

Summary

A. GERGELY, ANDRÁS

National or ethno-cultural minority?

National minorities are conceived as forming one, virtual and real entity. The ethno-cultural definition of national minorities reflects a complexity of role- and regional consciousness, and a mental, genealogical determination. This pre-determination, however, is challenged by a number of different factors, like migration, the existence of diasporas and immigrant societies, and a diversity of multicultural identities. Isolation and conflict-potentials, which provide internal tensions for national minority communities, do not necessarily represent open cleavages. Nevertheless on the outside, the lack of internal cohesion is often apparent and in many cases it is nothing more, than a construction. In the meantime the “nice and traditional” community is decomposing, the different communities living next to each other influence each other and change themselves as well. In this context, “locality” becomes “neighbourliness” and the homogeneous “ethnos” gives place to multiple identities of the actors in different processes.

BAKÓ, BOGLÁRKA

On the border of power — a Transylvanian Roma community's loyal attachments

The study analyses the relationships of a South-Transylvanian Gypsy community with the local Romanian and Hungarian authorities. The municipal elections in 2004 changed the administrative structure of the village. The former Romanian village mayor has been replaced by a Hungarian one, thus the interest groups connected to the centre have also been transformed. The Hungarian leadership took over the organization of administrative life and the relationships with other localities have been modified as well. The changes in the power structure

entailed the modification of everyday power relationships concerning the Gypsies, since after the elections the Roma community became dependent on the local Hungarians both in terms of economy and administration. In connection with this case, the study analyses the extent to which these changes affect the inter-ethnic relations of the Roma. Through the investigation of the loyalty of the Roma, it becomes possible to analyse the place and attitude of the gypsy community towards the local power system and its place in the hierarchical social structure. The study demonstrates that living in between the two ethnic groups fighting for power, the everyday survival of the Roma is secured if they live according to the rules of contemporary power. By this, however, they will neither become Hungarians nor Romanians, but can appear in both ethnic groups as 'invisible'. Thus, adjusting to the contemporary leading ethnic group they can secure everyday existence for themselves, without conflicts.

BÁNYAI, VIKTÓRIA

*Historical data from rabbinical responsa
Some cases from 18th century Hungary*

Rabbinical responsa are written answers to questions asked by and of learned men (rabbis) or legal authorities. They not only answer questions of legal, ritual, ethical or exegetical character, but offer a wealth of material on the social, political, economic and cultural situation of the Jews in many countries and at various times, and often deal also with matters pertaining to geography, linguistics and the like. The paper discusses the methodological problems of using the rabbinical responsa as a source material for historical research. The author summarises the role and history of the rabbinical responsa, and the history of their research from the dawn of modern Jewish historiography. The second part of the paper concentrates on the methodological questions posed by the study of this source material. The problems are in part similar to those of other historical documents (i.e. authenticity, credibility, the problem of meaning), but some fundamental characteristics of the responsa literature have a special bearing upon methodology. These points are illustrated with text examples quoted from two rabbis of the 18th century, R. Meir Eisenstadt (1670—1744), the author of *Panim meïrot* and R. Ezekiel Landau (1713—1793) the author of *Noda bi-Jehuda*.

BINDORFFER, GYÖRGYI

Migration, identity and loyalty.

The changes in the identity structures of Germans living in Hungary.

Migration, the regional movement of peoples, nations and individuals is not a recent phenomenon. Originally, the Germans living in Hungary voluntarily migrated from their homeland to Hungary, though under severe economic constraints, in the 17—18th centuries. But they were forced to migrate from their chosen homeland (Hungary) back to the West after WWII. Between these two periods, migration was not a characteristic feature in German communities living in Hungary; they lived closely attached to their land, to their village. The first generation of migrants brought internalised identity patterns from their homeland. The question of changing identity emerges only in the second and third generations, who are socialised in their new country. This is the period of the development of a dual identity, which needs the positive influence of a number of different internal and external developments. Where do Germans in Hungary migrate nowadays? How does migration influence their dual identity structure? The study, besides giving an historical overview of the issue, addresses these questions, based on data collected in fieldwork in four villages, Csolnok, Dunabogdány, Somberek and Véménd.

DOBOS, FERENC

*Additional data on the social stratification of the applicants
for Hungarian Certificates*

From the perspective of Hungarian minorities living in neighbouring countries, of the national strategic initiatives in the past years, the adoption of the so-called preferential or Status Law can be considered as a successful symbolic and material initiative. The present analysis — building on the database of the applicants for the Hungarian Certificate — gives an overview of the socio-demographic stratification of those applying for a Hungarian Certificate. In general, the Sub-Carpathian population showed the greatest interest in obtaining the Hungarian Certificate, since more than three-quarters of all Hungarians living in the region applied for it. In contrast, only 17% of the persons belonging to the Hungarian minority in Slovakia submitted their application. The other Hungarian minority communities affected by the law reflected a medium interest in this opportunity: in Romania, Serbia and Croatia, roughly one-third of the local Hungarian population submitted an application, while in Slovenia, 25% of the smallest Hungarian minority community applied for the Certificate. The present study attempted to shed light on the individual and communitarian motivations of applicants and to explore the influence of specific identity elements on the decision.

EILER, FERENC

National minorities and their loyalty to the state between the two World Wars (Principles and practice in the European Congress of Nationalities 1925—1938)

The European Congress of Nationalities defined itself as a supranational political organisation, formed by national minorities, which are loyal to their host states. The present study makes an attempt to explore the background and the hidden meaning of “loyalty” in this context, analysing the resolutions, discussions of the Congress and the activities and thoughts of its leaders. It concludes that the Congress, despite its public credo, did not consider loyalty as a self-evident, positive value.

ILYÉS, ZOLTÁN

“Spiš is Zipsers’ land.” Movements for autonomy and the force of loyalty of the Germans of the Spiš between the two World Wars

In historical Hungary the Germans of the Spiš, unlike other German settlement-regions in Slovakia, received privileges, various forms of autonomy and independence (*universitas saxorum*) deriving from the feudal legal system, which despite their dialectological, social and administrative diversity, contributed to the development and long-term maintenance of their regional land-consciousness and coherence-consciousness. Their Hungarian feeling, which appeared in the political articulation of interests between the two World Wars, was a significant part of this regional consciousness. This historically created pro-Hungarian coherence-consciousness was expressed in 1918, when the claim of *Republica Scepusia* was articulated and the related legal struggle for the autonomy of Spiš in Czechoslovakia, in cooperation with the parties of the Hungarian minority, lasted for two decades.

KÁLLAI, ERNŐ

A first attempt to create a conflict model in Roma – non-Roma coexistence

The main goal of the author is to model the typical features and characteristics of the conflicts aroused between the Roma community and the majority population in the past centuries. It seems to be unavoidable that, for various social and economic reasons, every society recurrently experiences crisis situations in its own development. This presupposition is probably even more applicable for minority communities, which, living in a socially marginalized situation, are even more vulnerable to the negative effects of these social changes. The author defines these crisis situations, in regard to the Roma community in Hungary, as “modernization-living [cost-of-living] crises” which, time-to-time, break the more-or-

less peaceful, harmonious coexistence with the majority society. Such a crisis usually follows a typical scenario: crisis is usually induced by a landslide historical event, which is also confirmed by the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Roma remain without jobs and a living. This provokes political intervention, which is usually mistargeted, thus the intervention remains unsuccessful, which leads to the result that the socially marginalized community is usually seen as the cause of their own misery. Following this logic, majority political elites almost regularly conclude that the only possible solution of the social problem is the assimilation and integration of the Roma into the majority population. In this paper three historical examples are analysed to underline the adaptability of the author's model.

KÁNTOR, ZOLTÁN

Nation and legitimacy — in relation to the Status Law and the question of dual citizenship

Although public debates over the Status Law and the extension of Hungarian citizenship to Hungarian minorities living abroad was dominated by questions related to the future of Hungarian communities in neighbouring states, migration, financial matters, etc., in reality the core issue of these initiatives is the legitimate relationship between the Hungarian State and individuals belonging to Hungarian minorities living abroad. At the same time, as this relationship is also influenced by the self-definition of the Hungarian State, political debates on the matter — presuming that political actors express theoretically coherent opinions — focus on the Hungarian State's official definition of “nation”. Two fundamental concepts of “nation” collided in the debates over who should define the “nation” in Hungary, and how. The Status Law reinforced parliamentary legitimacy, while the extension of Hungarian citizenship was aimed at obtaining a popular legitimacy. In scientific terms, the debate is open and the political clashes over the matter are likely to supply researchers with data for a long time.

KOVÁCS, ANDRÁS

Identities and loyalties

In this paper, the author addresses the dangers, which may emerge in using the expressions identity and loyalty in an analytical, simplified way. This study builds on the analysis of an interview, which reflects a life full of identity crises and changes. In this respect, the author calls attention to the interactions, which define identity and loyalty norms in constantly changing social and personal structures. So the conflict of norms and disloyalty are often ostensible, like a person who is able to move freely between identity structures and is constrained

to face new interpretative efforts in defining her/his social self every day, is not necessarily a person with a weak identity.

MAJTÉNYI, BALÁZS

An ostrich policy?

(The definition of minority and Hungarian legal regulation)

The Hungarian law on minorities, besides offering a definition of “national” and “ethnic” minorities, enlists all the autochthonous minorities living in the country. Nevertheless it is not easy to find a close relationship between the definition provided and the list of minorities. Besides this problem, in the light of recent migratory developments, the extent to which the differentiation between autochthonous and immigrant minorities can be maintained is rather doubtful. Today, Hungarian minority policy addresses even very small minority communities, while disregarding the problems of much more numerous immigrant minority communities. In this regard it is likely that Art. 68 of the Hungarian Constitution needs to be revised in order to detach from or limit to citizenship holders, the right to the different special minority rights.

NIEDERMÜLLER, PÉTER

Transnationalism: theories, myths and realities

This study sums up the results of different researches in social sciences and anthropology, analysing the new, transnational forms of migration. The analysis departs from the theoretical presumptions, which view migration in the context of nation-states, i.e. as a movement between nation-states. Cultural assimilation and social integration are essential issues in these presumptions. In contrast to them, transnational studies stress new features of migration. Transnational theories focus on developing new interpretative structures and models, which may better explain the new interrelations between culture, territory and social groups. This paper, indeed, outlines the main theoretical categories of transnational anthropology.

PAPP, RICHÁRD

The “people of the southern frontiers”.

National consciousness and multiple attachments among the Hungarians living in Vojvodina in the light of 5 December

The referendum held in Hungary on 5 December 2004 on the extension of Hungarian citizenship to Hungarians living abroad has also provoked strong reactions in the Hungarian community living in Vojvodina (Serbia). The referen-

dum was not valid, because of the great number of absentees (less than 25% of the electorate participated at the vote), thus, despite the slight majority in favour of the extension of Hungarian citizenship, the final result greatly disappointed the Hungarians living in Vojvodina. The study analyses the effects of the referendum on the identity structures of the Hungarian minority in Serbia. As a matter of fact, the result of the referendum was largely conceived by the Hungarian community as a refusal, as a “no” from the Hungarian state and the Hungarian population. The Hungarians living in Vojvodina have a specific, inclusive mentality, which can be explained by the century-long co-existence with the Serbs and by the multiethnic, multicultural reality they experience everyday. The author argues that it is not a dual or multiple identity, but a complex identity, which is influenced by various different factors, including the related political developments in Hungary. The study concludes that the referendum held on 5 December 2004, in fact reinforced the specific character, the “southern particularities” of this specific, complex Hungarian identity.

SALAT, LEVENTE

*The Tension between Fundamental Concepts of Political Theory
and the Ruling Identity Structures in Divided Societies*

The world we live in is marked by a deep gap between the ethno-political order and the facts related to the rapidly growing recognition of its cultural diversity. Consequences of the discrepancy between *facts* — the linguistic, ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of our world — and political *constructs* aimed at tackling the outcomes of this diversity — nation states and the international system — have been pointed out not only by experts and influential intergovernmental organizations like UNESCO or the UNDP, but also by a growing list of violent acts, and the disquieting spread of terrorism in all regions of the world. A significant part of the political institutions widely utilized in the organization of human cohabitation gradually prove to be inadequate for the efficient management of consequences that result from cultural diversity, and stability in the case of multicultural polities can often be only ensured at the expense of serious deficits of democracy, or measures infringing on freedom and/or equality.

The present paper attempts to formulate a hypothesis regarding one aspect of this composite of symptoms and to illustrate the consequences of the hypothesis by using the concrete example of the *Hungarians in Romania*.

The hypothesis is as follows: essential concepts of political theory, which represent the foundations of our most important political institutions, as well as those that offer an analytical framework for the evaluation of their activity, remain inadequate within the frames of *ethnic diversity*, to maintain the sustainable, institutional preconditions necessary for the revitalization of identity struc-

tures characteristic in non-dominant communities. Illustrating the consequences of this hypothesis with the case of the Hungarian community in Romania leads to a new, inferred hypothesis: the institutional preconditions for the survival of the Hungarian community in Romania requires that *either* the meanings of concepts forming the basis for current political institutions, *or* ruling identity structures in the two communities *will have to change*.

The underlying arguments for the hypothesis and its application to the mentioned case are being offered according to the following methodology: the author briefly looks into the intellectual origins and the main impact mechanisms of the concepts which produce, with respect to the described phenomena, the most attractive consequences; some relevant data is offered about the global dimensions of cultural diversity; the consequences of the inadequacies between cultural heterogeneity and the ethnopolitical arrangement of the world are pointed out; and finally, the situation of the Hungarian community in Romania is analysed. The latter analysis is built on conclusions drawn from studies interpreting the results of public opinion surveys carried out between 1994—1996, and 2000—2002 respectively, on representative samples for the Romanian population.

SZARKA, LÁSZLÓ

Conflict situations of identity and loyalty in nation(al) states

For the national minorities and majority nations of Central and Eastern Europe, the content and meaning of loyalty and national identity from the 20th century have largely varied along with the ideology of nation-state, the specific concept of state and the ethnopolitics followed in their state. The present study analyses the structures and practices of the triadic (home-state; kin-state; national minority) identity and loyalty system of minorities. Migration, assimilation, acculturation, adaptation, dual-language use, multiple bonds, and the change of language and identity are all different phenomena, observed in this structure. The cultural and political factors of national identity can be better balanced for the national majority than for the minorities living in the state. Potential conflicts are more likely to emerge for minorities in the context of loyalty to their language and culture in the “old” and “new” state, in their “old” and “new” social community, in legal or constitutional loyalty (i.e. respect for the laws of the state), etc. In this respect, patriotism, regionalism, and national commitment can all form potential threats to the cohesion of the state, in national states, which follow a discriminatory minority policy. The more-or-less tolerant minority policy followed by Czechoslovakia between the two World Wars and the high request for dual citizenship among Hungarian minorities may both confirm these trends.

SZARVAS, ZSUZSA

Bonds

The problems of multiple identities in Hungarian Jewish communities today

The study attempts to explore the geographical, historical components of Jewish identity, and the background of similarities and differences they display. The constantly changing community of a Jewish school offered a good example to present one of the main particularities of Jewish identity, the opportunity for personal freedom and free interpretation. Today, the question is not so much the discovery of Jewish identity, but much more the way that this identity can be presented and expressed. The possible answers and options are clearly visible in a school with declared Jewish orientation.

These days, the fragmented Jewish identity requires from each person an individual path to finding her/his own identity, which obviously does not exclude other, different definitions of Jewish identity.

TÓTH, ÁGNES—VÉKÁS, JÁNOS

Loyalty and solidarity

The authors of the study analyse the effects of the reinforcement of minority identities on social cohesion, existing social structures, solidarity and loyalty, based on the results of the 2001 national census held in Hungary. They argue that a strong minority identity can limit social cohesion and solidarity only if it is related to the general social-economic conditions of the minority. Based on recent research, the authors arrived at the following conclusions in this respect: the social structure in Hungary is pluralized by many different factors, which leads to an enrichment of identity characters, and not to their plurality; the identity characters of national, ethnic minorities are reinforced; stronger national bonds are usually coupled with a stronger need for group-cohesion, for a more stable religious identity and a closer attachment to family, though these phenomena do not necessarily overlap; cross-linkages are reinforced, which is a prerequisite of social cohesion, this also implies that it is probably better to use the term solidarity than social cohesion; if general social categorization is coupled with a determined social-economic situation, a strong identity may limit both loyalty and solidarity.