

‘The Hungarians Live in the Ancient Times, You Know, Always in the Ancient Times’: The Historical Genealogy of Foreigner Experience in a Frontier Village¹

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Foreword

The given paper aims to study the national and ethnic discourses in a settlement situated to the North-East of Hungary from a cultural anthropological perspective. The analysis focuses on the everyday interactions and communicational situations through which the ‘Hungarian’ and ‘Gypsy’ ethnic communities establish the preconditions of social cooperation and functional coexistence, while trying to stabilize the inner relations of the local society.

The central question of the research is that how the individuals of the given life world percept and interpret the processes of demographic, ethnic, social, economic-structural, etc. changes having been developed in the settlement over the past decades. In this sense, I would like to focus on two problems in details. On the one hand, I will attempt to analyze the discursive strategies through which members of the researched society position themselves in the time-process of their own change and the transformation of their world, i.e. how they reflect on the historicity of their ‘own’ identity. With the help of this, we study the ‘forms and modes of the individual’s relation to himself’ ‘through which he establishes himself and in which he recognizes himself as a subject’.² This mode of genetic connotation-creation thus leads to the definition of another set of problems. We can suppose that when the interpreting changes of time divergent historical experiences appear within the local society that changes the preconditions of any kind of connotation-creation, therefore, that of their ‘own’ self-understanding of the subject individuals.³ This supposition makes us to ask the question of how the heterogeneous time-perceptions within the given communities – more precisely, the various ‘time regimes’⁴ dividing the social reality – participate in the performative formation of differences between ‘Hungarians’ and ‘Gypsies’? In this sense our research focuses on the analysis of a very specific subject: aims to analyze from an anthropological point of view the role of temporality in identity-formation.

¹ This research was completed in 2007 within the confines of an OTKA-research named ‘Changing discourses on nations: about identity and differences in the context of citizens of Hungary and Hungarian minorities living abroad (OTKA 68973). The writing of this article was supported by K 101810 OTKA-research ‘Transfer Processes of Social Norms and Life Strategies in the Multiethnic Settlements of Kárpátalja’ (‘OTKA’, i.e. ‘Országos Tudományos Kutatási Alapprogramok’ – Hungarian Scientific Research Fund)

² Michael Foucault. The History of Sexuality Vol. 2: The Use of Pleasur [A szexualitás története II. A gyönyörök gyakorlása.] Atlantisz: Budapest, 1999, 10.

³ Cf.: Tengelyi, László: New Phenomenology in France. [Új fenomenológia Franciaországban.] 1350-1357. In: Boros Gábor (editor): Philosophy [Filozófia]. Akadémiai Kiadó: Budapest, 2007. 1355.

⁴ The expressions ‘regime of time’, ‘time order’, ‘regime of historicity’ were used by („ordre du temps” „régime d’historicité”) Francois Hartog, a French history philosopher to name the discursive structures and/or the notional categories that organize the relations to the past, present, future, and to the certain experiences of temporality that may vary from society to society. As he writes: ‘The expression *order (ordre)* recalls the sequence of things and the necessity: the times – in plural – *want or do not want* something; the times *revenge* and *fix* a certain order that got turned upside down, i.e. they *dispense justice*. The expression *time-order* can immediately enlighten the word set that at first sight seems to be secretive: the notion of the *regime of historicity*.’ See: Francois Hartog: Régimes d’historicité: Présentisme et expériences du temps. [A történetiség rendjei. Prezentizmus és időtapasztalat.] L’Harmattan Kiadó: Budapest, 2006. 11.

Should appear as overwhelmingly theoretic, this theme was motivated by empirical research. Between fall of 2008 and spring of 2010, together with my fellow researcher, Feischmidt Margit, we conducted several times participant anthropological observations⁵ in Kispalád, a settlement in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County. The research aimed to discover the nation-images and identity discourses constituted on various levels of social life, in different classes and groups of the local society. During the empirical research it became obvious that the analysis of the given subject is inseparable from the problem of temporality, i.e. from the topic of brakes and heterogeneous time experiences within the own 'me'. At the beginning of the fieldwork we discovered that during their everyday connotation-creation practices the observed subjects use specific historical hermeneutics with the help of which they reflected simultaneously on two forms of the change: the inner and outer factors forming the identity (how the own 'me' reflects on the otherness of the stranger 'me', its historical change).

Therefore, it seems that the question of 'ethnic identity', from the perspective of everyday actors, arose not only as a question of structural relation between 'Gypsies' and 'non-Gypsies', of culturally configured transactions, or of border-creating mechanism. The members of the local society defined their identity along the line of whether their current status, state, role, etc. can be equal to 'another' ethnic existence, the one that can be found on a field out of the structure, in our case, in the 'reality' of the village's past. This proved that the actors of everyday life situations derived the categories about their 'own' and the 'other' from the historical experience of 'strangeness', which caused a frequent mentioning of differences between the settlement's 'past' and 'present'. In this sense, 'ethnicities' and 'nationalisms' could be seen as certain kinds of additional issues that were articulated through notional confrontation of the 'old' and the 'modern' village, the 'Gypsies of the old times' and the 'modern Gypsies', etc. This does not mean that the members of the two groups did not define or did not demark the outer borders between the two ethnic groups – indeed, it happened every time. It seemed more important that, in parallel with this basic mechanism, the temporality in most of the cases were defined not only as compared to inter-ethnic model of 'ethnicity' but also to its intra-ethnic model, i.e. they simultaneously reflected on the timely modifications of the 'own' and the 'stranger'.

The traditional structural approaches interpreting the notion of ethnicity and inter-ethnic relations turned to be useless for analyzing this question. Despite their paradigmatic value, they say nothing about the sophisticated mechanism of how the hidden processes (e.g. the heterogeneous historical experiences) within the own 'me' and the structural relations between the 'own' and the 'stranger' become dependent upon each other, and how their simultaneous functioning define that connotation-creating activity which – lacking a better expression – is called 'identification'⁶.

1. Theoretical frameworks: the phenomenon of identity (the 'own me') and alterity (the 'other me') in the discussions of modern sociology

In the first part of my paper, in order to clarify the subject, I will begin with the critics of modern theories – first of all, the well-known concept of Barth, Cohen, Jenkins, Eriksen –,⁷ defining the empirical research of 'ethnicity' and interethnic relations. In this context my arguments support the idea that even the so called constructivist anthropological approaches, which accept the optional and situative character of the 'me', are connected to substantialist (or essentialist) philosophical tradition of the identity. This statement is based on the fact that the models – despite their obvious differences – explaining the notion of ethnic identity include two epistemological principles that penetrate every element.

⁵ I made the first fieldwork between 3rd of July and 31st of July 2008; but the last one was made between 5th and 12th of April 2010. Feischmidt Margit made a certain part of interviews analyzed in this paper; I owe to express my gratitude for her contribution to the fieldwork and her useful remarks.

⁶ Richard Jenkins: Rethinking ethnicity: Identity, categorization and power. [Az etnicitás újragondolása: identitás, kategorizáció és hatalom.] In: Magyar kisebbség, 2002. (7. évf.) 26. (4.) sz. 243–268.

⁷ Barth, Fredrik: Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The social organization of culture difference. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1969a. Jenkins, Cohen, R.: Ethnicity: problem and focus in anthropology. Annual review of anthropology, vol. 7, 1978, 379–403., Jenkins, R.: Social anthropological models if inter-ethnic relations. In J. Rex and D. Mason (eds.): Theories of race and ethnic relations. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986, Eriksen, Thomas Hylland: Ethnicity and Nationalism. London. Pluto Press, 1993.

On the one hand, we have the concept that (a) behind every social act there stands the 'in fact' ('materially', 'realistically') existing 'me' that existed *prior to* the performative or discursive action.⁸

On the other hand, there is the theoretical starting point according to which (b) the subject ('I', 'you', 'she/he', etc.) participating in social interactions, despite its transformations in time, can be understood as *a complex of connotations being identical with himself*.

According to my approach, these preliminary postulates have brought a notion of the subject to the territory of modern research of ethnicity that, in certain forms, even until today restricts the recognition of the identity-organization as a complex *happening*. Moreover, it seems to me, that eventually they contribute to the decomposition of the constructive role of time-perception and historicity.

If we take a closer look at the above-mentioned theoretical starting points then, perhaps, the credibility of our statement is provable.

The first principle (a), for instance, gives only a secondary role to the discourse in the process of the establishment of conscious thinking (the 'I'). It means, in the given approach, that the linguistic performative acts do not create the subject, instead, they – using Judith Butler's⁹ expression – 'contaminate' the subject previously pre-formed by reality. Therefore, the social and linguistic acts define and mark the borders of the subject with ever-changing connotation, which existed before the acts mentioned above took place. In this context the problem of 'identity' is limited to the particular questions of *marking exercises* embracing the 'I': the analysis of human activities articulating the subject. This theoretical starting point can be observed in the methodology of Fredrik Barth¹⁰. He emphasized the subject constituted by social interactions, i.e. the form of appearance of identity, rather than by its (cultural) *content*; this way he defined the analysis of the social functions of the setting of meaning as the final purpose of the ethnic identity research. In this theoretical framework the process of *conscience-creation* (mechanisms constituting the 'I': e.g. the role of the indefinite, various, unset self-experiences) necessarily loses its importance and only the *conscience-setting* (marking and repeated marking) exercises, being seemingly precise and unproblematic, gain practical attention.

Unlike the first, the second theoretical premise (b) understands the subject as an a priori given equality in contents, which affirms that the conceptual borders and contents of the 'I' cover each other.¹¹ Based on this, the notion of 'identity' means, first of all, a *self-identity* that is guaranteed by the 'unity' of the conscious self, the semantic 'sameness' of the 'I' with itself. This approach creates the notion of the subject on the basis of excluding the possibility of presence of otherness observable in 'self-identity' and the 'strangeness' existing in the 'own'.

⁸ The accepting the existence of the 'I' (ego) as an apodictic certainty has become an important theorem in the traditions of the Western philosophical thinking.

⁹ The substantialist explanation of identity, according to Butler, starts with the supposition that 'there must exist a subject that is earlier than the existence itself and which is not completely defined by the culture and discourse.' Judith Butler: *Gender Trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity*. [Problémás nem. Feminizmus és az identitás felforgatása.] Balassa: Budapest: 2006. 242.

¹⁰ Barth, Fredrik: *Old and New Problems in the research of Identity*. [Régi és új problémák az etnicitás kutatásában.] In: *Régió* 1996/1. 3-25.

¹¹ This thought being deeply embedded in the history European philosophic thinking is originated from the logic principle („princípium identitatis”) accepted already in the antique world which states that in the reality everything is identical with itself; therefore, it can be understood only as a thing identical with itself. For details see: Pataki, Ferenc: *Identity, Personality, Society. The Debated Questions of Identity-theory*. [Identitás, személyiség, társadalom. Az identitás-elmélet vitatott kérdései.] Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987.

The modern researches in the field of phenomenology¹² unambiguously prove that the 'I' in the cognitive process, in its referentiality always 'surpasses' the subject; the 'stranger' self-contents¹³, having no reference to the understanding conscience, as reflected experiences are constitutive elements of the identity-organization.¹⁴

As a common consequence of the two epistemological premises, the coherent aspects of research on identity (conscious-creation – conscious-setting, self-identity – strangeness) become separated from each other. Accordingly, on the one hand, the process of creation of subjectiveness (as the 'I' *positions* itself in time and, accordingly, *recognizes* itself as situated) and, on the other hand, the fundamental mode of discursive functioning of subjectivity (the *multi-directional intentionality* of the structure of the 'I', its contradictory elements, etc.) remain invisible.

Because of these unexplained theoretic problems the ethnicity-paradigm elaborated in the field of social anthropology pays no attention to those signifying practices that represent the extreme forms of subjectivity. Therefore we do not know what to do in exceptional cases, when, for example, the radical transformation of the 'I' into an 'otherness', that is the change to be described only with notions of 'self-strangeness' or 'self-rifting', (the historical experience of 'I was *that*, but now I am *this*'), eventually become the element defining the identity of the subject. Another question is that how to analyze the masses of divergent time-regimes and/or historical discourses dispersing in multiple directions, having different forms and depths, when these regimes and discourses can form various subjectivenesses within one single local society?

The structuralist and functionalist ethnicity-theories usually pass round this problem by artificially separating from each other the 'own' and 'stranger' connotations of the 'I' (self); in other words, they render the image of 'sameness' (semantic similarity) to the notion of 'identity', and the image of 'stranger' (semantic difference) – mutually excluding each other – they render to the category of 'alterity'.

Modern social scientific research gained new theoretical impulses from the 20th centuries philosophy – mainly from Edmund Husserl phenomenology of critique of knowledge – for its analysis concerning the 'I' and the 'stranger', as well the different worlds ('own' and 'stranger') attitudes towards each other.

It is well known that Husserl discussed the problem of inter-subjectivity in the frameworks of a life-phenomenological analysis where the a strict borderline exists between the primordial sphere of the 'own' 'I' – using the author's expression: 'home world' – and its contrast, the 'stranger world', and an 'unbridgeable separateness' exists between them.¹⁵ The author imagined the analysis of the conscience-creation process within the lines of strictly closed, isolated mind-procedure, which is not only its 'own' but also '*lacks* everything that is *stranger*'.¹⁶ (The notion of the so called transcendental subject, the 'clean ego', as one of the fundamental principle of the phenomenology refers to it as well.)

¹² The fundamental re-interpretation of the Cartesian understanding of subject is a result of the French philosophic phenomenology in the 1980s' (mainly the works of Dominique Janicaud, Jean Luc Marion, Marc Richir, etc.). For more details see: Jocely Benoist: Twenty Years of the French Phenomenology. [A francia fenomenológia húsz éve.] In: *Kellék*, 1997. no. 7., 7-22.; Tengelyi, László: Tengelyi, László: New Phenomenology in France. [Új fenomenológia Franciaországban.] In: Boros, Gábor (editor): *Filozófia*. Akadémiai Kiadó: Budapest, 2007. 1350-1357.

¹³ Tengelyi: New Phenomenology in France. *op. cit.* 1354.

¹⁴ A splendid illustration for the phenomenon of the 'otherness', the 'strangeness' embedded in the identity: after the collapse of the communist regimes in East Europe certain social groups re-interpreted their identity. After the crush of the state-socialism an entire generation recognized its own radical historicity and faced its own past, the 'onetime' itself to which – under the changed external social-political circumstances – it was impossible or unattractive to identify itself. As Francois Hartog says, in such exceptional historical moments the persons concerned 'are not necessarily able to shift from the (passed) present to the current present simply connecting – with the help of a story (their own story) – the two times to each other and accept the previous as the past.' In this term, the 'self-strangeness' is connected to the time-dimension of the past, more precisely, it is an experience that can be explicated through the 'I' that existed in the past. This is a moment when the subject loses its self-referentiality: it faces the strangeness of its own 'I' and this can provide a fundament for the re-interpretation of the identity whilst it pushes the 'I' into trouble, too. Francois Hartog: *Régimes d'historicité... op. cit.* 59.

¹⁵ Quoted by: Tengelyi László: Self-constitution and Life-history at the Late Husserl. [Önkonstitúció és élettörténet a késői Husserlnél.] In: *Magyar Filozófiai Szemle*, 1999. (2.), no. 6. (http://epa.oszk.hu/00100/00186/00005/996_tengelyi.html)

¹⁶ Tengelyi László: Own and Stranger: Merleau-Ponty and the 'Wild' Province. 117-133. In: *Life-history and Fate-affecting Happening*. [Élettörténet és sorseseemény.] Atlantisz Kiadó: Budapest, 1998. 120.

Without explaining herewith its historical-scientific processes – led mainly by Alfred Schütz – this solipsistic self-understanding¹⁷ has affected the entire knowledge of sociology and anthropology; besides, it contributed to the sociological canonization of the ontological separation of the ‘own’ and ‘stranger’.

This phenomenological approach has found its links to the structuralist approach of modern ethnicity-paradigm emerging in the late 1960s; the latter approach has described the ‘own’ and the ‘stranger’ as confronting positions, more precisely, the results of life modes that have been structurally constructed.¹⁸ In this sense, the stranger-perception as a semantic unit, first of all is *potential*, i.e. a results of normal structural relations.

The sameness as a complete unit consequently cannot possess ‘stranger’ elements of another ‘I’ (the ‘you’); this would diminish the casual opposition and the logical possibility of contextual connotation-creation deriving from it.¹⁹ The theoretic postulate that the ‘stranger’ as a phenomenon *exists* first of all in the socio-culturally and existentially separated ‘other’ – who poses one-time or temporary demands for us from its objective ‘outsiderness’ that has its own laws – and not in ourselves has simply got built itself into the research praxis, collection of notions, methodologies, etc.²⁰ Therefore, it isn’t surprising that in the sphere of anthropology the philosophic definitions, describing the notion of ‘stranger’ in the form of deficit (in fact ‘cultural deficit’²¹, in other studies ‘postponement of meaning’²²) objectivated in the otherness of the ‘other’, enter into force most often. In these theories the ‘stranger’ usually is an individual appearing as an object being immanent and describing the subject (the ‘I’) in front of it through a negative meaning. Opposite to it there is the subject that is ‘same’ with itself and can be distinguished from the object in front of it (the ‘stranger’ other) with the help of existential, semantic, structural, potential, etc. differences.

The major part of the ethnicity research accepts – or at least utilize without criticizing it during the interpretation of various notions (ethnic, national, religious, gender, etc. aspects) of identity –this subject-understanding²³ based on reversible exclusion without preservation. This understanding identifies the notion of ‘stranger’ with a relative context, i.e. a point of view situated *outside* of the own ‘I’. The latter can be expressed in metaphoric meaning in the language, culture, religion, history or even in the body of the ‘far away one’.

Therefore, further on, we will make an attempt to amend the traditional identity research with a genetic dimension: through empirical examples we analyze the role of everyday time-perception in the identity-organization, and in the sense of the above-explained we focus on the problem of ethnicity from a new aspect. By doing so we do not take into consideration the specific cases of the ethnic identity-organization that emphasize ‘samenesses’ and ‘congruences’ within the ‘I’, on the contrary: we focus on counter-intentionalities (contre-intentionnalité)²⁴ that question the self-referentiality of the subject. In connection with this narrow problem this study intends to find the answer basically to three questions:

- (a) what are the elements – persons, groups, attitudes, acts, etc. – of the reality that *appear* as ‘stranger’ in the given society and in what sense-relations do they manifest themselves? (The stranger as experience.)
- (b) in what textual context does it all happen, i.e. what are in everyday exercises the linguistic and narrative tools of *expression* of the stranger-perception?

¹⁷ For its critics see: Foreword by Vajda, Mihály: Idem. (editor): Edmund Husserl. Selected Works. [Válogatott tanulmányok.] Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1972. 5-25.

¹⁸ Richard Jenkins: Rethinking of Ethnicity ... *op. cit.*

¹⁹ This thinking provides the base for one of Barth’s very frequented categories, the ‘border’; through this the author describes the practice of identity-creation as a performative moment amongst closed monadic independent subjects and linguistic elements.

²⁰ Waldenfels, Bernhard: Answer to what is Stranger. Sketches of a Responsive Philosophy. [Felelet arra, ami idegen. Egy reszponzív filozófia vázlata.] <http://www.c3.hu/~gond/tartalom/20/frawald.html>

²¹ Waldenfels, Bernhard: Representation of the Ethnographic Paradoxes of ‘other’. [Az idegenség etnográfiai paradoxonjainak ábrázolása.] In: Biczó Gábor (editor): The Stranger. Variations from Simmel to Derrida. [Az idegen. Variációk Simmeltől Derridáig.] 91-116. Csokonai Kiadó: Debrecen, 99.

²² Jacques Derrida: The Differentiation. [Az elkülönböztetés.] In: Bacsó Béla (editor): Text and Interpretation. [Szöveg és interpretáció.] Cserépfalvi Kiadó: 1991.

²³ Cf.: the stranger-definition by Waldenfels: Waldenfels, Bernhard: The strangeness... *op. cit.* 99.

²⁴ Tengelyi: New Phenomenology in France. *op. cit.* 1354.

In connection with this I consider as an interesting element: how exactly does the historical remembrance²⁵ makes possible the expression of heterogenous historical experiences via homogenous ethnic ('Hungarian', 'Gypsy', 'Ukrainian', 'those coming from the other side', etc.) categories? (The stranger as representation.)

(c) and at the end, how do these historical discourses, the well known and applied models of mediation, reflect on the sensation, the perception of socio-cultural life-worlds? (The expressed 'stranger' as a discursive need.)²⁶

2. Overview on the place of research

Kispalád is situated in a region of small villages in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County on the North-Eastern Plain of Hungary. Geographically the village can be found on the Szatmari-half of the Szatmári-Beregi plain within the territory marked by the Hungarian-Ukrainian-Romanian borders and the rivers Tisza and Túr.²⁷

The economic and social situation is largely defined by its geographical location and the fact that it simultaneously belongs to the outer border-line periphery of different countries (Hungary, Ukraine, Romania). This Eastern borderland is one of Hungary's largest territories being in economic crisis; usually, this region can be characterized with an unemployment rate that is much higher than the country's average, bad infrastructure, outward migration, depopulation, territorial concentration of Gypsies, disadvantageous environmental conditions (grounds with weak productivity, threat of floods).²⁸

Certain unfavorable micro- and macro-economic climate (monocultural economy based on agricultural production, lack of industrial production capacities, weak productivity of the economy, infrastructural and physical isolation etc.) and specific historical developments are responsible for the disadvantageous conditions of the village.

Until 1923 Kispalád belonged to another smaller ethnographical area named Palágyság, i.e. it was part of a larger village assembly. The Treaty of Trianon drastically transformed the organically structured unity of this micro-area that consisted of three settlements – Kispalád, Botpalád, and Nagypalád that is situated in Ukraine today.²⁹ The new borders pushed the region into the periphery and the previous naturally established infrastructural, social, economic network among the region's settlements was diminished. These settlements of the border regions have existed among different circumstances according to the individual model of development of the respective states. During the eight decades prior to the collapse of communism the consumption habits, mentality, economic and lifestyle exercises etc. of the populations living on the other sides of the border have had differences or at least have gained some distinctive character.

In contrast, the informal cross-border contacts developing under the circumstances of the political transformations of 1989-90 have stimulated specific integration processes. The micro-level economic exercises connected to the 'border' (smuggling, trade, transportation, the seasonal migration and the definite settling of the Hungarian labor force migrants from Ukraine etc.) and the lifestyles related to them have established a peculiar systems of production, distribution and consumption that re-organized the functional and structural relations between the single settlements.

²⁵ As for the expression 'historical remembrance' I follow Jörn Rüssenj's interpretation who sees the meaning of this notion as the same like the historiographic experience 'where the human life-exercise's orientation in time is continuing and where the subjects position themselves in the time-development of their own transformation and that of their own world, i.e. they create their own historical identity.' Idem: *The Rhetoric of History. [A Történelem retorikája.]* .39-50. In: Thomka Beáta (editor) *Narratives 3. Narratives of Cultures. Kijárat Kiadó: Budapest, 1999.* 39.

²⁶ For formulating the questions I follow Waldenfels' representation-theory and his questions. Idem: *Illustration of the Ethnographic Paradoxes of Strangeness... op. cit.*

²⁷ See: map no. 1 in Appendixes!

²⁸ Baranyi, Béla: *The Dimensions of Existence within Borderline Regions in Hungary.* Dialóg Campus: Budapest – Pécs, 2007. 67.

²⁹ Besides the Eastern part of Szatmár County, the decision in Trianon added the larger parts of Bereg, Máramaros, Ugocsa and Ung Counties to Czechoslovakia. This territory of 12.631 km² was adopted between 1920 – 1939 as Czechoslovakia's separated region named Podkarpatská Rus, i.e. 'Kárpátalja'. The Soviet occupation attached this region to the Ukrainian part of the Soviet Union (under the name: Zakarpatska Ukraina, i.e. 'Sub-Carpathian Ukraine').

The geographical location of the smaller region ('cross-point of numerous borders') and its multi-cultural/multi-ethnic character simultaneously have contributed to the development of very complex systems of cultural reproduction of the social differences and the formation of various classes of the everyday national discourses on the settlement of our research. (E.g.: 'Russians', 'Ukrainians', 'Ukrainian Gypsies', 'Ukrainian Magyar's', 'they who are from the other side', 'Reformed Hungarians', 'free-christain Gypsies', 'toilet-cleaners', 'slum-dogs', 'Gypsies' pretending to be Hungarians', 'fastidious and ugly', 'blacks and whites', 'cleans and uncleans', etc.). The phenomenological and hermeneutical analyses of these classifying systems allow us to gain exemplary experiences not only in empirical, but methodological and theoretical terms as well. We believe that the analysis of discursive negotiations and other specific means regulating the interethnic coexistence could facilitate a better understanding of the inner functional mechanisms of the particular life-world and, on the other hand, with the help of the presented empirical examples it is possible to monitor certain elements of the approach of modern interpretation of ethnicities.

According to the data of the census in 2001 the ethnic structure of the settlement showed a homogenous picture: the absolute majority, appr. 93%, of the total population (553 inhabitants) was 'Hungarian' and only 42, and another 23 persons regarded themselves – due to certain national or cultural affinity – as 'Gypsy'.³⁰ But the census data of the local authorities do not comply with that of the state statistics. Thus, in 2006, 65% (399 inhabitants) of the local population (607 inhabitants) belonged to the 'Gypsies' and this affirms our supposition: even during the official census the 'Hungarian' community constituted the minority of the village's population. The 10% growth of population between the two periods can be explained with the high level of natural growth in the local Gypsy community, which kept on growing during the last few years. Today the percentage of the Gypsies in the absolute population of the settlement reaches 70-75%.

These ethnic and demographic ratios, however, do not reflect the real balance of forces of the participants in interethnic relations. It is obvious that – similarly to the current tendencies in the country – the social classes defining the local economic processes and the village's administrative-official elite have risen from mainly the 'Hungarian' population in Kispalád. There is no need to make large efforts to prove that the differences in the structure of employment play a significant role when the economic environment is so recessive that, for example, in 2006 the 55,3% of the active population (275 persons) was permanently unemployed and 105 out of 205 households needed regular social aid. It's unambiguous that the 'Hungarians' holding the symbolic and economic capital in their hands occupy the top positions in the hierarchy and, using institutional and informal channels, successfully continue reproducing social inequalities. Therefore, it is not surprising, that in everyday life-situations the secondary status of *the* 'Gypsies' – in spite of their demographic and ethnic advantages – is regarded as 'obvious social fact'³¹ by both social groups. This is proven by the fact that the participants of everyday conversational situations in the village project the 'Gypsies' of Kispalád as local minority, i.e. those who have subordinate position in the structure and this deeply affects the character, mode and results of the interactions between the two groups.

The moral and existential superiority of the 'Hungarians' ('the people of Kispalád aren't large in numbers, but are noble'³²) is an experience continued through generations. Basically it defines the ethnic differences within the given society; besides, it exists in close connection with the socio-historical requirement that the local 'Gypsies' in the village have constituted an *outsider* (allochthon) *minority* until now.

³⁰ Census in Year 2001. 4. National Bounding. Data on National and Ethnic Minorities. Budapest: KSH, 2002. 70.

³¹ Francois Hartog, French philosopher writes about the 18th century's European colonization that the mere presence of a few white European on the Fiji Islands were perceived by its native inhabitants as total social fact that laid the fundaments of their religious, political and economic dependence. The author's observation implies that the discourses and/or cognitive images within the group are able – irrespective of the 'social reality' – to force the members of a community to self-colonization. Francois Hartog: Régimes d'historicité... *op. cit.* 39.

³² The quotation comes from the interview made with the focus-group no. 2. of 'Hungarian' members of the village population. One should pay attention to the expression '*people of Kispalád*' that gains definitely ethnic connotations: the entire population of the village 'people of Kispalád' is identified with the social group of 'Hungarians' only. The quoted sentence also contains a statement of another semantic meaning ['there are many of the Gypsies but they are undemanding']. Based on this, from the 'Hungarians'' point of view the 'ethnic' distinction is done by emphasizing the 'qualitative' differences and not the 'quantitative' ones.

Sporadic historical reference can be found in the village to the early appearance of the Gypsies in the 19th century³³ but their real settling and strengthening into a characteristic ethnic community started relatively late: between the World Wars.

A church document from 1923³⁴ underlines the above-mentioned: ‘to cover the expenses needed to renovate the damages on the church building caused by a thunder [...] above the obligatory payments’ Juliánna Orgován, György Orgován, Sándor Berki ‘mud-workers’ as ‘voluntary munificents’ donated respectively 100, 1000 and 100 Coronas.³⁵

From the point of the history of Gypsy settling this short quotation is important in two terms. On the one hand, the collective remembrance derives the origin of the Gypsy families living in the village today from these three persons (‘these were the tribe’); the local society, therefore, considers them the ‘oldest’, the ‘tribal’, the ‘original’, the ‘Gypsy who definitely belongs to here’.³⁶ On the other hand, the quoted text is important because it underlines that from the 1920s the ephemeral Gypsies, mainly with industrial jobs (‘copper-master Gypsy’) were replaced by ‘Gypsy’ families that possessed relatively stable social status and lived an established way of life: those ‘outsiders’ who attempt to express their desire to become integrated via supporting public goals (‘donation’). We must emphasize that despite the establishment of a compact ethnic community, the size of ‘Gypsy’ population between 1920 and 1990 remained lower than that of the recipient ‘Hungarian’ main population – members of the two communities, according to their different structural positions, have always lived in relative isolation from each other.

During the time of economic recession following the collapse of communism this situation changed. In the 1980s, after the collapse of the socialist industry, the return of unemployed Gypsies to the village, who had low income and poor vocational skills, had grown rapidly. Due to this and the fast natural population growth the size of ‘Gypsy’ ethnic group became remarkable by the end of the 1990s. Parallel to this, since the 1970s, the aging native ‘Hungarian’ population whose active and well-qualified members had gradually withdrawn from the agriculture industry. The intensive transformation of the ethnical-demographic structure created a new interethnic relationship.

³³ In the village’s first register, dated between 1844 and 1910 there can be found only two records proving Gypsy presence in the village: a) the baptism of Johanna Lakatos, parents: Ferenc Lakatos, Julianna Rostás, Circumstances: both of them are ‘Gypsy’, Religious beliefs: Helvetian religion, Place of living: Kispalád, God-fathers and God-mothers: Ádám Gergely, Éva Pika. b) Johanna Lakatos, female, legal (!), parents: József Lakatos, Helvetian religion. „Copper-master”. Attention must be paid to the circumstance that there is only one small Gypsy clan with the name Lakatos in Kispalád that – according to the genealogical data – came to the village during the 70’s, from Ózd. It means that the continuity of the Gypsy clan mentioned in the earliest records cannot be proven with the help of the current available historical sources. Source: The Register of Helvetian Ecclesia of Kis Palád 1840., Baptismal Register, a) date of record, page no.: 22nd of March, 1844., 12.; b) date of record, page no.: 2nd of December, 1852., 36.

³⁴ The Golden Book of The Reformed Church of Kispalád since 1910.

³⁵ ‘This 79 250 K, according to the decision of the Presbytery, the results of the requests to every household announced from in the church pulpit, taking into consideration the noble purpose and the material situation of the congregation the sum is not big, though, but comforting that till now there are in our church who donate to the house of their God over the obligatory amounts, within the limits of their material and spiritual power and gifts, moreover, it disgraces the richest ungenerous ones that for the covering of the enormous expenses not only the permanent inhabitants state servants with different religious beliefs but even *the lowest class of people*, so called *mud-workers* while donating have exemplary expressed their noble feelings as being Reformed! Let therefore them be praised and as generous donors let them be written in the record of the Favoring God!’ [stressing in italics are from me – B.S.] As a comparison, according to the data of the mentioned source on the given date among the 22 donators János István police staff sergeant also donated 1000 coronas, József Király gendarme staff sergeant 500, Ignác Demjén gendarme 250, Elek Orosz gendarme 250 coronas, István János gendarme staff sergeant, and the preacher 10.000 coronas. Source: Register of the Ref. Church of Kispalád since 1910, 10.

³⁶ According to the collective remembrance, all three families were settled down in the village by the Reformed preacher of the village (‘Pastor Tóth brought them in, this is how they have multiplied’). Ferenc Tóth, as the historical data says, was the only middle-landlord in the settlement between the two World Wars: in total he had 272 cadastral lands. Source: The Sociography of Kispalád. Edited by: Ferenc Tóth, Reformed Preacher, President of the Free Educational Committee of the village (manuscript).

The main point here is that the ‘Gypsy’ constituting an *migrant (allochthon) minority* – through its common lifestyle exercises, acts, social norms, traditions, etc. – have developed into a community, which participates in structuring the settlement’s usual ‘reality’ and this necessarily leads to a devaluation of status of the *receiving (autochthon)* ‘Hungarian’ majority who had previously been identified as referential population.³⁷

Due to the ethnic-demographic and socio-structural transformations in the settlement the recipient ‘Hungarian’ community found itself in a situation of minority that eventually led to the dissolution of the village’s previous hierarchical social order: the traditional patterns of Hungarian-Gypsy coexistence – under the changed structural circumstances – have gradually lost their force. In this case repeatedly drawing the borderlines between the ‘stranger’ and the ‘own’ and the redefinition of the uncertain phenomenon of ‘Gypsy’ and ‘non-Gypsy’ turned out to be a practical tool of protection of social stability for both communities.

To dissolve the potential conflict deriving from the transformed interethnic relations the local population called for the help of the historical experience of ‘ethnicized’ forms of social differentiation: the recall of thoughts about the ‘old’, ‘past’, ‘onetime’ world of village and the historical connotations embedded in category of Gypsy seemed to provide enough fundament for both communities to strengthen their ‘own’ group-identity and describe their perceptions about the transformations. As a result, the discourses engaged in the Hungarian-Gypsy differentiation are closely interlocked with the problems of temporality, i.e. the divergent historical experience of the two communities. Therefore, prior to completing a detailed anthropological analysis of the ‘ethnic’ aspects of social coexistence it seems necessary - to an extent of a few important contexts – to analyze the historic utterance that penetrate the two groups’ everyday identification practices.

3. ‘My Gypsy’ – the power aspect of the ethnic discussion

When examining the historical aspects that penetrate the discourses on identities one should begin with the general observation: in everyday explanations the episodes and actions of the ‘past’, as well as any fragmental narrative contents usually articulate themselves through a certain perspective (focalizer).³⁸ This narrative focus on Kispalád is not else than a certain political aspect of the discourse of the ‘past’, i.e. ‘the’ power and the relation towards it, which affects the historical past not only of the ‘Gypsies’ but also that of the entire village. This political point of view defines the historical manner of speaking at least on three different levels (structural, topical, and categorical).

On the structural level the relation towards the power defines the orientation in time itself, more precisely, the manner of remembrance. Therefore, special attention must be paid to the fact that the memory of the story-tellers in Kispalád differentiates the time to smaller time-zones³⁹ not on a chronological base, but alongside power categories. This is pointed out also by the very fact that the everyday story-tellers distinguish between the time-horizons, being established in the remembrance – e.g. the ‘close’ and ‘far’ past of the village, or the ‘past’ or the ‘today’s’ present of the Gypsy’ who live in a certain settlement – mainly depending upon the size of the power belonging to the persons in the historical narratives. The discursive history of power relations, of course, is a sophisticated and complex problem and its detailed analysis would not fit within the frames of my research. To summarize this we can say that in case of Kispalád the discursive history of the power ranges from the beginnings of the expansive and outward power exercised upon the ‘body’ of Gypsy’, which is to be seen in the past, till to the enforcement of gestures containing mainly a symbolic and limited gestures, in other words, till the time when the narrative power-exercising becomes dominant that is to be observed in present times.⁴⁰

³⁷ The next narrative, presenting the consequences of structural transformations between the two groups through the changes in action possibilities of two generations, refers to it as well: ‘Now it is different from that of *what our fathers said how it was before*, that, yes, *there was X number of Gypsy*, they went to he bar or anywhere else they wanted, you know. Well, the young men came together, started making trouble, but they were pushed down in no time. What we have now? Date to say a word and you’ll be kicked-and-beaten-apart! So, we [‘the Hungarians’] are the minority, they [‘the Gypsies’] are the majority.’ Sz. K., date of the interview: 16.07.2007.

³⁸ Paul Atkinson: The Representation of the Narrative and the Social Action. [A narratíva és a társadalmi cselekvés reprezentációja.] 121-150. In: Thomka Beáta (editor): Narratives 3. Narratives of the Culture. Kijárat Kiadó: Budapest, 1999. 123.

³⁹ Paul Ricoeur: Memory, History and Forgetting. [Emlékezet – felejtés – történelem.] Thomka Beáta (editor): Narratives 3. Narratives of the Culture. Kijárat Kiadó: Budapest, 1999. Budapest.54.

⁴⁰ Cf. Foucault: Custody and Punishment. Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1990.

This power aspect although can be experienced on the topical and categorical level of discourses expressing interethnic relations. The textual material collected during the fieldwork contains, for instance, stories talking about the history of social and economic institutes (e.g. the Hungarian population in the past, episodes that represent their absolute demographic, economic, etc. advantages) through which the ‘Hungarians’ exercised their power in one or another way. The narratives related to this can be drawn into two large topical classes. The stories connected with the ‘far past’⁴¹ of the ‘Gypsy’ population in Kispalád, presenting the asymmetric (client-patron) feudally originated relations between the two groups establish one separate class, and the stories dealing with the genesis of the village’s ‘Gypsy’ population. (The common characteristic feature of the two classes that in both of them the same remembrance of the ‘far past’ opens up where the social and economic primacy of ‘Hungarians’ becomes highlighted: the ‘Hungarians’ provided the ‘Gypsy’ with the necessary work possibilities, they predominate their labor force, time, and they as well initiated the settlement of the ‘Gypsy’ in Kispalád, etc.) The formal relationship between the two groups, more precisely, the normative aspects of this relationship are marked on categorical level both by the ‘Hungarian’ and the ‘Gypsy’ story-tellers.

To this refers the fact that the story-tellers when talking about the ‘Gypsy’ of the ‘far past’ – further the ‘Gypsy’ of alterity⁴² – use mostly possessive or passive grammatical formulas, i.e. reflecting to the certain power relationships between them, as the following two narrations illustrate it:

(1) ‘S3: My father got a job at the preacher Tóth, he worked as a shepherd, and the preacher told him many times that, you know Józsi, *I brought Károly in the village, he is my Gypsy*’. And uncle Károly worked long at the preacher. *He worked there until the winter had come. He even died like that, working, throwing the bundles on the farm-wagon, he was a horse-rake, he fell on his back and was left down on the farm-wagon. But he was very diligent, that uncle Károly. He did everything that the mayor of the village imagined...* He said, Karcsi (Károly), now you must do it... *and he made it, he never said no.* B1: *He took every task. Ohh, if just each of them could be like him. They would have long become Hungarians.* B.S.: *Would they have become Hungarians?* B1: *Oh, not real Hungarians, but their nature, the environments.* Does any German ever become Hungarian, doesn’t he? B3: *No one could say he was a Gypsy man when he put on nice clothes.*⁴³

(2) ‘O.E.: My father was born in ’24, and he was like that, so... ehm, well, he always worked among Hungarian people, and he was a farmer, he had land, he had everything and all he had was *managed* by the Hungarians. *They made, that people must work hard, domestic animals must be kept, harvest is needed, and many other things.* V.T.: *Why, do you think that the Hungarians are smarter?* They were not so clever either because even *the Hungarians were quite silly too, but they managed my father, they managed him.*⁴⁴

The first (1) story presents a ‘Hungarian’, the second (2) one tells a ‘Gypsy’ historical narrative. The common characteristic feature of the two is that both of them illustrate the ‘far past’ of the local social relations, i.e. the times when power existed in traditional, codified forms. In this respect the first narration represents the person *who has* the ‘Gypsy’, i.e. the one *who owns* the power to exploit the human force.

⁴¹ Edmund Husserl: *Zuer Phänomenologie des inneren Zeitbewusstseins*. Rudolf Boehm (editor.) Husserliana: Gesammelte Werkw Edmund Husserl, X.köt. Den Haag

⁴² The ‘Gypsy’ of otherness’ or ‘alterity’ is an ethnic category referring to the Gypsy-image of the local society. I use this term to refer to a certain kind of ‘Gypsy’, the one who is ‘subordinate to power’. The local identity-discourse has a certain characteristic feature, i.e. it projects the individual as it is not available in its completeness in the ‘present’, more precisely, it can be found within the frames of an *imagined reality*. Based on this supposition, the ‘Gypsy of alterity’ is a specific image referring to the Gypsy of ‘past times’ the connotations of which can be understood for the members of the everyday world, first of all, through the divergences in behavior, lifestyle, traditions, etc. of the ‘modern’ Gypsy, i.e. through its ‘unlikeness’ (‘alterity’). Attention must be paid, though, in the public opinion in Kispalád the everyday actors often connect to the narrative of the ‘Gypsy of past times’ a largely different meaning to the analysis of which I do not turn in this research. In the ethnic self-representation of the Gypsy, for instance, the positive image of the ‘working Gypsy’ as a hired industrial laborer is actively present. The remembrance of the ‘old’ Gypsy of the 1970s’ socialism who not only became independent from the job possibilities offered by the local ‘farmers’ but through *the* status of ‘worker’ he was able to gain a social position similar to that of the ‘Hungarians’ – irrespective of the village’s unequal social circumstances. (I express my gratitude to Margit Feischmidt for the latter observation.)

⁴³ Group interview no. 2.; date of the interview: 2008. 08. 06.

⁴⁴ O.E., date of the interview: 2008.09.03.

But the second story introduces the person who, due to this power, gives sense to this unconscious human force (body), who motivates the ‘Gypsy’ to conduct sensible acts. We should see, though, that in these stories words like ‘my Gypsy’ or ‘they managed him’ are the specific categories to name the differences, and they do not confront phenomena of the civilized vs. non-civilized, conscious vs. unconscious (the Hungarians ‘were quite silly’, too): they can be understood within frames of consensual and codified power relations that existed between the ‘Hungarians’ and ‘non-Hungarians’. In that formalized power environment where the ‘old’ Gypsies worked for the Hungarian ‘lordships’, ‘priests’, ‘brigade managers’, ‘big lords’, ‘politicians’, ‘kulak’s’.⁴⁵ In this respect, the given discourse aims at creating a ‘past’ where the inter-ethnic relations are hierarchic and the members of one social group (the ‘Hungarians’) exercise control over the other social group (the ‘Gypsies’).

The two extracts of dialogues explicitly interpret the power relations between ‘Hungarians’ and the ‘Gypsies’. They obviously refer to those normative criteria and regulative principles that regulate the connections⁴⁶ existing in the ‘historical past’ between the power relations and the subject of the power.

The history of these relationships, according to Foucault, at the end, are the same as the history of the discourses on the ‘the human body and its force, its usefulness and obedience, its division and submission’.⁴⁷ This phenomenon, in a wider sense, I will call power pact.

On the implicit level, the above narrative expresses also the question of ‘who is the ‘Gypsy’?’ from the point of view of the story-tellers who position themselves in ethnic terms as ‘Hungarian’ and ‘Gypsy’. All this refers to the already mentioned power pact containing another referential pact that hardly ever could be isolated from the prior one and in which the participants of historical discourse define exactly what it means *to be* ‘Gypsy’ while one adopts to the codified power relations. This observation motivates further to give a definition of the characteristics of a field of view marked as the ‘Gypsy’ of alterity’, i.e. to clarify the referential meanings connected to the phenomenon of ‘Gypsy’ living in the ‘old times’, in the ‘past’.

4. “He did have a slave soul” - The Gypsy of ‘alterity’

In order to clarify the given domain let us start with a very educative case. During the fieldwork in Kispalád I often used photos taken among the Gypsies of Péterfalva⁴⁸, a settlement on the other side of the border, so I could stimulate specific situations of dialogues. This could be justified, among others, by the fact that the genealogical and kinship system of the Gypsies in Péterfalva are interwoven with the clan society, therefore, it seemed to be logical that identifying the relatives, familiars with the help of the photos can become the best way to create the technical conditions of a more intimate anthropological environment. Notwithstanding the original goal, during the fieldwork the Gypsy-photos from Péterfalva become a certain kind of projective technique for an identity-discourse in Kispalád: in the speeches of the locals the given pictures and visual objects made it possible to define the meaning of the ‘own’ and the ‘stranger’, the ‘modern’ and ‘past’ local Gypsies, in other words, the meaning of ‘modernity’ and ‘alterity’.

⁴⁵ „O.E.: *the Hungarians liked my mother and my father very much because my mother regularly went to the Hungarian women: to weave, to wash, to iron, to clean up; to the big landlord; they liked her very much. And to the wife of the preacher, Tibor Tóth, and big brigade managers, important persons to whom she went [to work]. Politicians, landlords. Endréné Oláh, and my mother bathed the child of his wife*’ O. E., date of the interview: 2008.09.03.

⁴⁶ Foucault: *Custody and Punishment... op. cit.* 35.

⁴⁷ Foucault: *Custody and Punishment... op. cit.* 36-37.

⁴⁸ Péterfalva (official name: Tiszapéterfalva) is a settlement nearby the Tisza River with a population of 1200; it is situated in the borderline region of Ukraine, appr. 9-10 km-re a Tiszabecs – Tiszaújlak between Hungary and Ukraine and 27 km the city of Nagyszőlős, the centre of the district. Among the 1200 persons of the village’s population there a group of Gypsies of 117 people. For the detailed analysis of the ethnic and religious identity of these Gypsies of Péterfalva see: Borbély Sándor: *Transforming border-signs – the ethnic and religious identity of these Gypsies of Péterfalva*. In: *Regio*, 2007. (18th year) no. 1. 51-83.

One time we watched a few pictures with the Csaba's, a modern, bourgeois Gypsy family in Kispalád,⁴⁹ that illustrated the 'non-modern, non-civilian' Gypsies of Péterfalva village: 'We are *beautiful* children, we are beautiful *white* kids!' – said Csaba. 'Daddy! Look, Viola, come over here! ('On the picture they are') barefoot... and the wall of the house ('is of adobe brick, in ruins'), wow, just like the Indians. Smoking that Priluki (the 'non-filtered', the 'cheapest' cigarette), ohh, ahm, this is a good, good picture: this is it. Viola: Poor... Csaba: This is very *original*. *Original Gypsy, not like these well-clothed, well-kept Gypsies, they are the original, subservient Gypsies*. Just like the times, you know, the *times of our grandfathers*, when the Gypsy was only *good for*, was only *waiting for* to go and to work something. And even my father-in-law had that thing, he didn't work at home... no matter how hard-working he was that he worked harder than five young men... and instead *he waited the moment when the Hungarians call him to work*. He had no desire to find a good job – *he had that subservient spirit in himself*... never like working at home, *he wished to be called and go to work for the Hungarians*. He always said *when he didn't go anywhere that they did not call him: 'I don't know what to do, I don't know.'*

He could have much to do, so much that he could get crippled of working; I tell you, he was so *hard-working* that he could work more than the five of us, but no matter, he did not ever work at home. And I see the same on him ('the Gypsy on the picture'), I see that he is a *nice working man, but he doesn't do his own*, B.S. And is it different here? Cs.: Here it is already different, *our generation is even more different from us, this generation, this is not like that*. Well, you can see it by their houses, the yards, the clothing, well, we would never put this clothes on, not even for working. *But he is ready to go even to the village being clothed like this, isn't he?*⁵⁰

This identity-discourse is a retrospective look-back is the perspective of which is embedded in the time-structure of the *past*, from where Csaba looks at the present of the Gypsies of Péterfalva as the *one-time* himself, the same as himself in a time of his own historical past (the Gypsy living in *the times of his grandfather*). The first question though what was the 'one-time himself' like, what socio-cultural and lifestyle characteristics, what types of behavior etc. are in force when the remembrance describes the 'Gypsy' of alterity', i.e. himself the 'original Gypsy' of Kispalád?

Based on the interviews completed in the settlement, it seems that the collective memory associates this Gypsy-type, first of all, with the 'poverty', with social and existential disadvantages. The depth of this poverty in Csaba's explanation can be described only if it is embedded into the farthest past imaginable, the pre-cognitive times ('the Indians' imaginary times). The oldest Gypsies, the members of the generation that grew up between the two world wars, who, therefore, in a certain moment of their self-history explanation consider themselves 'original' Gypsies, talk about their childhood expressed in hunger-narratives.⁵¹

⁴⁹ The analysis below implicitly intends to say that the connotation of the expression 'Gypsy' of alterity' is reduced to the analysis of the particular point of view of civilized Gypsy classes in Kispalád, and, as a result, we exclude from the research the perspective of the entire Gypsy population in the village. Partially this is true because my research does not analyze in details the aspect of the mentioned group, even if the largest part of the 'Gypsies in Kispalád' (app. 90% – my estimations) are families marginalized in economic, social, cultural, etc. terms ('poor Gypsies'). The reason behind it is a rational persuasion and not a reductive approach. Namely, the interpretative horizon of the village's multiply disadvantaged Gypsy families is not significant from the aspect of the inter-ethnic relations and the discourses projecting them. The primary social relations of the 'poor Gypsies' intra-ethnic and not inter-ethnic; their everyday life practices – during the everyday meeting circumstances – can be unambiguously distinguished from that of the 'Hungarian' inhabitants. Simultaneously this means that in their case the local society do not apply separate linguistic or symbolic border-creating measures. My analysis focuses on the 'civilian' elements of the Gypsy population in Kispalád because the local identity-discourses are intended to define and mark the *differences* of the 'modern' Gypsy families representing 'Hungarian' values and behaviors, and not to fulfill the classification of obvious differences of the marginalized social groups.

⁵⁰ A. Cs. (born in 1967), date of the conversation: 2009.07.20.

⁵¹ Elder B.S.: 'There were 10 siblings of us. I stood there at the Hungarian woman's place and that clock was ticking... the round clock, and I told her, give me, please, a little bread, she told me to go home and that they did not have any either. I did not leave, listen to me, she stood up, there was some home-baked bread, not maize-bread, but it was a big round bread baked in a furnace; who could afford it, had land, had crops, everything, and sliced a piece of bread, but she sliced in the middle of it, not only the peel of it; oh, thank you, how long I have waited for this fresh bread! I brought it home, there were ten of us, we tore it into ten parts. And another story, about Malvin, my older sister... we had some... because my father often went to harvest and he had wheat, it was in a sack, he put it on his shoulders to Becs. They screwed the sack a bit so that there was some wheat at the front and the back of it too. He brought it to Becs. And we had nothing to eat. Malvin, my sibling, found a

These stories, however, being alive only in the past of the remembrances, cannot have any intentionality on the present, except for the act of remembrance, because they are the attributes of the 'old world' (*'long ago they were very poor, now they are not'*): these form of poverty are not only unimaginable for the nowadays' younger Gypsy generation or even for Csaba's bourgeois social class, they cannot understand its phenomenon.⁵²

Then again the 'Gypsy' of alterity' is 'subservient', has a subordinate position. Moreover, according to the cited text, his entire being is constructed by the dependence from the powerful ones because he is unable to exist outside of the asymmetric relationship, i.e. *'the Hungarians call him to work'*, that he *'desires'* this subordinate condition without which he himself would only be a functionless, 'senseless' body. In this codified form of the power of diligence, being 'hard-working' presents the measuring unit of of the 'Gypsy'. This 'self-devotion', this 'self-offer' grants him the only moral set-up that is available to him. (Let us not forget about discourse of the 'original Gypsy' used by the Hungarians, where uncle Károly is *the 'good Gypsy'* who used to be 'the worker of the Hungarians', who *even died like that, working, throwing the bundles on the farm-wagon, he was a horse-rake, he fell on his back and was left down on the farm-wagon'*.)

In the stories of the citizens of the settlement about the collective past the 'Gypsy' of alterity' is often associated with the ignorance: 'after '45 everybody was cleverer, smarter, but before those times they were very foolish, uneducated, they had no knowledge... no maps at all', in other words, the old Gypsies 'didn't even know the months, the time'.⁵³

In common communicative situation the 'Gypsy' of alterity' is the type that the Hungarians 'love', who is granted the gift of a certain kind of control-free, subordination-free condition due to accepting the power pact. He is the one who wins trust and comfort in the world of behavioral and lifestyle norms of the Hungarians ('I gave him the key, go Karcsi...'). We must see, though, these types of affirmations towards the 'old', 'ancient' Gypsy' could be preserved only if the adherence to the power pact is tested, reinforced continuously by the parties. (Putting the Gypsy's honesty to the test – for instance, the narrative of the Gypsy' who finds and returns the lost money – is an inherent and frequent incidence.)⁵⁴

In the second part of the text articulated by Csaba the definition of the 'me' is being completed in the 'present' time of the moment of talking: *'This our generation, [...] this generation, this is not like that. Well, you can see it by their houses, the yards, the clothing, well, we would never put this clothes on, not even for working. But he [the Gypsy' of the far past' B.S.] is ready to go even to the village being clothed like this, isn't he? This discursive point is very important from our point of view.*

big piece of potato under the bed, and she put it in the... fire, the fireplace and when it was fried the potato, its peel was very smutty and she kept on cleaning it and licking it until it became white.' Elder B.S. (born in 1936) date of interview: 2008.07.27.

⁵² The next abstract of a conversation illustrates this properly; here one member from the elder generation (elder B.S.) and others (B.T., B.S., Jr) from the younger one negotiate in a discussion about the 'old', the 'poor' Gypsy world:

'Elder B.S. So you need from me something like an 'self-history'? B.T. About the past world, where you worked, what you did. Elder B.S.: And what I ate. I ate 'málépegácsa'. I ate the big long fodder-carrot. B.S. Jr: What was that what you ate? What was it like, the ... B.T. Málépegácsa... BS. Jr: No, no, they said something that needed to be thrashed. Elder B.S.: 'Paré'? B.S. Jr: *Not the thing you thrashed. I do not know what it was... something from the dog, they explained something.* Elder B.S. 'Málépegácsát!' B.S.: *No!* Eld. B.S.: The sunflower's hat, that is in the mill where, the large round cake from which they pressed the baking oil into that press. BS. Jr.: *Yes, this is what I mean...* This is what I mean. Eld. B.S.: In the millhouse it was flowing... the warm water, and we stood barefoot in the water. And there is that grass, it is called 'paréj'... B. S. Jr.: *Plantain?* Eld. B.S.: Oh, no. It was like the savoy cabbage, it has that hard part, and they tore it off from it. We went to work and got pig intestines or a half thigh, rancid meat.' Date of interview: 2008. 07.25.

⁵³ O.E, date of interview: 2008.09.03.

⁵⁴ 'V.T.: They thought ('the Hungarians') that I steal, you know? They put me to the test, you know, they were sneaky ('sly'), just as the Hungarians ('usually'). They put, they threw the money under the bed, so to test whether I take it. It was there where the small shop stands now, Kis Margit's husband had an office there. And the money was put there, thrown there. I lifted up the carpet to clean it from the dust, and I said, oh, my God: these people have a lot of money, there are even under the bed... and I took it out from there. But they left not a small amount there, at that time a thousand forints, wow! Even two forints! Not forint, there was 'pengő' at that time, or what. They laid it down there, I collected nicely and put it on the kitchen board. When they arrived home, Aunt Margit, I told them: 'Wow, Aunt Margit, you have a lot of money.' She asked: 'Why?' I said they had money even under the bed? I was put to the test. I said, look, what money you have thrown away. They laughed. She said: it is Endre, when he is drunk. But it wasn't true. – Thank you, Teri, for taking care of it, alright?' V. T. (born in 1936), date of the interview: 2008.08.30.

We can see that the subject of this manifestation reflects to the own 'me' from an outer position of the fictional past 'me', that was expressed in the first part of the text. In the horizon of the past the subject of manifestation identifies himself through refusal of the previous referential pact, i.e. he projects his actual 'me' as if it was 'another' person. (*This generation, this is already not like that.*) According to this the ethnic identity, more precisely, the present day 'Gypsy' can be understood via something, as it is *something*.⁵⁵ This *something* is not else than the story-teller who defines the phenomenon of identity not via similarity, but on the contrary: via strictly demarcating himself from the past 'me', using semantic distinctions. The 'me' which is manifested in the presented narrative is 'stranger' to himself because the given subject recognizes his own radical historicity. Moreover, while defining his actual identity, he emphasizes fractures and discontinuities (through underlining the difference between the 'original' and the 'present Gypsy') that had been undergone within the 'me'.

The approach expressed in the narrative draws our attention not only to the role of 'strangeness' in constituting identity, but also to the radical transformation of the position of the 'Gypsy' in the local community. In order to achieve a better understanding of the above mentioned we must refer to certain aspects of the complex changes that took place in the settlement. In Kispalád's economic, social, and structural transformation between 1985-1995 two different tendencies were present that had radically opposite effects. On the one hand, the re-rustication⁵⁶ of the Hungarian families could be observed.

In the local society it enforced the restoration of several economic patterns (e.g.: extended families as economic units, the continuity of capital and agricultural know-how throughout generations, etc.), which were widespread prior to the times of collectivization. Among the traditional elements of this economic mentality the revitalization of the previous hierarchic, structural-functional relationships between Gypsies and Hungarians can be found: in work management, i.e. 'the treatment towards the Gypsies' numerous techniques of exercising power that were originated from feudal times, techniques, which were considered sustainable and acceptable positions towards the 'Gypsies of alterity'.

In the beginning of the 90's besides the process of re-rustication of the Hungarian population in Kispalád another tendency could be observed, namely the process of becoming civilians among certain elements of local Gypsy villagers. An important part to this was the fact that social classes concerned by 'the process of becoming civilians'⁵⁷ made attempts to ruin the previous behavioral patterns and habits that ruled the inter-ethnic relations symbolically, or at least to question the ethnic roles and status-requirements existing in the earlier power pacts.

⁵⁵ For the philosophical importance of the word 'like' and its role in the process of experience formation see: Tengelyi, László: The Duplication of Like-Structure. [A mint-struktúra megkettőződése.] In: idem.: Experience and Expression. op. cit. 37-46.

⁵⁶ The border-line Hungarian rural communities that undergone a re-structurization in the beginning of the 90s' in most of the cases successfully benefited from the collapse of Soviet economy on the other side of the border., For instance, the illegal trade with the agricultural equipment (machines, spare-parts, chemicals, etc.) from the kolkhoz [collective farm in the Soviet Union] of Péterfalva became a certain generator of economic procedures in Kispalád after the collapse of the communism. In the time when our fieldworker was present on the settlement, there were 12 landlord families in Kispalád who fulfilled economic activity on rented and re-privatized lands. These families carry out intensive agricultural production on lands varying from 20 to 150 acres, and, in addition, market gardening. The profile and character of family agriculture factories have existed under times of changing tendencies: as a result of a generational shift, the owners managing the factories become agricultural investors. The new generation has a better know-how of agriculture and tends to behave in a profit-oriented way (they establish economic relations, advertise on a regional level). They complete themselves only those agricultural work-phases that can be done with the help of machines and hire foreign labor force (Ukrainian migrants, local Gypsies) to complete those requiring physical labor. They consciously train themselves in the sphere of modern agriculture, they possess capital and power, manage the village's local inner economic mechanisms and distribution/redistribution procedures.

⁵⁷ Kovács, Imre distinguishes between the so called 'real' and 'possible' processes of transforming into middle-class. The 'possible' one is a mass symptom accompanying agricultural commodity production and refers to those who were able, using the incomes of production, to rise from the living standards of the poorest and most disadvantaged social classes and, thank to these incomes, were able to preserve this status. The 'real' one is a phenomenon positioned under the previous one but it still involves large quantities of people. In this case the middle-class position is coupled mainly with values and certain generally appreciated patterns of consumption and behavior. Csité, András. Debates and Theories Concerning the Process of Formation of Middle-class. [Polgárosodás-elméletek és polgárosodás-viták.] In: Szociológiai szemle, 1997. no. 3. 117-138. (source: <http://www.mtapti.hu/mszt/19973/czako.htm>, downloaded: 2011.07.25.)

In the process of mental, structural, economic, etc. transformation and modernization of the Gypsy community of Kispalád surely an important role can be granted to the following condition: the canonization of norm-denying behavior in the region along the border.⁵⁸ The different forms of smuggling (in Gypsy language ‘banditism’ or ‘gangsterism’) have become widespread and, from a previously stigmatized and seen only as ‘transitional’ practice, over the last decades it hardened into a long-term and model-like lifestyle that was highly appreciated among the population of the regions along the borders.

Without paying more attention to the analysis of this symptom we should say that the standardization of illegal economic activities have largely affected the social system of the concerned communities because its previous inner hierarchy have undergone a structural change according to new status-criteria (the clan, religious, mastership, etc. competencies were shifted by others, like braveness, recklessness, personal success, etc.). Among others, due to this the mainly closed positional system of the rural society has gradually melted and opened up to adopt the peripheral and previously marginalized ethnic groups. On the other hand – this is an aspect not less important – these economic activities certainly created real existential frameworks. Certain classes of the local Gypsies living in villages have also joined the process of becoming civilians, even if they lack precedents and historical background.⁵⁹ As of the consequences of becoming civilian (‘development’, ‘improvement’, ‘climbing up’, ‘cutting out’) during the last decade several Gypsy families in Kispalád have attempted to re-structure the behavioral patterns of the local community and to destroy the social pacts regulating the inter-ethnic relationships.

The internalization of values of the ‘Hungarian’ population could be seen as a proof of this: over the last fifteen years the developing Gypsies in Kispalád have learnt modern lifestyle practices (two-children family-model, accumulation of capital, moderate consumption behavior, etc.) and rationally regulated economic strategies (gardening). They live in definitely comfortable houses and have sample-like living conditions, as for their clothing and consumption, they follow the value-preferences of the non-Gypsies, besides, they utilize the settlements public and private (‘Hungarian’) spaces with confidence.⁶⁰ In their everyday practices they also make effective and conscious attempts to minimize the negative stereotypes connected to the Gypsies (‘dirtiness’, ‘dirt’, ‘poverty’, etc.). But this means that the group becomes visible not only in physical but even in metaphoric sense: from the state of anonymity the ‘new Gypsy’ obtains a status of the ‘stranger’ who ‘requires answers’⁶¹, becomes the inevitable ‘other’ which the Hungarians must take into ‘consideration’. (Prior to it the ‘Gypsy of alterity’ used to be invisible: lived in segregated spaces, in other words, he could be seen as visible for the ‘Hungarians’, paradoxically, only in negative scenes: the consideration that ‘he *isn’t* in the village’ or that no one knows ‘what he does *out there*’.

⁵⁸ The civilization of the Gypsies in Kispalád is related not only with the black economic practices, also across the state-borders, but they are as well related to the simultaneous presence of several factors driving the transformations. The continuous presence of small churches in Kispalád since 1970 and their affect on the mentality, also, the Gypsies’ involvement in the agricultural production and maintaining complex agricultural strategies (roles of entrepreneurship, family and social aids, usury, etc.) can be evaluated as factors that have facilitated the transformation and modernization of the local society.

⁵⁹ In our usage of the phenomenon ‘Gypsy civilisation’ is a collective noun for change of life-forms that have developed under complex and changing strategies, which, in case of our settlement, seems to have a heterogenic character and an option to divide according to ethnic signs. In the Gypsy community of Kispalád there are clans (‘Virág [‘Flower’] clan, ‘gangs’) whose civilization process are not connected to illegal economic strategies (e.g. smuggling) but it is realized due to mobility exercises via their extended family networks (mixed marriages, civil professions).

⁶⁰ The Hungarian inhabitants until the mid 1990s’ had ‘protected’ the village’s central symbolically valuable spaces (‘the church area’, the ‘centre’) against Gypsies who intended to move and live close to it. As a typical and still functioning method of this protection: the Hungarian owners bought the parcels from the ‘Hungarian’ families who moved away or died out, doing so, they having prevented the ‘Gypsies moving’ nearby them. As a result of such an intensive protection in favor of the private spaces in the settlement, there can be found several two-person households that possess’ two or more land parcels. ‘Cs. E.: They went to sell the house... and there was an agreement that the Gypsy will come here; the yard, garden, everything is so close [‘closely built’ – B.S.] to each other here, shall we watch the Gypsies all the time? We are not racist or homophobes... but anyway: let’s not allow the Gypsy in here! Ehh, I asked my father-in-law how much money we had got? Everybody... let’s collect the money... 3 millions and 7 hundred thousands and we bought it. But do not dare to give it to the Gypsy!’ Cs. E., date of interview: 2008. 10.23.

⁶¹ Cf. Bernhard, Waldenfels: An Answer to what is stranger... *op. cit.*

Further on, I call this regulative rule visibility pact.) As I already mentioned before, the process of becoming civilian required the re-establishment of the conceptual frames preparing the understanding of stranger-perception in ethnic discourses because the majority of the above-mentioned gestures do not comply fully with the expression ‘Gypsy of alterity’.

Turning back to Csaba’s identity-narrative, we must admit that in the second half of his story the very core of conceptual shift reinterpreting the status of ‘Gypsies’ opens up: the annulations of the field of reality defined by previous pacts (power, referential, invisibility) can be observed. The quote below gives an illustration of circumstances under which the pacts have been deleted and of sense of behavioral differences between the ‘Gypsies of alterity’ and the ‘modern Gypsy’:

‘T.T.: The fellows in those old times were ready to go and clean *the toilet of anyone*. If you say someone that there is a *fat work*, come and clean my toilet, well, they could even get into fighting. He would beat you, so big *offence* this is. And the Gypsies earlier did not work for money at the places of Hungarians. There was my mother... she went to the Hungarian woman, we waited for her all they long, and she got the meat only in the evening. *But the meat was taken from it, only the bone was left, and she got it for her work. Now everybody works for money.* If a Hungarian says that he pays 2000 HUF and you treat my cucumbers with chemicals, the Gypsy says 3000. The Gypsies are *not servants anymore*, you see, they *command*.’⁶² The transformation of the position concerning the life experience of Gypsies, i.e. the substance of changing the position of the ‘Gypsies’ within the discourse is caught in three dimensions:

a) on the one hand, from a moral point of view. In the first half of the narration there is a definition that undertaking unclean tasks, i.e. ‘cleaning the toilet’ – since human or animal ‘fecal’, ‘intestine’, or even ‘carcass’⁶³, eventually can be connoted with ‘non-human’ – as belonging to the specific responsibilities of the ‘old Gypsies’, are not only unimaginable for the ‘modern Gypsies’, but even his identification with it would question his moral existence. That would be simply an ‘offence’.

b) on the other hand, from a rational dimension. From this point of view the conclusion is that in the given village the economic gestures possess a rational exchange-value, i.e. irrespective to which ethnicity one belongs. This means that unlike the ‘Gypsies of old times’ who worked for the ‘leftovers’ of the Hungarians the ‘modern Gypsies’ work for their money.

c) finally, from an aspect of power-theory. At this point the text argues that to become overwhelmed by the power of Hungarians is not necessarily an inevitable circumstance. The Gypsy is an autonomous human being who acts in order to exercise his rights and may choose from following or refusing the regulative norms of the power: he may attempt to inverse the fixed asymmetric social roles (‘the Gypsies are not subservient, they *command*’).

The 2. figure summarizes the edifications of the examples provided so far, i.e. the important mechanisms, the general organizing principals of ethnic identity, and the theoretical-methodological consequences drawn from them. This shows that, while creating inter-ethnic relationships on individual or group-level and conducting self-identification actions, the members of ‘Gypsy’ and ‘Hungarian’ groups of the settlement, initiate referents that fall outside the reach of situated actions.⁶⁴ These referents consist of discourse-elements that rise beyond the structure of reality of expressions and are actively separated from the ‘present’. They more likely belong to the time of the ‘far past’, the things that ‘happened’ and ‘had existed’ – in this respect they represent the sphere of *transcendent* phenomena of dialogue situations of any times.

⁶² T.T. (1972), date of interview: 2009.07.20.

⁶³ In Péterfalva the village’s inhabitants even nowadays give the slaughtered pig’s incomprehensible parts (e.g. large intestines) to the Gypsies, as a compensation (for baskets they prepare or their work), also, another generally widespread practice that the local Gypsies are let to take away the sick or dead animals (the ‘carcass’). These gestures in the Hungarians’ everyday discourses are considered as ethnic insignia of *the* ‘Gypsy’s’ symbolic ‘dirtiness’ and his ‘uncivilized state’, and usually became a practical category of social isolation from them. Lacking any empirical data, we can only suggest that similar historical references and economic interrelations stand behind certain categories of the identity-discourse in Kispalád.

⁶⁴ Paul Atkinson draw the attention to the fact that the analysis of place narrative forms possess within the discourses belongs to the unfrequented spheres of researches dealing with ethnographic representations. On this see: *The Narrative and the Social Act ... op. cit.* 121.

In situations advantageous for ethnic identity-building the mentioned historical referents function as the normative prescriptions of meaning-formation and, in the discourses that contribute to definition of identities they play the role of those models or samples that clarify the meaning of the phenomenon of *the* 'Gypsy'.⁶⁵ From this point of view the ethnic/national identity-formation is nothing else than the complexity of conversations where the participants control, define, and finally evaluate the relationships between those historical references of ethnicity that can be considered as models and performative acts taking place in the present. The meaning of the ethnic identity eventually is defined by the persons concerned who choose the *similar* relations between the historically defined ethnic category, i.e. the 'model of ethnicity', and the 'ethnic roles' and exercises that have opposite, synchronous indicators. In this act the recognition, identification, cognitive classification and positioning of the 'own' and the 'stranger' are completed based upon modality, size, degree, direction, etc. of the *similarities* defined by the given situated actions. These similarities comprehend not only to the discontinuities existing between the individuals and groups, but also to the ones existing inside an individual identity.⁶⁶

This is important mainly because the presented phenomenon places the 'ethnicity' into a perspective working in different directions⁶⁷, in which perspective not only the external and/or internal identification practices are in force between the groups – i.e. the question of extensity of the identity –, but also the rift inside the identity, the divergent and contradictory historical experiences defining the own 'me' – i.e. eventually the self-identity's modification in time – can be connected with each other within the frames of one single system.

Seemingly, the presented empirical examples may question the general anthropological assumption that the identity – and in this respect the ethnic identity as well – is the result of the context-relative relation of a subject (the own 'me') and an object (the 'other' beyond him), in which similar and/or differential connotations are formed and fixed through involuntary or voluntary acts. It is easy to see that the reflected human mind during his own rational cognitive activity has a constant connection not only with the 'other' beyond him, but the same counts for his own 'me' that becomes the fundamental source of his stranger-perception. Unfortunately, due to the lack of empirical and theoretical researches we do not know what the exact systematic relationship is like between these two separated horizons of mind. On the base of preliminary researches it is obvious that ego's relationship to himself, i.e. the otherness of the 'own me' and the otherness of the 'other stranger' is not a homologue structure⁶⁸, therefore, their characters, forms, dimensions, and operational principals are different in several respects. We should see, though, that despite the above mentioned morphologic and structural differences both dimensions simultaneously participate in the process of identity-construction.

Based on the above-mentioned we can state that, unlike the *mainstream* understanding of the ethnicity-research, the identity is not a connotation or a knowledge-creating exercise that comes into existence on the border between 'me' and 'not me' during interactions on individual or group-level.

⁶⁵ On phenomenal differences of 'The Double Aspects of Cultural Patterns, the 'for' (something) and the 'to' (something) models' see: Geertz, Clifford: *The Religion as a Cultural System*. [A vallás, mint kulturális rendszer.] In: Nidermüller, Péter (editor): *The Power of Interpretation*. [Az értelmezés hatalma.] 72-118. Osiris, Budapest, 2001: 79-80. Philippe Lejeune, French philosopher uses the categories of model and sample when dealing with autobiographic texts, during the analysis of referential similarity of author-narrator-performer. To my opinion, Lejeune's categories, even if withdrawing from the narrow contextual environment, may provide useful research aspects for the analysis of empirical cases of identity-discourse. Lejeune, Philippe: *The Autobiographical Pact*. [Az önéletrajzi paktum.] 17-46. In: Z. Varga, Zoltán (editor): *Autobiography, Life History, Diary*. [Önéletrás, élettörténet, napló.] L'Harmattan: Budapest, 2003. 38.

⁶⁶ Though, less explained in its details, Richard Jenkins comes to similar conclusions when he divides the ethnic identity into two independent and simultaneously inter-reacting elements in an analytical way: the name (nominal element) and the experience (virtual element). The author recognizes the difference between them as follows: the prior may change even if the latter remains unchanged (and vice versa). Richard Jenkins: *Rethinking of the Ethnicity...* *op. cit.*

⁶⁷ The 'diacritical' is an adjective derived from the Greek expression *diakrino* that means: 'to distinguish', 'to divide', 'to separate'. As philosophical term, it refers to the division of things from each other that gain connotations due to the contrast-effect in their structural connection or, more precisely, due to the differential relationship. (The definition comes from the thesis-book of the essay/dissertation by Tengelyi, László: *Life-history and Fate-affecting Happening*. [Élettörténet és sorseseemény]. Source: http://minerva.elte.hu/mfsz/MFSZ_9945/FUGGELEK.html, date of download: 2011. 07. 25.)

⁶⁸ Tengelyi, László: *Life-history and Self-identity*. 13-48. In: *Life-history and Fate-affecting Happening...* *op. cit.* 46.

This is more likely ‘a self-inductive process of knowledge-creating’⁶⁹, whereby the ‘me’ and the ‘other’ come into existence within the parallel fields of reference, the *turning point of the inner* and *the outer* and contains in itself the reflected, contradictory experiences of both spheres. In the following chapters we will show the operation of this complex system through empirical examples.

5. Operating the pacts in the making of ethnic identity

In the previous chapter we reviewed how, in order to define their content of their ‘own’ identity, ‘Hungarians’ and ‘Gypsies’ turn to the same external *historical experience-space*⁷⁰, in which the reference is pointed out by the ‘Gypsy of alterity’. Nevertheless, more attention should have been paid to the fact that during the above-mentioned process of connotation-formation both parties control upon different semantic elements of the same space of experience, therefore, they refer to the same field of connotation in different ways.

This can be best observed in the case of those ethnic categories that are homologue in their forms, especially in cases when both the ‘Gypsy’ and the ‘Hungarian’ groups connect contradictory and interfering connotations to virtually similar phenomena when they are to point out certain differences. We will support our statement through analyzing the following discourses. In Kispalád in the discourses of ‘Hungarians’ the categories of ‘honest’ – ‘dishonest’ Gypsy are the most general level in conversations with ethnic content. The ‘honest Gypsy’ or the ‘good Gypsy’ are collective nouns for stipulated habits in ‘Hungarian’ talks that are used to name ‘Gypsy’ persons regardless to their social status. The discourses use them in two cases:

a) when it is necessary to name the Gypsies who have accepted the pact of alterity: those who, similarly to the ‘original Gypsy’, obey the Hungarians’ discourses, who know what role is given to them and subjugate themselves to the normalized forms of power.⁷¹

The persons falling into this category can be granted with trust⁷² or appreciation (‘*and they were appreciated and we love them*’) even if there were socially marginalized individuals whom even the ‘Gypsies’ call ‘ghetto-’ or ‘toilet-Gypsies’.

b) in other cases they use this expression when naming the Gypsies who become more or less civilian; in the discourses of Hungarians it is used to describe those whom the Gypsies stigmatize as ‘Hungarian-like’, ‘proud’, ‘lord-like’ Gypsies. They identify them with the ‘non-stranger’, the ‘almost Hungarian’, the similar; in one word, the Gypsies who follow the lifestyle of the non-Gypsies not only in their public actions but also in their private sphere.⁷³ In the Hungarians’ communicative acts this word is not an affirmative expression, most likely, this signs a positive stigma and, while compared to the previous, the deviation of the ‘dishonest’ Gypsy becomes measurable and subject to conceptualization.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Tengelyi, László: Life-history and Self-identity... *op. cit.*, especially 32-48.

⁷⁰ For the definition of the notions see: Reinhart Koselleck: *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*. [Elmúlt jövő. A történelmi idők szemantikája.] Atlantisz: Budapest, 2003., especially 401-430.

⁷¹ A quotation presented earlier could serve as an example: ‘*He did everything that the mayor of the village imagined... He said, Karcsi (Károly), now you must do it... and he made it, he never said no. B1: He took every task. Ahh, if just all of them could be like him. They would have long become Hungarians. B.S.: Would they have become Hungarians? B1: Oh, not real Hungarians, but their nature, the environments. Does any German ever become Hungarian, doesn’t he? B3: No one could say he was a Gypsy man when he put on nice clothes.*’

⁷² He was a diligent man, I guess, he happened to work at each and every house in the village. B4: He used to be the laborer of the widows. Every widow. B1: *He was honest. I gave him the key, go Karcsi...*’

⁷³ O. Gyula belongs to the category of the ‘honest Gypsy’; the Hungarians talk about him like this: ‘Cs. G.: If you happen to sit with Gyuszi (in the car), there is his car, just as bed-line, so clean. Very precise. Really, you should wear very clean cloth when sitting in his car, if there will be just one fleck of dust, he will tell you, please, get out. There are normal ones among them, they can be different if they want. I guess, Gyuszi is cleaner than many of the Hungarians; that is for sure. Well, you cannot enter his house wearing shoes, for example. He would ask you, please, Zoli, take off your shoes. Laci (a Hungarian landlord) went in still wearing his rubber boots. The remote control panel, [and that of] the video, DVD, and everything must be on top of the TV. There it is impossible that you go to sleep and switch the TV off and you leave it [the panel] just somewhere around.’ Cs. G. = Cserepes Gréti: date of interview: 2009. 03.19.

⁷⁴ ‘Cs. G.: If you would just see what living conditions the M.’s have, well, a hundred times more beautiful than ours. Z.: Just like Győzike [an ethnic Gypsy pop-singer, media celebrity in Hungary]. G.: Listen, he deals with cigarettes, and all the profit goes on the house. They bought the furniture for 500 thousands. All made of leather. Well, *kinda Győzike-like level.*

The concept of the ‘dishonest’ in the discourses’ of ‘Hungarians’ is used to name those who *‘didn’t know where their place was’*, who violate the power pact signed by the ‘original Gypsy’. The ‘dishonest Gypsies’ are those who *‘aren’t afraid of anything’*, who *‘allow themselves too much’*, whose *‘eyes are open too widely’*⁷⁵ – in the Hungarians’ opinion. The Hungarians in their everyday discourses place those actors in this category who, in the given sphere of life, appear in public only with their norm-denying behavior. They are those who continuously draw the attention to the socio-cultural differences, or those who do not appreciate the right for misusing the Gypsy ‘body’ in job opportunities provided by the Hungarians. They are those who are considered in the public’s opinion as people who *‘did not work to deserve their houses’* or *‘live on the state’s money’* fall in this category. In the Gypsy discourse we can observe the same ethnic categories with a connotation largely different from those of the ‘Hungarians’. Unlike to the phenomenon-creation tendencies of the Hungarians, the Gypsies see the ‘Gypsy of alterity’ from a different perspective, they see it as themselves in the past whom they cannot or, more likely, do not want to identify themselves.

As a consequence, they identify as ‘honest Gypsy’ those persons who are not ‘original Gypsies’ (let us remember Csaba’s self-representation) or those who do not appear as subject to the power pacts in inter-ethnic relations: the ‘Gypsy’ vocabulary, therefore, first of all sees those as ‘honest’ who cannot be considered as ‘subservient’. The ‘dishonest Gypsy’ expression is used for those who, with their behavior, recall the picture of the ‘original Gypsy’: they are the ‘Gypsy-like’⁷⁶, or those who ‘do badly’, i.e. represent the ‘Gypsy-style’.

In Kispalád this style is drawn to places with the lowest status, e.g. the ‘Newest Street’ and the so called ‘Row’ that are considered among the villagers as a ‘reserve’ or ‘ghetto’.⁷⁷ This place is close to these physical areas (‘brick pit’, ‘cherry-garden’) from where the most authentic Gypsies, the oldest Gypsy possible to recall in remembrance, the *‘tribe’* are originated.

Burgundy red, their bed is covered with blanket of good taste, and an I-dunno-what-kind-a corner in their bedroom.’ Cs. G., date of interview: 2009. 03.19.

⁷⁵ The underlined expressions come from the interview made with the group no. 2., date of interview: 2008. 08. 06.

⁷⁶ In this case the category of ‘Gypsy-like’ is an expression meaning behaviors that gain negative evaluations, the connotations of which are expressed in the Gypsy speech with the meaningful linguistic formula: ‘very Gypsy’. It is well-illustrated by the definition of its concept as put by a group of local Gypsy youngsters: ‘... the ‘very Gypsy’ characterizes the looks of someone, like Mari: she cannot talk [properly]. The very Gypsy is a person who cannot talk in any situation, only like this ‘alright-you-guys-alright’, something like this. I mean that this person cannot behave with the teachers, or with anyone else.’ This quotation illustrates that the expression functions as a tool to mark the lack of adaptation competences. With the help of this linguistic formula the community name persons who lack the abilities that enables them *to make themselves comfortable* in the world of the ‘Hungarians’ life. This expression serves to describe those persons who can appear only as ‘Gypsy’ in every kind of situations. We should remember, although, that in the common language the expression ‘Gypsy-like’ has a lot more different and positive meaning as well. It is often used to express the Gypsy identity as a collective value. In this context, the word means gestures and actions, which the ‘Hungarians’ do not understand, and therefore they gain ethnic (‘Gypsy’) character and power to provide their community with cohesion. ‘For example, when we are at a place where there are a mixed people, Gypsies, Hungarians, and let’s suppose that there is disco music and there are a few of us of those who are a bit funnier, and let’s suppose that to Tiesto we give Gypsy-rhythm and dance Gypsy, that that is very cool. Making fun of someone. Yes. And, for example, the Gypsy-like and the very Gypsy may mean that you make fun of someone who you are talking to and he doesn’t even figure it out. This is very common with it. When talking to the teacher, for example, there was a case when you pretend if you appreciated them but in fact you don’t. Many Hungarians begin to feel this way of joking. There is something unkind joking in it.’

⁷⁷ The Newest Street is a periphery part of the village and consists of houses built after the floods in 2001; there live families of the youngest Gypsy population – except for one family. This street is perpendicularly crossed by another street that in common language is called only ‘Sor’ [‘Line’] that was established on the beginning of the 1940s’ when the Gypsy families living in the so called ‘Meggyes’ [‘Cherry-garden’] or ‘Tégla-gödör’ [‘Brick-pit’] place moved in and established clans. It is important because after 1971 this place becomes the point of origin for Gypsies moving to the village’s places of higher prestige, closer to the centre where the Hungarians live. (‘Eld. B.S.: That was a Gypsy slum, kinda’ end of the garden, a garden from where the houses were build only further and further, closer to the road, and those little houses were ruined and that’s how the big houses appeared.’) Also, it seems to deserve attention, at least because of the connection between space-usage and ethnic discourse. The Gypsy families establishing neo-local households who do not have children yet, at a period of their lives rented accommodation in this isolated area for a longer or shorter time (‘our life was started there’). This proves that the above-mentioned two streets are not only the space marking the beginning of history of local Gypsy population; it is the place as well for moving in and out, the place of liminality, i.e. the ‘temporary’ place of social and spatial mobility.

Therefore it is not a coincidence, that in the public discourse this point is considered to be the origin of evolution; the grade, size, results of the 'Gypsy' civilization process (*'split'*) can be compared to this in one or another form. On the other hand, this place is considered to be the life-sphere of those Gypsies incapable to develop, those who are called 'toilet', 'slumdog' Gypsies.⁷⁸ In this respect the self-separation of the 'honest Gypsies' from this place can be seen as a constructive element of their legitimacy: the tool for symbolically strengthening their own achievements. The 'honest Gypsies' – as they say – 'don't walk there', because 'the Gypsies there are very dirty', 'there they are aggressive, they drink'.⁷⁹ The civilized Gypsies do not let their children go and play there because that place is *'like a totally different world'*.⁸⁰

What is the operational principle of the two semantically controversial discourses presented above? Based on the given example we can affirm that both groups localize the 'own' and its opposite, the 'stranger' with different elements of the same sphere of historical experience. As a consequence, the groups participating in the interaction percept each other in different ways and a specific conflict can be found in their horizons of expectations. The fact that the in the discourses of Hungarians the semantic content of the expression 'Gypsy' is created by experience of loss of total control over the 'modern Gypsy', but the meaning of the same phenomenon in the Gypsies' discourses express their 'self-identity', the experience of the seizure of rights to control their own body. Even more important that on both discursive horizons (in the speeches both Hungarians and Gypsies) the reflexive thinking about the status of the 'other', the 'stranger', and its meaning and characteristic features simultaneously contain the expressions of the changes, modifications taking place in the own 'me's' inner sensual world. It would be impossible to name, describe or analyze the difference of the other 'stranger', if the cognitive understanding of the deep changes of the own 'me's' were not completed simultaneously. According to this, the actual connotation of the ethnic identity is created as the given individual 'me' describes, interprets, and reflects its own 'otherness' and the 'strangeness' of the 'other' at the same time. From this point of view, the stranger-perception is not else than simultaneously activated dialectic horizons of mind, and more likely: the synthesis of *heterogeneous 'me'-contents*.

We must see that the ethnic-related connotations in the language-usage of the two groups the overall (political) purposes, the 'telos' differ from each other. The 'Hungarian' historical discourse about the 'Gypsies' can be understood, for instance, as a mnemotechnic exercise that attempts to bridge over the time-gap between the 'past' and the 'present', i.e. melts the consequences of transformation that took place in the Gypsies social status, economic function, etc. This is the proof of how this ethnic discourse in the present – following the pattern of 'reality' existing in the past – aims, first of all, at strengthening the invisible referential – power – pacts signed with the 'Gypsy of alterity'. Unlike this, in case of the Gypsy identity-narratives we can observe that the aim of their discourses is to articulate and deepen the distances in time. Making use of the everyday remembrance, the members of the community attempt to diminish the absoluteness of relations between the 'past' and the 'present'. The overall purpose of the historical discourses, therefore, is as follows: they aim to prove beyond doubt the there exists an unbridgeable distance between the 'old' and the 'modern' Gypsy's lifestyle, practices, habits and ways of thinking; and the close connection between 'past' and 'present' seized to exist.

From this aspect of identity-policy it seems that the 'Gypsy of alterity', as a rhetorical figure organizing social relations, manages the expectations towards the future in the Hungarians' discourses (the 'Gypsy' *tomorrow* should be *the same as he used to be before*). Unlike this, in the speech of the today's Gypsy the 'things that existed before', the Gypsy of the 'past' exists only in the space of historical experiences, i.e. in the past that is 'behind' the modern Gypsy (therefore, it cannot be identified with the 'Gypsy' *whom he will be tomorrow*). In case of the Gypsy group, unlike the Gypsy-discourse of Hungarians, we see a certain ethnic 'past' that do not belong any longer to the expectations anticipating the future.⁸¹ These two different world views and interpretation strategies draws the attention to the modality differences between the connotation-creation related to the ethnic categories. This means that the remembrance of the Hungarian group *'reproduces'*, i.e. *'brings into existence'*, *'reviews'*, *'repeats'*, *'reoccupies'*, but the remembrance of the Gypsy group only *'represents'*, i.e. *'projects'* the past. These differences in the cultural meaning-creations remain invisible from the horizon of structural-functional models describing the system of 'ethnicity'.

⁷⁸ For identification of the settlement's segregated spaces, please, see the map in Appendix no. 3!

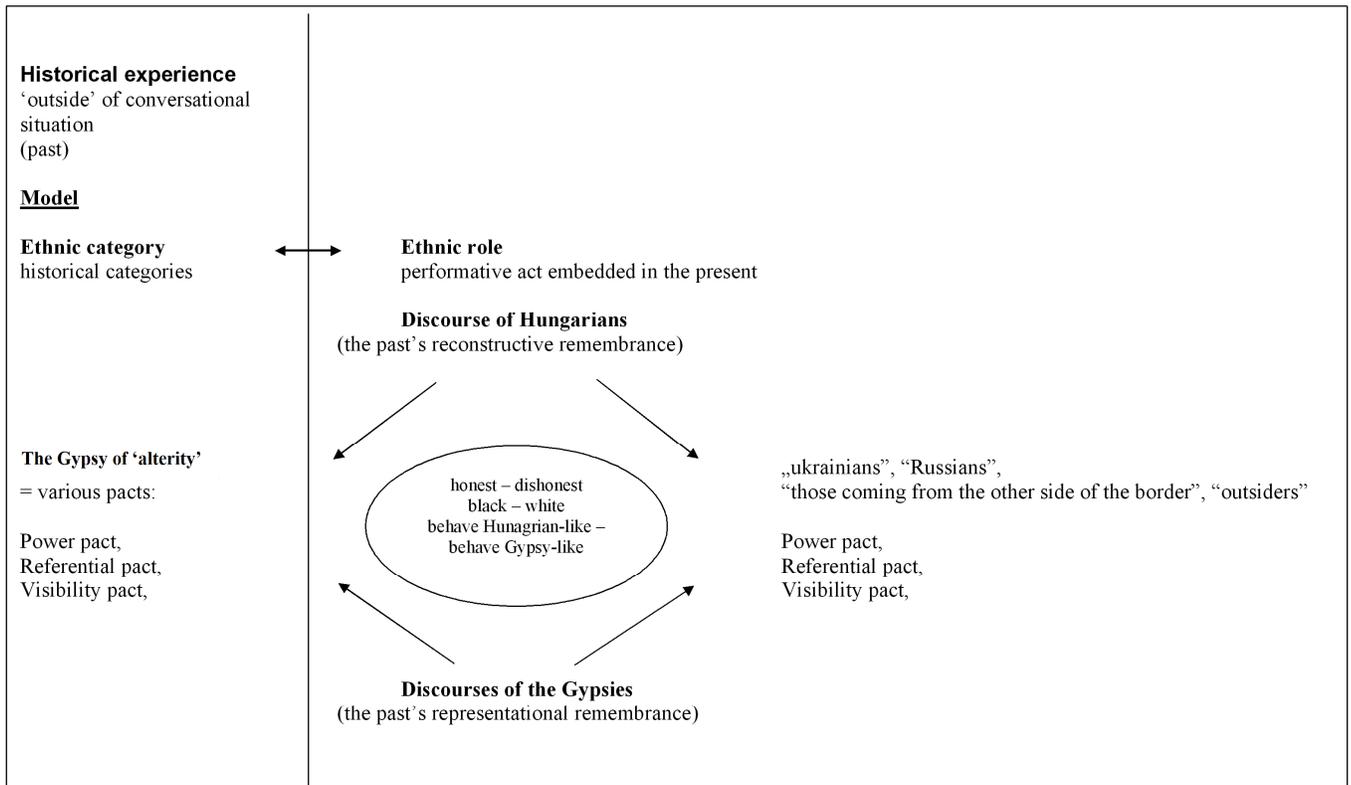
⁷⁹ O.Gy. (1972), date of interview: 2008. 07.09.

⁸⁰ O.Gy. (1972), date of interview: 2008. 07.09.

⁸¹ Paul Ricoeur: *Memory, History and Forgetting. op. cit.* 58.

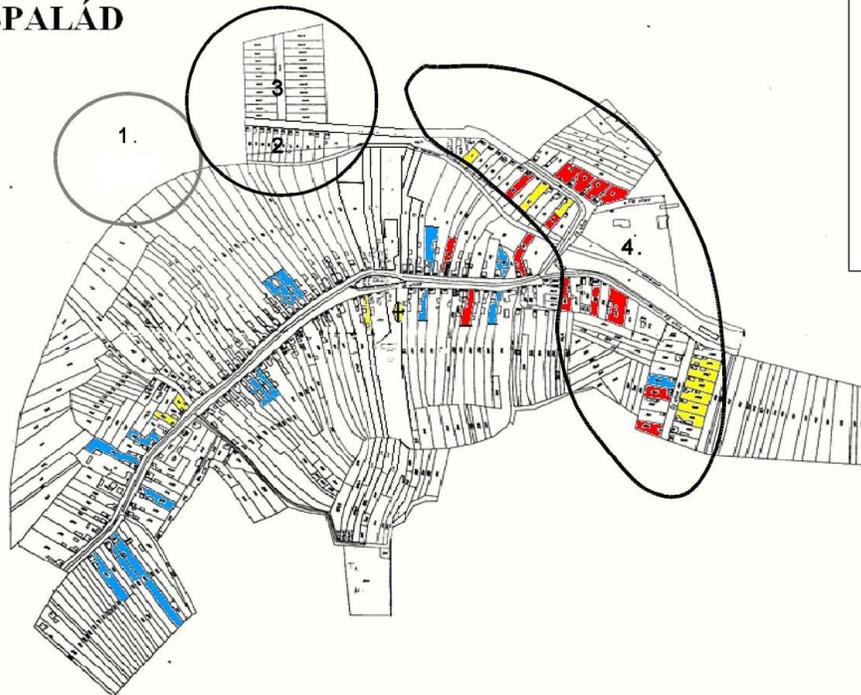
Appendix No. 2.

STRUCTURE OF THE IDENTITY-DISCOURSES



Appendix No. 3.

KISPALÁD



LEGEND

'Ethnicized' spaces of Kispalád

- 1. 'Cherry-garden' or 'Brick-pit' - Place of settling of Gypsies who established clans
- 2. The 'Line' - place of Gypsy camp of the village after 1945
- 3. The 'Newest Street' - the 'street' of Gypsy houses build after the flood in 2001
- 4. 'New Street' - part of the village inhabited by a larger and 'unified' block of Gypsies

Location of religious congregations of Kispalád in space

-  Reformed elite /presbyters/
-  Free Christian Congregation
-  Church of Christ's Heart