejudice, ethnocentrism, and stigmatization (Allport 1977 [1954], Sumner 1978 [1906], Goffman 1963) come to the fore only on an individual level, and are more prone to those who do not speak the language of another local Slavic ethnic group (Ukrainian / Russian), which could bring them closer to members of the other ethnic group; or even if he/she speaks that language, he/she becomes prejudiced due to the isolation from the "Hungarian world". In this case, we can even see extreme examples of the ethnicization of ethnically neutral topics.

An ethnically neutral topic can most easily become ethnically articulated if it has anything to do with official bodies and service units, of which the Hungarians of Beregszász have generally formed a negative opinion, due to low standards and corruption issues. It enhances prejudice through the use of a mandatory state language related to the official sphere. The term "Mágyár" is used to stigmatize the Hungarians of Beregszász, which the Slavic inhabitants say in a special tone, and is usually mentioned in a negative context. In this case, we can speak of stigma awareness (Pinel 1999), as stigmatized ethnic group members are aware of the negative meaning of their nomination (Brubaker et al. 2011: 224).

(7) It causes *hostility* between the two dominant ethnicities (Hungarian and Ukrainian) (Biczó 2012: 29, Cronin 1999) if city dwellers act and live their daily lives according to extreme nation-building ideologies. When the official is unwilling to practice multilingualism in the settlement and abuses his/her position (the doctor is only willing to speak Ukrainian and teaches a lesson toHungarian patients on their citizenship duties), a *competition* may arise. It is a *conflict* if dual citizenship is claimed and obtained by a person who would not otherwise be "entitled". We can already add many more topics to *indifference*: e.g. migration, subsistence and daily difficulties, recruitment, etc. The city and the region as a space symbolizing *togetherness* is one of the most important points of connection, where, in addition to historical features, natural

endowments and relationship systems also become important. The custom of respecting religious holidays considered important by the other ethnic group is regarded *selfless* (a phenomenon that could even become a source of conflict due to different calendar usage). *Symbiosis* is the experience of city dwellers living / socializing / growing up in a mixed ethnic environment on almost any issue - for them, human relations override all ethnic issues.

(8) In the case of local identity, it is indeed the *neighborhoods* (Appadurai 2001) that become important, and human relationships are the ones that are important in the attitudes towards space and place. An overview of migration processes shows that *translocal identities* are gaining ground, that is, *virtual neighborhoods* are spreading alongside real, everyday interpersonal relationships. Thanks to the new wave of foreign jobs and relocations, people living in Transcarpathia are losing and transforming more and more contacts.

(9) In the linguistic landscape analysis, it can be seen that in an ethnically mixed settlement on any public signage (whether it is Ukrainian or Hungarian) the ethnically dominant one becomes visible, and Russians and Roma population, who also live there in a high percentage, are less so. Russian, although once a highly prestigious language, is now relegated to the background in everyday use in writing, and the Roma are invisible in terms of their language use and linguistic landscape analysis. Through the linguistic landscape, the linguistic dominance and ethnic diversity of the city can be perceived.

With the images used during the interview analysis, one could see that the division between Ukrainian and Hungarian can be felt in the city, and this was also confirmed by the ethnic themes presented in each of the topics of our focus group analysis. The Hungarians, as a minority in the city, also create the feeling of homeliness through the linguistic landscape, which they inherited from the past and want to maintain with the current Hungarian world and cultural dominance.

(9) Due to its war situation, Ukraine has become the focus in Europe, receiving central attention in all respects. As a result of the ongoing war and the changes in the structure of political power, a new social, political and economic system is beginning to unfold, which can also be seen as a change of regime. Hungarians living in the city are very proud of the peaceful coexistence that is generally valid in Transcarpathia, which is why they cannot understand the real reason for the outbreak of the war, the Ukrainian-Russian conflict. In the new Ukrainian situation, the term separatism is being used more and more often - this concept has not received so much emphasis before. Following the events of the *maidan* and the outbreak of war in the East, separatism is also used to label the enemy, as well as all other labels that threaten the unity of Ukraine, the goals formulated in national ideologies. This concept became realistic and a serious danger as more and more events were built around the transformation

of the Hungarian ethnicity into an enemy.[1]

(10) Migration, like ethnicity, permeates the everyday life of Hungarians in Transcarpathia in several respects. Emigration is mainly chosen by Hungarians in Transcarpathia due to family reunification and better livelihoods. These motivating factors are aggrevated by the precarious situation in Ukraine, in which the existence of dual citizenship is another addition. In regards of migration, the younger generation is most affected, but we have also seen a few counterexamples where it was the younger generation who thought it was their duty to stay. In the migration processes operating in the city - in connection with moving abroad and working abroad - we can see different waves and phases. The first major wave of (1) began at the time of the regime change, and final migration was typical at this time. Wealthier citizens were able to take part in this process, as establishing a new life required a financial basis. (2) Another wave started around the 2000s, when, in addition to the already mentioned emigration, more and more were seeking jobs in Hungary (Caglar - Sillo - Jóźwiak - Hires-László 2011). In fact, this opportunity was open to everyone, but this process also required a

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[1] THCA – Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association - processed these events in various forms, including a 2018 brochure (https://kmksz.com.ua/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/ brossura_A5_EN.pdf) and the documentary *Magyarellenes megnyilvánulások Ukrajnában (Anti-Hungarian Manifestations in Ukraine),* made in 2019 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tKQ2QqrX5YY&t=995s).

certain amount of finances - mainly administrative costs were incurred, and the participant had to have a good network of contacts and a profession. (3) Finally, one can see the characteristics already presented above, when the migration processes have been completely redrawn by dual citizenship and the new situation in Ukraine. Financial basis is still a condition in some situations, but in fact anyone can join these mobility processes. Belonging to the Hungarian ethnic category has been given an even higher priority along the migration processes due to the recent changes. The more favorable Hungarian ethnic category resulted in several category changes (Wimmer 2008) and the blurring of ethnic boundaries (Brubaker 2009).

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