

THE IMPACT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE ON COEXISTENCE RELATIONS IN A LOCAL COMMUNITY

Author:

Henriett Szabó (PhD) ¹
University of Debrecen (Hungary)

Lecturers:

Zoltán Bódis (PhD)
St. Joseph Kindergarten, Elementary School,
High School and Dormitory (Hungary)

József Kotics (PhD)
University of Miskolc (Hungary)

...and two other anonymous lecturers

Szabó, Henriett (2024): The Impact of Cultural Heritage on Coexistence Relations in a Local Community. *Különleges Bánásmód Interdiszciplináris folyóirat*, 10(4), 175-184.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18458/KB.2024.4.175>

Abstract

The analysis of community processes in peripheral local rural societies is usually described in terms of assimilation, integration and segregation. The basic motivation for the research presented in this paper was that, in my experience, the integration processes of the largest ethnic minority in Hungary can only be fully comprehended if the autonomous narratives of local communities concerning their own life situations are acknowledged as interpretations that underpin our conclusions. A field study was conducted using ethnographic and anthropological methods in two settlements in Hajdú-Bihar County. The aim was to investigate the impact of the structure of the Gypsy subcommunity's traditional heritage, its recurrent functions and the emerging revival processes on coexistence. I was looking for an answer to the question whether the traditional practices of the Roma, the use of language, the set of customs, the ethnic norms help or hinder social integration. This paper presents the results and conclusions of a research conducted in one of the settlements, in Nagyrábé. The objective of the research was to identify the factors that influence the social acceptance of local Roma communities and examine their relation to the quality of the preservation of ethnic traditions.

Keywords: tradition, Nagyrábé, local Roma communities

Discipline: Ethnography

¹ Szabó, Henriett (PhD), University of Debrecen, Faculty of Humanities Department of Ethnology. E-mail address: szabo.henriett@arts.unideb.hu. ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0005-1178-3244>

Absztrakt**A KULTURÁLIS ÖRÖKSÉG HATÁSA AZ EGYÜTTÉLÉSI KAPCSOLATOKRA EGY LOKÁLIS KÖZÖSSÉG PÉLDÁJÁN**

A perifériális lokális vidéki társadalmak közösségfolyamatainak elemzését az asszimiláció, integráció és szegregáció fogalmi keretei között szokás leírni. A tanulmányban bemutatásra kerülő kutatás alapvető motivációját az képezte, hogy tapasztalataim szerint hazánk legnagyobb lélekszámú etnikai kisebbségének beilleszkedési folyamatait csak úgy érthetjük meg, ha a helyi közösségek saját élethelyzetükre vonatkozó autonarratíváit a következtetéseinket megalapozó értelmezésekként fogjuk fel. Etnográfiai és antropológiai módszereket alkalmazó terepkutatást végeztem két hajdú-bihari településen, ahol azt vizsgáltam meg, hogy a cigány részközösség hagyománykészletének szerkezete, ennek recens funkciói, a felmerülő revival folyamatok milyen hatást gyakorolnak az együttélésre. Arra kerestem a választ, hogy a romák hagyományőrző gyakorlata, a nyelvhasználat, a szokáskészlet, az etnikus normarend segíti, vagy éppen hátráltatja a társadalmi integrációt. A tanulmányban az egyik szintéren, Nagyrábén végzett kutatás eredményeit, következtetéseit ismertetem választ keresve arra, hogy melyek azok a tényezők, amelyek a lokális cigány közösségek társadalmi elfogadását befolyásolják, és mindez milyen összefüggésben áll az etnikus hagyománykészlet megőrzésének minőségével.

Kulcsszavak: hagyomány, Nagyrábé, roma lokális közösségek

Diszciplína: néprajz

Introductory thoughts

In the past ten years I have conducted ethnographic-anthropological field research in rural multi-ethnic societies in Northeastern Hungary, in more than thirty settlements, where I have mainly studied the characteristics of the coexistence of local ethnic sub-communities, mostly Hungarians, Vlach Gypsies and Hungarian-Gypsies. A particular focus of the research was the interpretation of the functions of tradition and the local tradition set, as well as the impact of contemporary civil community processes on ethnic coexistence. (Szabó 2019, 2020) In addition, I have examined the development of interrelationships at the level of individuals and communities in order to explore the social processes that characterise the research arenas. The results so far suggest that the social relations of multi-ethnic communities constitute specific, situational situations of coexistence, and that in each case they can be represented within the framework of a local model.

The analysis of community processes in peripheral local rural societies is most often described in terms of assimilation, integration and segregation. (Kovács, 2007.) The basic motivation for the research on which this study is based was that, in my experience, the integration processes of the largest ethnic minority in our country can only be understood and, on this basis, effective integration support proposals can only be formulated if, on the one hand, the scenes are studied separately and, on the other hand, the autonomous narratives of local communities concerning their own life situation are understood as interpretations that underpin our conclusions.

In the course of the research that formed the basis of my monograph entitled *Variations on Coexistence* (Szabó, 2023) I studied the coexistence of the above-mentioned ethnic sub-communities (Hungarians, Vlach Gypsies, Hungarian-Gypsies) in three settlements in Nyírség – Nagyecsed, Nyírvásvári and Hodász. Based on

my previous research on the subject and the theoretical results described in the summary volume, the present research is concerned with the question, in a broader context, of why and how the attitudes of the majority towards the Roma in rural peripheral coexistence situations are determined by prejudice and the resulting practices of action. My initial hypothesis is that prejudice and the resulting negative discrimination and intensity of segregative practices are correlated with the degree of attachment of local Gypsy communities to their traditions. Accordingly, more intensive traditionalism reinforces the segregative attitudes of the majority and the parallel isolative attitudes of the minority, because ethnic traditions are a barrier to narrowing and bridging the cultural gap between Hungarian and Roma local communities. In addition, the adherence to ethnic traditional elements and their representation in everyday life contributes to the perpetuation of the practice of mutual discrimination between the two communities.

During the research based on the hypothesis, I examined the structure of the traditional heritage of the Gypsy sub-community in the selected settlements, Nagyrábé and Bagamér, its recurrent functions and the impact of the emerging revival processes on coexistence. Thus, I was looking for answers to the question whether the traditional practices of the Roma, the use of language, the set of customs, the ethnic norms help or hinder social integration, whether they increase the degree of segregation and, if so, in what way.

On the other hand, and in relation to the first hypothesis, I examined, partly as a function of the intensity of the use of tradition, how the practice of ethnic categorisation is implemented in the two local societies. How and on the basis of what do community members categorise each other into the majority or Roma ethnic subgroup? Given the increasing prevalence of mixed ethnic marriages today, and the acculturation processes of closed, traditionalist and Romani language-speaking

communities, has it never been more relevant to understand the principles of ethnic categorisation? Why is someone considered a Gypsy and why does someone consider himself or herself a Roma in today's Hungarian society?

General theoretical framework

According to the basic theoretical position of contemporary integration studies, an integrated living situation can be created even without full assimilation, whereby each sub-community concerned can become a "full" member of society while retaining certain cultural elements and identity. In this context, 'full value' means that all members of society have equal opportunities to participate in the life of the local coexistence community, have equal access to local resources and are not discriminated against by the majority society on the basis of their ethnic identity and culture.

The general domestic experience, as well as relevant social science research, is that this is rarely the case. If Roma communities consider it important to preserve their cultural values, especially their spiritual heritage or their system of norms and values, members of the majority society are generally less accepting. Therefore, if the Roma community in Hungary wants to become a full member of Hungarian society, the majority expect them to assimilate. However, integration, and ultimately assimilation, as a condition for integration, is hindered by a system of mutually enforced prejudices. Prejudices about the Roma have been present intensively in Hungarian sociological studies since the 1960s. (Csepeli-Fábián-Sík, 1998, 458-489; 375-399) It is important to clarify the reasons for the contradictions observed in the phenomenon of coexistence situations. Thus, for the field sites selected for this research, we investigated how the different traditions and the different degrees to which they are preserved affect coexistence in two local Roma communities.

Most often, the majority's attitudes towards Roma in our country are based on emotional prejudices, often based on non-personal experiences. (Biczó & Szabó, 2023: 40–44.) All these operate in everyday life as a complex system that puts the persons concerned at a disadvantage, regardless of whether or not the judgements made against them are true.

The basis of the research was therefore motivated by the need to resolve the contradictory situation in order to find an answer to the extent to which the stock of traditions and the cultivation of traditions are responsible for the functioning of attitudes 'set up' and maintained towards Gypsies as an ethnic community, and what is the basis for this.

Antal Örkény and Luca Váradi investigated the social embeddedness of prejudicial thinking towards culturally and socio-economically stigmatised people in European countries. They hypothesised that if the basis of prejudice is the maintenance of a superiority-subordinate relationship between two groups, "then discriminatory and disadvantaging attitudes towards the weaker (whether individuals or groups) cannot be called particular attitudes rooted in individual nature or social deviance, but systemic knowledge and ideologies that may influence the cultural specificities of society, even at the level of system integration." (Örkény & Váradi, 2010: 30).

Mónika Kovács also came to a similar conclusion when she claimed that "stereotypes and prejudices that devalue the other group, as well as discrimination and exclusion by the majority group, are tools used to maintain the dominance of their own group." (Kovács, 2010: 9.) If we accept and consider this approach as valid to describe the relationship between the majority Hungarian society and the Roma communities in our country, the question immediately arises that discrimination is not ethnically determined. Accordingly, the discriminatory, segregative or isolative practices between Roma and non-Roma groups are not

based on ethnic origin, but on some other set of factors on the basis of which people are classified into a certain prejudice group. (Biczó & Szabó, 2023: 175–176.) The root cause is categorisation and the need for a community to define itself in relation to another group and, in this context, in a higher hierarchical position. This means that groups with a subordinate status are created as a means of maintaining the way society functions, and those in a more privileged position fight to maintain this status. This explains why the Roma cannot break out of their subordinate social position. The generally disadvantaged situation does not persist because those living in it have not been or are not able to meet the expectations that members of the majority society have as a condition for integration. Successful integration would eliminate the hierarchy that underpins situations of coexistence, which would also eliminate the positional privilege of the majority, and therefore the maintenance of prejudice is an important means of maintaining a position of power. An analysis of coexistence situations suggests that the majority uses prejudice to preserve the status quo in local relations.

In the following, we will summarize how the results of the study in one of the research settings, Nagyrábé, shed light on the functioning of prejudice in Hungarian-Roma local coexistence situations, with special attention to the role of traditions in the functioning of the phenomenon.

Research scene

One of the settlements included in the study is Nagyrábé which is located halfway between Berettyóújfalu and Püspökladány, with a population of 2180. According to the mayor, the number of people who actually live in the settlement is around 1,800, which indicates that a part of the population of the settlement on the edge of Sárrét is forced to work far from their place of residence

due to unfavourable labour market conditions. Before the regime change, the population was about 1,000 people higher, so the municipality's leaders are keen to stabilise the population. Over the last decade, Nagyrábé has been the subject of a series of development programmes, with improvements in infrastructure contributing to an increase in the population's capacity to support itself. Compared with neighbouring municipalities of a similar size, Nagyrábé has a full range of facilities. There are local educational establishments such as the "Sure Start" nursery, crèche, kindergarten, primary school and school. Other services include primary health care (general practitioner, dentist, public health service), while basic social services include social meals, home help, family support, day care, day care for people with dementia and a home for the elderly. There is a community centre, a library, a post office, a pharmacy, a bank branch and an ATM, as well as a number of grocery and household shops.

The existence of a more attractive institutional/service background is counterbalanced by the fact that the number of jobs available locally has also changed dramatically in recent years. As Nagyrábé is an agricultural municipality, the deterioration of the employment situation in the 2000s meant that more than 400 unemployed local residents had to be helped. Today, the unemployment rate is 4-5%. This means that on the one hand, the municipality provides local livelihood employment (municipality, public institutions, waffle factory) and on the other hand, the local population mainly goes to work in Füzesgyarmat and the surrounding larger municipalities. In 2024, the number of public employees was 90. (Own collection: interview with the mayor of Nagyrábé, 2014.)

Ethnic coexistence situation

The coexistence relations of the municipality have been analysed, taking into account its

population size, its peripheral location, the economic strategies of its population, which is mainly engaged in agricultural activities, and its ethnic composition. The long-term coexistence of the majority Hungarian and the local minority Roma community determines the social relations of the scene. In Nagyrábé the proportion of Roma in the settlement is only 15%. This proportion is an estimate by local experts, which is in line with the knowledge gained from our own research and differs from the data reported in the KSH census dataset, according to which only 7.5% of the population in the settlement declared themselves as Roma. The difference can be explained partly by the difference in classification methodology and partly by the specificity of identification self-definition due to the increasing prevalence of mixed marriages. (Cf. Biczó & Szabó, 2023: 95–99.)

99% of the population of Nagyrábé is Reformed, which represents an extremely high level of historical homogeneity and a possibility of contact between the Hungarian and Roma communities. Research experience suggests that religious-ethnic affiliation is an essential element in bridging the ethno-cultural gap. It is noteworthy that, unlike in more than 30 local coexistence situations with similar characteristics that I have studied so far, the local Roma in Nagyrábé have no affiliation to any of the neo-Protestant small churches or New Christian religious groups. Religious homogeneity is an important factor influencing the coexistence relations in the settlement.

It is also important to note that, based on the interviews conducted on the scene, the status of the Reformed Church and the attitude of the population towards church life are average. This implies that church services are used by the majority of Hungarians and Roma in the context of life events. Baptisms, marriages and funerals are the usual occasions when church services take on a function in the lives of local people. Apart from

these, only major church celebrations invite the majority of the faithful to church. The general characterisation of the situation is important because it can be concluded that there is no significant difference in the attitude of the Hungarian and Roma populations towards the religious life of the church. This phenomenon indirectly affects the quality of ethnic coexistence relations.

External and internal ethnic elements and their impact on local coexistence through categorisation

The research included the study of the local Roma community's set of traditions. In the description and analysis of the tradition set of the Roma community of Nagyrábé, the focus is on the role and impact of the identified tradition elements in the relations with the majority society. (The study highlights those elements representing the traditional Gypsy culture, which are closely related to the initial hypothesis, without claiming to be exhaustive.)

The first factor to be analysed is the housing culture, which is a specific feature that shows visible signs of ethnicity and does not require personal contact to be identified. Based on observations, it can be said that concerning the houses, we cannot distinguish the ethnicity of the inhabitants on the basis of the type of house, the use of colour or the external environment of the house.

"Everyone in the village is careful to keep their surroundings upmarket and not to be told by their neighbours, the people in the village, what their property looks like. There are some who neglect it, it's a matter of perception, out of 800 households, 10 houses max." (Own collection: Hungarian woman (33), Nagyrábé, 2024.) The appearance of households is not determined by ethnicity, but rather by the values of the people living there, their desire to belong to the

community and their financial means. It is common for traditional Vlach Gypsies to paint their houses in bright, striking colours (e.g. blue, pink, red, yellow, orange), but these cultural markers are not visible in Nagyrábé.

Closely linked to housing is the issue of the spatial settlement of ethnic sub-communities in the settlement. It can be said that in the course of long-term coexistence in Nagyrábé, neighbourhood coexistence situations have developed which, today, make it impossible to distinguish only elements of housing culture as to which ethnic sub-community is visible in terms of residence.

The practice of the settlement census following the party decision of '61 had an important impact on the society of Nagyrábé. By the mid-1970s the Gypsy community had built mainly state-subsidised low-value housing, and the subsequent 'emptying' of the former Gypsy settlement proceeded rapidly, with its complete demolition by the mid-1980s. Interviews in the settlement suggest that there was initially no desire to move out of the settlement, as the Gypsies did not want to leave a community where they could form a closed community, where property was shared and where *'the work organisation was also done in a way that there were people in a kind of a servant role, like my grandfather or another elderly person like him. There was always a leader who organised the work. And the livelihood usually came from such joint work. In the TSZ there was a Gypsy brigade who were mainly involved in construction work [...] and there were also mud-slinging Gypsies.'* (Own collection: Roma man (51), Nagyrábé, 2024.) The advantages of a closed community, the mutually and directly supportive environment in which to work, and the way the community lived its daily life and holidays were important factors of cohesion. Post-settlement dispersal in the Roma local society of Nagyrábé contributed to strong material differentiation, which led to the loss of close cohesion of the ethnic group. Following the dismantling of the Gypsy settlement, Roma families moved to

different parts of the municipality, and mixed settlement became the prevailing pattern. Perhaps the only exception to this is a street on the outskirts of the settlement, where the majority of the inhabitants are Roma, but even here there are Hungarian households. This process fundamentally determined the quality of subsequent Hungarian-Roma coexistence.

The perception of the mixed neighbourhood relationship is mostly positive from both communities. *'I have a Gypsy neighbour, we get on really well. To the extent that if my husband is not home and my bike has dropped the chain, I tell him, Pista, come over and help me. Or when we were renovating and he saw that they had taken the tiles off the roof, he would come over and climb up the ladder without saying a word, and I would come and help.'* *'Or asking me, 'Do you like figs? I said yes! Then come over and pick them, we have a fig tree and the woman doesn't know what to do with them. And then I'll come over and pick figs.'* (Own collection: Hungarian woman (33), Nagyrábé, 2024.)

The quality of the relationship they have with each other has an impact on their daily life together. Physical proximity in the neighbourhood encourages the regular crossing of ethnic boundaries, which not only manifests itself in the form of mutual assistance, but also determines the quality of the perception of the other. This also has an impact on inter-group interaction at the settlement level and on the general rules, values and practices that determine it.

For example, a common negative view of Roma people is that they party too loudly and are disrespectful of their surroundings. In Nagyrábé, based on field experience and in the interests of peaceful coexistence, there is a practice of mutual tolerance: *'there was a birthday party and they came over to say that there might be music at 10-11 pm. It's okay, he told me in advance.'* (Own collection: Hungarian man (30), Nagyrábé, 2024.)

In the case of the scene under study, research experience shows that among the Roma ethnic

traditions that influence coexistence, burial customs play an important role. Obviously, the phenomenon is characterised by the fact that burial customs are ritualised cultural forms whose performative nature is felt by all members of the local community, regardless of ethnicity. Burial is a ritual that takes place in front of the local society. The practices that are manifested and the elements of tradition that can be found in them, especially Roma customs and rites, are a natural part of the way in which the majority evaluates the situation of the minority. Gypsy burial customs are a traditional element that was emphasised by all respondents during the research. In the case of Nagyrábé, it is the specific customary system that shows the greatest divergence from the majority society in terms of its attitude towards death and the custom of saying goodbye to the deceased.

There was a fear among the interviewed Vlach Gypsies that the majority of them considered their own funeral customs too blatant, loud and 'different' from their own, and therefore subject to negative perceptions. They said that they 'definitely don't like it', that it is 'too Gypsy', which will result in the custom having a negative impact on the cultural distance between the two communities, and will overshadow relations.

The research in Nagyrábé indicates that if Hungarian-Roma coexistence is basically balanced, acceptance extends to the more divergent elements of tradition. *'It is fully accepted and respected by all. No one is stubborn, everyone knows that it is part of their culture and there is never a problem. It doesn't cause a conflict situation. For example, at the funeral, there is a vigil for several days, which involves some disturbance of silence, some noise, but everybody respects that, or the fact that you used to take the dead from the house with a band, out of the cemetery, through the whole village, but that doesn't cause any problems in the village.'* (Own collection: Hungarian woman (33), Nagyrábé, 2024.)

'These were peasant customs. Both the waiting for children and the burial were old Hungarian peasant customs, which

had been passed down from the Hungarian people and were learned and preserved by the Gypsies.' (Own collection: Roma man (51), Nagyrábé, 2024.)

The transcultural interpretation of the set of traditions, according to which the observable Roma customs were originally part of the culture of the Hungarian peasantry, also serves to bridge the ethnic divide.

As a result of the research in Nagyrábé, it can be formulated that the traditional practices of the Vlach Roma community do not cause problems in local social integration. It is a common phenomenon in the local society, observed during the research, that in many cases the people living in the settlement cannot distinguish between Hungarians and Gypsies. The reason for this is that the majority of the Roma in Nagyrábé cultivate their traditions at home. On the other hand, most of the traditional elements are linked to turning points in human life and are saturated with religious content.

'There is less and less of the kind of customs that characterised the Gypsy community, whether it was the migrations or the Gypsy community in India. It is more of a symbol, a system of symbols, a way of thinking. But what has become a practice itself, a belief or a belief or a custom, are mostly old peasant customs, which Hungarian society now looks at with shock and does not recognize itself.' (Own collection: Roma man (51), Nagyrábé, 2024.)

In the case of christenings, marriages and funerals, the church ritual dominates, supplemented by some specifically ethnic traditional elements. However, the ethnic character of the customs and the Reformed practice are in harmony, so it does not provoke a negative attitude from the members of the majority society.

'The good relationship can be explained by the fact that if someone is a gypsy, they have certain habits, but they are not ones that they bring to others, and that's why in everyday contact, it's maximum in skin colour, if it's visible. But apart from that, you can't distinguish anything.' (Own collection: Hungarian woman (33), Nagyrábé, 2024.)

Interpersonal relationships and coexistence

The determining factor for inter-ethnic Hungarian-Roma coexistence on the local scene is the set of norms regulating the contact of sub-communities, which guide the development of interpersonal relations. The field experiences show that the particularities of local societies, the local 'power relations', the influence of community actors on coexistence are complex systems, the essence of which can be understood as fundamentally different compared to other arenas. This is also the case in Nagyrábé, where long-term coexistence has created local traditions of inter-ethnic contact that only function and can be interpreted in their context.

For the most part, the children in educational institutions are in ethnically mixed groups, that is, there are no signs of spontaneous segregation or mutual isolation in the local society. In this connection, it should also be noted that the situation is similar among teachers and institutional workers, we can regard it as ethnically mixed collectives.

The so-called 'Biztos Kezdet Gyerekház' in Nagyrábé is run by Vlach Gypsies, but among the children and their parents who attend there, both Hungarian and Gypsy origins can be observed. The situation is also similar in the nursery school, as in the kindergarten, where, in addition to the mixed groups of children, the kindergarten secretary, a pedagogical assistant and a cleaning woman are also of Roma origin. The school has had a teacher of local Roma origin among the teachers for almost decades. In addition, it is important to emphasize that in all other municipal service providers we find examples of ethnically mixed employees.

Joint meeting occasions and work situations can function as a contact space and a regular occasion through which direct personal relationships develop between the parties involved. It can be observed that, as a result of the integrated environment, friendly and sometimes marital relationships are formed, which results in a kind of identification

similarity. The observed processes also reveal that the direct nature of interpersonal relationships means that, as a result, complete assimilation does not take place. In the contemporary international literature, the assimilation process has been reinterpreted within the conceptual framework of segmented assimilation. The concept points to the fact that assimilation practices of groups from different social and cultural backgrounds in the same social milieu show situational variation, and therefore individual case studies are inevitable. Going beyond the straight line theory and the theory of cultural pluralism allows us to draw conclusions that can be applied to the interpretation of assimilation processes in contemporary Roma communities in Hungary. (Cf. Waters et al. 2010; Zhou, 1997.)

Members of the local Roma society in Nagyrábé participate in coexistence relationships as Roma within the framework of their ethnic identity. Based on the research experience, however, it is clear that direct, long-term and intensive contact relationships devalue the importance of ethnic differentiation in coexistence. All this often leads to the fact that, for example, in the light of close co-worker relationships, the record of ethnic origin becomes blurred and loses its significance.

The ethnically mixed workplaces observed in Nagyrábé have an important long-term effect on coexistence and acceptance. An outstanding example of this is the case of the district doctor of Roma origin who worked in the settlement for decades. *'If you see people of Roma origin in such a position, Doctor László was indeed a very influential doctor, he was very conscientious and fair. They saw that his children who came to the school also wanted something, of course they had a very, very strong influence on each other. How can he become a doctor? It doesn't matter who's there.'* (Own collection: Hungarian woman (60), Nagyrábé, 2024.)

Summary

Despite the starting hypothesis, the situational case example revealed during the analysis of the

local coexistence situation shows that, although the Vlach Gypsy community uses the name Gypsy to define itself, acculturation is already characteristic in the use of the mother tongue and the maintenance of many cultural features. This process does not take place under external pressure, so it cannot be interpreted as an assimilation step forced by the majority society. In the course of long-term coexistence, the community norms that both parties involved can consider acceptable and valid from their point of view have been established. On the part of the majority, the remaining and living Gypsy traditional elements were highlighted during the interviews as a value, rather than a feature that characterizes the community with a negative meaning.

The tradition-preserving practice of the Vlach Gypsy community in Nagyrábé, the elements of tradition are cultural factors that have less impact on the quality of long-term and balanced coexistence. From the point of view of the majority, traditions and related knowledge are not the basis of ethnic categorization, the reason for classification into the Roma community. (Biczó & Szabó, 2023: 175–176. o. and see Tátrai et al, 2017.) The results of the research allow us to conclude that the integration of the Roma society in Nagyrábé into the settlement community was based on the mixed settlement, the integrated workplace and school environment and the presence of local actors of Gypsy origin recognized by everyone.

Acknowledgement

„This paper was made supported by the ÚNKP-23-4-II New National Excellence Program of the Ministry for Culture and Innovation from the Source of the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund.”

References

Biczó Gábor & Szabó Henriett (2023). Roma életutak dokumentumfilmen. A „Kik va-

- gyunk... és miért?” sorozat elméleti és gyakorlati elemzése. In Biczó G. & Szabó H. (szerk.): *Sors/Képek. Roma életutak dokumentum-filmen.* Debreceni Egyetem, GyGyK, Lippai Balázs Roma Szakkollégium. 19–205.
- Csepeli György, Fábián Zoltán, & Sik Endre (1998). Xenofóbia és a cigányságról alkotott vélemények. In Kolosi T., Tóth I. & Vikovich Gy. (szerk.): *Társadalmi riport.* Budapest: TÁRKI. 458–489.
- Kovács Éva (2007). A közöségtanulmányoktól a lokalitás megismeréséig. In Kovács É. (szerk.): *Közöségtanulmányok.* Pécs: Néprajzi Múzeum, PTE BTK Kommunikáció-és Médiatudományi Tanszék. 7–22.
- Kovács Mónika (2010). Az előítéletek okai és mérésük lehetőségei: a szociálpszichológiai nézőpont. *Alkalmazott pszichológia*, 12. (1–2.). 7–27.
- Örkény Antal & Váradi Luca (2010) Az előítéletes gondolkodás társadalmi beágyazottsága, nemzetközi összehasonlításban. *Alkalmazott pszichológia*, 12. (1–2.). 29–46.
- Szabó Henriett (2023). *Variációk az együttélésre. Közöségfolyamatok és az etnicitás három nyírségi település példáján.* Budapest: L’Harmattan, Debreceni Egyetem Néprajzi Tanszék
- Szabó Henriett (2020). A lokális hagyomány funkciói a nyírvassvári kortárs közöségfolyamatokban. In Karlovitz J. (szerk.): *Jogok és lehetőségek a társadalomban.* 196–209. Komárno: International Research Institute
- Szabó Henriett (2019). A lokális hagyomány funkciói a nagyecsed-i kortárs közöségfolyamatokban. *Néprajzi Látóhatár*, 28. 1–2. 157–204.
- Tátrai Patrik, Pálóczi Ágnes, Pásztor István Z., Péntes János (2017). Etnikai besorolási gyakorlatok. A cigányság külső kategorizálását befolyásoló tényezők. *Socio.hu*, 2. 45–65.
- Waters, M Mary C., Tran, Van C., Kasinitz, Philip & Mollenkopf, John H. (2010). Segmented assimilation revisited: types of acculturation and socioeconomic mobility in young adulthood. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1–26.
- Zhou, Min (1997). Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation. *International Migration Review*, 31. (4). 4. 975–1008.