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Space and Society
An Introduction to the Special Issue

Space and spatial differences have gained increasing attention in social sciences in recent years. An eclectic range of scholars, such as Michel Foucault (2000), Antony Giddens (1985), Derek Gregory and John Urry (1985), Henri Lefebvre (1992) Nigel Thrift (2006) and even Manuel Castells (2009) highlighted the significance of spatiality in social life. Space and place offer inspiring frameworks for all of the topics studied within sociology and related social sciences. It is also reflected in the large number of papers submitted for this Special Issue. As a result of a rigorous selection and review process eleven articles are presented in this Special Issue. Each of the articles contributes important insights into the relationships between society and space. Although the papers do not include all of the problems linked to space in social sciences, all of them are connected to this issue and discuss contemporary problems of space and society.

The dynamics of social and spatial relationships with a focus on inequality, poverty and ethnicity are presented in the first four papers which emphasise social and spatial exclusions. The first paper by *Tünde Virág* presents the formation of a Roma ghetto in a small rural town in Hungary. Her analysis shows how urban policies and institutional changes resulted in the transformation of a socially and ethnically heterogeneous neighbourhood into a stigmatized ghetto. *Kata Fehér* also analyses the question of spatial and social segregation in a micro community from a former industrial mid-sized-town in Hungary with a focus on the spatial construction of symbolic and social boundaries. *András Vigvári* analyses the question of spatial inequalities in Hungary from a new perspective. By investigating the lives of poor Budapest residents who originated from rural areas, his paper provides a new approach to understanding rural-urban relations and spatial inequalities in Eastern European societies. Rural-urban division and symbolic struggle are also at the centre of *Cecilia Fe L Sta Maria's* paper. Based on an analysis of photographs, maps, field notes and interviews, the paper demonstrates the spatial consequences of urbanisation and the monumentalisation of urban environments utilising Lefebvre's, Bourdieu's and Giddens's concepts on space in Matnog, Sorsogon, Philippines. The paper presents the spatial machinations which are orchestrated to construct polemical spaces that deftly conceal spaces occupied by the poor.

The subsequent four papers provide insights into different aspects of rural-urban relationships. *Peter Ehrström's* paper discusses new producer-consumer relations concerning local food in the context of rural gentrification in a suburban community in Finland. The local food is the focus of *Riccardo Brozzi* and his co-authors' – *Agnieszka Elzbieta Stawinoga, Christian Hoffmann, Thomas Streifeneder's* – paper. The analysis of a representative sample of 498 consumers in South Tyrol proves that consumers' cultural background and their place of residence as a spatial pattern significantly influence attitudes towards local food purchase. Another

aspect of rural-urban relationships and the role of urban newcomers in rural places are presented in the paper by *Judit Farkas.* In her paper, the urban-rural dichotomy is presented through an analysis of the narratives of urban newcomers in the case of a Hungarian ecovillage. *Máté Tamáska's* paper analyses the process of suburbanisation in Hungary through the case of a small historical town Komárom–Koppánymonostor. The paper analyses the formation of a suburban townscape with a special focus on its morphological aspects.

The last three papers explore different aspects of local and territorial developments. *Krzysztof Gorlach* and his co-authors *Martyna Wierzba-Kubat, Anna Jastrzębiec-Witowska* and *Piotr Nowak* analyse the role of food in regional rural development in Poland. They suggest and apply a new extra-human approach combined with a neo-endogenous perspective to the analysis of local food products in the rural development context. *Eliza Bodor-Eranus, Hanna Kónya* and *László Letenyei's* paper presents research on collaboration networks of local governments in the Kaposvár subregion in Hungary. This paper identifies the actors who benefited from the structural characteristics of the collaboration network of local governments. Finally, the last paper, *Anna Augustyn* and *Gusztav Nemes's* work presents an analysis of social marketing components of projects in the European Network for Rural Development database. They highlight that the values related to social networking and bottom-up rural development approaches are essential for food-driven innovation in rural areas.

Papers in this Special Issue investigate many aspects of spatiality in various social contexts. The presented research outcomes highlight the mutual influence of space and society. Most of the papers focus on places and localities, however it does not mean that only the micro-spaces of everyday life are important. Macro-spaces at regional, national or even global level are also considered. All of the papers place significant emphasis on the heterogeneity of territorial context and place-relatedness of social life. It is hoped that the papers selected and presented in this Special Issue will inspire social scientists to include spatial aspects more often in their research and analysis. This Special Issue aims to highlight the growing interest of sociologists in the concept of space too.

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Tünde Virág[1]

Spatial consequences of urban policies forming a Roma ghetto

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Abstract

The article is based on ethnographic fieldwork in a neighborhood situated at the edge of a small town inhabited by the local poor for decades. The neighbourhood that was once connected to the town through a set of institutions has become isolated over the years as personal relationships and institutions have ceased. I intend to present the institutional changes and social processes that transformed a socially and ethnically heterogeneous neighbourhood into a stigmatized ghetto. In this process, the role of different organizations that structure the life of the urban poor, and the governance structures in which those organizations are embedded are fundamental. Overall, the penalization of poverty and criminalization of ethnicity characterize the mechanisms that maintain invisibility. These are as follows: (1) limiting their right to access certain institutions through the creation of a second set of institutions, particularly in education; (2) operating a public work scheme along ethnic divisions; and (3) surveillance of space used by the local Roma minority government to organize, monitor and regulate this neighbourhood.

Keywords: social and spatial segregation, stigmatized ghetto, Roma, urban policy

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Tünde Virág

Spatial consequences of urban policies forming a Roma ghetto

Introduction

Segregated neighbourhoods are places where the families come and/or stay not by their own free will, but under some economic or social pressure; where the given part of the settlement is even physically separated from the rest of the settlement; where the area in question is clearly stigmatized; where there are major differences in the access to the institutions compared to other parts of the settlement (Wacquant 2007, 2012). In the Central and Eastern European context, the spatial exclusion of marginalized Roma groups appears in two major patterns: the ghettoized rural village and the urban district combining the four structural elements of stigma, constraint, spatial enclosure and institutional parallelism (Ladányi–Szelényi 2006, Wacquant 2007, 2015, Ladányi 2015, Vincze–Rat 2013, Váradi–Virág 2015). Scholars argue that it is justified to speak of Roma neighbourhoods as ethnic ghettos in Central-Eastern European countries. Even if they differ in several aspects from the US 'black ghetto', the conceptual framework of the ghetto and the mechanism of exclusion determined by ethnicity, inflected by class and intensified by the state (locality) is similar (Wacquant 2015).

The place of our case study, a segregated neighbourhood of a small town situated in the Great Plain, has been the dwelling place of the local Roma and non-Roma poor since the 1940s. The migration processes in the last decades, in connection with the economic decline following the regime change, have radically transformed the ethnic and social compositions of the neighbourhood and family relations within the segregated neighbourhood along with the relation of the neighbourhood and the town. Recently, this neighbourhood has emerged as a stigmatized and criminalized space, an ethnic ghetto the majority society set apart from the town by sharp boundaries. The perception of ethnicity is spatially determined. It means that according to the majority society, everybody who lives in the stigmatized ghetto is Roma; ethnicity is manifested in exclusive categories of Roma or non-Roma. From the perspective of the majority society, this neighbourhood is socially and ethnically homogeneous and stigmatized; meanwhile, this area is home to different social groups, each one with its own social and ethnic composition, means of subsistence and life strategy (Virág 2015).

In my paper I intend to present those institutional changes and social processes that transformed the socially and ethnically heterogeneous neighbourhood connected to the town through different institutions and personal relationships into a stigmatized ghetto with sharp boundaries set apart from the other parts of the town. Recently, the aim of the local government has been, through the penalization of poverty and criminalization of ethnicity (Wacquant 2009), to make poor families living in the segregated neighbourhood invisible, through which the social and ethnic problems and conflicts can be cooped up behind the walls of the ghetto. In this process, the role of different organizations that structure the life of the urban poor, and the

governance structures in which those organizations are embedded are fundamental (Small 2008, Allard–Small 2013). The most important tools for the making and maintenance of invisibility are (1) limiting the right to access and the creation of a second set of institutions, particularly in education (Kertesi–Kézdi 2014, Zolnay 2006, 2010); (2) operating the racialized public works scheme (Vidra 2012, Messing 2013); (3) surveillance of the space used by the local Roma minority government to organize, monitor and regulate this neighbourhood.

Theoretical framework

The central issue of international scientific discourse on spatial exclusion, or more precisely on ethnic segregation over the past decade has been both the redefinition of the concept of the 'ghetto' and the description and analysis of various areas defined as ghetto. Rethinking the place-centred concept of ghetto, scholars point out the examination of social and ethnic heterogeneity (1), the role (or lack) of institutions that structure the life of the urban poor (2), and policy interventions reflecting their differentiated social situation (3) (Small 2008, Small–Allard 2013, Marcuse 2007, Wacquant 2012, 2015).

Criticizing the strong concept of ghetto; that is, that poor black neighbourhoods are relatively homogeneous across the cities, Small proposes to understand the complexity of and differences within the poor black neighbourhood. Despite the fact that the main feature of transformation of ghettoes in the 1980s was the process of depopulation, the disappearance of workplaces and institutions which cause poverty concentration and isolation (Wilson 1999), recently, after more than two decades, there are much more significant differences along the poor black neighbourhoods in density of population and institutions, partly due to state intervention and the different economic and social position of the given city (Small 2008, 2014).

Scholars pay attention to research and understand the situations and conditions of disadvantageous social groups in complexity: focusing not only on individuals and their neighbourhood but more importantly *'on the organizations that structure their lives, the system in which these organizations are embedded, and the institutions that regulate the operation of both'* (Small–Allard 2013: 8). In this approach organizations could belong to different (non-profit, business or government) agencies through which people manage their scarce resources, and which have a role in their well-being or opportunity for mobility. Different organizations (community houses, schools, kindergartens, churches) are interpreted as places where people could meet each other, and these daily interactions could form social ties between different social and ethnic groups, affect perception of ethnicity and redefine it, where differences across ethnic, gender, class and other boundaries can be bridged or reinforced. These organizations operate and structure neighbourhood conditions, mediate the impact of macro-level factors or affect the well-being of individuals, and this way also form the features of the given neighbourhood, i.e. the pattern of spatial and social exclusion (Small–Allard 2013).

Moving beyond the place-centred definition of ghetto, Wacquant conceptualized spatial and social exclusion as a dynamic process whose ideal-typical end-points represent the most varied forms of segregated spaces, changing over time, located on a continuum between socially heterogeneous ethnic neighbourhoods with blurred borders and the *ghetto*. The central issues of international professional discourse on spatial exclusion, or more precisely on ethnic segregation over the past decade have been both the redefinition of

the concept of the urban 'ghetto' defined by the concentrated dwelling place of poor groups belonging to various ethnic minorities, and the description and analysis of various areas defined as ghetto. The most widely accepted definition is associated with Wacquant. According to his definition, while the concentration of poverty and ethnic segregation is a typical feature of ghettos, an area will only qualify as a ghetto if four specific criteria are fulfilled: (1) the area in question is distinctly separated from the rest of the settlement, and lends itself to easy delineation (2) the majority society describes the area and the families living here in negative terms (stigma) (3) the families did not move to the area by their own free will but under some (economic, administrative, symbolic) pressure and (4) they use an institutional system parallel to and separate from that of the majority society. The ghetto's spatially separated social and institutional system functions both to enable the highest possible degree of economic exploitation of the excluded group, and to prevent the members of the majority society from coming in contact or mixing daily with the inhabitants of the ghetto, which also means protection from the symbolic dangers that are associated with ghetto dwellers in the eyes of the majority (Wacquant 2007, 2012).

Scholars argue that it is justified to speak of Roma neighbourhood as ethnic ghettos in Central-Eastern European countries. Even if they differ in several aspects from the US 'black ghetto', the conceptual framework of the ghetto and the mechanism of exclusion determined by ethnicity inflected by class and intensified by the state (locality) is similar (Ladányi–Szelényi 2006, Wacquant 2012). The majority of Roma in the Central-Eastern European countries, as in Hungary too, live in very poor housing conditions, facing poverty, exclusion and discrimination in education, labour market and also in housing and development policy (Berescu et al. 2013). However, according to a recent survey almost every second Roma lives in a neighbourhood where the dominant ethnicity is Roma, but the living conditions and social relations vary along the forms and extension of spatial and social exclusion in the given settlement. However, there is a wide diversity of Roma segregated neighbourhoods, which reflects the Roma's heterogeneous, stratified, geographically and linguistically diversified social position (Gatti et al. 2016: 154).

Researching the forms of spatial exclusion and their changes is closely connected in Hungarian sociology with the investigation of the spatial position of Roma people in a given settlement as an extreme and spectacular form of exclusion, and with the problems of eliminating Roma colonies and slums. Although the ethnic and social composition of 'Roma colonies' is often heterogeneous, their stigmatised status and their external perception usually qualifies them as homogeneous spaces. The comparison of the results of three waves of a survey research conducted in 1971, 1993, and 2003 (Kemény–Janky 2004) with one conducted in 2010, reflects significant improvement of the housing conditions of the Roma, a radical reduction of the number of colonies, in spite of the fact that the extent of their segregation further increased (Teller 2011). Meanwhile, the forms of spatial exclusion have changed: besides rural Roma colonies and ghetto villages (Havas 1999, Ladányi–Szelényi 2006, Virág 2006), low-status, dilapidating urban neighbourhoods (Ladányi 1989) had appeared by the 1980s as a result of urban development projects not completed despite having been planned. However, following the millennium it was mostly the urban rehabilitation programs that induced gentrification processes (Nagy–Timár 2007, Csanádi et al. 2007). These programs can be interpreted as local governmental attempts to

segregate, which is usually supported by the majority society (Kemény–Janky 2004, Ladányi 2012).

In Hungary, every fifth Roma lives in a segregated neighbourhood, and out of them every fifth lives in a small town (Ladányi 2012: 105). Small towns represent a special form in the Hungarian settlement structure not only regarding their size, but also their economic and administrative position. Although they officially have 'city status' and some administrative public service functions, in fact they are not urbanized but rather economically underdeveloped centres of their peripheral rural areas. Research projects on spatial and social exclusion in Hungary have so far focused on ghetto villages of rural peripheries (Havas 1999, Ladányi–Szelényi 2006, Virág 2006, Durst 2008), only some research investigates urban districts (Ladányi 2008), and there is a lack of empirical evidence on the forms and mechanisms of social and spatial exclusion of Roma in the peripheral small town context (Váradi–Virág 2015).

The article is based on the findings of a qualitative research project on Roma marginalization in twenty localities of four regions of Hungary (Váradi–Virág 2014)[2]. The selection of the settlements followed the national distribution of the Roma population according to regions and settlement types. In the first phase of our fieldwork we conducted semi-structured interviews with local Roma and non-Roma stakeholders, analysed documents of local development programmes and also gathered quantitative data to map the distinct conditions in the domains of education, employment and work, housing and infrastructure, and representation and participation of Roma in local policy-making and politics. In the second phase of the research we made in-depth family interviews in three selected localities, the town of our case study among them, to identify and describe the dimensions and mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion as processes affected by ethnic relations. In the selected small towns the social and spatial segregation of Roma is a common phenomenon, but its patterns vary along the necessity, frequency and features of everyday interactions between Roma and non-Roma or different Roma groups, the exclusionary or inclusionary local politics and practices of non-Roma, which also determine the ways how Roma are allowed to use local institutions and public spaces. The scale of a small town offers us deeper insight in the processes and structures of the changing patterns of the spatial and social segregation of Roma on the continuum between ghetto and ethnic neighbourhood. The case study of this paper represents the patterns of a stigmatized ghetto.

The place

The segregated neighbourhood is situated on the edge of a small town on the inner periphery of the Great Plain. According to different local estimations, 1800–2000 people live in this neighbourhood, but their proportion of the total population is less than 10 per cent. The position of the neighbourhood within the town and in connection with that the social and spatial situation of the local dwellers has been changing over time and determines the changing pattern of spatial and social exclusion. In my paper I present those social and institutional changes, which transformed the socially and ethnically heterogeneous neighbourhood that

2 The article is based on the comparative research project *Faces and Causes of Marginalization of the Roma in Local Settings* coordinated by CEU CPS between 2012–2014 with the contribution of Katalin Fehér, Szilvia Rézműves, Gyöngyi Schwarz, Dezső Szegedi, Annamária Uzzoli, Monika Mária Váradi, Zsuzsa Vidra, and Tünde Virág. https://cps.ceu.edu/research/roma-marginalization

existed in the 1970s and 1980s into the recently formed stigmatized ghetto.

It has been the dwelling place of the local Roma and non-Roma poor since the 1940s. Interviewees recalled how Roma and non-Roma children grew up in a similar environment even in the 1980s, were socializing free of conflicts, and emphasized that they attended mixed classes in the local schools in the 1970s–1980s, while Roma and non-Roma people worked together in large factories operating in the town in those decades. At the same time, due to the social and spatial mobility possibilities, a powerful selective migration process got underway from the 1970s: the majority of the non-Roma families purchased a house elsewhere in the town, and a large number of young Roma residents found jobs in the capital. Due to these selective migration processes, this part of the town tended to become a Roma neighbourhood. After the regime change and again by the turn of the millennium, many of those Roma families who had previously moved to the capital city were forced by different economic and social factors (primarily housing and survival problems and the extended family's support in raising their children) to return to the neighbourhood. There they faced the situation that due to the transformation of the local economy, the former job opportunities providing work for unqualified people had disappeared. These processes have radically transformed the ethnic and social compositions of the neighbourhood, family relations within the segregated neighbourhood, along with the relation between the neighbourhood and the town. Recently, this neighbourhood has emerged as a stigmatized and criminalized space, an ethnic ghetto and a 'no-go area' for the regular townspeople.

The segregated neighbourhood, 'Gypsy-Town' as the townspeople call it, is set apart from the town by sharp boundaries. The perception of ethnicity is spatially determined. According to the majority society, everybody who lives in the stigmatized part of the town is Roma; ethnicity appears in exclusive categories of Roma or non-Roma, even in the case of intermarriages (with some exceptions, see below). From the perspective of the majority society this neighbourhood is socially and ethnically homogeneous and stigmatized; meanwhile, this area is home to three large social groups, each with its own social and ethnic composition, means of subsistence and life strategy. The life of the poorest Roma families in the former Gypsy colony, and in the unfinished cheap social houses is characterized by uncertainty and helplessness. Their daily life is all about extemporized solutions for day-to-day survival. Low level of education, exclusion from the primary job market, early parenthood, and many children: all these factors are interrelated, keeping families in the poverty trap. Fear and lack of personal security is felt mostly on the former colony and in the neighbouring streets. This group has limited social ties that operate almost exclusively within this segregated area, and are primarily kinship and neighbourhood relations (Messing–Molnár 2011). Other Roma families live on the edge of the neighbourhood, several of them in intermarriages maintaining relations beyond the neighbourhood. They have more varied livelihood sources, but their daily life depends on help they receive from their network of family and friends. It is important to note that the differences between the two former groups are not very sharp; some families easily detach from the latter to drop into the former, whereas there are hardly any examples of moves in the opposite direction. The situation of non-Roma families living in 'decent poverty' in the border area of the neighbourhood is particularly uncertain despite the fact that at least one member of almost all households has a steady income. These households essentially differ from the former group in that they mostly experience living in that neighbourhood as an exigency, and maintain little or no contact with neighbours or

relatives, and attempt to make up for supporting networks mainly by creating relations with institutions and different organizations.

The possibilities of Roma and non-Roma families living in the neighbourhood differ in two important aspects: firstly, although they have the same qualifications, meaning that most of them completed only primary school, and only a few of them have skilled worker's qualifications, according to the narratives the non-Roma men and women have spent the past decades in permanent full-time employment, accessed different social networks connected to the non-Roma inhabitants living in the other part of the town and different institutions. Secondly, the various institutions of the local municipality only appear in a positive light in the non-Roma narratives, helping non-Roma poor families in various situations. It means families living in the segregated neighbourhood, but identified by the majority society as non-Roma, are esteemed and accepted members of the local society and use the same organizations and public places as the majority society.

Making and maintenance of invisibility of the segregated neighbourhood

Urban policy, formed and determined by the political and economic interests of the town leadership (political and business actors, influential social groups) primarily determine the image of families living in 'Gypsy-Town' (the segregated neighbourhood) through the use of space and institutions, urban development and urban rehabilitation plans, influencing the degree and forms of spatial and social exclusion, the socio-economic transformation of various town quarters. In the last one and a half decades, the development concepts of the town leadership have mostly focused on the renewal of the town centre and the modernisation of public institutions. In addition to carrying out developments, the local government initiated the expansion or downsizing of services and institutional capacities according to the needs of the local elite. In a continuously changing regulatory environment, it aimed to keep under its supervision the rights to access institutions and services; more precisely, to determine which groups of local society would have the right to use them. Beyond limiting the right of access, there has been an increasing demand to create a parallel set of institutions for the socially and/or ethnically stigmatized group.

Recently the aim of local government is the formal and informal regulation of the use of institutions and the penalization of poverty and criminalization of ethnicity (Wacquant 2009) making poor families living in the segregated neighbourhood invisible, in this way the social and ethnic problems and conflicts can be cooped up behind the 'walls' of the ghetto. In the following I identify the most important tools of social and spatial exclusion which has formed and reinforced the more and more visible 'walls' of the Roma neighbourhood: the (1) creation of a second set of institutions in education; (2) racialized public works schemes; (3) the role of the local Roma Minority Self Government to organize, monitor and regulate this neighbourhood.

Education

In this chapter we intend to present the institutional changes in education that have affected Roma families negatively. There are five elementary schools in the town. The two extremes of the local education system, the school for children with special educational needs, which taught exclusively Roma children, and the school with music specialization that mostly taught children from middle-class families, operated in the same building, and their position, the social and ethnic composition of the children did not change for decades. In the 80s, within the other three elementary schools, there were few differences in terms of the social background of students and the level of education. Albeit in the 1980s the distribution of Roma children among these schools was based on different ways of selection, i.e. the town did (and still does) maintain a special segregated school for children with special educational needs, and parallel Roma classes existed, mixed classes for the deserving Roma children (meaning the parent had a permanent job, and the children had no behavioural problems) were also available. It means there was a portion of local Roma children who 'deserved' to use the same educational institutions as non-Roma. Most of the family interviews from the 1980s refer to a non-Roma school mate. '*I went to school together with, which is not typical today, people like the police commissioner, doctor, notary, colonel, I went to school with these, which the children today cannot say because the Hungarians* [non-Roma] *are such, that this is not really possible*'. Recently, during our research, talking to the parents of school-aged children, however, mention of the school only brings up stories of grievances; we rarely meet a Roma family in which segregation at school, and other experiences related to their children's schooling would not be a daily discussion topic. Recently, almost every Roma family living in the stigmatized neighbourhood had to face exclusion from mostly non-Roma attended schools. '*They are selected out. Hungarians are in one group, but the Roma are the Roma. They were scattered around in groups of 3–4, thrown down here to ensure that the parents would not notice. Because then, they thought, it would not be noticed by the Roma. But it is because the previous headmaster had the Hungarians and Roma in one class. They got along so well one can hardly believe it. There was not a single argument. The new headmaster is a Gypsy-phobe, a racist.*'

The situation and process in education reflect the national tendencies. The Hungarian educational system is a strongly selective one, which does not reduce, but reproduces and reinforces socio-cultural and socio-economic inequalities. The segregative and selective mechanisms of the educational system got an early impulse through the free choice of schools accepted in the 1980s, but the gap between schools has been growing constantly. Educational institutions are extremely sensitive to the background of the students they provide services for, and thus to their spatial position – in spite of the fact that there is no direct connection between educational and spatial segregation, and it is more connected to the rate of commuting students, the share of the Roma population, and the integrational or segregational character of educational policy (Kertesi–Kézdi 2014).

Until 2012 schools were owned by local municipalities; after that, the system became more centralized. The changes in the public education structure of the given small town confirm the general experience that regarding centralization, local municipalities have decreasing influence on local educational policy and church operated institutions play an increasingly powerful role in educational segregation. The number of church

schools expanded radically in the 2011–2012 school year, it was nearly 25% higher than the corresponding figure in the previous year (Váradi 2012). Part of the reason is financial: it is a way for the local government to save funds, while the churches could easily commit themselves to the operation of schools having much more generous funding from the state than the local government.[3] Additionally, churches are not subject to the statutory enrolment districts drawn up by the municipalities requiring schools to take all children from within their district. Church schools could select their own students by turning away any candidate that they did not like with no explanation given, which was a tool in their hands of ensuring an 'appropriate' composition of students in the long term.

In this town, the Calvinist church has been operating a primary school since the 1990s, and has accepted both Roma and non-Roma children for many years, partly because the building of this school is in the vicinity of the segregated neighbourhood, and partly because it has had a segregated site school[4], the so-called 'Gypsy school' for Roma children for decades. Although the selection of Roma children was present for decades, and was based on what the majority required from the Roma pupils: '*I went to a school where very few Gypsy went. Ten used to be a high number. But even those ten had to be white skinned and clean to ensure they did not stick out from the Hungarians.*' The change set in as the new management took office, and refused to enrol Roma children.

Parents who used to study in mixed classes, and had recent relationships with the majority society, tried to provide the best education for their children, i.e. have them study in mixed classes, but that has become increasingly difficult. One woman who grew up in the town said: '*We used to live among Hungarian* [non-Roma] *families, I never knew Roma around here.'* She moved to the capital, where she met her husband; then, because of financial difficulties they moved back ten years ago with their three children. They bought a house at the edge of the neighbourhood among non-Roma. '*When we first moved here, my backdoor neighbour said he was pleasantly surprised to see that none of his chickens disappeared.*' But by the time they had themselves accepted with the people in the street, the population got gradually replaced, and today Roma have become the majority. The two older children went to the closest primary school of good reputation, which was taken over by the Calvinist church a few years before. '*The whole family used to study there, but then the new headmaster started to select among applicants, and he refused Roma. However, I would have insisted on it, 'cos this is where my older children go. Initially they claimed they did not achieve 90%* [the school does aptitude tests for children]*, and then they said we were not religious, then that we were surplus. We also attended the pre-school course to ensure that my kid should be taken on.*'

The other tool to ensure 'appropriate' composition of students was that the new management of the Calvinist church returned the segregated site school, the 'Gypsy school', to the local government. In 2010 the town municipality handed over one of its primary schools along with this 'Gypsy-school' to the Catholic Church.

3 Church school operators receive from the state, on top of the basic statutory support, also a supplementary statutory support that is meant to replace supplementary municipal funding, thus the churches do not need to use their own funds to supplement the schools' maintenance costs. http://www.hazaeshaladas.hu/ftp/hesh_kozoskassza_elemezes_kozoktatas_public.pdf

4 Some town's schools as administrative units are comprised of units at multiple locations, which are sometimes quite far from each other. I use the word 'site school' as a part of a school organization that may consist of more than one school site.

That is, while churches openly targeted élite education and tried to get rid of their disadvantaged Roma pupils, the local municipalities also tried to get rid of its segregated site school. Today, only a handful of Roma children study in the 'main building' of the Catholic school situated in the central part of the town; Roma children attend the 'Gypsy school' situated in the segregated neighbourhood. The Catholic school, as every church-maintained school, has no statutory catchment area and the right to terminate the segregated member school gradually, in an upward system, and become one of the institutions of the local élite. Roma families have an accurate perception of the differences forming among schools: '*Those attending the Petőfi* [the 'Gypsy-school' maintained by the Catholic Church] *wear a letter "C"*[1] *on their back … Almost exclusively Gypsies attend the Kazinczy* [state primary school] *but the better type of Gypsy. Those who can afford it have their children go to the Kazinczy, those who cannot, remain in the Petőfi. (…) Schools select, not the parents; all we do is submit the application sheet. They have the whole thing set in advance.*'

The 'Gypsy school' situated in the segregated neighbourhood maintained by the Catholic Church soon became empty. Recently, Roma children could only 'choose' the single state-owned primary school – situated quite far from the segregated neighbourhood, Roma pupils would need to walk more than half an hour to get there – which sooner or later became segregated. Due to structural changes initiated by the municipal council and the church (the merging and reorganization of institutions), most Roma children sooner or later get enrolled in a state maintained institution. The appearance of church operated primary schools represents the increasingly obvious presence of a parallel institution system in public education: well-to-do middle class non-Roma children study in church schools, while disadvantaged Roma children living in the segregated neighbourhood are confined to attending the state primary school.

The role of public employment

At the beginning of the 1990s, Hungary's economy almost completely and rather rapidly collapsed, and more than one-third of jobs disappeared, mainly in mining, heavy industry and agriculture where formerly the under-qualified, including most Roma were employed. From the 1990s, the Hungarian labour market has been characterized by a very low level of employment, combining a low rate of unemployment with a very high rate of inactivity. The latest Roma-specific survey shows that only 21.6% of Roma are employed and 32.4% are registered as unemployed, in contrast with the whole population where these rates are 54.4% and 8.7% (Gatti et al. 2016: 101); moreover, 10% of the Roma population are totally excluded from the labour market and have never had a job (Mód 2011). The most significant cause for low employment rates of Roma is the labour market disadvantage caused by their dramatically low level of education in comparison with the whole population. The number of children plays an important role for women too, and geographic location also explains some of the gap (Kertesi–Kézdi 2011). The statistical data reinforce our field experience: the institutions created to handle unemployment are dysfunctional; we never heard of anyone finding a job through the employment office, and, as it happens, the unfavourable experience of discrimination encourages fewer and fewer Roma to formally apply for jobs.

1 'C' means 'cigány' (Gypsy).

As Roma are excluded from the formal economy, they participate in the informal labour market. In Hungary every fifth Roma is estimated to be involved in the grey (informal) economy (Messing 2013). According to our field experience, most Roma families have only very weak ties to the formal labour market, or have never been part of it, and their informal job opportunities are rather limited and incidental, too. However, the most widespread informal employment opportunity in this town is day labour, and various occasional jobs, which vary according to how long they last, how regular they are, and how much they are embedded in the local society. Roma living in the segregated neighbourhood usually have limited social ties that operate almost exclusively within this segregated area, and are primarily kinship and neighbourhood relations through which they can scarcely find job opportunities.

In the recent years, the government gradually extended the public works programme, and turned it into an exclusive tool of social policy to handle long-term unemployment and poverty. However, there is no transfer route from the subsidized labour market to the primary labour market, and experience suggests that the arrangement gradually weakens the relationships that link the unskilled unemployed to the labour market, even the informal (Messing 2012). The public works programme plays a key role in the livelihood of poor Roma and non-Roma families. The overwhelming majority of poor families hit by long-term unemployment relates to the world of formal labour market practically exclusively through public work. For the majority of the long-term unemployed Roma living in the given segregated neighbourhood public work offers shorter or longer spells of relief, bringing them work and livelihood. Public work constituted an important source of income for poor families; it is a particularly great and rare luck if even a member of a family is offered public work. The wages of a public worker, even if the employment lasts longer, and even if it is more regular, is naturally not enough to provide an opportunity to break out of poverty.

The distribution of public works possibilities are often based on informal and personal relations embedded in local societies, and determined by the boundaries between different social and ethnic groups, and they distinguish between deserving and undeserving poor. That, however, also means that a second hierarchy parallel to the primary labour market has been formed within the system of public employment, offering employment ranging from almost continuous work inside the institution to litter picking in the street for just a month or two, and where the bottom of the hierarchy is steadily occupied by the undeserving poor Roma. The selection criteria used to select applicants for various positions are remarkably similar to those applied in the primary labour market: there is no direct exclusionary discourse, but certain positions require work experience and some kind of qualification.

The structure of public employment in this town is an accurate reflection of the relation of the town management to the Roma. However, independently from the local governmental policy, the current arrangement of public works may be regarded as a classic workfare type policy, with the clear aim of disciplining, and possibly punishing poor people (Messing 2012, Vidra 2012). According to estimations of multiple local officers 70–80% of the public workers are Roma. The leaders of the Roma Minority Self Government (RMSG) play a key role in selecting public workers and organizing the work: they are appointed team leaders authorised to select the members of their team. Meanwhile, the members of the RMSG are themselves unemployed too and

continuously employed in public works schemes. That – on the one hand – gives rise to allegations that the leaders of the RMSG unfairly favour their own families, but at least that enlisting for public work requires being on friendly terms with the leaders of the RMSG. On the other hand, Roma have the impression that the local government organizes separate Roma and non-Roma teams, i.e. that the local government organizes public employment on an ethnic basis. It is a fact that only Roma men and women pick up litter in the streets and sweep public spaces, and the local inhabitants regard the Roma as *the* public workers. At the same time, the local municipality dismisses allegations that it arranges its public works programme based on racial considerations. The overwhelming majority of public workers are Roma, wherefore necessity dictates that some teams should be composed of Roma only, while there are also teams in which Roma and non-Roma work together (Messing–Bereményi 2016).

At the same time not everyone has the experience and load-bearing capacity to qualify for the so-called *élite* teams. That meant a few teams set up by town management years ago, in which public workers worked almost all year on average, and directly did useful work for the town. Some of them, mostly women, doing office work, which was a way of filling standard local government jobs with public workers at reduced cost. The same was done with cleaners and kitchen staff. In addition to building pavements and renovating institutions, there has been a project for ten years: they purchased equipment, and paid 4–5 people to repair the town's asphalt roads. '*The asphalt élite team have no special qualification, only that they have seen concrete at least once in their lives. They start work at 7 o'clock in the morning, they finish the asphalt work by noon, they go home, have lunch, have a shower, come back refreshed, and then throw the asphalt up on a truck, and transport it to the site*' (officer at the local municipality). The special public works programme on agriculture also provides an opportunity to employ several people continuously: they produce early lettuce, radish, potatoes, paprika, which they hand over free of charge to the kitchen of the local crèche. The members of these teams are typically non-Roma, and their employment is almost continuous; in this way, local inhabitants *don't regard them as public workers*, just diligent local people who work for the town.

Selection and discrimination among public workers is present not only in practice, i.e. in terms of visible/invisible, superfluous/important work, but also in the narratives of the staff of the local government coordinating public work. Roma teams working in the street are usually regarded as absentees, being late for work and doing nothing, while workers of the 'élite' teams are referred to as esteemed experts. In other words, the town management maintains part of the public work for the 'deserving' poor, regarding them non-Roma, who do useful work for the benefit of the town, who are not regarded as real 'public workers' for the local inhabitants, and part of it for the 'undeserving' poor, who are almost exclusively Roma, doing 'nothing' on public spaces thereby further confirming their undeserving status. Local social and political support for increasingly stricter workfare and the 'work for benefits' principle remains strong, and public work becomes a tool for the distinction, disciplining and/or reward of the deserving and undeserving poor (Szalai 2009, Ferge 2012).

The surveillance of space

In our settlement, ensuring public safety, safeguarding the value of investments in the town centre, and maintaining the peace and safety of families living in the town's interior areas are among the most important goals of the town leadership. Making the urban space safe means legal instruments and policing techniques, which enable the spatio-social exclusion of groups stigmatized as undesirable by society under the banner of realizing urban development goals. This implies the criminalization of urban policy and the extension and strengthening of punishment politics (Wacquant 2009). According to Wacquant's reasoning, it is the task of the punishment apparatus to, on the one hand, hold the increasing disruptions arising from extensive social insecurity and growing inequalities in the lower social strata at bay, and on the other hand to ensure the surveillance of precarious social groups. This logic demands the increasingly strict control of public spaces. Through regulating the use of urban spaces, urban policy ensures a liveable urban environment for 'orderly' citizens, and keeping up the value of urban renewal programmes, achieved through control over families living in the 'dangerous' part of town (Mitchell 2010).

Nowadays, this neighbourhood appears as a stigmatized and criminalized space in the narratives of actors working in various educational, social or administrative institutions, linked with notions of alcohol and drug consumption, prostitution, illegal dogfights, etc. Social experts working in town, just like the staff of the local government office, offer a clearly exclusionary, stigmatizing and criminalizing narrative, even when the expert in question is in daily contact with the subjects. '*There are ruling families (…) and we don't mix them, we don't put them in the same brigade. These people blow each other up with hand grenades, kill each other with knives, swords, everything. You must pay attention not to put enemies on the same team, because the result will not be work, but fighting*' (public works organizer at the local government).

A social worker in daily contact with the families mentions drug use as an everyday problem of the families, or clients seeking her out. Although young people are being brought to the hospital for gastric lavage almost every week, they have no tools in their hands to deal with the problem. The police are similarly incapable: by their own account, they don't have the tools to supervise the 'Gypsy-Town', to have control over the processes taking place there. Although they maintain regular patrols in the neighbourhood, and they accurately see substance use, they know *'it is not possible to prevent drugs via administrative means*'. Prostitution is the largest problem beyond the almost everyday conflicts developing into fights and drug use. While the latter two are completely in the open, and they have become an everyday occurrence for the inhabitants of the 'Gypsy-Town', information on prostitution is only second-hand; it is a shameful activity to be kept under wraps. '*We were going to the next town by car, and I saw two mommas standing there. One waved, but it looked like she was ashamed, and I value that greatly. As long as it stays this way, it is good, as long as we don't speak of it the way we do about drugs*', recounts one of the social workers.

The loss of security is an everyday experience for the majority of families living in the 'Gypsy-Town', but it is linked not only to the criminality appearing in the neighbourhood. The exclusionary, racist threat from majority society is becoming increasingly common in the neighbourhood, which affects better off and poor Roma alike. That is, families living here also feel in danger due to their ethnic belonging. One of the reasons

is the living memory of the 2008–2009 Roma murders in nearby settlements, and another is the continuous presence of the far-right party 'Jobbik' that has garnered a rapid rise in popularity since the early 2000s, and the 'Magyar Gárda' (Hungarian Guard) a pseudo-civil militia organization in the town and the segregated neighbourhood (see more Vidra 2014). '*Life isn't safe anymore, we don't feel safe. We are afraid even if we go out to the toilet. It is because of the shootings. The fear is inside us. There were bikers here not so long ago. When the attacks were taking place, many of us stood guard in the street – there are four or five Gypsy houses here, or ten – we all stood guard. The civil guards were here, the police also – they were okay.*'

> *'Jobbik is here in town, there was a period when they broke into houses beat people up. Many were afraid, especially those who lived on the edge of town. And on March 15th, the Guard held a march here. I am not afraid of them, but if I saw them, I'd break out in a cold sweat.'*

The town is not merely without means and powerless to solve the problems, but it looks like it is not even interested in dealing with them.[2] This way, it gives ground to the 'simple solutions' of various racist, exclusionary groups on one hand, and by holding the Roma responsible for their own problems, it gives the tasks of organizing, controlling and 'keeping Gypsy-Town in check' into the hands of the leaders of the local Roma Minority Self Government (RMSG), reasoning that they are the only ones with regular contact with the Roma families living in the segregated neighbourhood.

In this small town the local administration reported a good and smooth relationship with the RMSG adding that they tried to involve the membership of the RMSG in all issues that concern the Roma. Meanwhile the representatives of the RMSG complained that they were not given the opportunity of participating in the work of the town's committee that prepares decisions, and it may also occur that the local government changes their list of Roma recommended for public works without informing them. Even if the participation of the RMSG in preparing decisions is strongly limited, town administration put the leader of the local Roma Minority Self Government in charge of organizing, controlling, and 'keeping the "Roma neighbourhood" on a leash'. At the same time, it participates in distributing the resources granted to Roma living in the segregated neighbourhood as the local government seeks its opinion before handing out assistance. They assemble the public worker brigades, but they also manage enrolments in training courses related to development applications. The chairman uses that power to reinforce his political position; he is the founding member of the local organization of the pro-government Lungo Drom, that recruits members among Roma public workers even today. At the same time he himself and the members of the RMSG are also unemployed: their employment depends on the local government. It still seems that the role of the RMSG as 'gatekeeper' is necessary also in order for the town administration to avoid coming into personal contact with the colony's inhabitants. That is at least what the story of a young Roma woman seems to prove, who asked for a personal appointment with the mayor, but when she turned up for the meeting, she found, to her utmost surprise, that the chairman of the RMSG was also present. '*When I said that I preferred not sharing my story with him, because just what authorizes him to hear my problem, she pretended to not even having heard me. (…) She* [the mayor] *said she*

2 The erroneous nature of urban policies up to now is demonstrated by how, after we had finished our fieldwork, the candidate for Jobbik won the municipal elections, and became mayor. The previous assembly had no Jobbik members; only an independent delegate was rumoured to be supported by them. Since the municipal elections – according to the entries of local blogs and Facebook pages – authorities have stepped up control in the 'Gypsy-Town'.

needed protection. So I say am I gonna eat you or what ? So why the protection?? He [leader of RMSG] *stayed, moreover, he spoke for the mayor.*'

The leaders of the RMSG – in addition to public works and the training and employment connected to development projects – also participate, or participated in organizing day and seasonal labour. One of them organizes day labourers for agricultural work: '*(…) I got people for the kind of people who had entrepreneurs' permits, and I was asked by some village people if I could bring them fifty, sixty, sometimes thirty, depending on when and what kind of work they needed done. And they asked me to bring it, and gave a negotiated wage (…) Then I realized, why should I make others rich for small change? They earned pretty good money there. So then I realized that I could also do this. And at one place, I succeeded in getting work for myself as well*' (member of RMSG). During our fieldwork, he himself was working as the foreman of a public works brigade. Another former member of the RMSG has worked at the local brickworks since the 1980s, and received an opportunity to organize work on account of his trustworthiness and contacts. '*Then we had an opportunity. We got work here, here in the brickworks; they said we should do it as an enterprise. There was an entrepreneur they weren't satisfied with. They knew we were working in that, so they handed it over to us'* (member of RMSG). The business went very well for years, '*You could make a living',* he said modestly. The bricks were mostly used to build 'szocpol' (social housing subsidy) houses; the constructions were organized by another local Roma entrepreneur. '*It is hard to sell today, but then, adobe went very well (…) Today it is hard, hard to sell adobe. It is hard, you know, because there are no constructions like that anymore, szocpols are over'* (member of RMSG). The two entrepreneurs are relatives, and used to be the representatives of the local RMSG for a shorter or longer period; their businesses basically depend on exploiting the opportunities linked to the Gypsy-Town: here they recruit their day labourers, from here they go to work at the brickworks, to make bricks they then sell for 'szocpol' houses built in the Gypsy-Town. That is, the RMSG representatives don't just dispose over the distribution of public works and project opportunities arriving in the neighbourhood, but this is inextricably linked to their own enterprises. These businesses are special in multiple aspects; first, their activities are typically built on exploiting a single, current opportunity to its fullest, and are thus inevitably temporary; second, they are based on the labour market exploitation of families who live in the neighbourhood and who depend on them.

While the RMSG theoretically serves to represent the interests of the local Roma community, its members themselves appear as unemployed, whose employment depends on the local government. The local government maintains a balanced but not equal relationship with the RMSG's representatives; by involving them in the distribution of social transfers and public works opportunities, it delegates them responsibility, as well as conflicts arising from the scarcity of resources. Meanwhile, the local government grants a kind of gatekeeper role to the RMSG members, whose function is to keep the members and problems of the Roma community away from the town and the local government offices. Accepting the gatekeeper role presumes loyalty towards the town leadership on one hand, and on the other hand means the expropriation of institutional relationships pointing outwards to the families living in the 'Gypsy-Town'. We could say that a hierarchical chain of existential and political dependencies has taken shape, where the president and the members of RMSG are loyal towards the town leadership, but are representatives of power towards the Roma living in the segregated neighbourhood. In this case, power means at the same time disposal over the distribution of public resources, access to occasional work

opportunities arising in the neighbourhood, and total control over the articulation of interests and administrative procedures. That is, the RMSG's members can fulfil their gatekeeper role by organizing the surveillance of the neighbourhood in place of the national organizations and institutions, based on the total control of the vulnerable families living in the neighbourhood, keeping them in personal dependency, and subject to their exploitation.

Conclusion

The place of our research situated on the edge of the small town and has been the dwelling place of the local Roma and non-Roma poor for decades. Previously the ethnically and socially heterogeneous neighbourhood connected to the town through different institutions and personal relationship: most of the Roma and non-Roma children attended mixed classes in the local schools in the 1970s–1980s, and Roma and non-Roma people worked together in large factories operating in the town in those decades. Due to the social and spatial mobility possibilities, means non-Roma families bought houses in the other part of the settlement and Roma and non-Roma families moved to the capital city and later, after the regime changed and again, at the turn of millennium more and more Roma families were forced to return there, the neighbourhood became an ethnically and socially homogeneous place. Recently the neighbourhood is set apart from the town by sharp boundaries, and the perception of ethnicity is spatially determined. From the perspective of the majority society this neighbourhood is socially and ethnically homogeneous and stigmatized; meanwhile, this area is home to different social groups, each with its own social and ethnic composition.

The theoretical framework of the paper was linked to Wacquant who conceptualized a ghetto as a concentrated dwelling place of marginalized social groups belonging to various ethnic minorities that has four structural elements: stigma, constraint, spatial enclosure and institutional parallelism (Wacquant 2012). The form and the composition of these elements have been changing over time and in this process the role of different organizations and institutions that structure the life of the urban poor are fundamental (Allard–Small 2013). *In my paper I presented the institutional changes that transformed the socially and ethnically heterogeneous neighbourhood into a stigmatized ghetto.* The most important institutional changes that affected Roma families negatively happened in education. The local government in collaboration with the churches initiated merging and reorganization of educational institutions, consequently most Roma children sooner or later get enrolled in a state maintained institution. The appearance of church operated primary schools represents the increasingly obvious presence of a parallel institution system in public education: well-to-do middle class non-Roma children study in church schools, while disadvantaged Roma children living in the segregated neighbourhood are confined to attending the state primary school. Public work offers more or less stable sources of income to under-qualified, long-term unemployed Roma. The current arrangement of this public employment system is regarded as a workfare type policy with the clear aim to discipline and punish poor people. The institutional parallelism appears in local public work too: the town management maintains part of the public work for the 'deserving' poor, regarding them non-Roma, who do useful work for the benefit of the town, and part of it for the 'undeserving' poor, who are almost exclusively Roma, doing 'nothing' on the visible public spaces thereby further confirming their undeserving status.

However, the penalization of poverty, creation of a second set of institutions in education and maintain racialized public works scheme serves the protection of the members of the majority from contact, and daily encounters with those living in the ghetto, and thus from the symbolic dangers that, in the eyes of the majority, are associated to ghetto dwellers. In this ghettoization process the members of Roma Minority Self Government have an important and undoubted role when collaborating with the town's leader and accept the 'gatekeeper' role. While the members of RMSG have to be loyal towards the town leadership, they are also representatives of power towards the Roma living in the stigmatized neighbourhood. The RMSG's members can fulfil their gatekeeper role by organizing the surveillance of the neighbourhood based on the total control of the vulnerable families, keeping them in personal dependency, and subject to exploitation.

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On the transformation of a former worker's colony
Symbolic and social boundaries in the making

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Abstract

The study analyses a segregated neighbourhood's microcommunity embedded in a former industrial middle-sized town. Symbolic boundaries are constructed to differentiate people, spaces and social practices and to create categories and classifications for them, while social boundaries are the objectified and realized differentiations. Studying symbolic and social boundaries made by the residents of a former workers' colony allows us to describe the dynamically changing relations within a socially and ethnically mixed poor neighbourhood, paying attention to those conditional factors of local structural, political and cultural context that determine the uniqueness of this location. Established and outsider groups are maintaining symbolic boundaries rooted in social boundaries, while ethnic boundaries are symbolically drawn between Roma and non-Roma residents of the colony.

Key words: symbolic boundaries, social boundaries, exclusion, Roma settlement, poor neighbourhood

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On the transformation of a former worker's colony

Symbolic and social boundaries in the making

Béke is a former workers' colony in the post-industrial North-Hungarian middle-sized town, Kormos[1]. Residents are drawing boundaries between people, spaces, and social practices in order to create classificatory categories for themselves and for others, to interpret reality from their own position. Studying social and symbolic boundaries in a spatially clearly delineated, dynamically changing, socially and ethnically mixed neighbourhood provides an opportunity to describe those differentiations that residents construct to position themselves within this transforming environment. The boundary making processes are analysed in the light of the structural conditions of the residents, the diverging livelihood strategies and the relatively rich social capital that the population of the neighbourhood holds. Differentiations represented by symbolic boundaries are also describing the struggle for scarce resources – such as housing, livelihood – and the symbolic domination and social exclusion in the transforming neighbourhood. In Béke the main boundaries are drawn between the relative categories of established and outsider and Roma and non-Roma residents, while these differentiations are grasped from various aspects in the local narratives. Within this context individuals are drawing symbolic boundaries that can be negotiated into realized social boundaries in the long term, or can reflect existing or social boundaries already dissolved.

After a theoretical introduction on the contextual approach of neighbourhoods and the processes of social and symbolic boundaries construction the study opens with the short social history of the Béke colony. The present-day livelihood strategies and the social capital of the neighbourhood are presented to give an overview of the living conditions of the neighbourhood and specify its unique context embedded historically, socially and culturally. Subsequently boundaries are scrutinized from different aspects: the spatial and external symbolic boundaries of Béke give way to established inhabitants versus outsider relations and symbolic ethnic boundaries that are understood symbolically and socially.

On social and symbolic boundaries as contextual factors

Loic Wacquant defined the *ghetto as a spatially based institution* of ethnoracial closure and control, and positioned his relational approach in contrast to those who defined ghetto simply as a low-income neighbourhood. Conversely, the ghetto is strongly rooted in its historical meaning and racial character and the mechanisms of its constructing processes. The ghetto is defined by its structural components: the stigma that is attached to the place, the constraints that tie residents to the locality, spatial confinement established by the impermeable boundaries of the place, and institutional parallelism. The ghetto maintains a parallel institutional system, which substitutes the majority's system, but often in an incomplete and inappropriate way. While

1 The name of the town and the segregated area as well as the interviewees are anonimized in the paper.

all ghettoes are segregated, they are not necessarily poor neighbourhoods, and are distinguished from ethnic neighbourhoods or enclaves. For the dominant groups of racial domination ghettoes are places to confine, control and isolate the subordinate groups, while to the subordinate it can be a protective place. At the same time ghettoes also provide opportunity to exploit and extract the maximum profit possible from the excluded groups (Wacquant 2012, 1997).

Mario Small is arguing against this institutionalist approach of the ghetto which assumes the approximate uniformity of ghettos in a decontextualized way, therefore it supposes universal social mechanisms and the uniformity of these neighbourhoods' effect on residents. Small especially calls attention against the homogenizing view of ghettoes, partly argued on the base of the Chicago-centred US urban research tradition. The *conditional approach* does not lose interest in systematic understanding of poor neighbourhoods: it states that context matters; there are intermediary, contextual factors that shape the outcome of different neighbourhoods and this approach is committed to the recognition of these important differences of neighbourhoods and also to the systematic research of neighbourhoods (Small 2008, 2004). Such intermediary factors can be diverse. Mario Small himself builds his study on Villa Victoria, Boston, on the understanding of such factors: the case describes how social isolation in a distinguished neighbourhood is dependent on many local supraindividual factors e.g. the availability of resources, the quality of the neighbourhood's boundaries, the local ethnic and class composition and the cohort-characteristics of the neighbourhood. Besides the neighbourhood-level conditional factors, there are some that can be active at the individual level, such as the age, employment status, individual life history (immigrant status in the case of Villa Victoria) and the narrative frames which can also represent the affect toward the neighbourhood (Small 2004).

Studying symbolic and social boundaries is a tool to conceptualize the hierarchies and group relations through the culturally constructed social categorization schemes that individuals and groups apply (Small et al. 2010, Small–Newman 2001). The construction of *symbolic boundaries* is the conceptual differentiation of social actors, which allows the individuals and groups to differentiate between people, spaces and social practices and to create categories and classifications for them. This is a socially applied tool to struggle over the understandings and interpretations of reality and to acquire status and resources. Groups of individuals are drawing symbolic lines between themselves and others thus they accumulate their own identity or they are able to concretize a new institution through boundary making. In contrast with symbolic boundaries, *social boundaries* are the objectified and realized differentiation of groups that allows the unequal redistribution of scarce resources. Social boundaries are materialized by stable behavioural patterns and these boundaries are widely agreed. Thus symbolic boundaries often normalize and enforce social boundaries as social differences, class distinctions, etc. Symbolic boundaries are necessary but not sufficient conditions for objective, social boundaries. Symbolic boundaries are applied to contest and reframe the meaning of social boundaries, they are able to substitute or support social boundaries even after their dissolution (Lamont–Molnár 2002). During the *boundary making process* (or boundary work) we can see the construction of inequalities between groups and therefore the process they compete for the acquisition of scarce resources, the legitimacy and institutionalization of their social and spatial position (Small 2004, Small–Newman 2001). The study of symbolic boundaries provides a great opportunity to scrutinize the dynamic relations among individuals and groups not through

the research of their internal qualities but through the boundaries created and used by them (Small–Newman 2001).

This conceptual classification is especially apparent and important is the case of redistributive and welfare policies since they directly affect the resources different groups are able to acquire (Small et al. 2010). In the case of Kormos the analysis of symbolic boundaries applied by institutions (Fehér 2015) sheds light on those boundaries the experts of the social providers and the developmental projects are drawing along worthiness and between racialized, classed others, positioned in space (in different colonies and settlements). Over the institutionalized boundaries it is also essential to analyse such categories among individuals, because it reveals how much residents of a segregated, poor neighbourhood consider themselves to be part of the mainstream society and what kind of inner differentiations form due to the struggle for resources such as housing in the colony and more symbolically for the affiliation and symbolic domination of the neighbourhood, and the normalization of social transformations. Béke colony could be seen as an 'exceptional' case of the ghetto because of the great changes in the social position and composition of the neighbourhood and the rapid transformation of what it means to 'live in the Béke colony' for the residents. The analysis of boundary making process deepens the understanding of the dynamic social processes that characterize the diverse society of Béke colony. It reveals the symbolic boundaries that are able to materialize thus to contribute to social exclusion and residential segregation, and to reproduce social distance and spatial disaffiliation.

The case study of Béke colony is based on a qualitative empirical research carried out in a segregated and stigmatized neighbourhood of the former industrial middle-sized town, Kormos. It builds on the sociological fieldwork conducted in the colony. The methodology fits into the framework of community studies that aims to reveal specific sections of the community's microworld through collective and individual interviews, and field observations. The study partly leans on the background knowledge gathered by interviews with local key informants and experts (leaders of the local government, social and educational providers, minority and church representatives). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 22 randomly selected local residents living in Béke colony, in several cases the discussion involved more than one household member. They were asked about their family, work and housing history and their reflections on the changing status of their block, the colony, their situation within Béke and the town, and the local social and ethnic relations. Field observations were made during the interviews (which were conducted in varied localities, in the intimate sphere of the household, in the gardens or in the central playground), in the local small shop or during a walk around. The team visited the colony at diverse times of the day and the week (during the day, early at night-time, weekend, etc.).[2]

The history of Béke and the social capital in the neighbourhood

The conditional approach emphasizes the heterogeneity of ghettos and poor neighbourhoods. Their difference is rooted in their distinct social history and in the divergence of social capital that the individual residents and the community hold, which have an effect on the isolation of the neighbourhood. The following

2 The interviews were gathered in the framework of *Social and ethnic boundaries* (OTKA 101299). Participants of the fieldwork were: Szilvia Rézműves, Dezső Szegedi, Zsuzsanna Vidra, András Vigvári, Tünde Virág and Katalin Fehér.

chapter gives an overview of these unique qualities, supported by the diverging present-day livelihood strategies that are determining the changing status of the neighbourhood.

The short social history of Béke colony

Kormos is a former industrial town in Northern Hungary with a shrinking population over 30.000 people. Its history is closely related to the forced industrialisation and artificial boost of the town. Its rapid development already started in the beginning of the 20th century, but was fastened along the industrial expansion of the socialist era. In this sense the history of Kormos is not exceptional but at least unique: the economic and social policy of the state socialist system deeply determined its development and social structure, which was followed by a steady degradation during the postsocialist transition.

The centre was the original small town of Kormos which were joined by small neighbouring villages and a fragmented system of newly built colonies at the time when the metallurgic factory was still expanding continuously from the second half of the 19th century. The outer parts of the settlement are frequently lying in the locally typical long-running valleys thus they do not form a cohesive urban fabric. The immensely hierarchical settlement structure of Kormos that solidified in the beginning of the 20th century accurately reflected the individual positions in the local society and in the factory hierarchy (Szabó 1938, Valuch 2010). The highly separated social and employment groups maintained their spatial distance and the difference in the location of their everyday activities also during the years of socialism. The long prosperous years of the factory attracted many from around the country. Masses of people had arrived in several waves, in the beginning of the 20th century, then in the 1920s and finally the last great wave was due to the reorganization of the agricultural sector in the 1950s. One of the social boundaries of the hierarchical local society had been running between the diverging lifestyles and attitudes of multigenerational worker families and the 'villagers' from the joined communities, and later the new workers coming from a peasant milieu (Valuch 2010). The population of the town was steadily growing until the beginning of the 1980s, increasing fivefold the number of inhabitants in the beginning of the 20th century.

In the first half of the 20th century the factory intended to localize the workers and to establish multigenerational worker dynasties. The unusually strong social provision of the factory (Nagy 2012, 2011) decreased after the Second World War. The forced industrialisation were relying on the existing infrastructure as much as possible without new development – regarding housing, food supply, education and culture as well, causing severe housing and food shortage (Valuch 2010). Both the population of Kormos and Béke colony developed due to *selective migration*. The status of the Béke colony has changed in parallel with the development of the town, the completion of new residential areas and the population exchange induced by moving out. This exchange has attributed to the mass moving of the better-off population to the centre into the new block houses with all the modern convenience during the 1970–80s. At the same time more substandard colonies in precarious condition were demolished and the former tenants found their new home in Béke. Housing was allocated in accordance of the residents' social position which was defined by their function in the social hierarchy of the factory.

The Béke colony was built in the beginning of the 1920s as one of the last workers' colony of Kormos for middle-ranked skilled factory workers, foremen and small functionaries with two or more children. The society of the Béke colony represents the mix of the former workers' diverse spatial origins. The pleasant environment of the colony was markedly a great housing opportunity partially because of the lack of alternatives. During the years of the functioning factory, the personal relations of Béke colony were structured by the *unity of the workplace and residence*. It interweaved the family and community life and its central position affected also those who were not employed by the factory. In the life story of the oldest residents the socialist organisation of work and culture dominantly appears, they had often met their future partners in worker meetings and factory events. Besides the factory work and the 'elite' housing, the oldest residents of the Béke colony talk about *poverty* and the constraining ways of obtaining income. The population was forced to partially rely on self-supply. The poverty and rationing was natural part of life: some were gardening to sell their produce, others kept animals in the colony. Some maintained their agricultural background, and worked the land over the weekends and during holidays. While workers gradually lost their engagement in agriculture, their knowledge still paid off in their small garden plots in Béke.

> *'But that time it was really-really chic to live here, because Béke was wonderful and everybody wanted to come here to live. But those who already lived here were mooning away to the apartment houses. We were happy to get in here, we had a small garden, a small plot.'* (Family 22)

Diverging social positions in the colony – present-day livelihood strategies

According to the conditional approach of poor neighbourhoods the social isolation is not evident in every place, however the relation of isolation, resources in the neighbourhood and the social capital in a broad sense are also contextual. While a high resource prevalence and 'institutional completeness' of a neighbourhood can indicate the closing down of a place by limiting the opportunities to interact with other social strata, strengthening bonding and weakening bridging social capital (Putnam 2000), it can also happen the other way. The use of resources depends on how people perceive and use these resources and the neighbourhood as well (Small 2004).

The population of the Béke colony can show off important social capital, resources and relations, networks that mark the social position of the neighbourhood within Kormos. While the former colony provided guaranteed residence status to factory workers leading to a relatively homogenous population, the selective migration and changing economic structures ever since induced a more heterogeneous, mixed population with diverging social positions in the colony.

The oldest cohort that had all been attached to the factory, now rely on pension – which is a relatively stable, abundant source of livelihood. They are among the better-off families of the colony now; however, those who went on disability or pre-retirement are in a more difficult situation financially.

The present middle-aged cohort of Béke still had some engagement in the factory work – even though they were working in the factory of Kormos for a short-term period, at a very young age. Later some were seeking similar positions countrywide and were moving around assembly lines and worker hostels, but finally they

returned to their hometown. Some of the colony residents are employed in *public work*, which is a relatively advantageous position. There is strong selection among the high number of the unskilled unemployed, but everyone has to leave the system periodically to become entitled to social assistance. The income from public work – even in the special cases when two adults are employed – is still very low to provide for a family, and it is still temporary.

Longer-term, seasonal agricultural work (*'alföldezés'* in the local slang, originating from the geographical location of the Great Plain) is also common among the colony's residents. Seasonal commuter contract labour was already characteristic in this part of Northern Hungary in the 1930s, and it was replaced by a new quality of seasonal work in the 1970s (Nemcsik 1976). Although after the transition the backflow from industry to agriculture did not become a dominant strategy (Alabán 2012), this seasonal mobility pattern still persists. The work is generally difficult and testing, meaning 10–14 hours of daily work and crowded, low quality accommodation. Typically more household members take to the road together. There are a number of residents of Béke colony who are engaged in the *organization of the agricultural seasonal work:* they are foremen or runners for the entrepreneur. Some entrepreneurs have had their own brigade for decades and being a foreman is an inherited, longer-term and stable position in the family. These one-week-long or even longer work periods lasting throughout the early spring to late autumn provide important, but seasonally fluctuating sources of income for the families – especially when more family members leave together. In some cases seasonal work is interrupted because of the longer-term income of public work, in other cases people decide to give up public work for a better temporary earning – although the difference of the two works' intensity is enormous. The expenditure structures of the households are seasonally fluctuating, the winter heating period and the drop in the casual labour and public work opportunities causes difficulty. The debt accumulated by the families in this period is repaid in the 'abundant' summer.

There are some who have specialized in different types of acquiring and passing on activity[3]. Collecting scrap metal *('vasazás')* was an important livelihood strategy for some years after the gradual closing down of the metallurgy factory. The acquirer in a higher hierarchical position bought up, transported, and sold the metal collected by the poorest in places where they could exchange it for a better price. While scrap metal collecting has diminished, several of the colony families mentioned it as an important livelihood strategy in the 1990s. There are families who are temporarily engaged or even organize similar types of acquiring and passing on activities. One family lives on collecting medicinal herbs and sometimes snails; they also employ locals to help the picking. To maintain the common livelihood the whole family cooperates tightly – more generations act together in work, provision for the family and balance the seasonal income with outer sources.

More families of the younger cohorts live on the *family allowances* for dependent children. Others have *declared work*, typically with unstable, short-term contracts for instance as cleaner, kitchen helper or gardener. The only local unskilled assembly work is preceded by strongly selective admission process. Furthermore we can find rare examples of better-off residents who work in local shops or small businesses.

3 Havas (1982) identified the survival of the 'acquiring and passing on activity' as a conversion strategy of the traditional occupation and lifestyle of Roma communities during state socialism.

The present conditions of those households that are *sliding down and sinking into poverty* – those who do not rely on wages and salaries – are most often preceded by a family tragedy or an exceptional event, like divorce and serious health problems or they have weaker social networks or advocacy skills. Every family has some kind of administrative 'burden', they have lost their entitlement to different kinds of assistance rooted in administrative error, lack of knowledge that greatly adheres to the struggle for existence. These families are relying on their kinship helping relations and on each other by providing smaller loans and support. Their new poverty is sharpened by hopelessness and inability, which they can feel stronger in the last decades.

> *'We had such a difficult life, for sure. We do not know who to turn to, where to go, we do not know our rights, because if we go somewhere, they destroy us. (...) Because we have ethnic discrimination, we go in somewhere I just got a stroke, we are looked down, talked to in an off-hand manner, this is also a disadvantage for us, but our age as well, we are already old. They say that we don't need "these young women", like me. And think how it feels like, I burst into tears.'* (Family 6)

Social capital in the neighbourhood of Béke and narrative framing

After describing different livelihood strategies we can see that Béke is not a closed neighbourhood despite its clear physical boundaries and despite the generally stigmatized external perception: many social relations connect residents to other parts of the town and to other social strata. Many are living on low, fluctuating, less stable income but these works also need social relations to maintain and the necessary connections are only partially rooted in Béke (like seasonal works and acquiring and passing on activities). While the connections within the neighbourhood are important – as many stress their good and helping neighbour and kinship relations – many report friends outside of their residence, ethnicity and also class.

The higher social capital is also seen in the relatively strong self-interest enforcement and self-conscious use of different institutions. We could see examples of serious trade-union work. Another was exercising their rights wittingly: a father turned to the Equal Treatment Authority because his child was subject to preventive delousing treatment, while no others were. The factory-past and the decades of informal or seasonal strategies of earning income define a different quality of exclusion. Many still maintain a rights- and community-conscious approach partly owing to their past, making them more able to succeed in requesting help and in office administration. Others are members or functionaries in voluntary leisure associations (e.g. pigeon-breeding, fishing or cycling clubs).

The Béke Association was a socialist example for local cultural self-organization. The enthusiasm and personal relations of the old members made the association work in the past. The undead organization has since been revived by the urban developmental project in the colony. Former members are the oldest residents of the colony, but younger cohorts are also represented in the actual leadership. One old member of the association is still in her former position. As a young person she was the leader of the factory's cultural organization, and she has not lost her ability to organize and be active.

> *'As a crazy old fool I am still on to make them do something. Because we have to do something, if nobody does, everything stays the same, the "Döbrögi method" that we have plenty of time for that... but rather we should do something. If this small group can live on... But this is really hard, it is harder for me to*

study others, and I don't know what to think, will it be good or not. For my part I try to do it to be good.' (Family 22)

The new members did not inevitably find their place and position in the association believing that the work they have put in would repay. Longer-term goals that exceed the activities that seem logical at first – charity donation or outdoor cooking – were not targeted yet. These activities and relations function as bridging social capital that could be seen as counter examples for the vulnerability of the Béke population, which is living in new poverty. Among the poorest families many find a stable point they can rely on in religion. *'If I were not Christian, if I were not in my Lord, I say, as a believer, maybe I would have already gone insane.'* (Family 1) The Pentecostal congregation operates since the 1980s in Kormos, Roma believers primarily assemble in small house churches outside of the main community. The congregation is built up through kinship and friendship relations, and it attracts many by its colourful occasions full of music and singing. For a while the leader of the Roma congregation was a Béke colony resident, with his resignation the size of the community diminished, but many – mostly from the poorest strata of Béke – still remained regular members.

'In this time, in these lean times that we live in, we have already learned what it is to suffer privation, because we fast as well. So while others feel scarcity, that he is hungry, he is ill, we have learned that when we don't have it, it is fasting. And really, we drink a glass of water and we are stronger than when we eat. The Lord leads us to it so we have already learned survival. That's why I say that we are on a survival training on the planet.' (Family 6)

Studies on the social networks of poor Roma families show that if a nuclear family is backed up by an extended kinship network, then the general lack of resources still hinders the prevention of the nuclear family sliding down. Moreover, kinship ties (bonding social capital) of poor families are used in a selective way: families only identify within the functioning and helping relations (Messing and Molnár 2011, Virág 2008). For these poor families every helping connection means a lot, especially the bridging connections, when they cannot lean on their bonding social capital. Just as the religious community strengthens these individuals to get through the everyday, the soft elements of the developmental programme, e.g. women's group or the basic competence training for public workers is important for them. The training was a delightful experience due to the kindness and good intentions of the teachers; on the other hand they could use their acquired knowledge without getting an off-hand manner during official administration. This relation exhibits the contrast to other groups of the colony with more stable livelihood and stronger social network, who evaluate these programs as a burden and misappreciate it because of their uselessness or the inability to identify with it.

These relations help to maintain a neighbourhood characterized by relatively high social capital, which in this case – without the institutional completeness of the neighbourhood – contributes to keep neighbourhood boundaries looser, penetrable from the outside as well as the inside. Strong and relatively diverse relations are bridging Béke with other parts of the town. However several people described the closing social network of Béke as more and more young people are staying within the colony's networks and therefore marrying in place.

'Everybody is together here, they make friends together and almost everybody is together, in pairs.' (Family 15)

This tendency will strengthen the density of kinship ties within the neighbourhood and close down outward relations. This could act as a negative, dissuasive force, which hinders individual welfare that strengthens social isolation if the community becomes inward looking (Messing–Molnár 2011).

Small (2002) described the community participation in Villa Victoria and he concluded that local participation is fundamentally connected to the narrative framing of the neighbourhood, and structural constraints are only strengthening or weakening the formed tendencies. In the case of Béke colony it is clearly visible that different groups and cohorts (coming in different waves of moving in) frame the colony differently. In the 1960s and-70s it was a privilege to live in Béke, which contributed to the community activity in the cohort. Whereas the younger cohorts do not link positive connotations to the colony in relation to their own life experiences here, even those who moved in with an upward-mobility aim deprecate it. It supports Small's observations that both older and younger cohorts talk about a steady everyday poverty in the description of the present and past settlement, which indicates that the decrease in community participation may not only be related to the objective structural conditions of the colony but to its narrative framing as well. The transformation of the colony's interpretation by the changing cohorts and symbolic boundaries drawn by them modified the framing and thus the agency (e.g. participation in project programmes, association activity) of the local population. However we cannot restrict the interpretation to the cultural dimension (framing) as objective degradation of the colony has happened as well, and the postsocialist transition has diminished the opportunities of the local residents (including two vulnerable groups: skilled and unskilled workers and the Roma minority).

Not only participation, but moving in and out of the colony could also be the individual response of agency to the different narrative framing. The young woman who formerly reported on Béke being stigmatized comes from an established, 'native' Roma family of the colony. She could interiorize the positive framing of the oldest cohort that could have changed her attitude and agency herself.

> *'The old ones say that they do not want to leave for their old age, but this was really beautiful, there was no such stealing. There was a time when I woke up not having a street door, the rubbishbin could not have been left outside. Now there are people we do not know, because everybody used to know each other. There are young girls who come here – from where, which direction? Sometimes we look at each other with the old ladies where that slum boy comes from, such a big black one, we have never seen him, and how he comes here.'* (Family 9)

Despite her 'native' background and her knowledge on Béke in a positive frame, she decided to leave the colony behind. In her case the framing, as a cultural interpretation of reality could not change the direction of the agency in contrast to the participatory activity observed in Villa Victoria.

Spatial, social and symbolic boundaries on the neighbourhood level

During the process how residents position themselves within the neighbourhood and within the town, they automatically turn to the construction of boundaries as schemes of social categorization that are revealing the symbolic cultural basis for group divisions. Residents and outsiders can draw different boundaries to a neighbourhood and attach different meanings to it. The clearly delineated Béke colony is described differently

from the inside and from the outside. While from the outside symbolic, social and spatial boundaries are identical, the residents draw different boundaries within the neighbourhood. Under the social transformation of a former workers' colony symbolic boundaries became loose and changing as well. Studying symbolic boundaries supports the understanding of the dynamic relation in the micro community, how the boundaries between 'us' and 'them' are drawn and constructed. The gradual transformation of the colony creates an opportunity to the residents to change their relative position and create new symbolic boundaries and reinforce and alter them with social boundaries in the long term. While symbolic boundaries between established and outsider residents are also maintained social boundaries, the ethnic boundaries drawn are maintained in a symbolic way and are under the process of normalization and reinforcement to become social boundary in the long term.

Spatial and external symbolic boundaries – the stigma of Béke

One of the important boundaries constructed and maintained systematically are the territorial boundaries of the Béke colony. As indicated in the description of the colony's historical formation, we could see that Béke has traditionally sharp and fixed boundaries. Its borders are precise and only one side of the roughly rectangular area communicates with other residential areas. The clearly separated, identical-looking structure of the nearly 100 year-old houses has remained almost untouched.

A small centre is detectable in the middle of the colony: a playground in the place of a demolished building, lying beside a community space, both created a couple of years ago in the framework of the developmental projects. Even though this micro-centre is in the centre of events, the community space is barely used in a frequent or spontaneous way. Whereas the central playground and the small shop and bar behind the colony are much more popular.

The orderly structure of the colony's building up 'loses its steady balance' due to the varying physical condition of the houses. The part that lies closer to the centre is better preserved and the gardens are also neater there. The mental map of the residents contains these fine distinctions as they talk about better and worse parts of the colony, and the people who live in the different houses. The routes that lead dwellers in their everyday practices are defined by these mental maps. The descendants of 'native' factory workers, who are the better-off tenants, are drawing a strong boundary between themselves and the colony. They avoid the centre now and leave the colony in the shortest way towards the city.

From the town's external position spatial boundaries are identical with the social and symbolic boundaries maintained. On the one hand the neighbourhood became stigmatized and labelled and it appears in the local narratives as a 'Gypsy ghetto' or a homogenously deteriorating colony. As a consequence residents meet prejudices in the most evident discriminatory situations, for instance on the labour or housing market.

> *'My life has changed; I want to start over. I have found a good tenancy; I want to get rid of Béke. But truly speaking, when I work, I do not see much. But it is enough for me. Unfortunately it has reached the name, you say that you live in Béke and it is embarrassing. Everybody looks down on it. I live in a relatively good location in Béke, I do not have those people around me... – but it is also in my decision that I want to avoid Béke. (...) We go out and then: so you live in Béke, aren't you scared? They are like this,*

why should I be scared. It is not a good neighbourhood, but that's it, there are such people everywhere, unfortunately.' (Family 9)

Even those who do not face the discriminatory strategies directly, perceive the decreasing status of their colony. However most of the residents reflect on the inner processes and boundaries and not on those created by the outer non-Béke population. The inner opinion whether Béke colony is a 'Gipsy colony' or not is divided along the own individual position and the symbolic boundaries applied by the residents.

'It is good to live here. We are a lot here, but apart from this, its name slowly will be Gipsy colony. I was just walking around yesterday; there are still Hungarians. Not one, not two, but there are! Even youngsters.' (Family 2)

On the other hand from the town's point of view Béke is an important colony: the aim of Kormos is to rehabilitate Béke and integrate it into the urban fabric in the long term. Its particular position is due to the fact that the colony seems socially 'retrievable' and it represents architectural value. Albeit residents face strong prejudice and even discrimination in connection with their dwelling place, the general attitude that Béke was not 'given up' just like many other segregated neighbourhoods surely affects the residents' interpretation of the colony.

'Béke colony is an exceptional segregated neighbourhood, which is fully embedded into the urban fabric, consequently it is surrounded by an integrated residential area. It is the town's duty to protect and rebuild it. The flats cannot be renovated anyhow; the original state must be reconstructed, which is not low budget.' (Social expert 1)

A couple of years ago urban rehabilitation and settlement development programs were introduced in Béke colony. Two complex settlement upgrading programmes were implemented subsequently and aimed to strengthen the integration of the Béke colony's population. The projects combined soft social programmes (community events, development of human and health provision, training and education, promotion of wider employment and capacity building) with infrastructural investment (renovation of buildings, creation of a community space). It is partially the unique spatial set that motivates the redrawing of social boundaries in the framework of urban development programmes by changing the structural position and the symbolic boundaries of the colony.

'It is bad until we get to know them'
Symbolic and social boundaries between the established and outsiders

The boundary making process of different groups is strongly related to the history of the colony and the gradual changes in the social status of the newcomers. Due to these processes we cannot only see symbolic, but realized social boundaries, which are interconnected and strengthened by the different experiences of distinct cohorts. In the case of the established-outsider relation the social and symbolic boundaries are closely interlinked and cannot be separated.

The *established-outsider* figurations first applied by Elias and Scotson (1994) are able to describe the main social and symbolic boundary maintained in the colony. The theory of the established and outsiders de-

notes the power differentials between independent groups as the most important differentiation descriptive for diverse social relations and situations. Besides the power differential these relations are often characterized by the intersection of racial and class differences, which is expressed by the narrative interpretation of the figuration (May 2004).

The *established* or 'natives' are those families who have lived in the colony for decades and are keen to distinguish themselves from the latecomer outsiders. They moved in as young factory workers, and now they are already pensioners or close to the retiring age. The boundary maintained by the 'natives' is partly on the grounds of their common experience about the previous social relations in the colony, which is interconnected with the shared cohort. However not only one cohort differentiates themselves from the latecomers, but the group is planted on strong kinship ties of multigenerational colony-based families. The category encompasses their children who grew up here, also started a family and maintain separate households in the colony – they also identify with the neighbourhood and classify themselves as established.

The oldest cohort, who traditionally shared their workplace and dwelling place as well, mostly came from distant settlements leaving behind their families and social networks. Real strong connections were established among them during the decades of cohabitation. They describe their earlier lively years as full of visits, card game nights, collective bacon frying and other feasts, *'as if we would be a family'*. *'When my man got grievously ill, I could count on all the neighbours.'* (Family 11) The fact that mostly men were working in the factory while their wives stayed home with the children and took care of the animals further strengthened the neighbourhood relations. Friends could enter each other's garden without permission if they needed any vegetable. There is an example that a family exchanged their flat just to be direct neighbours with their friend. The oldest cohort still keeps the closeness of their relationship, thus they not only demonstrate the differentiation of their cohort, but also their common perspective on the colony. Bartha (2010) directs attention to the changes in the social relations of former workers: even though it was due to an artificial equalizing policy, the quality of relations in the working and dwelling place was much closer and more intense in the socialist era than after the transition when individualization and loneliness dominate the relations among growing social differences. These different qualities infiltrate the relational characteristics of the Béke's different cohorts.

The boundary between established and outsiders are strongly linked to differences in *mobility* and housing ownership. The privately owned flats are the minority of the colony's houses, however they are owned by the established older cohort. They did not foresee the devaluation of the colony and the town and it was important for them to purchase a privately owned housing, they were motivated also because of their previous positive experience with Béke. They undertook to acquire and renovate their housing over their financial strength. '*I knew if we do something it is ours.*' (Family 12) The open purchasing option was suspended after a couple of years. As an outcome those in private housing became soil-bound, preventing their migration from Béke. The rising maintenance costs of the aging house in parallel with housing overspending aggravated their situation. Many would give their property back to the local government now if there were such a possibility.

Many of the resident who consider themselves natives connect the coming of the 'outsiders' or 'strangers' to the local government's loose *housing policy*. Before the transition it was the factory that decid-

ed the selection of tenants, and many would expect the same from the property management office of the local government. Now flats are rented on auctions but those who apply for housing in Béke generally do not have cash reserves, thereby some collect the money from members of the extended family while others get into usury or save money from their seasonal labour. Previously lifestyle was closely controlled: officials were checking hygiene regularly, 'whether the pot is clean', etc. Some are nostalgic about that, as they express that strong control would really change the reputation of Béke. In their narrative the problem is not rooted in the non-paying of the rent – which is caused by the lack of jobs – but about the lack of 'clean and normal' people.

> *'You could not move into the apartment until the block had signed it. They did not allow it. They had to sign that yes, they approve that I move in. It should be solved like that. Not like now, randomly, let's see the dough, let's put it down, nobody cares about the papers, they do not look after anything, and then they can't find them! They do not pay the rent for years, ruin and smash the flat. Well, what does Béke look like, honestly?'* (Family 1)

The established project their own housing burden on outsiders: they see that flats of the newly arrived tenants – mostly Roma – are better renovated, and they are in a favourable position in the auctions anyway because the great extended families help them out – and poor non Roma are at a disadvantage: they are not able to bid. We can see, that the outsider position in many cases becomes pronouncedly *ethnicized*, which brings us to another important symbolic boundary between the Roma and non-Roma residents of Béke. Mobility and housing differences are materialized social boundaries that describe objectified, resource-based differentiations of social groups, which also align with (partly ethnicized) symbolic differentiation.

Those who rely on symbolic boundaries constructed between the established and outsiders describe the neighbourhood of Béke colony as something fundamentally *changed and deteriorated*, due to the arrival of 'outsiders'. Some still uses the old names of the colonies to symbolically emphasize the changed quality of the formerly different places. Along the context of this symbolic boundary the narrators emphasize the process of deterioration and the sharp contrast between the previous and present times, without and with the outsiders.

> *'But this is already demolished, where I used to live my pigsty was more beautiful. Why was it left to be spoiled?! (...) It was left to be a wreck that I am ashamed of the place where I live. I do not live on Béke, one of the worst places in Kormos! This became a demolished place I don't know what! We need a fence, we need a latch, and we need everything. (...) When we still had the old ones, when we came, it was flowery. We can say that was the real Béke.'* (Family 7)

Many describe the recent local changes in the light of the changing conditions of *taking care of children*. They emphasize the behaviour of the children as something fundamentally different than their previous experience: they are not able to allow their children to play outside, they have to pay much more attention and this closer lookout causes difficulties for the families.

> *'My oldest son never goes out. They easily pick a quarrel, or they swear, he does not like it.'* (Family 3)

> *'It is too mixed. Because of the children, children are different now. It is not the adults, I do not care them even I heard a lot of things what is going on in Béke. But it's rather the children. We always have to be around the children, to avoid problems, bullying, who knows. They are not disciplined, what to do, how to do, what can I allow himself, they swear a lot with the adults as well, they have such a big mouth.'* (Family 4)

This differentiation reflects the same boundary as the established and outsider boundary, but grabbed from another perspective. This approach avoids judging the parents as adults or neighbours, but they express the changes in the everyday life and social practices of the colony.

> *'I watch a little television; dad is dealing with the pigeons, so that we have a little rest. In the night we reach our limit, the whole bunch of kids comes out and they are yelling, playing football, everything.'* (Family 2)

According to the narratives while formerly the neighbours' older children gathered the younger ones at 7.30 in the evening, nowadays children are playing outside after midnight. These conflicts are brought back to different lifestyles and cohorts, however it is strongly related to the changing structural position of the residents. The narrowing down of employment possibilities affects the daily routine of the colony residents as well as the general condition of daily well being, and through that the colony's cohabitation:

> *'The goal was not high-school graduation at the time, because with a vocation people could get on well in metallurgy. It provided security. We did not have those neurotic, stressful people as now. The youngsters are out of their mind.'* (Family 5)

These narratives on the transformation, the description of established and outsiders' relation indicates the creation of a symbolic and social boundary. Different structural positions create different social practices in the daily lives.

One important category, just as the stigma of Béke being a 'Gipsy settlement' is Béke being *criminalized*. This is partially based on the external symbolic boundary created by the rest of the population; on the other hand based on the residents' own experiences. Many describe the outsiders of Béke to be drug users, criminals, and thieves, further enforcing the boundary.

> *'It's not like there are Mercedes cars or who knows what here, but beautiful well-kept gardens, we could quietly come out to walk and talk. Not long ago we also came out to sit, play guitar and sing... Nowadays, not really. Mainly because there are many [glue] sniffers. Not sniffers, but weed smokers, a lot."* (Family 5)

> *'Here the 9–10 year old children smoke, it wasn't like that before... It is like this for a while, joints, and that stuff goes. Every corner they rumble the flats for money. In these deteriorated houses where nobody lives, they are in the gardens. They say it is only amusement, because some do not gamble with money. Sometimes the police come, sometimes they are making troubles, in the next street. There used to be fights, baseball bats, everything. However this police topic is rare, it is not typical. It is not dangerous here at night, they do not pick a quarrel, and they are not here anymore. Those who sniffed were provoking, but there are no such people any more. They are in prison, they moved out or they were evicted.'* (Family 20)

While this narrative connects criminality to individuals, many apply the generalizing boundary they use for outsider residents. Still many describe the problems caused by vandalism, drug abuse as carried out by outsiders or people who actually do not live in the colony. At the same time, a second-generational established family member also describes his youth as delinquent – but his activity was rigidly kept outside of Béke, hidden from the eyes of his extended family living here. We can see that a more shaded and complex problem – which can be discussed from a cohort-related aspect as well – is introduced to differentiate resident groups symbolically.

During the boundary making process being a *latecomer* is relative: even though some families live in Béke for years, they had started a family here, established still see them as outsiders. Some of the families came from demolished or disadvantaged segregated neighbourhoods. The town could have an influence on the transforming status of different neighbourhoods and quarters through the housing tenancy policy and practice. Béke means different things to people with different backgrounds, coming from different location within the town. Some came from privately owned housing sold by auction, for others it was an escape route from another more deteriorating colony. For some Béke is an opportunity to break out, others see it as the new scene for downward mobility. One man who moved from a demolished colony describes his present home as a vivid, fluctuating community as its residents are frequently renewed. He also complains about his 'newcomer' outsider status even after 15 years of residence in Béke. The symbolic boundaries are constructed along temporal differentiations, however it is still a very relative term.

> *'We have always had this – those who had been living here, and there are many new, some were even born here –, that we are incomers, we were put here, and they always have this attitude.'* (Family 8)

Many refer to distinguished families who belong to the oldest cohort and are quite embedded socially. But the boundary between established and outsiders are drawn from the individual position of each person, thus many would call themselves to be established while others would use the notion of outsiders on them. This flexible use of established-outsider boundary also builds on the *intersection with other boundaries*, e.g. with the ethnic boundary drawn within the colony.

Being an outsider intersects with the more refined distinction of people who moved in from certain colonies. This strategy connects symbolic boundaries to the existing *hierarchical territorial differentiations* and spatial boundaries – involving a relative temporal aspect that distinguishes established and outsiders moved in from other colonies different times. There are widely known boundaries and through them maintained hierarchies attached to the fragmented parts of Kormos. Different colonies and their residents are judged accordingly, and in this relation Béke is a higher position colony. Symbolic boundaries are used to differentiate and describe the degree to which poor people define themselves as being close to the mainstream; in the case of strong differentiation between the two (and also other) colonies and the building-up of hierarchies of spaces are parts of this symbolic struggle.

> *'Now some came from Tésás[4], I do not want to hurt them, but they make scenes from time to time.'* (Family 15)

One town-widely stigmatized colony is Tésás: more present Béke residents came from Tésás at different times. Besides being a commonly used degrading individual origin, Tésás is also a competing space with Béke. There is similarly sharp focus on the development of this colony, however with different emphasis and methodology. An NGO had been working there to develop and to open up the place locally for a decade, sometimes in competition with the town's own, developmental projects applying different methods, organizing different scale events and programmes. In the Béke narratives Tésás residents are unworthy through their own fault,

4 Similar worker's colony as Béke, after the moving out of high status factory officials, the moving in of Roma families already started in the 1970s, and by now it has become a notorious colony in Kormos.

they are also lucky to have such a strong hinterland that the NGO provides them. This relation eases Tésás' hardship of scarcity, because they also provide in-kind donations, but at the same time generates envy.

Even former Tésás residents use this symbolic boundary to differentiate themselves from their former residence and identify with Béke. There are two friends, considering themselves established, who are also positioning themselves differently related to Roma from Tésás. While the lady who grew up in Tésás and is really proud of her perceived upward mobility is looking down on them: they are dirty and undisciplined, and the volunteers who are working with them are also useless. Their life is much easier because of the undeserved amount of help. Her friend sees that they are just Roma people like others and the work of the volunteers is heart-warming. Their different positions drive them to draw symbolic boundaries differently, thus to allow us to see the differences in their interpretation of their own origin, mobility and relative position.

While hierarchical territorial differentiations are strongly symbolic, it is also linked to the time of moving in of different cohorts – in this sense, it is an objectified, social boundary as well. But being an established in Béke or an outsider from Tésás is is again a very relative distinction, its understanding depends of the individual and community positions.

'If there are Hungarians, the house is all right, but where there are none, then it is all over.' Ethnic boundaries in Béke

The instrumentalist approach describes ethnicity not as an objective and stable category, but as a *social construction*. Ethnic identity and categorization is contextual, flexibly realized in the changing relations of social interactions and situations, it can be strategic, capable of change and a matter of consent at the individual and collective levels (Barth 1996, Jenkins 2008). This situationalist approach emphasizes that ethnicity is formed in space and time, part of the social perception and interpretation and embedded in the subjective process of identification and differentiation (Feischmidt 2010, Messing–Molnár 2011). The drawing of ethnic boundaries provides a great opportunity to show the *situationality of identities* just as to describe another important symbolic boundary of the transforming Béke colony. In the social relations of the colony, an ethnically mixed cohabitation, people are using situational ethnic classifications as strategic elements to redefine their own position in relation to others, between the symbolically constructed ethnic boundaries. The opportunity to enter and leave ethnic categories and thus cross ethnic boundaries is possible in a less ethnically fragmented and already mixed local society, where Roma and non-Roma relations are more permeable than in traditional societies.

As a starting point, Béke colony has always been an ethnically mixed neighbourhood. The absorbent effect of the industry attracted the Roma population: because of the countrywide catchment area of the factory and the many incoming skilled and unskilled workers the interethnic and territorially mixed marriages were highly prevalent. Roma workers who had arrived, integrated into a newly formed community and not into an ethnically segmented and already solidified local society. Even though they worked in the same factories as the non-Roma in a growing volume, they also had restricted access to some positions and to upward social mobility. Apart from some exceptional individual success stories the higher, more skilled positions were not open to Roma mostly because of their lack of qualifications. The changes in the traditional social order of Roma

being subordinated triggered a resistance against the process of emancipation (Havas 1982). The traditional hierarchic ethnic relations still caused tensions also in mixed marriages.

> *'My mother is – as they say – Hungarian. She is, she also told my brother and me as well, that she is Hungarian: they are Hungarians. But Mum was disowned when she married Dad, because Dad is a Gipsy. But Mum considered herself as Gipsy.'* (Family 1)

While the assimilative policies approximated the everyday life of Roma and non-Roma in the domains of work and education, and it could show off success in social and economic integration, the post-socialist transition brought a new divergence. The otherwise approaching social positions of Roma and non-Roma diverged even more strongly than before the assimilative intentions, when traditionally maintained paternalistic relations were characteristic (Binder 1997, Messing–Molnár 2011). Béke remained an ethnically mixed location where – even though the postsocialist transition specifically harmed Roma – interethnic relations were still maintained in a context of diverging social positions.

Residents begin their positioning from their narratively important story of origin. The time and circumstances of the *family's moving in* (in connection to their cohort) allow people to position themselves as established, without crossing the stigmatizing ethnic boundary.

While interethnic marriages were traditionally present in Béke, the moving in of a large Roma family into a colony still induced resistance among the already settled residents. More interviewees reported on their own family's struggle to move in to a 'new' colony. One established Roma family describe themselves as the first Roma family in Béke. The father was an honoured dispatcher in the factory, which position contributed to their higher status and getting housing in the colony. Before Béke they were also the first Roma family in Tésás.

> *'Well, it was a big struggle to get into Tésás. It was only one Roma family, us. But those who lived there made every effort not to let us in. Where we moved in, the front neighbour was an engineer, a doctor, so an elite company was living there. And understandably they did not want, did not know us. It is another issue that they got to know and like us.'* (Family 5)

As more and more Roma family moved in to Tésás in the 1980s, according to the local narratives, the colony deteriorated and the family decided to move on. They had an opportunity to move owing to the father's good relations in the local council. The process of their admittance started over: locals did not want to allow them into the designated house, but after they moved in, residents took a liking to them, and the family have a place of honour among the 'natives' of the colony to this day. Another Roma family reports the same from the beginning of the 1990s.

> *'Because it was not like that I decide to move into Béke. That time it did not work like that. But Aunt Kati, because there was a Béke's Representation, said that this is an orderly family. Not loudly but they allowed us to move in. We did not need permission, but if they would want to, they could have prevented us from moving in. But my mother-in-law was well-known by Mrs Miskolci, Aunt Irmuska and Manyika – so to say the Hungarians, because it was the main point that very few Roma lived here when we came.'* (Family 5)

For the arriving Roma families the factory and council officials they have kept a personal relationship with represented a strong reference and could break the local resistance. Accordingly the new dwelling meant

a great step forward towards a higher social position. These families report on their struggle to get into a colony: the opposition of the non-Roma residents meant a resistance against the dissolution of the former patriarchal positional relations, which was implied by the better housing and employment opportunities of Roma (Havas 1982). Their success meant that they were accepted by the already 'established' (non-Roma) families. This position changed their perspective and they clearly identify themselves as established, while some others would still consider them newcomers because of their ethnicity.

The narratives on the transformation of the colony are commonly attached to the moving in of the Roma families, despite the long-term tradition of interethnic cohabitation and marriage in the colony. The older cohort of the established – although they talk about Roma as outsiders – had many connections with them during their lifetime. Interethnic marriage was prevalent and Roma and non-Roma shared their living and working space in the different departments of the factory (not always in the same position), and the presence automatically generated some connections. The opinion on Roma is diverging even within families, for today the most important thing to stress about the incoming new neighbours is their ethnicity.

Many native people mention that they had Roma friends, who they would *'kiss even in the open street'*, but they are different than the present-day people. Their difference lies in the common lifestyle and mentality similar to 'the old', which is the outcome of several points of coupling rooted in the common experience and the factory-related past.

> *'I do not feel safe anymore, just as the others. This place is only good for the families, because we still have some Hungarian families. I note that there are some exceptionally wonderful Gipsy families here in Béke, who would be worth to show around for money – not for free, because they have worked as much as hell. I knew a woman close to the steam bank, you could only enter her flat standing on your hands and in a muzzle.'* (Family 22)

In many cases *children of the non-Roma established* also live in the colony and they form a distinct, separate group that maintain boundaries stronger than their parents'. They are the better-off families of the colony who have higher standards of living. Nonetheless they also face labour market struggles, but they are able to sustain their income from several sources thus they can ensure a higher minimum level in the scarce times. The investment they have put into their tenancy is a strong argument against their moving out. These second generational established families are maintaining symbolic and social boundaries jointly as they maintain the ethnic boundary in strict everyday practices. Their networks are really closed in the colony and they maintain many outward social relations. These families are moving within a defined social network which means a limited contact including only their own families, established neighbours and those adults who they know from their childhood and grew up together. Their friends are mostly from outside of the settlement. The categorical aspiration of these families is to stay entirely separated from their environment and in the long term leave the colony behind. Their children are going to the local kindergarten, but they aim to 'rescue' them from the school and enrol them into one of the better-status central schools. Their children hardly keep contact with others from the colony, they don't go out to the playground, only play with each other and other children from the family. The narrative of the second established generation includes a firmly drawn boundary between the

Roma and non-Roma, meaning the differentiation between hardworking and unworthy resident interpreted from a middle-class position. In several cases they even spend financial resources to maintain two tenancies just to avoid unwanted neighbours. In the case of one family the confrontational approach is especially prevalent, while others choose the strategy of avoidance.

> *'And this kid steals the pumpkin from the garden of the old lady. It was this small, not bigger, and the lady is over 80 years or more. I would say, it is interesting, because I have never seen you here before. It is his garden. Than go – I say – to show it to Aunt Ilonka, how beautiful a pumpkin has grown in her garden! But I said it loudly and the kid looked ashamed and dropped the pumpkin on the grass. Let me tell you, have you stolen it for that!? At least you should have brought it back to your mother to cook a pumpkin dish. He picked it off, but he did not finally take it home...'* (Family 19)

This approach may cause problems for their relatives who are constrained to maintain social relation with those affected by the conflicts (e.g. schoolmates, friends). However, the own labour-market problem of a second-generational established lady forced her to apply for a position at the Roma Minority Self-Government.

After all we can also find interethnic relations that are bringing back to the former years: neighbours are paying attention to each other, help to do shopping or the small matters around the house. *'There are people who are better than the Hungarian'* (Family 11). There are examples of the connection of the older and younger cohorts.

> *'This small child is coming here because I teach her, I chant verses, and sing and I correct her speaking. (...) We met once when she said, "you witch!" I told her how would I be a witch, I do not speak the witch language. But somebody told her. Than we started to play ball; she has a ball, I served the ball. As she grew she regularly came to me. I asked her in the spring, "Szandi, am I still a witch?""Oh, you are not". I am anywhere, even in public places, she comes to me, "Aunt Joli, Aunt Joli," and she snuggles up to me. I adore this child. She needs to be cared for.'* (Family 22)

Although this relation could have been a beginning of a relation full of disputes and tensions, the openness and the sensitive approach to other's circumstances connected two groups living with different attitude and lifestyle. Even though ethnic boundaries appear in the narratives of some residents with good interethnic relations, they only apply it symbolically and not socially, contrary to the second generational non-Roma residents.

There are residents of Béke who do not accept the openly used ethnic boundaries and stress their positive experience with their Roma neighbours, friends, etc. To some extent they see the interethnic past and the situational, sometimes diminishing ethnic identity and do not attach importance to the boundary between Roma and non-Roma. A Roma resident emphasized that the ethnic discrimination is also diminishing because now a lot of people realize that social problems are not due to the otherness of Roma but because of structural disadvantages that now affects non-Roma in Kormos as well.

> *'I have a lot of Hungarian pals, still to this day. It was not like so the Gipsy, so the Hungarian. I have never been like that. Just now – because some incite – it is not the fault of the people, it should not be like this.'* (Family 18)

Some are more sensitive to the changes, and see that not only negative, but also rather mixed processes are shaping the social composition of the colony. These arguments seem to draw more shaded lines and less symbolic boundary making.

> *'They are not loud in the playground, although there are a lot of children. They thought that the playground would be demolished by the winter, but no. They warm to the work, if they see that they are sweeping the snow, they do as well. They also asked how to plant in the garden. Still they cannot use the hoe, plots are overgrown.'* (Family 11)

Ethnicity can be considered a symbolic boundary in the micro community because the differentiation is not objectified – however we can also find examples (children of the non-Roma established) for intentions to enforce and normalize symbolic boundaries to become social ones. In the meantime Roma face discrimination in the labour and housing market, education and the institutional systems which means that there is an already solidified social boundary applied by the majority society and state institutions.

Within a system of categorization situational identity is a tool to change positions. The colourful social and ethnic composition of the former and the present time colony is strengthened by different variations of ethnic identity. Even the similar positions within one family do not bring the diverging understanding into a general common ground. As an example, a husband defines himself as Roma without Roma identity, because for him it would be connected to dark skin and Romani language: *'I have the strange craze for Hungarians. I am almost an enemy of the Roma.'* (Family 17) In contrast his wife is proud to be Roma and can identify with the Roma culture – even though she has negative experiences in connection to her ethnicity, because she suffered discrimination several times in the local hospital. They describe their daughter as a child who decided to have non-Roma friends in the school on her own, and because she was an outstanding student, '*she could marry a Hungarian*'. Her situational Roma identity can dissimilate in her interethnic educational and marriage mobility.

Just as in the last example the diverging attitude of two friends from the colony – already mentioned in the previous chapter – illustrate that ethnic identity is constructed in situations and their understanding and narrative on the colony is strongly connected to their personal life history. The friends had different backgrounds during their years, but now both of them are among the poorest in the colony. While an outsider would see their situation quite similarly, they see themselves and their ethnic position among boundaries truly differently. One lady holds Roma origin, and considers herself as an established resident of the Béke colony since she had lived here for more than 25 years. She grew up in Tésás colony; her non-Roma husband originated from a farmstead. As she tells it her goal as a young girl was to marry a non-Roma, thus she married the hard-working man she came to know in her workplace. The marriage brought disruption in the family of the husband, and the parents-in-law did not attend their wedding. The pair has four adult children who also live in Béke colony with their family and they all have jobs. Her husband is partially paralyzed and cannot work now, thus both of them rely on the public worker wage of the lady. She is proud that they could bring up their four children right, they all got married late and did not have children 'indiscriminately' and learnt their father's hard-working attitude. The other lady was born into an interethnic marriage. Her mother declared herself 'Hungarian' and was disowned after her marriage with a Roma man. Later she lived as a Roma with Roma identity. Their family moved into a colony as an only Roma family.

> *'We have lived in a good environment; we were surrounded by Hungarians. We were alone at that time. (...) We moved there and they got to like us, because Mrs Moldvai said, that even though there are a lot of kids and they are Gipsy, they are well-disciplined. Because we did not steal, did not hurt anybody, indeed we greeted them first, if they asked us to go to the shop we went, they dared to trust us, so they came to like us. We were good kids, with good education, strict.'* (Family 1)

The woman married a Roma man at a young age, but they realized soon that they could not get along well. She thought that even though her parents-in-law are really poor they acted arrogantly, while her mother-in-law considered her bumptious – these tensions mark status conflict interwoven with differently expressed Roma identity. The couple lived in countless colonies, in temporary accommodation and in a better-preserved flat in the Béke as well. The husband became an alcoholic and assaulted his wife, and later they divorced. Five children were born in the marriage, the youngest is still of school age, one sibling cannot support himself because of a long-term illness – both stay with their mother in Béke colony, in the flat which was bought with family help. Both of them describe the outsiders and 'strangers' as fearful as the established see them. But their moving in unintentionally interconnects with their fearful situation threatened by everyday financial struggles and eviction. The lady with a mixed identity is more open and because of the situational elements appearing in her own identity she does not like to differentiate between people.

The differentiation within the ethnic group – as more and more new residents are Roma – is also becoming more sophisticated, a crucial issue that overlaps with being an outsider. It is partly connected to spatial boundaries within the town, also seen in the hierarchic differentiation of colonies, but reflected in different qualities and behaviours as well.

> *'I want to leave because I do not want my son to live through the same as me. (...) There are still small gangs. I still have 2–3 years. We have the neighbours very close. Well, I am also Gipsy, I guess you realized that, but they are the typical shanty-like people, because of them we are also looked down on. They have moved next to us, they are constantly partying and yelling.'* (Family 20)

In today's boundary making processes the differentiation of ethnicity is becoming more and more important, as outsiders of Béke colony are often identified with Roma people. We can also see that negative stereotypes of Roma people have became part of the strengthened countrywide exclusionary discourses, involved in political power struggles (Binder 1997). These exclusionary narratives and tendencies are prevalent in the local politics of Kormos as well. In a context where people are able to alter and shift their ethnic ascription on the ground of social circumstances and interactions ethnicity remains a fluid boundary. With the significant strengthening of symbolic boundaries and the raising importance of ethnicity there are fewer opportunities to change ethnicity situatively. Leaving behind Roma ethnicity also appears as a struggle to escape the stigma.

The interventions into the colony's life such as the *developmental projects* are touching on important symbolic boundaries as well. The project realized in Béke colony stirred up emotions. The complex developmental programme of Roma settlements and colonies[5] aimed to improve life conditions in a selected neighbourhood. Many perceive it as a programme for Roma – because they are the ones to change, and also to blame

5 The Hungarian expression does not explicitly state Roma ethnicity, however the notion is connected to segregated Roma dwellings.

for the transformation of the colony. From this perspective all the community and educational programmes connected to the project are labelled as Roma, and 'established' families aim to distinguish themselves from it. The community feast of Béke Day is humiliating for the Roma man with non-Roma identification: he hates the Roma music played there and does not see any value in the event which is based on the most popular elements of Roma culture and would be qualified to represent the whole Béke.

One developmental programme element was to give a boost to the gardening on the small plots between the buildings. A critical element causing a conflict between established residents and outsiders was also connected to the gardens. Breaking down the flowers, ripping off vegetables or fruits are crucial: the delinquent children do not understand that the old residents are cultivating the gardens just as they would be cultivating their own status symbol and they interpret the destruction as crushing their own pride. '*We are filthy peasants! But why do you harm that poor flower? Don't you see how devotedly I care for it?*' (Family 7) Even though not all residents participate in the small garden programme for different reasons, they could change the attitude of some residents towards the usefulness of the gardens. It also transformed a symbolic boundary maintained through gardening: as one resident formulated, gardening is not 'acting Hungarian' any more.

Conclusion

Symbolic boundaries are constructed to differentiate people, spaces and social practices and to create categories and classifications for them, while social boundaries are the objectified and realized differentiations. Studying symbolic and social boundaries made by the residents of a former workers' colony allows us to describe the dynamically changing relations within a poor neighbourhood, paying attention to those conditional factors of local structural, political and cultural context that determine the uniqueness of this location.

Béke colony is an ethnically and socially mixed neighbourhood, due to the dynamic population exchange for decades that broke up the formerly socially homogeneous but ethnically more mixed workers' colony. Mobility processes between higher and lower status colonies and selective migration outlined the present population. Taking into consideration the present day livelihood strategies of the residents, we can see that families are typically relying on seasonal, short term and uncertain incomes, standard pensions as well as households that are suffering from substandard living conditions. Based on the livelihood strategies and the relations that the residents maintain within the neighbourhood and outside, we can see that Béke is a relatively resource-rich neighbourhood with networks and relations connecting the place with other parts of Kormos. People sustain institutional relations with hobby and religious groups, which also contributes to their networks, and supports advocacy skills. Even though Béke is a stigmatized colony from the outside, people maintain important outward, bridging social capital that prevents the isolation of the individuals and the collective. However, we can also see some phenomena directing towards the slow closing down of the social networks. While relatively various survival strategies are assured, the deterioration of the neighbourhood and its negative framing hinder stronger local participation and stronger attachment to the neighbourhood for the younger cohorts that would keep them in place.

Boundaries are socially constructed categorizations and classifications that differentiate groups and individuals in different positions in the struggles over the understanding and interpretation of reality. Boundaries drawn are also reflecting the individual position in relation to the neighbours and other residents and to the mainstream society. Béke holds clear spatial boundaries, which are seen in the eyes of the people as symbolic boundaries in Kormos as well: the colony is seen as a homogeneous Roma community living in a deteriorating neighbourhood. But within the neighbourhood, symbolic and social boundaries are less stable; their making partially reflecting the external stigma in their intentions of group differentiation.

Established and outsider groups are maintaining symbolic boundaries rooted in social boundaries. The oldest cohort is sharing a common experience of the past and decades of cohabitation, which implies a shared lifestyle and interpretation of the reality of Béke. In this sense we can describe a social boundary between the two groups, which is an already normalized boundary maintained by social practices. Established residents are differentiating themselves from the outsiders, often reflecting the differences as housing advantages of the newcomers, problems with the outsider children and the criminality of the outsider group and the spatial identification of the newcomers. They attribute the deterioration of the neighbourhood and the changing general interpretation of the colony to them. However the boundary between the two groups is not clear-cut but socially relative, penetrable and flexible in time: individual positions and aspirations can also define which groups they identify with. The use of spatial differentiation in connection with the established-outsider boundary points out that the social hierarchy is expressed by a spatial one. In the socialist period the spatial location of the residents was closely attached to their worker status thus to their position in the local social order, while after the transition the importance of the space remained, and the population of the different spaces were rearranged according to the changing statuses.

The established and outsider figuration is intersected with ethnic boundaries. However the symbolic distinction between the Roma and non-Roma residents of the colony is mainly symbolic: ethnicity is constructed in situations and interactions and this contextuality also contributes to the looseness of the ethnic boundary. Besides, in the traditionally ethnically mixed neighbourhood where the livelihood strategies do not differentiate ethnic categories, this boundary is appearing stronger and stronger symbolically. There are people – especially the second generational established families – who are aiming to enforce and normalize this symbolic boundary to become a social one. In this context there is less opportunity to the situational formation of ethnicity. The developmental projects realized in the colony are also changing the local symbolic boundaries and provide another opportunity to affect everyday social practices and through them change symbolic boundaries.

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‘Rural poverty’ in urban spaces of Budapest
Research proposal for examining spatial inequality in contemporary Hungary

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Abstract

In this paper an attempt is made to find new perspectives on the investigation of spatial inequalities in contemporary Hungary. The research focuses on urban and suburban spaces that belong to Budapest, yet are also intensively linked to rural spaces through the migration processes from *resource-poor rural regions to the resourceful areas of the capital city*. The paper first attempts to define the concepts of ‘urban’ and ‘rural’, to better understand the uneven relation between them, and to avoid those simplifying approaches that are wide-spread in these kinds of investigations. Having understood and defined the concept of ‘rural’ and ‘urban’ from an Eastern European perspective, I have reconstructedIn order to demonstrate how important it is to consider the institutional mezzo level (as the housing policy and labour market), which influence the cycles of this process the most important steps of the rural-urban migration process in the case of Budapest are reconstructed.. Finally through a local example it is shown how to find these abstract concepts in a concrete space and what kinds of patterns can be observed through a local example.

Key words: spatial inequality, rural-urban relation, linking micro and macro perspective

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is to find new perspectives on investigating spatial inequalities in contemporary Hungary. In this study people of rural-origins living around Budapest are followed. In the following sections some new results about the process of urban spatial exclusion in Budapest will be presented and a new approach will be introduced in order to better understand the structural reason for Hungarian spatial inequalities.

Speaking about rural poverty in urban spaces may seem paradoxical. The distinction between rural and urban space have already been disregarded by social sciences. This essential opposition connected to the modernisation paradigm of the social sciences wherein the village revealed the pre-modern society while the city instantiated modernisation (Pahl 1966). Later theories have underlined the essentialism of this urban-rural distinction and urged for new ideas and interpretations within rural and urban sociology (Pahl 1966, Csite 1999, Csurgó 2013, Megyesi 2007). Many authors emphasised that the spatial diffusion of capitalism destroyed those spatial distinctions that had been caused by distinct divisions of labour (Pahl 1966, Harvey 2013). David Harvey emphasised that capitalism could not distinguish rural and urban modes of productions. He argued that the different kinds of labour divisions had a spatial consequence: some of the regions could specialise in labour with a more advantageous position while others had less favourable positions, which could lead to spatial inequalities (Harvey 2013).

From the rural-urban distinction researchers have turned to investigate spatial differences in order to understand how spatial inequalities have formed and what kinds of mechanisms determine these inequalities (Nemes-Nagy 2009). In my study ‘rural’ is not an essential but a spatial category. It has a methodological and spatial meaning, which expresses the spatial hierarchy of the social inequalities from the Central and Eastern European perspective (Éber et al. 2014). In my study the rural and urban categories express (1) a relationship between spaces from the point of view of the division of labour (Massey 1995) (2) the historical consequence of the uneven spatial development from a social historical perspective (Braudel 1996, Smith 1984), and finally (3) a social-political category through which social inequalities are expressed (e.g. the sociography movement which is an important tradition in Hungarian social sciences) (Rézler 1943, Némedi 1985, Papp 2012).

In my study I suggest new methodological perspectives and approaches on how to research spatial inequalities. (1) I will emphasise the importance of the socio-historical approach to researching spatial inequalities, claiming that these phenomena have to be examined in a longer term, thus addressing the question of researching the forces and cycles, which form structural inequalities (Braudel 2006). Further, (2) I

will suggest a new epistemological perspective on how to undertake the research question of spatial inequality at a micro level in order to consider the institutions of the mezzo level and the structural forces of the macro level. In my paper I argue that rural poverty can be examined in Budapest through considering the migration process of poor villagers from the countryside to the capital. Despite the fact that in Hungary spatial exclusion is usually linked to the poor peripheral rural regions (Virág 2010), we can find neighbourhoods where, due to migration processes, rural poverty is concentrated in the urban space as well.

In the following sections of my paper I am going to define those macro structural processes that shape the movements and dynamics of spatial inequalities in Hungary. Afterwards, I will reconstruct at the mezzo level those spatial relations, which have characterised the movement of rural poverty from the resource-poor regions to the capital city. Subsequently, through the local example of the Hős Street estate of Budapest I will present my research following these points through micro-scale processes.

Theoretical proposal for the investigation of spatial inequalities

Spatial inequality is one of the greatest challenges in Hungary today, and has been researched by many scholars across different disciplines (Enyedi 1993, Beluszky 1999, Ladányi–Szelényi 2005, Kovách 2012, Kovács K.–Váradi 2013, Kovács É. et al. 2013, Virág 2015). The process of spatial polarisation can be understood from different perspectives and on distinctive scales. Some scholars emphasised that spatial diversity can be understood through the examination of the vertical differences of the settlements. These approaches claim that inequalities are mainly dependent on the size of the settlements. In the Hungarian context vertical spatial inequalities usually mean the hierarchy between big cities and small villages: the smaller a settlement is, the bigger the chance to live in a poor neighbourhood. This effect is also called the 'city-village fall' (Bihari–Kovács K. 2006) a concept, which refers to the social consequence of living in different sized settlements. This can be linked to the under-developed urban network (Kövér 2006, Konrád–Szelényi 1971) and the dominance of the rural areas, which is the spatial outcome of Eastern Europe's semi-peripheral position. Others emphasise the importance of horizontal differences when investigating spatial inequalities (Gyuris 2014). These approaches suggest that spatial inequalities can best be understood in a comparative regional study with respect to the different degrees of modernisation. The significance of the spatial polarisation was recently demonstrated by the most important socio-structural studies (Huszár et al. 2015) and overviews (Valuch 2015). These studies emphasise that regional inequality is one of the sources of social tensions in Hungary today. Adding to this, many scholars have emphasised that regional differences can be understood only in a historical context (Beluszky 2000, Győri 2011). Róbert Győri, who has investigated the historical dimension of regional inequalities in Hungary by comparing the census of 1910, 1970 and 2001, found that the origin of the recent trends of spatial inequalities is based on long-term uneven developments and their controversial modernisation tendencies. Győri claims that the 'modernisation tracks' of most of the regions in Hungary did not significantly change in the last 100 years. Investigating and aggregating the most important indices of living standards he found that the majority of those region that were backward in 2001 had already been at the bottom of the regional hierarchy back in the 1970s and 1910s (Győri 2011).

By investigating rural poverty in urban spaces I attempt to integrate these approaches. On the one hand, rural poverty in Budapest can be considered as a consequence of vertical spatial exclusions from the labour opportunities, which are provided by the country's capital for those poor people who come from resource-poor regions. On the other hand, there is a strong correlation between the number of people migrating and the regions where they come from. Several regions are under-represented and there are some that are over-represented in the migration process toward Budapest (Thirring L. 1935, Benda 2004). Considering social historical trends in the regional differences I claim that there are certain regions that cannot maintain the number of their idle inhabitants and therefore the 'useless population', is pushed out of these spaces to more resourceful regions, such as bigger cities. It is argued in this paper that regional differences are the spatial consequences of uneven development (Smith 1984), which is a repercussion of the Eastern European capitalist integration. I suggest considering spatial inequalities as a relationship between the resourceful and resource-poor regions (in this case between Budapest and its rural hinterland), which shows the distribution of the different kinds of modes of production in a spatial dimension. Furthermore, I propose an investigation of the spatial inequalities in a social historical perspective, which highlights that the social and economical differences between regions are not coincidental. Moreover, it has a structural background, which can be investigated in the long term (Braudel 2006).

Methodological approach to the investigation of spatial inequalities

As mentioned in the introduction, the structural inequality between the capital and the countryside is a secular characteristic of spatial structures in Hungary (Győri 2011, Beluszky 2000). While my study focuses on the peripheral zones of post-socialist Budapest, the processes are embedded in the historical continuity of the spatial structure created by unequal spatial development since the modernising decades of the 19th century (Timár–Váradi 2001). In the focus of my paper these spaces are the 'containers' of the above mentioned macro structural social processes

The investigated spaces can be described as physical units with social functions that are embedded in 'path dependent' historical processes (Braudel 1996, Braudel 2006, Aguirre–Rojas 2013). Consequently, using classic sociological methods designed to grasp contemporary processes, my research will focus on historical spaces, which have the capacity to reveal past forms of social organisations. I define the above-mentioned peripheral zones as spaces that can be grasped by micro-level descriptions from the present. Yet, those peripheral zones, through their present day characteristics, represent macro-level structural tensions in the spatial structures that stem from successive eras of Hungarian history (Dualism, the Horthy era, state socialism, post-socialism) (Smith 1984, Harvey, Lepetit 2002).

Nevertheless, these spaces are important from a methodological point of view as well. In this sense, spaces are physically surrounded units through which one can research the question likewise from a micro point of view. (Hammersley–Atkinson 2007, Sárkány 2005, Kovács É. 2007) Although spaces are not proportionally representative samples in a statistical sense (Small 2009) they help to gain a close access to local phenomena and to understand the macro phenomena embedded in a mezzo perspective in a comprehensive way.

In the following I will define the characteristic of these spaces. My research question is concerned with the definition of those spaces that are situated in urban areas but where residents have a rural background. The areas I chose are heavily populated by people coming from different rural settlements. Their connection to this particular place is managed and shaped by their kinship networks that help them find jobs and have better opportunities than they had at their home places. Personal networks and contacts are practical, and provide the chance of mobility from rural areas to these urban places. I argue, therefore, that the urban-rural distinction can be misleading in this case. My hypothesis is that these urban places, due to rural migration, cannot be interpreted as a rural or urban space in a simple geographical sense. In the following part of this section I am going to add some social aspects to this question in order to gain a better understanding of rural development in urban spaces.

The geographical answer: rural-urban fringes

The tendency of the western suburbanisation process of the 1960s brought new concepts in regional studies. Many scholars have argued against the traditional separation of urban and rural spaces and claimed that, through urban expansion, new spaces came into being on the verge of rapidly developing urban centres, which were at once carrying both rural and urban characteristics. One of the theorists of the topic, Robin J. Pryor (1968), through investigating western regional development came to the conclusion, that these so-called 'urban-rural fringes' are transitional zones showing both urban and rural use of space. According to Pryor, these fringe-zones can only come into being between urban centres and 'rural hinterlands', assuming a developmental process, which points towards the urbanisation of rural areas, that is, agricultural economies being converted into industrial and service sectors. Although Pryor (1968) aligns his model mainly to western urban developmental history and social context, he highlights that the nature, the function, and the spatial and temporal extent of the urban-rural fringes can differ largely depending on their surrounding political, social, and economic context. Judit Timár (1993, 1998) investigated the aspects of the urban-rural fringes in Central and Eastern Europe on the example of the Hungarian Plain. Timár (1998) describes the Hungarian fringe-zones as dynamic and conflict-filled spaces, which are characterised by the rapid changes of owners, functions, and use of space. The author thus investigated towns on the Hungarian Plain, which in their territorial expansion adversely affected the living conditions of those living in the periphery. She claims that the particularity of the Eastern European urban-rural fringes lies in the privatisation process of the post-socialist transition, which carries within itself the spontaneous transformation of the peripheral zones and the lack of state intervention (Timár 1993).

Through own research and hypothesis, an attempt is made to find another possible adaptation of the urban-rural fringe theory in Central and Eastern Europe. In my view, the particular transformation of the Central and Eastern European urban-rural fringes was not only influenced by the post-socialist transition, but also by a longer socio-historical process which is better understandable in a *longue durée perspective*. (Braudel 2006, Győri 2011) The uneven regional development in Central and Eastern Europe has created a spatial and social process, through which we can speak not only about the continuous suburban expansion of the major cities, but also about the continuous migration process from cities to the rural areas and vice versa, depending on the

economic cycles (Ladányi–Szelényi 2005, Timár–Váradi 2001). I argue, therefore, that the urban-rural fringes in Budapest and Hungary do not only mean the annexation of rural areas by the big city, but it also includes the flow of rural practices generated by spatial exclusion, back into the city.

The anthropological answer: the critique of the rural-urban distinction

Anthropologists have started to turn their attention towards urban spaces in the beginning of the 1960s when urbanisation has become a global process. Beforehand, anthropological research focused mainly on rural societies preferring to investigate 'archaic cultures' (Southall 1973). From the end of the 19th century social scientists have strongly distinguished the so-called 'urban' and 'rural' spaces. The former was connected to modernisation, while the latter was linked to 'archaic cultures'. The spatial consequence of this approach was to strictly distinguish urban cultures from the rural ones, not considering those connecting points and networks that demonstrated the relations and passages between these two categories. The concepts of 'community' and 'society' used by Tönnies (2004) or the theory of folk-urban continuum of Redfield (1962) has clearly signalled that these descriptions of the urban-rural spaces were strongly connected to the ideal-typical definitions preferred by the modernisation theories.

Urban anthropology, which shifted its attention to the urban space through anthropological lenses, recognised these false dichotomies and began to destroy them. Anthropologists who began to investigate the cities, were focusing on those global phenomena that saw rural populations leaving their villages and moving to global cities (Southall 1973, Fejős–Niedermüller 1983, Al-Zubadi 2007). Dealing with these problems, scholars realised that dichotomies between rural and urban cultures cannot be applied to the societies they investigated. Many researchers claimed that institutions linked to the rural world by anthropologists were still present in the urban spaces and vice versa, while many issues connected to the urban culture had their origin in the surrounding rural life (Lewis 1970a).

Therefore, one of the most widespread research fields of urban anthropological investigations was the role of the kinship networks in the rural-urban migration process. Researchers broke with the old scholarly traditions and tended to investigate the relations between the rural and urban spaces, asking questions about ways to detect the functions of these networks and ways these networks helped integrate the people into urban life (Gans 1966, Lewis 1968, Young–Willmott 1999). Anthropologists link those patterns to the families and kinship networks which form the cultural and economic balances of a community or a household and help to establish those institutions that are able to maintain the urban integration of people with a rural background.

The urban anthropological approach was an important step to destroy the urban-rural dichotomy in the social sciences. It paid attention to those problems which have been invisible earlier. On the one hand, urban anthropologists documented cases and did thousands of fieldworks which inspired new fields and opened up new research questions. On the other hand, they worked out new methods which help us develop better research questions and methodology to conceptualise rural poverty in urban spaces in the Eastern European and Hungarian context.

The mezzo level of the investigation: the rural-urban migration process in Hungary

The migration process from the Hungarian countryside to the Hungarian capital city of Budapest has always been a significant phenomenon within the social history of Hungary. The unequal division of labour between the Capital city and the countryside has continuously triggered a movement between these locations throughout history. Whether the movement has been a success or a failure from the perspective of migrants has always been influenced by economic cycles and by the labour market. In the following section an attempt is made to reconstruct the most important points and periods of this movement and summarise its tendencies and characteristics through my research questions.

Rural migration to Budapest during the Dualism era

The city of Budapest was born administratively in 1873 when the three smaller towns of Buda, Pest and Óbuda were unified. The unification project was strongly connected to the growth of urbanisation. The population of Budapest grew from 355,000 to 929,000 inhabitants within 40 years between 1880 and 1920 (Thirring G. 1893, Thirring L. 1935). During this era Hungary engaged in the forming capitalist world system, the power of which was concentrated in Budapest. The accumulation of the population and growth of the city was outstanding in comparison to other European cities (Thirring L. 1935).

Population growth in Budapest and its hinterland between 1869 and 1930 (persons)
(Thirring L. 1935: 11–13)

	1869	1930	the measure of the growth
The population growth of Hungary	5,014,203	8,688,319	1.75
The population growth of Budapest	270,685	1,006,184	3.75
The population growth of Budapest and its hinterland	297,167	1,421,397	4.75

Initially the city began to expand vertically: investors built huge blocks of flats and rented them out to newcomers. The source of the population growth was clearly the migration from the rural regions to the capital city. This tendency has been typical since the beginning of the 20th century. According to the statistics 65% of the population growth of Budapest was sourced by the internal migration process of Hungary (Thirring L. 1935). While the modernisation processes were strongly concentrated on Budapest, in some regions (especially in the North-Eastern and some Transdanubian counties) had not been touched by these processes. Those regions that became the 'losing spaces' of the modernisation processes sent out their population into the capital cities or into the international migration channels. Usually those regions that are the source of the incoming population were characterised by a lack of industry and transport connections, and the obstacle of the expansion of the agricultural production (Thirring L. 1935).

Rural migration to Budapest in the Horthy era (1920–1945)

The migration process from the countryside to Budapest did not slow down in the first part of the 20th century. Nevertheless, the private housing structure could not follow the growth processes, which resulted in a housing crisis in the city (Gyáni 1992, Umbrai 2008, Udvarhelyi 2014). There were two consequences of this process. Firstly, it formed slums, where the homeless and evicted renters lived in huts and barracks on the

outskirts of the cities. This was a completely new consequence of the urban poverty, which signaled that spatial conflicts could not be solved within the borders of the city (Umbrai 2008). Secondly, the city began to extend horizontally to its suburbs and its hinterlands (Thirring L. 1935). More and more newcomers decided to move to the suburbs around Budapest (settlements that would officially become parts of the city in 1950), since it was impossible to find housing possibilities in the inner city.1 The importance of the suburban settlements was still crucial in the Socialist Era, which shows that in the 20th century the city could not absorb the excess population of the rural regions. In the 1930s the rural migration had become even more significantly linked to the economic crisis. The recession in agricultural products resulted in more and more people coming, even from the regions of the Great Hungarian Plain. The presence of rural poverty was one of the biggest challenges to local governance (Gyáni 1992), which was strongly connected to the lack of social housing programmes (Udvarhelyi 2014).

Rural migration to Budapest in the Socialist Era (1945–1990)

The migration process from the countryside to Budapest took new directions during the Socialist Era. Although the general political intention was to reduce the importance of Budapest, the role of the capital city was still important. Gyula Benda (2004), who investigated the migration process of Budapest between 1938 and 1970, pointed out that the industrial dominance of Budapest was continuously decreasing[2]. While the growth of the population of Budapest had been continuously declining, the migration processes from the countryside to the capital city had been still present. Gyula Benda pointed out that even though the number of newcomers in Budapest declined, the number of temporary inhabitants was still very high. He claimed that the population of the agglomeration had been continuously increasing during the Socialist Era.

Population growth in Budapest and its hinterland between 1901 and 1969 (%) (Benda 2004: 219)

The growth of the population (in %)	at the territory of the capital city Budapest	at the territory of the agglomeration
1901–1941	1.75%	16.8%
1949–1959	1.16%	1.95%
1960–1969	0.75%	2.23%

According to Benda these phenomena have two important consequences. Firstly, although the number of the newcomers declined, the number of people who wanted to move to the capital city did not reduce as significantly as the data showed. Because of the lack of housing possibilities, the newcomers did not get permanent, but only temporary staying possibilities. They usually lived in workers' hostels (Horváth 2012) or had activated their kinship network or other kind of social capital to find housing possibilities in Budapest. Secondly, people who had come from the countryside to Budapest must have moved to the suburban settlements of Budapest (Berkovits 1978). The sociological profile of the incomers did not change too much. They were usually young and men from those agricultural regions where there were no significant industrial investments, with a huge amount of excess population (Benda 2004). Consequently, although the state tried to

1 Between 1900 and 1920 Budapest had 468,000 newcomers (while its natural increase was 100,000 inhabitants) and its agglomeration towns had 235,000 newcomers (while its natural increase was 60,000 inhabitants).

2 The percentage of the labourers employed in the industry of Budapest in 1938 was 51.3%, in 1955 it was 44.1% and in 1969 it was 35.67% (Benda 2004).

influence the processes of movement and migration, some of the trends had continued since the Horthy era and the rural incomers had always been present in the life of Budapest.

The investigation of post socialist rural migration to Budapest is much more challenging than that of earlier periods. On the one hand, there are no overviews of the kind that have already been written by scholars for the earlier eras (Thirring G. 1891, Thirring L. 1935, Benda 2004). On the other hand, urbanisation processes were getting more complex and confusing. Because of the different kinds of urbanisation and suburbanisation processes it was very hard to statistically distinguish completely contradictory phenomena. Firstly, we can talk about the continuous suburban expansion of the major cities that follow the western suburban trends, where urban middle class families leave cities and move to the surrounding areas seeking better housing conditions (Timár–Váradi 2001, Csanádi–Csizmady 2002, Csurgó 2013). A second phenomenon sees people leaving cities because they cannot afford to live there causing a continuous migration process from cities to rural areas (Ladányi-Szelényi 2005, Timár–Váradi 2001). To better understand these contradictory tendencies Ladányi and Szelényi came up with the concept of post-socialist suburbanisation, claiming that the suburbanisation of the middle classes and the exclusion of the poor from urban places are taking place simultaneously in the post-socialist Hungarian urban spaces (especially in the case of Budapest) (Ladányi–Szelényi 2005). It is important to emphasise that the exclusion of poor people from urban spaces into rural ones is a cyclical movement. According to the latest research, temporary inhabitants are still present in the spaces of Budapest although those housing institutions (e.g. social housing, workers' hostels) that would have served their housing needs have disappeared after the transition. Because of the lack of formal housing possibilities newcomers from the countryside attempt to find housing through informal ways, activating their kinship networks.

It is therefore claimed that the spaces where rural incomers are concentrated have some characteristics, which are worthy of investigation through the point of view of spatial inequalities. In the following section of my paper I attempt to present a neighbourhood of Budapest where these phenomena are still present at the moment.

The micro level: rural poverty in Budapest in the case of the 'Hős utca' neighbourhood

The final section of this paper is based on the first steps of an ethnographic study[3] of the small housing estate between the numbers 15/a and 15/b on Hős Street in Kőbánya (the 10th district in Budapest). This section aims to present through a local and empirical example[4] the function and concentration of rural poverty in a large city and inspire new approaches and perspectives on how to search spatial inequality from the rural point of view in the case of Budapest.

3 My study is strongly connected to the research of the NGO 'Kontúr' and the College for Advanced Studies 'Angelusz Róbert' of ELTE University. The main goal of the College and the Association was the sociodemographic survey of the building blocks at 15/a and 15/b on Hős Street in Kőbánya, with a special emphasis on the study of family relations and the use of space among the residents. One of the goals of the study was to investigate the situation of those who live in the residential estate, and help in the long-term and effective intervention of the NGO's community development project. Our research group followed up the survey with more in-depth interviews conducted in the neighborhood (Szeitl–Vigvári 2016).

4 The empirical data that my paper relies on is based on interviews and participatory observation. The data collection was conducted between July 2015 and May 2016. Additionally, I have gained experiences through voluntary works as well, mainly by organising events and activities for the children of the residential estate.

About the 'Hős utca' neighbourhood

The 'Hős utca' neighbourhood is situated on the outskirts of Budapest, yet close to main transport nodes. The biggest railway and bus stations of Budapest are easy to reach, and the city centre is no more than half an hour away. The blocks are hidden among non-residential areas between railway lines, storages and barracks – they are practically invisible to people. According to the latest Census the neighbourhood officially has 635 inhabitants living in 280 households. The age structure of the area is young[5] compared with the Hungarian average.

The housing estate of 'Hős utca' consists of two blocks with a total of 317 flats. The size of a flat is 27 square meters, consisting of one room and one kitchen. Every two flats share a toilet, while the residents have installed showering possibilities in every flat. The ownership structure of the blocks is varied: 150 flats out of 317 are owned by private individuals, and 167 are owned by the municipality. Nevertheless, only 101 out of 167 are let out as social housing, the others are boarded up and not let out. The pattern of flat use is diverse. Some of the private flats are let out to those families who could not get social housing from the municipality. Private flats are often rented as usury or for a higher price than their value. Since the medium term intention of the local municipality was to demolish the blocks they have let out fewer and fewer apartments, leaving those who do not have any housing possibilities to break into and occupy some of these flats illegally.

The 'Hős utca' neighbourhood is one of the most stigmatised spaces of Budapest. The blocks and their inhabitants have always been part of media reports representing it as a dangerous and 'no-go area' (Wacquant 2013). The stigmatisation of this area can be easily experienced through the hardships of using services (for example service engineers do not come here if they notice the address of the client), going to a job interview (people do not get jobs when employers realise that the prospective employee lives in the Hős street), or trying to arrange official matters at the city council.

The neighbourhood can be characterised through the duality of being closed in as opposed to openness. On the one hand, people are isolated and are excluded from the many aspects of life: they live segregated far from the formal institutions and other residential areas. On the other hand, the area is well integrated into the city space having lots of social connections to 'outside areas'. The neighbourhood attracts several informal activities (drug distribution and informal businesses), which are operated through the extended networks of the residents. Beyond the criminal aspects, the 'openness' of the neighbourhood is caused by helpers and activists whose presence has influenced the life of the neighbourhood.[6]

In order to be able to accurately investigate the notion of space, it is important to emphasise the social and historical boundedness of the neighbourhood. Using the social and local history to investigate space, we can understand the function this place has in the rural-urban migration process.

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5 The distribution of the age categories in the case of the 'Hős utca' neighbourhood: 0–17: 183 persons 18–39: 223 persons 40–59: 162 persons 60+: 67 persons. Source: Hungarian Statistical Office (KSH): Census of 2011

6 The Baptist and Calvinist Church engage in various activities (for example, collecting used syringe needles or organising camps for children). The NGO 'Kontúr' has been carrying out community development work since 2013 while the *'A város mindenkié'* (The City is for All) organisation started to help people with housing advocacy in 2016.

The (historical) role of the space: the 'Hős utca' neighbourhood in rural-urban inequalities

The blocks of Hős utca were built at the same time, through the same programme as the well-known and already demolished blocks of Illatos út 5. called 'Dzsumbuj' (Juhász 1976, Ambrus 1985, Kecskés 2005). These four storey, highly crowded blocks were built in 1936 at the fringe of Budapest under the social housing policy of the Horthy era (Gyáni 1992, Umbrai 2008). My hypothesis is that due to their location and social characteristics, these blocks were erected with the aim to mitigate the housing crisis of 1936, and have functioned as a fringe where the migrating, mainly rural poor, found temporary or permanent housing solutions. The primary reason behind the choice of the building area was the low land price of the site, itself guaranteeing its peripheral location.

Characteristically, these buildings were not associated with any factories, such as in a traditional working class district, but they stood alone on no-man's land. This fact underlined that the inhabitants were predominantly employed on short-term contracts or lived on benefits, and were not part of the organised proletariat. The majority of the inhabitants were employed in unskilled jobs and did not belong to the caste of skilled workers: they were generally born to families with an agrarian background and were first generation urban proletariats for whom these housing estates meant the first stop towards an urban life (Gyáni 1992). My hypothesis is that the social composition and function of the estates did not change considerably since then. It can be asked, nevertheless, what was the function of these blocks under subsequent political regimes and economic cycles (state socialism, post-socialism) in terms of the labour division, and housing between the capital city and the rural areas. How did the social composition of the estates change? To what extent did it increase the opportunities for spatial mobility of the migrant rural workers in the different eras? What was the function of these spaces within the life of the capital? The historical and sociological research of these spaces can contribute to the understanding of the structural tensions between urban and rural spaces, and provide us with qualitative interpretations of macro-social processes.

However, it must be asked, what kinds of urban spaces can be spoken about in these neighbourhoods? In order for us to better understand the social status of the Hős Street residential estate, we need to define several characteristics of the estate's spatiality. Although the Hős Street estate in geographical terms can be clearly considered an urban, moreover, a metropolitan, spatial structure, I argue that we are facing a non-traditional urban space. Ladányi János (2004) in his research points out that the Hős Street as an encased estate functions as a basis for those poor rural people who have aspirations for a life in Budapest. Ladányi (2004) argues that similar spaces to Hős Street are becoming the arenas of the rural poor, who are in a competition for post-industrial social-goods, while being continuously displaced from post-socialist cities. According to him the economic and social spaces in these fringe-zones provide the essential role of mediators between rural and metropolitan migration. Therefore, the small housing estate on Hős Street is an important resource in terms of housing for those rural dwellers, who, as a result of spatial inequalities, see their opportunities in moving to the capital there (Ladányi 2004).

My own field experience largely supports the hypothesis of Ladányi János. The spatial position of Hős Street, although relatively good from the point of view of transportation, in terms of the peripheral positioning

of the residential buildings, which do not belong to a residential area, the street does not fit into the structure of the capital city and the district. The residential buildings are abandoned industrial buildings and military installations, lined with rail tracks, far from urban institutions. The residents are generally arriving from one of the city's segregated neighbourhoods or from rural areas and their composition as a group is rapidly fluctuating. *'I feel lucky just because there are many girls with rural origins who would like to come to Budapest, try a better life without any educational or financial background. I didn't come to a totally alien space because I have kinships here. If I have some problem I just run down the stairs and I can solve it. I am lucky from this point of view; if I have any kind of problem I just shout and then my brother comes and he acts and helps me.'*

Listening to the life stories of the residents the themes of the rural past and attachments appear almost without exception, held together by threads of kinship. It is questionable, whether this 'urban terra incognita', which ensures rather inhumane housing conditions for those drifting between the resource-poor rural and the resourceful urban spaces, can be seen as an urban space in its traditional sense.

The characteristics of the rural-urban transitory space in the case of 'Hős utca'

As I have noted, the 'Hős utca' neighbourhood has always served a special purpose in helping migration from the countryside to Budapest. 'Hős utca' neighbourhood as a transitory space has its own spatial character and institutions, which represent the rural-urban spatial relations and expose the macro structural pressures existent at the local level. Through my empirical results I present those social phenomena which characterise these moving processes and present (1) the hierarchical relationship between rural and urban spaces from the housing point of view (2) the kinship institutions which mediate between 'rural' and 'urban' spaces and (3) the political and ethnical consequence of this moving process.

1. There is a large fluctuation between the dwellers of the two residential buildings. The ownership structure of the flats lends itself to people easily changing their apartments according to their situation on the labour market. Because of the transitional situation of the blocks' [il]legality, flat letting (flat-usury, illegal flat-occupation or cheap flat buying possibilities) can provide a temporary solution for those who come from the countryside to the capital city to get jobs and find better living conditions than in their home region. Therefore, this neighbourhood practically serves as a transitory housing possibility for those people who attempt to join the labour market of Budapest from the resource-poor areas. This space can function as a 'springboard' for those who are able to integrate deeper into the labour market, however, it can easily push those people, who become useless for the same market, back to the rural areas. In this latter case the area functions as a *'sluice',* which can easily dispose of the drift of the population.

2. These kinds of neighbourhoods are based on transitions and changes. Since there is a big fluctuation of the inhabitants,[7] people cannot form community roles for themselves, which prevents any sort of community empowerment or intervention. Migration and moving processes are strongly connected to kinship networks, which determine the relationships in the community. Because of the transitional state of the people, they

7 According to research by the Angelusz Róbert College for Advanced Studies 50% of the inhabitants moved here in the last 5 years (Szeitl–Vigvári 2016).

are only weakly integrated into the formal institutions. Since people often live temporarily or informally in a flat they do not have documents to access local services (healthcare, welfare systems or education for their children).

Dwellers are usually not categorised according to their ethnicity, rather they are differentiated according to the length of time they have spent living in the neighbourhood. People, therefore, are divided into such categories as 'natives', which is strongly connected to an urban identity (people, who have been living there for 10–20 years) and 'immigrants', which are usually strongly connected to a rural identity (people, who have been living there for less than 10 years). Natives can be Roma as well, while immigrants can be Hungarian of course, but ethnicity does not matter a lot in this case. On the other hand, the community is fragmented by the kinship networks, which often present the geographical origins of a family because of the chain migration processes (e.g. the category of 'Dombrád' people in the neighbourhood which means dwellers and families who came from Dombrád (a village of Szabolcs-Szatmár Region) to the Hős utca in the last few years through their kinship networks).

Conclusion

This paper has presented a new aspect of investigating spatial inequalities and rural poverty in today's Hungary. The aim of this study was to suggest a new methodological approach, which based on the relational concept of rural-urban division can provide a better understanding of the Eastern European character of spatial inequalities. Through the conceptualisation of 'rural poverty' it was desired to capture the nature of the spatial processes in Hungary. The historical investigation of my paper demonstrated the importance of long-term trends in spatial inequalities showing those structural effects that influence it. The analysis of the lives of poor Budapest dwellers of rural origins can contribute to the better understanding of the urban spatial exclusion and help to organise our knowledge about the Hungarian and Eastern European spatial process as well.

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Monumentalizing the urban and concealing the rural/coastal

A Spatial Reading of Matnog, Sorsogon, Philippines

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Abstract

A discursive reading on how urban ideology is monumentalized, this article peels on the spatial experience of Matnog, Sorsogon as it transitions from a rural/coastal nature to the urban. Taking a spatial perspective, with theoretical underpinnings from Lefebvre's concept of 'oeuvre', interlaced with Bourdieu's take on social space and Giddens' arguments on historical time, the article elaborates on the spatial machinations orchestrated to construct polemical spaces that deftly conceal spaces occupied by the poor. Extrapolating from photographs and maps of the place, field notes and interviews with Matnog residents who come from the low-income bracket, elucidated spatial consequences that weave discourses on the spatial problematic that unfolds through the shift in social space and historical time, consequential to the silencing of social differences in the transitioning spaces.

Key words: rural and coastal area, urban, space transition, Philippines, spatial consequence

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Monumentalizing the urban and concealing the rural/coastal
A Spatial Reading of Matnog, Sorsogon, Philippines

Introduction

The Philippines, with its three main islands: Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao, is composed of 7,107 islands. With a history of colonization that ended in the 1940s, the country has adopted varied cultural influences. Currently, the country is establishing its status as an emerging country in Asia and moving towards development, but what is observable is that the policies crafted are still patterned after the colonialists, specifically the Americans. Noted by Michael Leifer (Hedman–Sidel 2000: ix), the '*factor of political change during the last century illuminates the impact of capitalist development of Philippine society…[that] stress the peculiarly American nature of the Philippine state as a consequence of the structures erected and imposed during the course of its colonial era'.* The traces left by colonial rule remain in varied forms that continually shape the development course of our country and implemented through rapid urbanization patterned after our colonizers.

Primarily an agricultural and coastal rural area, the Philippines have rapidly adopted such urban changes that have modified ways of economic production. Observable are the transformation of much agricultural land into subdivisions (for homes) or for trade and industry. Bodies of water have been further utilized, ranging from fishing to transportation and tourism. Looking at how the country has changed through re-structuring of space, it becomes difficult to classify whether Philippine municipalities and provinces are urban, rural, rural/coastal, peri-urban, and the like, because of the varying degrees of economic, social and spatial transition. Michel (2010:38) observed that *'Third World countries [like the Philippines] were hit in the ground in a place that was neither liberal nor fordist previously, but had dependent or peripheral development regime with strong neo-colonial ties to the former colonial power, and one that has been described in terms of cronyism, "booty capitalism"'.* As the Philippines continue to imitate the urbanization project of the First World, and as land use transitions from rural and coastal to urban, what is clearly produced is uneven development.

The Philippines, then, continue to struggle to achieve progress. Interpreted, in implementation and practice, as urban development, the word 'development' has already been strongly associated with what is urban. Adaptation to this new stage has already changed the country's traditional economic modes of production as well as ways of life that are already being substituted with the new idealized goal: urbanity– because it is believed to be modern, advanced, progressive and will alleviate hardship in people's lives. To enable transition from the old ways of life, rural and coastal to that of the urban, *'spaces are the most evidential cue in rural/coastal to urban shift, space additions, deductions, spatial arrangements, etc. becomes the most apparent way to witness the start of a new development history'* (Sta Maria, 2014: 41).

Such is the experience of Matnog, Sorsogon, and a third class Municipality that dreams of becoming a fully-fledged urban area. In this area, the imposing spatial additions are the Pier that has been managed by the Philippine Ports Authority (PPA) since 1997 and the development of the Bus Terminal that also serves as a trading post. The Pier serves as points of entrances and exits to the nearby Provinces of Allen, Northern Samar, and Maharlika through the San Bernardino Strait (Philippine Ports Authority, PDO Southern Luzon, 2011) [online] Available: http://www.ppa.com.ph/legazpi. The Pier contributes a huge income to the municipality and the bus terminal, aside from giving additional income from terminal fees it also provides opportunities for trade and business for the 40 densely populated barangays. Clearly, Matnog, Sorsogon, a rural/coastal area in the Philippines, is not exempt from this rapid urbanization agenda.

Construction, management and further development of the Pier and the bus terminal areas have circumvented the way of life in the Municipality, as an intervention for poverty and to push for economic development. Soja notes that *'synchronization has punctuated the historical geography of capitalism'* (1989: 27) and is still very evident in the re(construction) of rural and coastal spaces to cater to urban needs. Spaces and spatial arrangements in the urban project are vital in communicating urbanization and signal the shift for the people to adjust their way of life, modify it according to the new needs so as to experience this kind of development. These spaces that have been built before them reify that urban development reality for the people.

A discursive reading on monumentalizing the urban, this article takes to light the spatial experience of Matnog, Sorsogon as it transitions from the rural and coastal to that of the urban. Elaborating on the consequences of spatial transition from rural and coastal to urban, the article expounds on intersecting trends on: 1) the construction of the centre and periphery, and 2) the concealment of the space inhabited by the poor. Highlighting how the urban is monumentalized in Matnog, Sorsogon, is confluent to spatial consequences that leads to the following spatial problematic: the shift in social space and historical time that results in silencing of social differences. Tightening the discourses, the reading the space of Matnog, Sorsogon is drawn from photographs of the place, field notes and interviews of Matnog residents who come from the low-income bracket.

The *'Oeuvre'*

Lefebvre discussed that in the building of a city, or the establishment of the urban space, 'social and political life' were not the only sources of accumulated wealth, *'but* [also that of] *knowledge (connaissances), techniques and oeuvres (works of art, monuments)'* (1996: 66). The oeuvre consists of a whole body of work that composes and constitutes the enmeshing of economic production, modes of thinking and social practice. In the reading of space, the oeuvre is not limited to architectural design, but it is also a way of establishing a socio-historical ideology. Contextualizing Lefebvre in this article brings forth the building of anoeuvre, not only as a work of art, but more so for establishing the urban space as the ultimate artistic representation of development and progress. In this vein, the oeuvre is both art and ideology that is displayed in space that does not merely signify reality but establishes a socio-historical condition. Economic production as the main tenor for transitioning spaces, the urban space and its space representations are taken as oeuvre. In the experience of rural/coastal to urban shift, the urban space as an oeuvre becomes *'a projection of society on the ground, that*

is, not only on the actual site, but at a specific level, perceived and conceived by thought which determines the city and the urban' (Lefebvre 1996: 104). The urban, as represented by spatial structures that are 'new' for the rural/coastal resident communities appear to be more attractive and palatable. Constant exposure to this visual representation of the urban does not only partake of what is visual because knowledge, practice and techniques in the urban space are also promoted and monumentalized.

Understanding this, what it produces then, is what Lefebvre refers to as the 'urban fabric' (1996: 71–72) that weaves the space and its spatial representations as an art or monument, knowledge, practice and technique that covers itself over the rural and coastal space. The urban space and its space representations weave themselves into the knowledge and cognition process of the residents and embed themselves into their spatial practice (Lefebvre 1996). The urban space and space representation becomes the product of conglomerated economic and political decisions. In the case of the Philippines, to re-structure the rural/coastal space into that of the urban, imperative then, is the embedding of new knowledge and practice so that individuals can engage and inhabit the space to define urban knowledge.

When a space experiences a shift from the rural and coastal to the urban, the aim of the space is to make people understand its new goal, which is to urbanize. Urban space additions and arrangements are planned and crafted in thought in order to build a space where everyone will have a re-constructed ideology that is translated in space through knowledge and spatial practice. As an oeuvre, the urban space and its representations are projected always upfront, easily seen and should be identifiable. Therefore, in the case of Matnog, Sorsogon, Philippines, the addition and arrangement of their area is to identify the goal of the space, that is, development which is already connotative of the urban concept. Lefebvre further explains that such presentation of ouvre also *'exposes the genesis and meaning of the "logic of visual" —that is to expose the strategy implied in such "logic"'* (1991: 128). This presents a new socio-historical spatial logic wherein its new space assemblage is 'to promote urbanity as a way of life that is also cognizant of development and progress making any space that is symbolic of rural as something that is poor, backward and counter-progressive' (Sta Maria 2014: 41).

In Matnog, Sorsogon, urban development has already been taken on as a project and is *'recognized and placed on the theoretical and political agenda'* (Soja 1989: 86). Politically, urbanization has been incorporated in varied policies already at the local and national levels, placing the Pier of Matnog, Sorsogon as one of the top earners and contributors to the economy of Matnog that signals that transformation for the people to adapt to such economic changes. The Pier then, is taken as the centre space, an imposing spatial representation that connotes to urban development. As the point of spatial reference, the Pier is constantly being modified to achieve the standards of international port area services. It is well managed, maintained to provide comfort and ease for its passengers and customers. This Pier spells development for the people living in Matnog, Sorsogon and emphasizes progress for them.

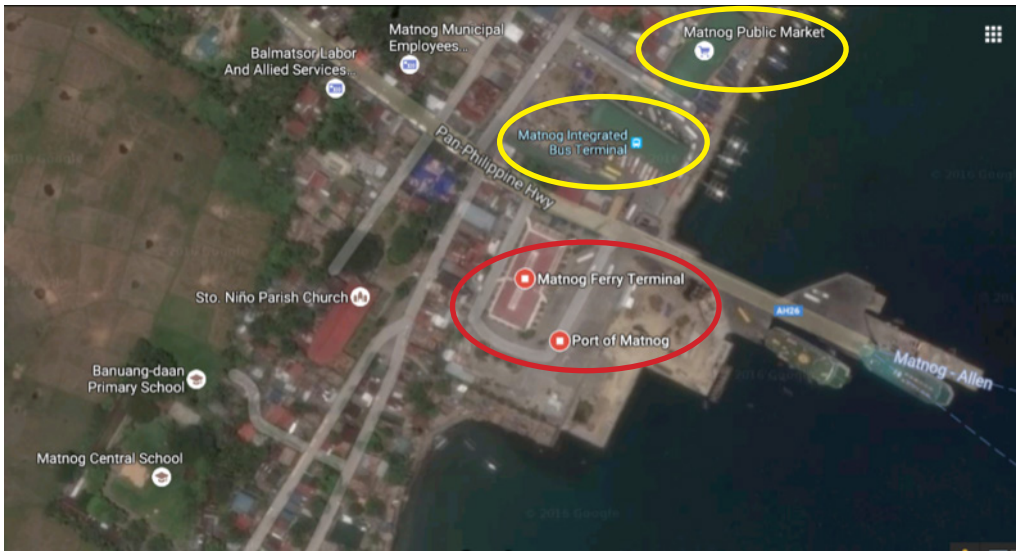
Construction of the Centre and Periphery

In the urbanization project, areas construct a centre that pre-sets the grand plan in the achievement of urbanization. The construction of the centre draws people inwards in the space that will symbolize urbanization for them to participate and be actively engaged in economic trade, imbibe the changes and attempt to have that feeling of what urban life is. The construction of the centre, as a strategy, is done to signal to the people who inhabit the rural and coastal areas to transition into the urban state.

The construction of the centre is not new in the Philippines. Manila, as the capital of the country, and considered as highly urbanized has constructed numerous centres that connote to urbanization. Taking note of Manila's construction of the centre, Michel (2010: 395) observes that these structures are comprised of *'high-rise condominiums, a medium-sized mall, and some office blocks, have risen since the late 1990's.'But this development has not stopped. More centres that combine housing, leisure and entertainment, and business have also been constructed:'Rockwell Center, Eastwood Cyber City, or Manhattan Garden, and on a much bigger scale, urban megaprojects like Fort Bonifacio Global City, produce urban landscapes'* (Michel 2010).

Matnog, Sorsogon has not reached the scale of changes that Manila has, but the development of the Pier area of Matnog has circumvented the social and economic life of the people. As the focal point for economic life, continuing improvements of the Pier became consequential to the development of other spaces and structures to contribute to the earnings of the Municipality. The roads that lead to the Pier are paved and maintained to facilitate the transfer of passengers. The Matnog Integrated Bus Terminal has also been developed to accommodate numerous passengers and it is also a parking area used by cargo trucks. The bus terminal also serves as a trading post for goods. Inside the Pier, one can also see the improvements to meet the national and global standards for shipping lines.

Figure 1. Map of Matnog, Sorsogon. Circled in Red is the area of the Pier which is geographically the centre of Matnog. Circled in Yellow are the Matnog Integrated Bus Terminal that houses the Trading Post and the Matnog Public Market that are both areas where socio-economic life is located.



(Source: Google Map) [Online] Available: https://www.google.com.ph/maps/search/Trading+Post+in+Matnog+Pier+/@12.5818424,124.085875,383a,20y,41.64t/data=!3m1!1e3)

Figure 4.
Left: Scanning area of bags upon entrance in the passenger waiting area. Right: Inside the Pier where passengers enter and wait.

Figure 5.
Left: the bus terminal where cargo trucks are parked. Right: another perspective of the bus terminal where stalls are built

The area of the Pier, as the centre, becomes a centripetal force for economy and social life. As a central space for economy, interviewed residents of Matnog say that families who are low-income earners (like the fishermen and male farmers) have either found full-time or part-time employment as labourers in the Pier. While some of the women and children sell some of their agricultural produce, cooked native snacks and coffee in the trading area of the bus terminals. Other residents who have higher educational attainment are employed in white-collar jobs in the Pier, while some middle-class earners have rented stalls for selling various products. A woman working in the port area says that when the pier developed, the ones who were hired in office jobs came from neighbouring municipalities. The Pier area also serves as a social space. Teenage girls from low-income families say that they like 'hanging out'in the bus terminal. According to them, they sit and chat in these spaces while they wait for their friends. What is observable is that the Pier area, especially the bus terminal, is always full of residents of Matnog communing together in the late afternoons until evening.

As a central space for economic production and practice, the space tends to project and advertise itself as accommodating to all but examining it closely, it is also a space that negates itself by spatially arranging *'representations of power' that 'asserts itself as a "state of mode of production" to proliferate capitalism'* (Soja 1996: 34–35). The centre controls and proliferates competition among individuals and groups for the best skills, techniques and styles among which becomes the key for surviving in the centre. The people of Matnog who are socially-oriented to fish and farm, and who have obtained skills as labourers and lay workers in the Pier area, engage in the centre because there is an increasing difficulty in relying on income that can be earned from the land and the water. Most of them are having difficulties with fishing because they cannot compete with commercial fishing. Tenant farmers cannot compete with the increasing demands for the maintenance of their farms, thus, to augment income, most of them work full-time or as part time workers in the pier area. Most of the people of Matnog, especially those who have higher educational attainment, cannot fully engage in the pier area, especially in white-collar jobs, because they have to compete with applicants who come from nearby municipalities. An observation is that in small scale business, like that of selling, most of the people of Matnog who used to be farmers cannot afford the rent of the stalls, so they are forced to sell their goods outside of the Bus Terminal, while some carry their goods and peddle them in the streets. Residents of Matnog say that most stalls inside the bus terminal are rented by people from nearby municipalities or the middle class of Matnog.

Figure 6.
Circled in red are residents of Matnog who are selling food outside the Bus Terminal area.

The creation of the centre for economic and social practice is in conjunction with *'spatial hierarchy of cores/centre and peripheries as both the product and the instrumental medium of geographically uneven development'* (Soja 1989: 111). It may be true that the centre accommodates everyone in Matnog, but looking at their spatial experience, the ones who belong to the low-income bracket, specifically the fisher folks and farmers who still practice rural and coastal socio-economic modes, are placed at a disadvantaged position because the skills demanded by the centre are not the skills that they possess. Wallenstein explains that the centre produces two dichotomies: 1) class difference, and, 2) economic specialization within a spatial hierarchy (core/centre) versus periphery (cited by Soja 1989: 110).

In urbanization, the construction of the centre is contiguous to the construct of the peripheral space that operates through the accommodation of individuals who cannot live and fully engage in the centre. These are the people who cannot afford the rental fees of houses, the cost of residential land, rental fees of business spaces, etc. In the experience of Matnog, this is mostly articulated by the centre pushing the ones who cannot compete out and placing them in the peripheral areas. The centre, in a way, due to the spatial constructions and additions that tend to mark their boundaries, re-arranges the space to accommodate those who cannot live and fully engage in the centre in order to appear more inclusive.

Hidden Space

Similarly to what is happening in the Manila Area, Philippines, because malls, residential spaces for middle and upper class, leisure and entertainment areas, etc. are constructed at the centre, high gates and walls are built to mark the boundaries of the middle and upper class individuals while the area occupied by individuals from the low income bracket are concealed (refer to Michel 2010). This spatial arrangement is maintained to advance urbanization and to create *'urban landscapes that are free of visible poverty and marginalization'* with the intention to paint an image of wealth that will further forward the interests of the middle and upper class (Michel 2010: 386 and 389). Conjugated within the clauses of urbanization, concealment of the peripheral space where the poor reside is done to *'project an image of an economically successful global city, both to persuade its citizens that its strategies of globalization of the economy are correct, as well as to attract investment and tourism in order to fully realize this strategy'* (Shatskin quoted by Michel 2010: 386–387).

Matnog, Sorsogon experiences the same fate. Behind the urban development spaces and its representations (i.e. cemented roads, buildings, the Pier, Trading Centre and the like), their houses, their own space is concealed. Obscured behind the spaces that represent urban development is uneven development that is presented before these spaces and their spatial arrangements. Hiding behind the urban structures are the truths and realities of social differences.

To reach the area of the poor in Matnog, Sorsogon, one has to walk along cemented paths until one reaches a narrow road to enter their space.

Figure 7. Yellow arrows indicate the walking path towards the area of the poor. Circled in red is the Barangay where poor people live.

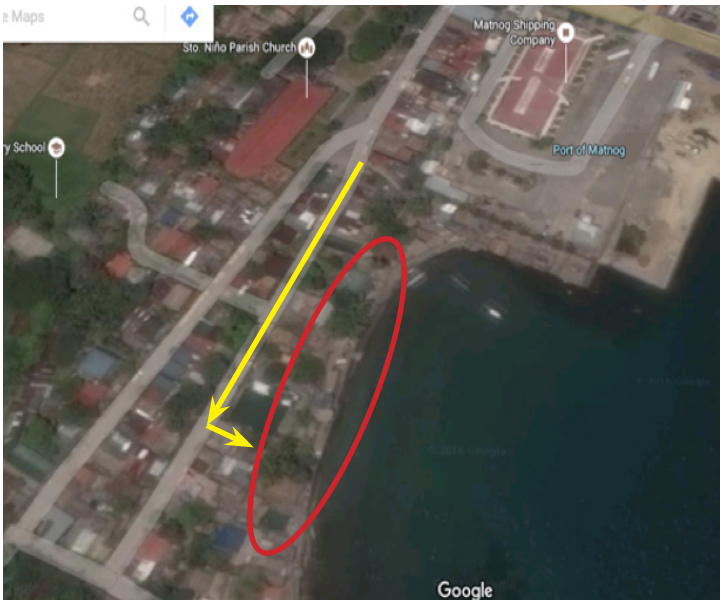


Figure 9. Circled in red are the houses hidden behind the other structures

Figure 10. A closer look at their area

These families belong to the low-income bracket. They survive through fishing and small-scale farming. To augment their income, some of the adults work on the pier as labourers, some women and children sell coffee and food outside the bus terminal or peddle them in the nearby road.

Concealing the spaces inhabited by the poor, Michel says that it is for the promotion of the '*legitimacy of its modernist development project, the shift to corporate-driven and entrepreneurial strategies in urban governance'* (Michel 2010:393), because the spaces in the periphery, inhabited by the poor *'are represented in the local media discourse in terms of deviance, underdevelopment and a passive culture of poverty'* (2010: 387). In the construct of the centre and periphery in spaces, both experienced by Manila and Matnog, the *'aim was to erase what might contradict the image of a promising site for investment'* (Michel 2010: 394). Concealing the spaces of the poor is done so that urban spaces and their representations become the frontage of any viewer – *'a façade – as face directed towards the observer and as a privileged side'* (Lefebvre 1991: 125). This arrangement is creating that notion for any viewer regarding the presence of urban development. Because it is the Pier and other representations of urban development that are the first spaces the viewer sees, it presents urban development as 'monumental' (Lefebvre 1991). This sets the whole ambience for everyone to see and further believe that this is the kind of development currently being applied, and, this is the kind of life that is being emphasized. It memorializes urban development, setting the stage for everyone that the presence of urban spaces and its representations are the signal for everyone to adapt, shift and take this new form of life as the main goal.

The hiding of spaces occupied by the poor, whether in urban or rural spaces, is interpreted as a form of gentrification. Studies on gentrification are usually attributable to displacement and *'class inequalities and injustices created by capitalist urban land markets and policies'* (Slater 2011: 571). Sassen (quoted by Slater 2011: 573) explains that,

> *Gentrification was initially understood as the rehabilitation of decaying and low-income housing by middle-class outsiders in central cities. In the late 1970s a broader conceptualization of the process began to emerge, and by the early 1980s new scholarship had developed a far broader meaning of gentrification, linking it with processes of spatial, economic and social restructuring.*

Michel notes that features of gentrification in the Philippines *'go back at least to the mid-1960s…"slums" and squatter settlements for the first time were dealt with as a political and increasingly moral problem'* (2010:392) and was widely practiced in urban Manila. Through the 'new Society' and 'City of Man' projects, the poor who occupy the slum areas were forcibly relocated to nearby provinces. The construction of middle and upper class spaces has resulted in massive *'evictions of informal settlements and street vendors, especially those living and working near routes visible to the international audience'* (Michel 2010). Continuing on with the practice of gentrification, in 2005, the 'Metro Gwapo (gwapo in Tagalog means handsome)' was implemented that '*revolved around beautifying and reworking the face of the metropolis, its focuses on certain usages of public space heavily class-biased toward an exclusion of the urban poor'* (Michel 2010: 393). Although the gentrification projects in the 1960s and that of 2005 may differ in implementation, noteworthy is that *'this focus on the urban centre and its promotion as a modern space was a key element of the regime's development agenda'* (Michel 2010: 392). As contextualized in the urban Manila area, gentrification is *'the adoption of zero-tolerance policing strategies, and the privatization of urban space [that] are currently among the most common approaches'* (Smith 2001, Smith 2002, Glasze etal. 2006, Atkinson and Bridge 2005, cited by Michel 2010: 400). In Michel's study on the features of gentrification as evident in urban Manila, Philippines, he observes that the construction of middle and upper class spaces have resulted in massive *'evictions of informal settlements and street vendors, especially those living and working near routes visible to the international audience'* (2010: 392).

Davidson and Lees (2005: 1169) argue that there is the permeating experience of *'new-build gentrification [that] contrasts with previous rounds of gentrification because different landscapes are being produced, and different socio-spatial dynamics are operating.'* To support the arguments of Davidson and Lees, given the Third World spatial context, Smith (2011: 443) says gentrification *'has evolved into new landscape complexes that pioneer a comprehensive class-inflected urban remake'* and is dependent on the following: 1) scale, 2) geographical focus, and 3) social balance that contribute to *'differential forms and trajectories in rural places'* (2011: 444,599). What appears to be similar within the thread of argument on gentrification is the forwarding of the urbanization project that hides areas that negate the urban concept and it causes massive displacement; and, usually this is the displacement of the poor.

Understanding gentrification from a spatial lens, as experienced by Matnog, Sorsogon, adheres closely to the defining characteristics of 'new-build gentrification' raised by Davidson and Lees (2005: 1170) as: 1) reinvestment of capital, 2) social upgrading of locale by incoming high income groups, 3) landscape change, and, 4) direct or indirect displacement of low income groups. The table below summarizes Davidson and Lee's characteristics and that of the spatial context of Matnog, Sorsogon.

Table 1 - Summary of Gentrification Characteristics by Davidson and Lees

Davidson and Lees' Characteristics	Characteristics Manifested in Matnog, Sorsogon
Reinvestment of capital	Public properties are being privatized. If not, there is a trend of public and private capital in the management of properties. Example: Philippine Ports Authority is government owned but operations management of the port area is privately owned. Huge land areas owned by individuals are sub-divided and sold, while some portions are leased, or they transform them into business structures, rental homes, etc. Expansion of businesses of the middle and upper class Matnog residents Modification of economic mode from fishing and farming to business and trade
Social upgrading of locale by incoming high income groups	Influx of tourists and employees from cities and nearby municipalities that is consequential to providing additional tourist spots. Example: beach, snorkelling, inns, etc.
Landscape change	The pier, bus terminal, market area and the space where the municipal hall is located are being developed. Bodies of water are developed as a tourist spot for swimming and snorkelling. Islands are also being developed to cater to the needs of tourists
Direct or indirect displacement	Indirect displacement

Seeing similar features and characteristics in the concept of gentrification, as presented by Davidson and Lees and as experienced by Matnog, Sorsogon, what needs to be highlighted is how gentrification is experienced by spaces that are still transitioning from rural and coastal to urban. Though displacement becomes an elemental experience in gentrification, the kind of indirect displacement experienced by transitioning spaces are consequential to fixity in the original place and space they occupy and they tend to experience socio-cultural and economic ambivalence.

Fixity in their original space and place is a supporting rhetoric of urbanization. In contrast to the experience of Manila, they possess the capacity to 'evict slum areas' (refer to Michel 2010) and relocate them in nearby provinces because Manila as an urban space, tends to associate the 'poor' with the rural areas. In the case of Matnog, Sorsogon, these low-income groups are already located in a rural and coastal area, which has not fully transformed to the urban. In a way, they cannot be transferred elsewhere due to lack of provinces who be willing to give space to the poor and because most of the municipalities and provinces are also aiming for urbanization. Fixity in space and place, as experienced by the low income groups of Matnog, Sorsogon, further root them to what is 'rural and coastal' that reiterate their socio-economic status because they are bound to stay in their space.

Ambivalence in socio-cultural and economic modes can be seen in the confusion on what social practice to follow. Most of the fisher folks and farmers tend to retain the 'old,' 'traditional,' and 'rural' ways of socio-economic practice, which is in tension with their newly acquired skills as labourers or sellers. Often times, they have to decide which among the socio-economic modes are more rewarding for them. In interviews conducted among low-income residents of Matnog, they said that they find it difficult to leave fishing and farming because these skills is a way of life for them. Admittedly, they say, that it leaves them with no choice but to adopt new skills to be able to provide for their families. Thus, labour work appeals to them because money is regularly given but they still lack some of the skills needed in the port area (i.e. maintaining and cleaning the ships, machinery, etc.) so that they can gain more income.

Socio-culturally, most of the individuals and groups who are concealed have difficulty in coping with the new urban lifestyle. In the interviews with women, some of them say that the younger generation tend to become more materialistic and want things they do not exactly need (i.e. cellular phones, computers, etc.) which can be seen in the shopping areas. Some of these teenagers work, not exactly to help augment the income of the family, but for purchasing luxury items. Understanding this, socio-culturally, the younger generation are now forming a new life schema that involves an urban lifestyle. What appears to be more bothering is that the younger generation, who are witnessing the spatial transition, perceive of the natural spaces (body of water and farming land) as areas that connote to 'kahirapan' or poverty because it is 'pang-probinsya' [provincial, rural].

Spatial Consequences

Lefebvre says that *'grounds take up residence in spaces whose pre-existing form, having been designed for some other purpose, is inappropriate to the needs of their would-be communal life'* (1991: 168). The Pier being the centripetal force of their lives becomes the area for augmenting income for the people of Matnog. Unfortunately, not all of them can be accommodated in higher paying jobs in the centre space because most of them lack the education and skills necessary for employment. In the 'urban fabric', as it continually wishes for the space, knowledge and social practice to continue on and cover all geographic spaces, it also produces discontinuities in space. Lefebvre refers to this as the 'ensemble of differences'(1991: 109) that creates patterns in ways of living in which not all inhabitants can engage. The city, or the urban, produces *'confrontations and conflictual relations'* (Lefebvre 1991) – social differences, boundaries and demarcation lines between the ideal (urban) and the un-ideal (rural/coastal).

In the case of Matnog, Sorsogon, Philippines, addition and spatial re-arrangements, as aestheticized and becomes that of the oeuvre, when it hides other spaces and space representation not in cognizance with the urban, is actualizing a visual logic in spatial arrangement and gains the *'the capacity to "incarnate" into the realm of knowledge, and hence, of consciousness'* (Lefebvre 1996: 128). In the spatial transition of the rural and coastal to the urban, it is not merely a spatial aesthetic design in which the urban space and its representations become the frontage, but the hiding of rural and coastal space and space representations is also a strategy to infuse, spread and embed into the onlookers what rural and coastal space and space representations signify. In transitioning spaces, as currently experienced by Matnog, Sorsogon. Bourdieu (1989: 19) says that what is constructed is the habitus which he describes as:

> *both a system of schemes of production of practices and a system of perception and appreciation of practices… habitus produces practices and representations which are available for classification, which are objectively differentiated…habitus thus implies a 'sense of place' but also a 'sense of the place of others'*

The set of spatial arrangements that conceal the areas of the poor, and taking the so-called rich as its frontage, divides the social class and renders them to their respective spaces. Though all social classes can engage in the urban space and its representations, social practice, in its eventuality, is adapted to the space; thus, interactions become oriented towards the goal of economics: production and gaining. Rarely will the different

social classes intertwine to establish other social goals for themselves (i.e. friendship, group formation, etc.) because the urban space reifies the social distance that proliferates power relations. In the interactions of the social class in the urban space, because the goal is for economic production, there is always the presence of social difference (i.e. employer-employee, fisherman and business owner, farmer and landowner, seller and consumer, etc.) in which *'social distances are inscribed in bodies, or more precisely, into the relation to the body, to language and to time'* (Bourdieu 1989: 17). This iteration in space subconsciously and consciously makes the individual understand that in social interactions and exchange there is an inherent need 'to maintain their rank' and 'not get familiar' that is attributable to the inherent sense and affinity to their 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1989).

Hiding spaces connote as well to unacceptability of these spaces, which is interpreted as the concealment of the people who live in the rural and coastal areas (inclusive of their social, cultural and economic ways of life). As physically concealed, these spaces that denote poverty are not the spaces that one sees upon entry into Matnog. This is done to obscure poverty from the onlooker and to make them focus on the aim: that which is urban development. Lefebvre (1991: 6) says that this arrangement of concealing is an *'impression (is) given that the truth is tolerated, or even promoted, by that "culture."'* The existence of spaces that denote poverty as hidden behind the so-called development spaces consciously and unconsciously makes urban development appear to be acceptable to all. This knowledge of urban living becomes idealized, well thought of, cognized, practiced, and eventually accepted. The concealment of the spaces then amounts to the space being rendered as obsolete and not in synch with the new spatial logic.

For the urban development goal is that of 'homogeneity' (Lefebvre 1991), then their houses are concealed because this is not the spatial prescriptive of urban development. What is different, what is not in the creation of that semblance and notion of urban development, is not the kind of development that anyone should have, and, maybe even see. Such rendering of the inexistence of poor areas as hidden spaces communicates that *'these relations would remain in the realm of pure abstraction… verbiage and empty words.'* (Lefebvre 1991: 129). The urban as an ouvre prefers 'consistency of knowledge'(1991: 131), thus it is imperative to conceal spaces that run against its logic.

This becomes the genesis of spatial boundaries that reifies social differences, enunciating contrasting concepts such as: urban and rural/coastal, rich and poor, developed and underdeveloped, progressive and backward, and, centre and periphery. This kind of spatial arrangement not only constructs polemical spaces but also provides a perception of oppositional ways of life and legitimizes urban development as the sole direction to take in order to alleviate the lives of the people of Matnog. This kind of shift to urbanization has made people believe that there is a transitory need to let go of the rural and what it stands for. What the shift to urbanization poignantly says is that their space is not appropriate, that the rural/coastal is hard, difficult, tough, unprivileged, literally and figuratively behind the emerging of a dominant space.

Spatial Problematic

Shift in the Sociality of the Space

Transitioning spaces bring to light the arguments raised by Bourdieu. He explains that a social space presents a trajectory and disposition and that *'position and individual trajectory are not statistically independent; all positions of arrival are not equally probable for all starting points.'* (Bourdieu 1984:110). Evidential in Matnog, even if everyone can engage in the centre, and such areas that represent the urban, it does not necessarily follow that everyone will develop because not everyone comes from a similar social position. Given the existing and permeating social differences in a geographical and social space, most residents of Matnog who come from the concealed area come from the low-income bracket and practice rural and coastal ways. When Matnog as a space started transitioning to the urban state, they were already at a disadvantage, because their social skills came from the rural and coastal. Those who come from the middle and upper class have greater advantage over the others because their skills and social practice enables them to engage fully in the urban space and its representations. Therefore, even if the lower, middle, and upper classes of Matnog come from different social positions, the space that is transitioning into that of the urban, carries with it the elemental tenor of urbanity–not only in spatial arrangement, but also in economic and social practice. This means that all of them will take on the trajectory (path or direction) towards urban goals and their positive disposition (attitude) towards urbanity inclusive of their social practice.

What are constructed then are not merely spatial constructions and re-arrangements but a homogenous disposition directed to urbanity. Bourdieu succinctly explains that:

> *homogeneity of dispositions are associated with a position and their seemingly miraculous adjustment to the demands inscribed in it results partly from the mechanisms which channel towards positions individuals who are already adjusted to them, either because they feel 'made' for them –this is the 'vocation'… this trajectory effect no doubt plays a large part in blurring the relationship between social class and religious or political opinions, owing to the fact that it governs representation of the position occupied in the social world and hence the vision of its world and its future* (1984: 110–111)

What is already presented before the people of Matnog are spatial representations of the urban, and the rural and coastal as connotative of what is 'poor' and 'backward' should be hidden, becomes embedded in the consciousness of everyone. The urban project not only reconstructs space, but even more so entails the arrangement and coherency of economic and social practice to emphasize the urban spatial syntax.

A dire consequence of social adjustments of activities and practices in a new space is the possible *'breakdown of mechanisms of biological and social reproduction brought about by the specific logic of symbolic domination is one of the mediations of the process of concentration which leads to a deep transformation of the class'* (Bourdieu 1984: 108). In the case of Matnog, what is produced is additional class in the existent social hierarchy. To illustrate, the poor in which classifications are added that denote to their economic capacity (i.e., fisher folks, farm people, labourers, peddlers, etc.); and, additional sub-divisions of the middle class (lower middle class and upper middle class) that convolutes the understanding of social classes. To cope with this confusion, the space compensates by arranging them. To illustrate, the upper class belong to the private

subdivisions; upper-middle class are located near the centre (given the practicality of the distance between residence and work); lower middle class are compounded in one area; while the classifications of lower class are either located in the hidden areas of the space or are in-between the residence locations of the middle class. In a way, the urbanization project has resulted in classifying social class based on space.

Shift in the Historical Time

A spatial consequence for transitioning areas is the shift in historical time. Giddens refers to this as *'"emptying of time" as a precondition of for the "emptying of space"'* (1990: 18). According to Giddens, because of modernity, direct links between space and time are diminishing (refer to Giddens 1990). In the study of space and place, Giddens explains that *'place means idea of locale, which refers to physical settings of social activity as situated geographically'* is in synch with time that shapes social activities (Giddens 1990: 18). Looking into the case of Matnog, in the past (as per pre-urban), time and space is coordinated with motions of the natural spaces: for agriculture there is a planting and harvest season; for fishing there is a time to cast nets and wait for a catch. In transitioning spaces, Giddens explains that:

> *it tears space away from place by fostering relations between 'absent' others, locationally distant from any given situation of face-to-face interaction. …place becomes phantasmagoric: that is to say, locales are thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social influence quite distant from them (1990: 18–19).*

Exemplified in the space of Matnog, everyone, regardless of class and spatial origins is working in the centre. To achieve urban needs, the fishing and agricultural locales do not recognize these changes because everyone is working (employees, teachers, etc.) within a time frame that is unfamiliar and far from the agricultural and coastal time they were used to. This results in disorientation in time. The 'busyness' in movements in the centre or the urban space does not allow them to interact, nor the time and space to discuss their social status and plight because these social relations are new as well. What structures the *'locale is not simply that which is present on the scene; the "visible form" of the locale conceals the distanciated relations which determines its nature'* (Giddens 1990: 19). Naturalization of socio-economic activities led to the emergence of a complex set of hierarchical positions (i.e. labourer-supervisor-employer; fisher folk-middleman-businessman owner of market or grocery; etc.) that brings about homogeneity of socio-economic activities, which is synchronized to the urban spatial and time demands. Resistance is rare because everyone, regardless of social class, is working in the urban space, which rationalizes the existence of urban life.

Rendering Silence in Space

The shift in historical time, from the rural and coastal to that of the urban, has produced silence and acceptance of co-existence in the space, because the urban space has *'inserted into time and space a life with a new impetus'* (Giddens 1990: 20) that is slowly eradicating the old ways and presenting and embedding that of the new impetus–the construction of a new space with a new set of social activities. Historical space is changing. And, since there modification of rural and coastal socio-economic activities that is very much urban in goals, the insertion of urbanity is not exactly hinged on the past because there is the need to learn new skills (labour, selling, etc.) and a new way of life.

The diminishing links between time and space, as experienced by Matnog, has already been pre-planned as 'the epitome of reification' (Lukacs quoted by Soja 1989: 87). In building and constructing spatial additions and representations of urban development, the people living by the coast in that which is hidden and beside the spaces that denote to urban life are made to feel that they are somewhat located in a 'developed area'. It is the kind of *'false consciousness that is manipulated by state and capital that becomes collective and homogenizes thought and action'* (Soja 1989: 87). It is that new mode of false consciousness on spatial arrangements and representations (paved roads, concrete houses, buildings, Pier, etc.) that communicates that 'hope' of having and achieving development. But unfortunately, it is not theirs and they are just located beside and alongside it.

Because *'the production of space was accommodative, conformal, and directly shaped by the market and state power'* (Soja 1989), resistance to this transition is difficult for the people living on the coast, because these urban spaces and their representations know how to compromise. Those who live by the coast of Matnog are compensated with these presentations to make them think that their lives are becoming better because of these spaces. When people are 'happy', 'satisfied', etc. resistance is avoided because there are many compromising factors and arenas in these urban development spaces. But what they do not know is that the urban spaces and their representations will not survive without cheap work and labour, and, that without them selling alongside the trading centre, consumption will not be achieved.

The people who live by the coast of Matnog do not know is that this urban development will not proliferate without them. They are falsely made to believe that they benefit fully from these urban spaces and their representations; thus, *'culture, politics, consciousness and ideology and along with them the production of space were reduced to simple reflections of economic base'and in this kind of space becomes 'absorbed in economism as its dialectical relationship with other elements of material existence was broken'* (Soja 1989: 87). There is no room for cognizing inequality and social differences anymore for the people who live by the coast of Matnog because they are more occupied in their struggle for everyday life in which the urban space and its representations are 'helping' them.

Transitioning space is silencing but violent because it gives them that notion that their lives will become better when what they actually have is temporary, and, that these small improvements in their lives and the space surrounding them is not enough to alter their own state. As the people of Matnog remain silent, *'differentials are maintained geographically and sectorally with uneven allocations of capital investment and social infrastructure…'* (Soja, 1989: 107). As the space changes, the people living by the coast of Matnog will eventually become urban poor… and one conceptual meaning remains: poor. This kind of silence that emanates from them and their spaces, urban development furthers its legitimacy and becomes the *'legitimizing hegemony rather on direct force and oppression'* because this urban development becomes that consciousness that will become *'rooted in the phenomenology of [their] everyday life'*(1989: 90). This non-resistance and silence is taken as acceptance which is difficult to challenge because one cannot undo spaces. This makes uneven allocations and social differences continue their course. The spatial arrangement muffles and silences social differences that *'naturalize social relations'* (Soja 1989: 128), making the people who live by the coast of Matnog, temporarily contented with their current state and condition.

Bourdieu (1985: 728) points out that because *'the social world is an act of construction… the essential part of the experience of the social world and of the act of construction that implies takes place in practice… more like a class unconscious than a "class consciousness." Due to the spatial syntax constructed by the urban project, and as supported and facilitated fully by spatial arrangement in accordance to one's social class, there is already the acceptance of "one's sense of one one's place."'* Bourdieu elaborates that *'consequently, they incline agents to accept the social world as it is, to take for granted, rather than to rebel against it … the sense of one's place, as a sense of limits ("that's not for the likes of us", etc.), or, which amounts to the same thing, a sense of distances, to be marked and kept, respected or expected'* (1985: 728). Urbanity becomes a 'common sense, the explicit consensus, of the whole group' (Bourdieu 1985: 729). As an example, a poor fisherman who lives in the poor community but sees development representations in space, has to adjust to the social practice thus unconsciously imbibing the urban schema because there is already a written policy on urbanity and an unwritten agreement among people in Matnog and because urbanity aims for socio-economic movements, the fisherman takes on the practical struggle to attempt at uplifting oneself in the space to survive. Because in truth, where will he go?

Monumentalizing the Urban

The concepts of the 'rural' and the 'urban' become a *'symbolic struggle for power to produce and impose a legitimate world-view and, more precisely, to all the cognitive 'filling-in' strategies that produce the meaning of the objects of the social world by going beyond the directly visible attributes by reference to the future or past'* (Bourdieu: 1985: 724). This spatial presentation of the urban also becomes a clear pronunciation of social differences that reifies spatial consciousness. It makes coherent that urban life, and any space that represent such development, is the only way to achieve such progress. Arrangement of adjacent spaces into contrasting modes (rural and coastal versus the urban) suggests to the people living in Matnog that urban development is possible, workable and is far better. Through these arrangements, options are provided in thought that make idealization of the urban more provocative because in space, this kind of development is tangible. The space, as re-arranged, denotative of the urban, visually reminds people living in Matnog that they do not have that kind of development yet. And, because the spaces that represent urban development can be seen, it sends a promising message that the transformation of rural and coastal areas into those of the urban is the only way to achieve development. And, for those who resist this urban project, the spatial transition conveys to them that this is the development for everyone because, in truth, no one wishes to remain hidden and no one hopes to remain in the concealed space.

Urban space and its representations present the *'illusion of substantiality, naturalness and special opacity that nurtures its own mythology'* (Lefebvre 1991: 30). The urban then becomes the 'impetus' and the sole goal of social life. In monumentalizing the urban as knowledge and practice, its machinations began in space. Lefebvre says that the space, as the impetus for a new life, presents ease and comfort in conforming because of the *'view of the space as innocent; as free of traps or secret places'* (Lefebvre 1991: 28). The reconstructions and additions in space appear to be neutral and limited to tangible, physical space devoid of any agenda, which is deftly hidden behind the new structures and arrangements. The space then conjugates for the people the

need to adjust and adopt a new set of movements and practice that is conformal of the space. This is a way of accepting the urban project.

Lefebvre warns that the urban, as monumentalized, becomes the 'encrypted reality' (Lefebvre 1991: 29). As Matnog continues to transition, their people takes in the locus of the urban which is monumentalized in space, social, cultural and economic practice. In this re-arrangement and spatial additions, there is also the de-materialization of 'old,' 'traditional', 'backward', and in this reading of the space–the rural. The rural life then is being dissolved and rendered as unacceptable and non-conformal to the space. The people of Matnog then take root in the new historical time: the urban.

Understanding the case of Matnog, Sorsogon, as it transitions, what it actualizes is the re-appropriation of the natural spaces (body of water and land); and, consequential to this is the construction of unnatural spaces. In the monumentalizing of the urban, what is being naturalized is the unnatural ways of life in which the people are now adopting and allowing themselves to be rooted into. And, in this rooting from the unnatural space, artificial social life is being built.

As this discourse draws to a close this question remains: What will happen to the people whose spaces are being concealed? As they imbibe a new spatial practice, they will keep on repeating these newly acquired skills that will be exercised and done repetitively until both the spaces and the people forget the socio-cultural practice of farming and fishing. A formation of new memory emerges, and, the monumentalizing of the urban as the ideal space for social, economic and cultural practice will always ensure its continuity.

When the people of Matnog forget rural life, upon monumentalizing the urban, there is also the acceptance of its consequences: 1) the shift in the social space that will direct anew social and cultural practice even if unfounded and unnatural of the space and the people, and, 2) the shift in historical time that becomes an impetus that is unrelated to the old ways of life, that produces silence and naturalization of social differences. In the monumentalizing of the urban, the consequences become memorialized as well.

The urban, as an oeuvre, appears before us in the Philippines as the most ideal space which has reshaped social, economic and cultural practice. And, as we continue to move in synchrony with the urban space, it will now appear as the new us and our new history. Given the dire consequences of spatial transition from rural and coastal to the urban, the oeuvre is not just an oeuvre.

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The social role of food and new producer-consumer relations
The Case of Sundom, Vaasa, Finland

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Abstract

This paper will discuss the social role of food and new producer-consumer relations influenced by socio-economic and demographic transformation in an urban rurality. These topics will be addressed and enlightened through a case study, Sundom, a small urban rurality and district of Vaasa, on the west coast of Finland. Interviews highlight that transformation may influence the creation of new producer-consumer relations, but these may also be regional rather than local. New demands and tastes in food are influenced by an inflow of well-off, well-educated, new consumers. It is argued that conscious new preferences of demands and tastes may, for example, result in local consumer food circles. It is also suggested that it is not solely concerns for the quality of food that initiates the circles, but also aims to strengthen and create new social bonds in the neighborhood.

Key words: transformation, food, social role, producer-consumer relations

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The social role of food and new producer-consumer relations
The Case of Sundom, Vaasa, Finland

Introduction

A global paradigm shift occurred in 2007 when, for the first time, a majority of humankind was considered urban-based, not rural. This paradigm shift, as well as contemporary trends of urbanization and counter-urbanization, motivates new studies of the urban-rural borderland and urban-rural relations. In this paper I study one small urban rurality, Sundom in Vaasa, Finland. My main focus in this paper is the social role of food and new producer-consumer relations in an urban rurality experiencing transformation.

My main research questions are:

Does socioeconomic and demographic transformation influence or create new producer-consumer relations in a locality and, if so, how?
Has the social role of food increased or changed due to (socioeconomic) transformation?

My hypothesis is that major transformation does influence producer-consumer relations and the social role of food. Transformation may, for example, lead to rural gentrification and an inflow of wealthier and well-educated inhabitants, assumed to support middle-class values and tastes as well as a more refined view on 'healthy food habits' and world cuisine trends. This inflow of new or increased consumer preferences is in turn assumed to influence new producer-consumer relations and influence, perhaps even increase, the social meaning of food.

I will first present a theoretical background as well as a general presentation of my case study, Sundom. This is followed by a presentation of methods and materials. I will then present the results of my study and discuss my conclusions.

The Sundom case exemplifies that an inflow of new (middle-class and well-educated) inhabitants may have an effect on new local food demands and tastes. It is probable that new consumer demands influence new activities, such as consumer circles or other direct producer-consumer relations. The Sundom case also exemplifies that new food trends and new producer-consumer relations spread down the urban scale. Interestingly enough, new producer-consumer relations and consumer tastes seem to be much less noticeable in the traditional fish sector in Sundom than for products like vegetables and milk. In the latter cases relations have developed mainly between regional producers and local consumers, rather than local (Sundom) producer-consumer relations.

Theoretical background

Dünckmann (2012) argues that the key processes for the current transformation of the countryside are a shift from productivism to post-productivism in agriculture, transformation of rural areas from production space to consumer space, increased susceptibility to gentrification processes that transform rural areas to 'middle-class territories' and increased disintegration and differentiation of rural places (Dünckmann 2012: 58). This is on par with what Andersson et al. (2012) describes as the new middle class's '*quest for the natural, the healthy, the genuine and the authentic'* (Andersson et al. 2012: 6). A countryside that is no longer the traditional farmer's countryside, but rather what Murdoch et al. (2003) considers a differentiated countryside. In addressing the future of farming Woods (2005) note that twenty-first-century agriculture more than ever is driven by *'the capitalist imperative to maximize returns on income'.* Increasingly, however, this means improving the product, as opposed to maximizing production (Woods 2005: 57).

According to Dünckmann (2012), however, the rural areas need not lose their rural character as the new settlers may influence a revival and reinforcement of certain 'neo-rural' elements, perhaps romanticizing a rural way of life or searching a more sustainable, green, way of living. Thus, transformation is not only socio-demographic, but also political and cultural transformation on the local level:

> *'Newcomers who move from the urban areas to the countryside in order to "escape" the city bring along their urban cultural background and with it a set of values and ideas. In this manner, they soon start to question the traditional socio-political structure of local politics… The ideal picture of rurality held by the newcomers contains central social values of the middle-class like community, stability or order'* (Dünckmann 2012: 76).

Raynolds (2002) argues that *'numerous studies document how the widespread questioning of agro-industrial values and practices has promoted the rise of alternative agro-food networks based on ecological and locality specific production consumption relations associated with organic, local food shed, and other alternative values… Research on alternative agro-food networks has generally emphasized the "localness" of domestic qualifications tied to subjective knowledge, face-to-face relations, and spatially proximate production'* (Raynolds 2002: 408, 410).

Govindasamy and Nayga (1997) argued that farmer-to-consumer direct markets gained importance as producers *'can receive a better price directly from consumers'* while on the other hand consumers *'can get fresh, high-quality produce for a better than supermarket price.'* They also list other advantages, such as recreational activities, preservation of agricultural lands and community development (Govindasamy–Nayga 1997: 31). At the same time, as for example Ragaert et al (2004) argue, contemporary society is characterized by *'increasing health consciousness and growing interest in the role of food for maintaining and improving human well-being and consumer health'* (Ragaert et al. 2004: 259).

Youngs (2003), who studied consumer perceptions and attitudes of farmers markets in North West England, noted that 95.5 per cent of consumers perceive that farmer's markets sell fresh produce while a vast majority (in some cases almost all participants) also listed quality produce (92.6 per cent), tastier food (90.5) and healthier food (76.5) (Youngs 2003: 518). Govindasamy et al. (1999) conclude by reference to 'several studies'

that farmers are increasingly utilizing direct marketing to consumers in order to increase income. These marketing channels include retail outlets like temporary farmstands, wagons and pick-your-own operations. They further argue that farmers, by direct retailing, receive higher net price and higher returns (Govindasamy et al. 1999: 76, 81).

In contemporary Finland one such alternative marketing channel and direct retailing system is the so called REKO local food networks. REKO comes from the Swedish word Rejäl konsumtion (proper/reliable consumption) and the founder of the REKO idea is organic ostrobothnian farmer Thomas Snellman, who got the idea when visiting France. The producer-consumer REKO network is totally Internet-based, or more to the point, Facebook-based, which means that persons who do not use Facebook currently cannot place orders to REKO-producers. This must be seen as a limitation. However, in November 2014 the Finnish Broadcasting Company Yle reported that some 8000 Finns were members of approximately 20 local food networks[2] In early December 2015 (4.12) as many as 103 local REKO food networks (local food rings) were listed on one organic food website, for example.[3] Thus far, there is not much research conducted on REKO networks, and it is vital that experiences of REKO networks are studied more thoroughly in future studies.

As Govindasamy et al. (1999) concluded, *'Farmers today are looking for ways to increase income by increasing productivity as well as by incorporating non-traditional alternative activities in addition to conventional farm operations'* (Govindasamy et al. 1999: 82). REKO networks can be seen as one such current trend. According to Thilmany et al. (2007) up to 30 per cent of consumers prefer to buy their fresh produce from farmers' markets and direct from producers (Thilmany et al. 2007: 1). This growing trend Thilmany et al. exemplified with USDA figures that the number of farmers' markets in the USA more than doubled to over 3700 during the period 1994–2006.

Current statistics show a continued fast-growing trend: 'As of *National Farmers Market Week,* (the first full week in August), there were 8,476 farmers markets listed in USDA's National Farmers Market Directory. This is a 2.5 per cent increase from 2014.' [4]

Lehtonen and Tykkyläinen (2012) observe a periurbanization process creating a prosperous urban fringe in the vicinity of the urban center in a remote region while Dünckmann (2012) argues for a wide variety of interconnections between urban areas and their surrounding localities and observes a radical transformation of many rural areas in Germany, often involving social, economic, political and cultural transformation. Urban influences are spilling over the urban fringe, from suburbs to the nearby countryside, as these metropolitan and urban ruralities attract new and commuting middle-class settlers. Due to their increased attractiveness these ruralities are on the verge of, or already experiencing, gentrification, as new middle-class inhabitants move into these traditional rural areas.

However, earlier observations in a smaller, non-metropolitan, urban rurality, Sundom in Vaasa, Finland, suggests that most of the new middle-class commuters moving in has in fact a rural rather than urban background, exchanging a former rural domicile for living in another rural locality, rather than being exurbanites

2 (http://yle.fi/uutiset/lahiruoka_tulee_nyt_parkkipaikoille__tarjonta_ja_tilaukset_hoituvat_facebookissa/7598523).

3 http://luomulaakso.fi/luomu-ja-ekolinkit/reko-lahiruokarenkaita/)

4 http://www.ams.usda.gov/services/local-regional/farmers-markets-and-direct-consumer-marketing

'fleeing' the city (Ehrström 2013). However, they also clearly stress middle-class values, and much in the same manner (community, stability, order) as Dünckmann observes, but at the same time bring with them a rural or rurban cultural background rather than urban.

Woods (2005) sees counterurbanization as a product of the economic restructuring of both urban and rural societies, in combination with societal and technological changes that mean that people are *'more mobile physically and socially than in previous generations.'* However, the attractiveness of the 'rural' will for most in-migrants be *'just one of many factors influencing the multi-stage decision-making process that is followed in the sequence of deciding to move, selecting an area to move to, selecting a community in which to live, and selecting a particular property'* (Woods 2005: 75, 77).

As transformation and inflow of urban and rurban values increases, this is expected to influence a rurban identity in these urban ruralities, combining urban and rural values. Most likely this will also influence local food habits and preferences.

Rural areas, then, *'seem to be laboratories for new kinds of rural-urban lifestyles, new industries and livelyhoods, as well as new kinds of governance and regulation'* (Andersson et al. 2012: 18). Buciega et al. (2009) emphasise that the growth of new development possibilities in rural areas often depends on their location, in particular concerning rural areas under pressure and influence from metropolitan areas. As Andersson and Sjöblom (2013) note: *'it is important to recognize the potential of local variations and new rural-urban coalitions as drivers for citizen participation and for innovative locally initiated strategies and solutions'* (Andersson–Sjöblom 2013: 254).

> *'The underlying causes of the urban to rural migration of the affluent, are complex, producing a variety of new countrysides, variously interpretable… However, one must remember, the exurbanites are expecting the rural world to be recreated in their image!'* (Walker 2000: 106, 111).

Rural gentrification can most easily be described as traditional gentrification, but in rural areas. The drivers behind rural gentrification and transformation of metropolitan ruralities are traditionally a growth of ecological, 'green', and sustainable-driven assessments by part of the middle classes. The return of the middle classes to the urban core has duly been studied and reported, for example by Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008), Williams (2002) and Lilja (2011). It could be argued that a similar, but weaker, ecologically driven counter wave occurs to urban ruralities. This outward migration (to urban and metropolitan ruralities) was followed by a more suburbia-minded middle class migration, as a consequence of upgraded attraction and increased commuting. There might be a significant difference between urban and rural gentrification, argues Phillips (1993), and rural studies appeared to lag behind urban studies *'in recognizing the diversity of ways one can interpret and understand gentrification'.* Phillips further draws attention *'to the need to delimit precisely how one is conceptualizing the term gentrification, while at the same time linking the understanding of gentrification into wider debates over social restructuring and the process of class constitution'* (Phillips 1993: 138).

In his study, Phillips found evidence both to support that gentrifiers are embodiments of capital and to suggest that other motives and social relations were significant in creating gentrification. Phillips also notices commonalities and differences between rural and urban gentrification as well as within gentrification in various rural localities (Phillips 1993: 138).

In this paper food tastes are suggested as a possible marker of lifestyle differences between traditional inhabitants and new middle-class/highly-educated inhabitant groups. It is suggested that new consumer tastes and new consumer demands and behavior, such as consumer circles, are influenced by a transformation of the local socioeconomic and demographic structure.

Case study Sundom

Sundom is a village in Ostrobothnia that has been part of the city of Vaasa since 1973. In 1976 the bridge Myrgrundsbron between Sundom and Vaasa was inaugurated, and the distance between the urban core and Sundom was shortened from approximately 30 to 10 kilometers. A direct consequence of these improved communications was an increased inflow of migrants to Sundom.

Sundom has strong historical traditions and a wide range of cultural activities. More than 30 local associations are active, the yearly publication Murmursunds Allehanda has been published for more than 60 years, and a local TV-channel has broadcast programs for almost 30 years (Fjällström 2008: 47). Part of the historical village is preserved, but new housing areas have also been planned and are being built. Two thirds of the area consists of the archipelago, sea and small islands.

Socioeconomic and demographic transformation

Since 1973 the population of Sundom has increased by over 1000 inhabitants, to 2422 in 2013. There has also been a simultaneous linguistic transformation, as two thirds of the migrants in 2005–2010 had Finnish as mother tongue in traditionally Swedish-speaking Sundom. In 2013 Sundom had 1806 (74.6%) Swedish-speaking inhabitants, 589 (24.3%) Finnish-speaking and only 27 (0.1%) inhabitants with another mother tongue. Traditionally Sundom was a fisherman's and (small) farmer's village, but this has significantly changed over time (Sundom byaplan 2012: 9). A large majority of Sundomers are wage earners, commuting to work outside Sundom, mostly in Vaasa. Contemporary Sundom is also one of the most well educated districts in Vaasa. Only the statistical unit Gerby had a higher degree of highly educated inhabitants in 2009, as 38.8 per cent of Sundom's working population were university- or college graduates. That year income/capita in Sundom was 28 088 euro, which places Sundom third among Vaasa's districts. During the period 2001–2009 the degree of well-educated inhabitants increased faster in Sundom than anywhere else in Vaasa and the highest increase in income/capita during this period was also noted in the Sundom district (Kommonen 2011). Also worth noting is that the unemployment rate in the district simultaneously was among the lowest in Vaasa (Kommonen 2011). This signals a shift from the traditional small farmer and fisherman's village that Sundom once *was* to a highly educated, well off urban rurality that contemporary Sundom already *is* and *will become.*

The work force in Sundom consists mainly of wage earners. The public sector and administration dominates as employing sector 2001–2010 and has increasing its share more rapidly than the other employing sectors. Academics employed at universities and colleges are part of this sector. Industry, commerce, hotels and restaurants, was also a growing sector 2001–2010 (Ehrström 2015: 118).

Mean income statistics show that the most well-off group in Sundom is employed by the industrial sector. Industrial employment, then, is mainly white-collar in Sundom, not blue-collar.

This is perhaps not so unique, as Woods (2005) note that research in the UK indicated that some 40 per cent of in-migrants to rural areas 1970–1988 were members of the so called service class and further concludes:

'… the recomposition of the class structure of many rural areas is an indisputable observed fact, and the increasingly middle class nature of many rural communities is reproduced not just by political intervention, but also as a simple result of middle class involvement in the rural property market' (Woods 2005: 86–87).

Real estate prices have increased during the last decades, according to statistics from the National Land Survey of Finland, but as the locality (and therefore the statistical material) is very small, major atypical real estate transactions may strongly influence the statistics. However, there is a perception of increasing real-estate and housing prices in Sundom, which is noted in the interview material.

There are places in Sundom that especially attracts new middle class migrants. The areas Bumlingestigen, Svarvarsbacken and Ollesbacken are noted in the interview material. According to a survey conducted in 2008 'the new part' of Svarvarsbacken consisted of 17 houses that were alike *'in form, color and choice of material'* (Wiklund–Engblom 2008).

According to Wiklund–Engblom (2008) all households at Svarvarsbacken moved in between 2003–2008, and only one out of 34 adult inhabitants had a prior connection (roots) in Sundom. Thus, Svarvarsbacken has a very distinct socioeconomic profile, and clearly represents 'new Sundom' as well as 'new Sundomers'. Roughly a third of the grown up population, 10 inhabitants, worked in the industrial energy cluster (seven at the largest enterprise in Vaasa, Wärtsilä). Five were teachers; five had a university position. The rest were academics (3), entrepreneurs (3), a medical doctor (1) and other professionals (6), mainly in social- and health-related professions (Wiklund–Engblom 2008).

Methods and material

A triangular study of statistical data[5] and an interview analysis of perceived and experienced transformation was earlier conducted in order to study transformation in Sundom Early results were first presented in Ehrström (2013) and followed up in Ehrström (2015). This material included eight interviews explicitly on the topics of transformation, socio-economic and demographic change and urban-rural relations. Three interviewees represented 'old' Sundomers of various ages (Male 96, Male 46 and Female 41). Four represented 'new' Sundomers who had fairly recently moved to Sundom (Male 43, Male 51, Female 43 and Female 50+). One represented the 'new', but was nevertheless a fairly long-time resident Sundomer (Male 71). Five men and three women were interviewed: two Finnish-speaking and six Swedish-speaking. The interviews were conducted in Finnish or Swedish.

5 The statistical material was obtained from the City of Vaasa and National Statistics Agency, except land price statistics that was obtained from The National Land Survey.

A further six interviews, focusing on the role of food and new producer-consumer relations, were conducted in the spring of 2015, The analysis presented here takes all the before-mentioned 14 interviews in account, but focuses mainly on the latter six. These six interviews were conducted with three men and three women. Two were identified as 'new' Sundomers, three as 'old' Sundomers and one as a former ('old') Sundomer.

Two interviewees (Male 48 and Male 56) represented 'old' Sundomers who could perhaps be considered 'conscious' food consumers. Male 56 takes part in the organized producer-consumer direct trade circles in Sundom while Male 48, even though he is a consumer of so-called eco-products, does not. Both have long-term experience of commuting to white-collar work in urban Vaasa, thus suggesting that the new social role of food may rather be a question of middle-class choices and consumerist trends than a division between old and new residents.

One 'old' Sundomer (Female 43) is a descendant of a long-established fish industry/fishing family, but has never personally taken part in the fishing business. She is a journalist, commuting to work in nearby Vaasa.

The fishing industry is represented by one interviewee (Male 46), part-time fisherman and chairman of the local Fishing Guild. He is considered a 'new' Sundomer, even though he has been a resident of Sundom for some years.

A 'new' Sundomer (Female, 34), is interviewed as the initiator of the food (first vegetable) and, later, milk consumer circles in Sundom.

A former Sundomer (Female, 23), represents new food trends. She is a restaurant entrepreneur, managing an organic food restaurant in nearby Vaasa.[6]

Thus, focus in this article is more on consumers than on producers, and the social role of food is at the center of the paper.

Perceived and experienced transformation

This section is based on the interviewees' perceptions and experiences of transformation in Sundom. The interviews conducted in 2013 clearly point out perceptions and experiences of transformation in Sundom. Ehrström (2015) notes that there is a large positive consensus in Sundom that all is well and that Sundom is a prosperous village district in Vaasa, with a favorable future ahead. There also seems to be extensive consensus regarding the need to preserve the rural heritage and the village structure, as well as for Sundom to remain a rural village and not be redeveloped into a semi-urban or suburban district of Vaasa.

However, there also seems to be only partial mixing between new and old Sundomers, as the population in older parts of the village are mainly 'old' Sundomers, and 'new' Sundomers are more clustered in newer

6 All interviews were conducted as semi-structured, with some structured questions, but all interviewees were given possibilities to dwell on certain other or nearby questions if appropriate. Of the 14 interviews most were conducted in Swedish, and two in Finnish, as the majority language in Sundom is Swedish. All interviews were recorded except one, due to technical problems with the recorder. For that interview written minutes were used instead. All adequate quotes have been freely translated into English, which means that they are transcribed and presented as close to the original quote (in Swedish) as linguistically possible.

housing areas like Svarvarsbacken and Bumlingestigen. Both the results in Wiklund–Engblom (2008) and my interviews (Ehrström 2015: 114) underline that there are 'villages within the villages':

> *'If I compare (this) to Bumlingestigen and Svarvarsbacken, they live their own life together, but I estimate that they don't participate so much in outward activities within the village. But we have members in the village association who come from these places, so there's no sharp or absolute border'* (Male, 71).

> *'I think it's easier to move to a place where many are in the same situation (as you). If you move where there is an older population you are there on their terms and have to adapt to their ways of approach'* (Male, 43).

There are some signs of newly built as well as municipality-led gentrification in Sundom. Even though there is virtually no evidence of direct displacement (Ehrström 2013), one can't exclude possible future risks for tensions, potentially caused by increased social divisions. This is something that ought to be considered in upcoming municipal plans for Sundom.

Interestingly enough, Sundom seems to mostly attract newcomers with a rural background, who commute to work in Vaasa, rather than urban migrants. Thus, the new Sundomers are more likely to be 'exruralites' rather than exurbanites. Most interviews confirmed this view and mentioned birthplaces that are to be considered rural rather than urban, for example Närpes, Munsala and Pörtom. In interviews it was also pointed out that Sundom is valued as a place based near the urban town Vaasa, but still distinctly not urban.

What probably distinguishes Sundom (and other non-metropolitan urban ruralities) from metropolitan ruralities is that (gentrifying) immigrants typically have a more rural than urban personal background. They are not urbanites moving out of the city, but rather commuting 'ruralites' moving near or nearer attractive cities. For example, most of the (new) inhabitants in Svarvarsbacken in Sundom 2003–2008 had grown up in rural or rurban areas. Thus it is rather a question of '*rurbanites moving between rurban environments*' than '*urbanites moving in*'. The combination of commuting to an urban workplace and a residence in a rural/rurban environment is the prevailing way of life for many (if not most) new Sundomers. But this is by no means unique, as Woods (2005) argues: *'Overall, commuting is a growing practice'* (Woods 2005: 264). This is underlined by figures presented by Schindegger and Krajasits (1997) that commuters in significantly rural regions in Canada increased by 50 per cent in just ten years, 1980–1990, and in the UK by 25 per cent during the same period.

The Social meaning of Food—and new producer-consumer relations

In this section I present results from the interview analysis with quotes from the interviews[7]. I then go on to discuss the empirical findings and my conclusions. The social meaning of food and new producer-consumer is here mainly exemplified by the introduction of local consumer food circles (mainly for vegetables and milk). The situation is different concerning traditional local fish food products, as there is no noticeable consumer activity (or food circle) concerning fish. That there is a new consciousness of food trends and tastes in Sundom, and that this is influenced by the inflow of new inhabitant groups, is evident in the interview material.

7 Interviews were translated by the author, as the interviews were conducted in Swedish and Finnish.

'There's a boom of young couples moving in and many of them are aware and want locally produced food. I think many grow something themselves or are participating in the ecological group' (Female, 31).

That new middle-class migration locally influences new food is also argued for by Male, 56:

'Those moving in are a certain socioeconomic group and therefore more conscious of food trends. Old Sundomers that stayed (here) are perhaps part of another socio-economic group and community and perhaps don't understand these trends in the same way. It's a question of values, what you choose to go in for… The new middle class would gladly buy from these different food circles, ecological vegetables, root vegetables and so on' (Male, 56).

Thus, the interviews suggest a divide between old and new Sundomers concerning food culture, a divide that might be seen as class based, as new food trends are connected to inflow of new (middle-class) inhabitants. There seems to be no division here whether or not a newcomer is exurban or exrural. Most, but not all, newcomers in Sundom seem to be exruralites rather than exurbanites. However, the divide in food culture may also be age-based, as Male, 48 suggests:

'I don't think there's any difference whether you are a young Sundomer or you migrated (to Sundom). Preferences are formed by other aspects than where you live' (Male, 48).

Female, 31, also perceives a potential for future restaurants in Sundom serving new (class- and age-related) consumer groups in Sundom:

'Earlier it wouldn't have been possible (for example a vegetarian restaurant), but now, as Sundom is growing (in population) and there's a new generation I absolutely think it's possible. It's actually been only the last two years that it has been like this.' (Female, 31).

There is, however, currently no signs of a 'new food' restaurant/café entrepreneur/culture in Sundom. Perhaps it is still early days. However, there are also some signs of food conservatism among 'old' Sundomers, or lack of new food culture entrepreneurism and local restaurants:

'There's so much thoroughfare traffic and so many summer guests (second homes), but the only thing that has been managed is the Grill in the center of the village' (Male, 56).

In an increasingly middle-class and well-educated Sundom, new producer-consumer relations may best be exemplified by producer-consumer direct trade circles. These circles are based on direct trade in biodynamic, ecological, locally-grown food between local (or in this case regional) producers and consumers. Consumer circles are very popular in Sundom, as some 60 families are members. An example of new producer-consumer relations is that the consumer circles in Sundom were initiated by a new Sundomer with prior regional contacts with producers. At the same time, according to a (new Sundomer) respondent (Female 34), initiating a consumer circle was also a way of getting to know people and neighbors, strengthening social bonds in a new domicile, and at the same time promote the use of cleaner, better food. The social aspect is believed to be a reason for participating mainly for new Sundomers. For example, one of the respondents does not mention the social aspect as a reason for participating in the circles:

'You have 100 per cent knowledge of where the food products are coming from, and mostly they are of a very high quality. And perhaps it isn't much more expensive either, because the wastage is quite small

when you buy good things' (Male, 56).

Other respondent, on the other hand, is all for buying 'all sorts of' ecological products, and mention wine, milk and vegetables as examples, but doesn't participate in the circles:

Are you taking part in the circles?

'No, you don't need to be a member, you can just order, and get it delivered.' (Male, 48).

Have you ordered (food) via the consumer circles?

'No, we have not used that. I don't know, we buy our food at (named supermarket), that's where we usually shop.' (Male, 48).

There are both food (mostly vegetable) and milk consumer circles that bring together *local* consumers—mostly new Sundomers, but also some (middle-class and commuting) old Sundomers—and *regional* producers. However, the few local producers are currently more into selling to stores/wholesale. This is something that local consumers are well aware of.

'I have a feeling the farmers in Sundom are rather huge, mass producers… I think it's another form of production here (locally)' (Male, 56).

'There are farmers here, but they are producing grain' (Male, 48).

Production-wise the local focal point is the 'Sundom herring'. It is a national brand and all interviewed mention Sundom herring as a strong brand (for Sundom). 'Sundom herring' is nationally a well-known product, even though Sundom the village may be totally obscure. A respondent (Male, 46) however, points out that perch is the cornerstone of the fishing business in Sundom. This respondent is a fairly long time resident of Sundom (10 years +), but still considered a 'newcomer'.

There's no denying that the fishing sector is central for Sundom's image and for rural goods and services (RGS) in Sundom. Over time, fish production has gone from small-scale smoking of fish in the archipelago to more industry-like smokehouse activities in the village.[8]

One of the respondents (Male, 46) notes that transformation of producer-consumer relations increase the need for product development and new marketing tools. New fish product brands have been discussed, but no real marketing or selling of new fish products to new middle-class consumers have emerged in Sundom.

'There is need for more branding in fish products and other Sundom products. I have thought of smoked fish steaks, 100 % fish, smoked in Sundom ovens and well-spiced. It could be called "Sundom 100%". (Male, 46).

Still, there is also a resistance towards new ideas within the fishing sector. This respondent (Male, 46,) is clearly worried about the age structure within the fishing business in Sundom:

'There are only two smokehouses that are (run by someone) somewhat younger, and with younger I mean (persons) just under 60 (years)… This is a real bottleneck… I think I'm the youngest member of our (Fishing) Guild. I think 70 is the average age of fishermen in the village of Sundom. Something has

8 An interviewee (Male, 46,) estimates that the smokehouses in Sundom have 3-4 ovens/smokehouse, with a capacity each of 100 kg (at a time, which totals 500–1000 kg/day/smokehouse. Usually it takes only two persons to handle a smokehouse.

to happen… There is no natural continuation, taking over the family fish smokehouses. Without a new generation there is the risk that the fishing business in Sundom will die' (Male, 46).

This worry is supported, and also exemplified, by a native female member of one long-time fishing business family. She states that she '*never has considered taking over the smokehouse business.'* (Female, 43).

Both respondents (Male, 46 and Female, 43) note that young people are not interested in such an unsure business with long, working days. One respondent (Male, 46) states that as almost all fishermen in Sundom, has another, part-time, occupation. Or as another native respondent (Male, 48,) harshly puts it:

'Why would anyone start working with that (fishing), when there's no profitability in it?' (Male, 48).

The Sundom case exemplifies that an inflow of new (middle-class, well-educated) inhabitants, most likely will have an effect on local food demands and tastes. It is probable, then, that these new consumer demands also create or influence new activities, like consumer circles or other direct producer-consumer relations. However, interestingly enough there is no noticeable consumer activity for creating a consumer circle for fish products, even though the Sundom herring is nationally known and widely recognized as a vital part of the Sundom heritage. Nor is there evidence of new consumer tastes or consumer behavior in Sundom concerning fish products. It therefore seems that newcomers influence demands for healthy and homemade food, but have not initiated new consumer trends or tastes concerning the tradition-based local fish products. This is somewhat surprising, but may suggest that Sundom herring and local fish products are somewhat taken for granted. Male, 46, however, warns that the fish sector is at risk of vanishing from Sundom (due to an aging professional society, a conservative non-inclination to change and harsh working conditions for the fishermen). But this is still not reflected in new consumer activity or in new or strengthened local demand for fish food products. However, fish sector representative Male, 46, strongly argues for product development and new marketing tools (on the regional and national market). Here, then, is a potential for strengthened relations between new consumer tastes and producer's product innovations.

Conclusions

A significant inflow of new settlers with a different socioeconomic profile is both a challenge and an opportunity for the community. Inflow of inhabitants with large socioeconomic and cultural capital may increase the inflow of capital, investments, and municipal planning (infrastructure, schools…). At the same time transformation and redevelopment plans need to respect and take into account the locality's cultural and historical values.

It must also be emphasized that the statistical material is usually more limited and smaller in urban ruralities (like Sundom) than in metropolitan ones—with fewer property trades, fewer inhabitants and fewer voters, for example. Earlier studies of the Sundom case prove this point. Unfortunately, this also makes detailed studies of smaller localities vulnerable to the impact of extremes. In Sundom we see this in the property price statistics, where one extremely divergent property affair may influence the statistics unacceptably much. This is a problem that must be considered, and taken into account, as it may limit the capability to draw certain conclusions. Studying smaller urban ruralities, however, is important for understanding general processes in

ruralities, irrespective of scale, and should be carried out even though the statistical material may partially limit the value of the findings. This, then, increases the value of qualitative research and on triangular studies, combining qualitative and quantitative methods.

This case study suggests that there is a consumer interest in direct producer-consumer relations and (consumer interest) in local food. This may, as for example Govindasamy and Nayga (1997) and Ragaert et al (2004) have argued, be explained by an increased interest in cleaner, healthier food. A further explanation may be a wish to develop new, or strengthen social bonds, and thus expand the social meaning of food. This is by no means unique for Sundom, as we have seen earlier, and may for example be connected to more global trends, like the new paradigm Woods (2005) sees emerging, replacing top-down, state-led development with a new approach of regenerating rural areas by enhancing and adding values to local resources, according to the priorities and preferences of the local community (Woods 2005: 158). And as Woods further notes: *'there is substantial evidence of a qualitative shift in the experience of life in the countryside, with change often experienced as a consequence of a number of inter-locking processes'* (Woods 2005: 301).

New well off inhabitants are expected to prioritize contemporary quality food trends and request clean, locally grown food, which opens up a market for new local food products as well as new challenges for production and marketing. This is also suggested in the interview material:

> *'If Sundom continues to attract middle-class settlers, there may emerge a foundation for other things. If you get hold of commodities and are able to target food trends. This (could be) combined with extreme locations (in Sundom) like the Meteorian (meteor crater) or the archipelago'* (Male, 48).

Other respondent (Male, 46) expect new arrangements, like more direct marketing to producers, and increased use of social media (including facebook) for direct producer-consumer relations.

> *'I think it will be more common that producers have to find their niche, and that they produce new products'* (Male, 46).

Thus, it's also a question of potential forerunners and entrepreneurs being ready to realize a potential. However, creative marketing, packaging, branding, product-development and securing economic margins for (small-scale) pilot production are major challenges for new production and food-related businesses. Interviews suggest there is interest in product development within the fishing industry in Sundom, but only partial, as most tend to be quite appeased with how things are run now. This may interlock with high average age in this sector.

> *'You have to think and change in advance because you never know if or when demand will change in the future, and you have to show, that here you are'* (Male, 46).

An upcoming change-of-generation is considered a question of destiny for the fishing business in Sundom, but interviewees are noticing that the long hours, tiresome work and financial insecurity of fishing scares young people from the sector.

The Sundom case suggests a need to find new ways of strengthening local/regional producer-consumer relations. This could for example include a combination of organic/biodynamic food production and farm-

based restaurants. Perhaps an ambitious center for 'Sundom' brand products? The established 'Sundom herring' brand is an eye-catcher that might be used for marketing and production of other high-class fish products, organic/biodynamic groceries, foodstuff and, perhaps, other local/regional products.

The Sundom case exemplifies that inflow of new (middle-class and well-educated) inhabitants, most likely have an effect on new food demands and tastes. It is probable, then, that these new consumer demands create or influence new activities, like consumer circles or other direct producer-consumer relations. These relations are thought to be established and mainly upheld by 'the new local middle-class' even though some 'old' inhabitants (that share the same middle-class values) most likely will take part. As argued by Female, 34, food circles may actually fulfill two purposes for the initiators and members; promote and distribute qualitative food stuff and healthy alternatives directly from producers to consumers *and* create and increase social bonds and contacts within the community, bringing these people together for a common cause (good food) and thus increasing the social meaning of food. It is further probable that the social aspects of direct trade circles are more important for new inhabitants in the locality, while qualitative health-related arguments are much more important for long-time residents and well established (old middle-class) consumers.

The material is too small to draw any vast conclusions for the locality, but the social meaning of food seems to increase as a result of the consumer circles. The Sundom case further exemplifies that new food trends and new producer-consumer relations spread down the urban scale, and is not only a reality in metropolitan ruralities. New producer-consumer relations are the result of consumer circles, mostly for vegetables and milk, but in this case it is suggested that these new relations have developed between regional producers and local consumers. Concerning the traditional fish food sector there has been no consumer trend or interest for a consumer circle or expressions of changes in tastes.

Based on the case of Sundom I suggest that socioeconomic and demographic transformation influence new producer-consumer relations in urban ruralities. In Sundom consumer circles were initiated by a new Sundomer and they mostly, but not exclusively, attract new Sundomers. Among traditional Sundomers those participating are described as middle-class and/or highly educated inhabitants. However, new producer-consumer relations were mostly increased between regional producers and local consumers, suggesting stronger local consumer relations but not necessarily new local producer-consumer relations. This was a somewhat surprising finding. The social role of food has therefore increased among consumers, but not necessarily locally between producers and consumers in Sundom. It is therefore suggested that the fish sector lags behind in that respect, due to an ageing professional society, satisfaction with current sales structure and a conservative disinclination towards change. However, an interviewed representative of the sector (Male, 46) acknowledge the need for product development and new marketing measures. This may in turn suggest that new producer-consumer relations may, over time, develop concerning local fish products.

Irrespective of size, new producer-consumer relations and direct trade are created in urban and metropolitan ruralities, influenced by an inflow of middle-class tastes and food trends, increasing the social role of food in the process. However, the social aspects are expected to be mostly stressed by new, migrating middle class, and much less so by established inhabitants in the community. These new relations, and tastes, are fur-

ther suggested in the interview material to be (middle) class- and (young) age-influenced, but a prerequisite for establishing this fact is a much larger study than was committed for this paper.

All interviewed here (and for Ehrström 2013, 2015) expressed a positive sense of place. Even though the interview material is small, this indicates a positive atmosphere, which increases social sustainability and may counteract negative tendencies of gentrification. This includes new producer-consumer relations and the social meaning of food. Here, on the borderland between urban and rural land, it may be possible to realize strategies for involving new and old inhabitants in the community and create new local opportunities.

Lastly, to quote Woods (2005), there are many different countrysides.

And, perhaps precisely therefore, it is time to seriously rethink what is considered 'rural' and a 'Rurality' and how we define the border between urban and rural, and, indeed, the overlapping rurban places,

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Determinants of local food purchase
Insight from a consumer survey in South Tyrol (Italy)

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Abstract

A large number of previous studies relate local food purchase to the demographic and financial profile of consumers. This article provides an innovative insight into the sociocultural and spatial factors influencing local food purchase in the multilingual region of South Tyrol (Italy). To derive a representative sample for the South Tyrolean population, 498 consumers have been interviewed through Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI). The differences in the consumer attitudes towards local food were tested for significance using both parametric and non-parametric statistical tests. The results show that consumers' cultural background and spatial typology (according to their urban, predominantly urban and rural place of residence) have a significant influence on specific attitudes towards local food purchase. More specifically, differences in urban/rural consumers are observable with regard to the preferred stores to purchase at and in the level of expenditure on local food. The cultural background influences the meanings associated with local food and the reasons attributed to its purchase.

Key words: local food, attitudes, rural urban relations, regional development

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Introduction

The increasing concerns of consumers about the health benefits as well as the social and environmental consequences of their consumption patterns has strengthened the recent development of major market trends such as functional, organic and locally produced food (Wirth et al. 2011, Stolz et al. 2011, Falguera et al. 2012, Gracia et al. 2014, Hempel–Hamm 2016a). Among those trends, particularly the larger demand for local food was encouraged by the growing globalization of food production systems and the mounting evidence of scandals, which led consumers to pay more attention to food origin (Adams–Salois 2010, Feldmann–Hamm 2015, Hempel–Hamm 2016a). Although the absence of agreement on a universal definition of local food persists within the scientific community (Feldmann–Hamm 2015, Schwarz et al. 2016, Galli et al. 2015, Taillie–Jaacks 2015), in the last two decades a large number of studies attempted to assess the manifold driving attitudes and preferences of consumers for purchasing local food products. However, as Feldmann and Hamm (2015: 159) argue, while the majority of studies on consumers' preferences and purchasing behaviour used the influence of demographic characteristics, 'social and personal norms were rarely addressed'. For this reason, this study aims at analysing consumer preferences towards local food in South Tyrol, assessing socio-cultural differences among population groups, such as the place of residence and the cultural background of respondents.

With respect to the consumers' place of residence, several scholars maintain that feelings and needs towards local food are related by sociocultural aspects, which in turn may be influenced by the country or place of origin of consumers (Guerrero et al. 2009: 346). Previous studies associated more supportive attitudes towards local food in elderly respondents living in rural areas (Racine et al. 2013, Megicks et al. 2012, Mirosa–Lawson 2012, Khan–Prior 2010, Tregear–Ness 2005, Brown 2003, Wolf 1997), with women generally exhibiting more positive attitudes than men (Cholette et al. 2013, Pelletier et al. 2013, Cranfield 2012, Bellows et al. 2010). Notably Chambers et al. (2007) 'could not identify any differences in attitudes between urban and rural consumers' (Feldmann–Hamm 2015: 156). Weatherell et al. (2003: 242) considered the place of residence of respondents as a 'marker of difference in consumers' view' while Tregear and Ness (2005) documented urban/rural residency among others as strong discriminators to explain variations in local food interest among consumers. While not emphasizing the effect of age and gender on local food purchase in the analysis, as already largely assessed in the existing literature, this paper will provide additional scientific evidence on the hypothesis that attitudes and behaviours determining the purchase of local food vary significantly according to the place residence of respondents. The deriving research question is: what are the similarities and

differences between urban and rural consumers in their purchasing behaviour, and what are the definitions and perceptions attached to local food. We assume differences will be detected in the preferences regarding local food particularly between urban/predominantly urban and rural consumers since they have different lifestyles being positioned at different distances along the regional food system. Guerrero et al. (2009: 346) reported that consumers' place of residence influences lifestyles, beliefs and attitudes determining differences in food choice. Additional previous reviews of food-related lifestyles (FRL) also indicated heterogeneous responses towards food products by urban and rural consumers (Cullen–Kingston 2009), motivating the authors to assess whether the place of residence has an impact on individual choices in the case of local food in South Tyrol. Arsil et al. (2014) also identified lifestyles determining different reasons to purchase local food, such as ease of preparation and lower prices as important attributes for urban and rural consumers respectively. In the case of South Tyrol, rural consumers, for instance, may produce food themselves or have more awareness of farming practices and communities, in contrast with urban respondents, factors determining different perceptions and purchasing behaviours across groups. Memery et al. (2015: 1223) report that consumers exercise self-interest to attain individual benefits, since they associate local food with higher quality (Adams–Adams 2011, Cranfield et al. 2012), freshness (Hempel–Hamm 2016b, Zepeda–Deal 2009, Chambers et al. 2007), safety (Hempel–Hamm 2016a, Yue–Tong 2009, Darby et al. 2008), healthiness (Naspetti–Bodini 2008, Wawrzyniak et al. 2005), and environmental sustainability (Hempel–Hamm 2016b, Brown et al. 2009, Burchardi et al. 2005). However, consumers also place significance on people operating in their local community as well as support to the economy (Memery et al. 2015, Megicks et al. 2012, Hu et al. 2012) and family farmers (Pirog 2003) as reasons to purchase local food. Further studies acknowledge that respondents from the rural area are 'more interested in supporting the local economy' being closer to the source of food production than participants from the urban area (Roininen et al. 2006:28). Rural consumers have a 'higher priority for civic issues in food choice' and showed 'higher interest in local foods compared to urban consumers' (Weatherell et al. 2003: 242), although other findings indicate that urban consumers might be 'more prone to reconnect with rural roots' purchasing local food (Montanari 1994), as well as attending farmers' markets (Conner et al. 2010). Against the background that various attributes determine the purchase of local food, the present case study will show what motivations are related to food choice among South Tyrolean consumers and if differences emerge among different groups of respondents. Besides the most often mentioned attributes in the literature, such as better quality, freshness, healthiness, environmental sustainability, support of the local economy, the present study also researched whether consumers consider animal welfare (Zepeda–Deal 2009, Onozaka–McFadden 2011), direct contact with farmers (Weatherell et al. 2003), and shopping experience (Zepeda–Li 2006, Lockeretz 1986) when making purchase decisions concerning local food.

Furthermore, the population sample of South Tyrol offered a valuable opportunity to test attitudes towards local food purchase for cultural differences. In fact, due to specific historical developments, the region inherited a multilingual character, witnessed by the three official languages used in South Tyrol namely Italian, German and Ladin. Two large societies live *de facto* in parallel in South Tyrol namely the German and Italian speaking groups (Heiss 2010: 205), currently accounting for 64% and 24% of total population respectively (Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano-Alto Adige 2015). The German language group dates back to the Germanic tribes

crossing the area during the migration period, while the Italian one grew at a higher extent during the earlier Fascist era (1920–1930), after South Tyrol, once belonging to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was annexed by Italy in 1919, at the end of the World War I (Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano-Alto Adige 2015). This linguistic peculiarity of the region enabled us to consider the attribute mother tongue of respondents, as a reasonable proxy to study the influence of cultural differences on local food attitudes within the population sample. Early studies demonstrate that food habits come into being and are maintained in a particular culture since the cultural aspects can be considered as one of the most powerful determinants of attitudes and behaviours in the food domain (Fieldhouse 1995, Rozin 1990). For this reason, this paper will also explore the research question whether the cultural background of South Tyrolean consumers has an influence on purchase attitudes towards local food. Living together in the region the German and Italian language groups cultivate their own culture (BLS 2015), and this aspect has an influence on food choice, values and attitudes towards local food. Therefore, our research hypothesis is that differences exist across heterogeneous cultural groups, since food consumption itself indicates already that 'people are able to make visible and communicate the social and cultural differences between them and that they adhere to certain values and ideologies' (Nistor 2015: 129, Dolan 2002). We base this hypothesis on the evidence reported in previous cross-cultural studies showing that sociocultural aspects determine consumers' feelings and needs, resulting in differences in food-related aspects even in relatively homogeneous countries (Guerrero et al. 2009: 346). Furthermore, as Askegaard and Madsen (1998) argued that differences are noticeable not only at a national level but also at more regional/local level in terms of food preferences, habits, food related behaviour and attitudes. Therefore, in a multicultural region, such as South Tyrol, the 'crucial aspect of cultural aspects in the approach to local food' (Csurgó–Megyesi 2015: 169), coupled with different values and beliefs, should be translated into different attitudes and awareness about local food, among the considered sample groups.

Following this introduction, a clear definition of the methodological basis of the study will be provided. In the presentation of the results, firstly an overview of the overall consumers' sample attitudes and preferences will be introduced. Secondly, further analyses will provide a deeper insight whether different spatial typology and/or cultural background within the population groups have an influence on selected preferences such as propensity to purchase local food, the overall reasons and specific factors for the choice of local food, as well as the degree of trust and the perception of quality labels.

Finally, the results will be discussed with respect to previous extant scientific publications on the topic and conclusions on the validity of results will be drawn. The case study of South Tyrol presents several attitudes and behaviours offering valuable elements on how different typologies of consumers perceive local food and which values they relate to this concept, as essential background to considering in promoting marketing possibilities for local food (Roininen et al. 2006). Therefore, the findings of this research may help practitioners in the food sector and private – as well as public regional development agencies – to consult farmers, to improve food-marketing strategies and to extend the outreach of local food on the regional scale.

Methods

The sample design of the survey portrayed several characteristics and determinants of consumer preferences in the region of South Tyrol (Italy). The composition of the sample (498 respondents) was designed to meet the characteristics of the overall population (518,518 inhabitants, 2014) of South Tyrol. The sample was divided according to the classification urban, predominantly urban and rural, created by the authors according to selected indicator thresholds, in order to evaluate how purchase preferences vary across the spatial typology of respondents (Table 1. Demographic and cultural profile of survey respondents).

Table 1. Demographic and cultural profile of survey respondents

Attribute	Percent		
Spatial typology	45.7% Urban	41.2% Predominantly urban	13.1% Rural
Language group	15.9% Italian	82.1% German	2% Other
Age	14.3% 18–34	34.7% 35–54	50.9% Over 55
Gender	24.3% Male	75.7% Female	

The criterion of spatial typology identifies rural, urban, and predominantly urban consumers based on their place of residence at municipal level. Urban centres were considered with municipalities of more than 6,000 inhabitants. The characterization of rural municipalities was determined on the base of a previous study instead (WIFO 2011). A broad set of socio-economic and demographic indicators identified peripheral rural municipalities characterized by recurring negative population growth rates and weak socio-economic structures (WIFO 2011). The remaining municipalities neither counting more than 6,000 inhabitants nor being mentioned in the previous study (WIFO 2011) were considered in the intermediate category called predominantly urban. Table 2 displays the proportion of interviewed respondents belonging to each spatial typology, relative to the number of inhabitants living in the considered urban, predominantly urban, and rural municipalities.

Table 2. Sampling spatial typologies

Spatial typology	Regional proportion	Sample proportion
Urban	47.9%	45.7%
Predominantly urban	48.7%	41.2%
Rural	3.33%	13.1%

The survey on purchasing preferences and determinants of local food was undertaken in 2014 through Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI). The German and Italian questionnaire with a Likert scale, binary and open questions were developed in close collaboration with the regional consumers association (Verbraucherzentrale Südtirol). The Likert scale questions ranged from zero (0 – strongly disagree) to five (5 – strongly agree), in order to rate the different perceptions towards purchasing local food products. The main areas of questions referring to the reasons influencing the purchase of local food among consumers are listed in Table 3.

Table 3. Main areas of questions

Reasons for buying local food	Item description
Quality	Overall perceived superior quality of the product
Regional provenance	Local provenance of the product
Taste	Better flavour/taste of the product
Positive impact on the environment	Local production systems less harmful for the environment (lower carbon emissions due to short supply chains)
Support to local economy	Sustaining local farmers and their communities, perceiving a positive impact for rural development
Direct contact with farmers	Ease of access to local food due to social relationships with producers
Shopping experience	Specificity of shopping experience (outdoor excursions, story-telling, tasting in loco)
Food safety	Higher traceability of products, trustworthiness in raw materials utilized
Animal welfare	Higher consideration of animal welfare and less intensive livestock production

In total, 512 questionnaires were collected, however the answers of 14 questionnaires were not considered because they were only partially completed. Due to relatively low composition of the Ladin language group (1.6%), we decided to aggregate that with other language groups (0.4%), and analysing the determinants of the main language groups of respondents, i.e. German (82.1%) and Italian (15.9%). Descriptive statistics will convey information about the profile of the sample and the main emerging preferences and behaviours regarding local food purchase. In the analysis, the demographic and financial profile of respondents focused on selected aspects related to the specific objective of the paper (Table 4. Demographic profile of consumers considered in the analysis).

Table 4. Demographic profile of consumers considered in the analysis

Respondent information	Categorisation
Place of residence	Municipality of residence
Language group	Italian – German – Ladin
Age	18–34; 35–54; over 55
Gender	Male – Female
Income	Gross yearly income (euros)

The urban/rural distinction has been performed on the base of the aforementioned characteristics of the municipalities surveyed. The three age classes have been sorted to comply with previous research utilizing this categorization (Weatherell et al. 2003). With respect to income, as García and Grande (2010: 63) have already stated, in the analysis of eating habits in a specific group of consumers, utilizing income to explain all the variation would be an exaggeration. The present study, despite acknowledging the importance of income to interpret certain determinants of local food purchase, did not include it in the analysis. Furthermore, another reason behind this choice is the lack of comprehensive data on household income, which being collected on a voluntary basis, were not provided by a sufficient number of respondents to the survey.

The applied notations '$\bar{x}$' and 'Me' indicate the mean and median values. The existence of associations between qualitative variables was tested for through the independent chi-squared test. Furthermore, in order to test the differences in consumers' preferences the non-parametric Kruskal–Wallis test was employed, giving

the possibility to provide quantitative evidence of the existing relations among the considered groups. The values of the mean ranks (MR) resulting from the Kruskall–Wallis tests, identifying the degree of association to surveyed items are indicated in brackets after the respective sample groups of reference.

Results

General results

More than 90% of respondents regularly purchases local food, and a large majority of them identifies local products as those grown, produced and processed regionally (80.9%), on the premises within the region (8.3%), or in the bordering Italian and foreign provinces (5.8%). A relatively low percentage of respondents (4.0%) associate local food to specific South Tyrolean products or other aspects (1.0%). None of the respondents clarified a specific measure or range distance to identify local food, but the references to proximity were expressed in abstract terms such as 'close surroundings', 'nearby areas' and 'neighbouring zones'.

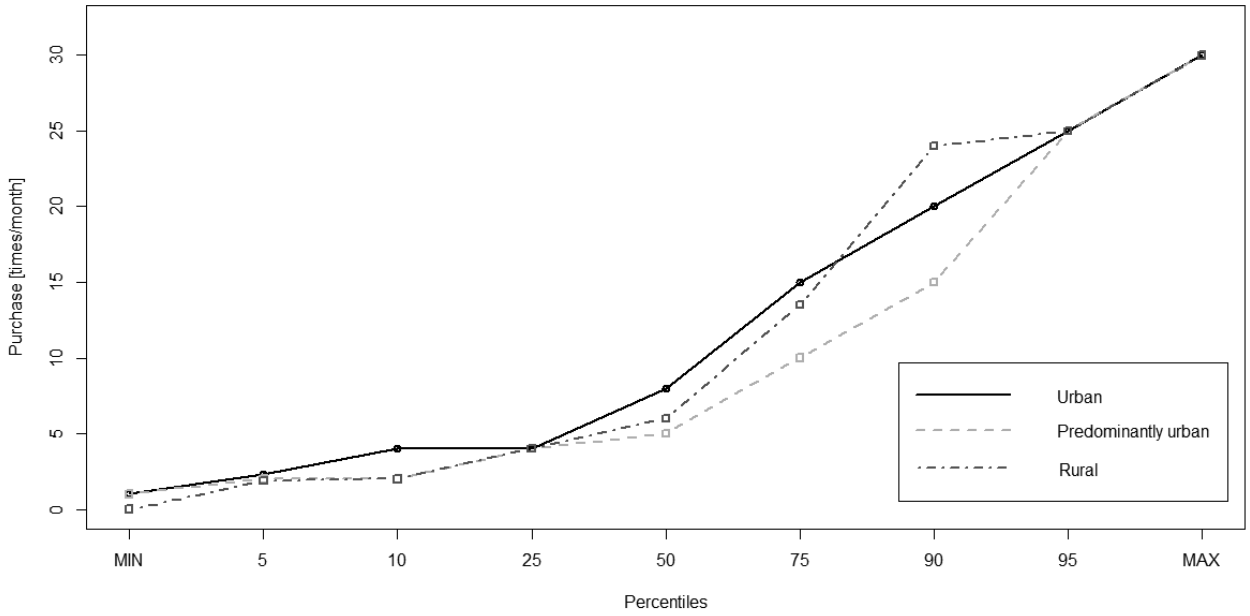
In the region, half of the respondents purchase local food more than approximately six times per month (Me=6.5) and on average more than two times per week ($\bar{x}$=8.93 times per month). To buy food products, the vast majority of the consumers go to supermarkets (74.9%) or to local specialist local stores (44.0%) such as grocery, butchery and bakery shops. Relatively fewer respondents attend farmers' markets (18.9%), direct selling points (10.8%), and organic food stores (10.0%).

The respondents considered most of the proposed survey items, listing the decisive factors to purchase local food, particularly valuable to justify the purchase of local food. The perceived higher quality of local food (92.3%), the regional provenance (91.6%) and the positive contribution to the environment (88.4%) were considered strong reasons to purchase local food. A relatively lower number of respondents rated the personal direct contact with farmers (59.9%) and the shopping experience (31.3%) as decisive reasons to purchase local food in a particularly positive manner. With respect to the overall category of food products (i.e. considering both local and other origins of food products), quality is also considered a relevant aspect by the majority of respondents (81.5%). In this regard, the majority of consumers (60.5%) declared to trust quality labels, since they represent reliable indications to identify higher quality food products (56.7%). However, a relatively low percentage of respondents stated that they pay particular attention to labels signalling quality (39.8%), organic (29.9%), and fair trade products (27.9%) while purchasing food products.

About two thirds of respondents (64.47%) revealed spending up to €20 during a single purchase of local food, while a relatively lower number of consumers is willing to make a purchase between €20 and €50 (28.95%) or spend more than €50 (6.57%).

The general results described in this section, provided an overview of the sample and the main attitudes towards local food products. The next two sections will illustrate the results of in-depth analysis, carried out to detect whether spatial and cultural factors can explain differences in attitudes towards local food purchase of South Tyrolean consumers, and if so to what extent.

Figure 1. Distribution of purchase frequency (times/month) according to spatial typology of respondents



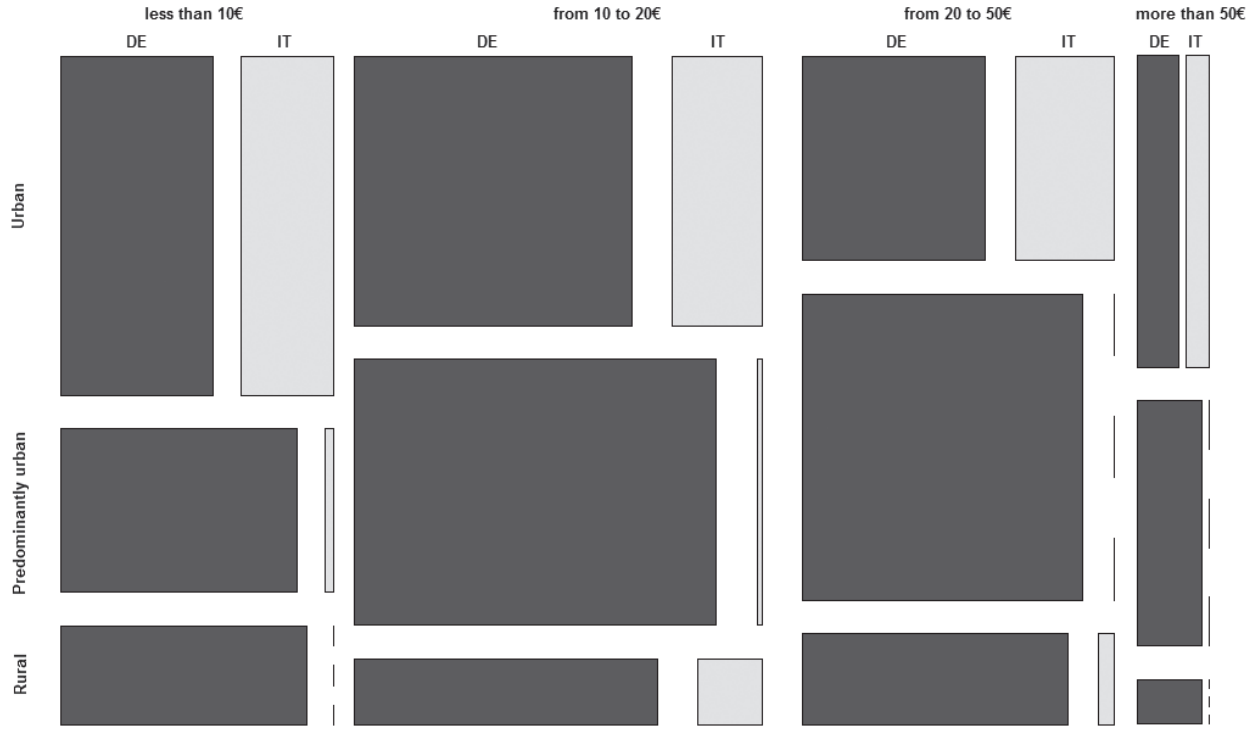
Consumer preferences according to spatial typologies

The definitions and meaning of local food, which respondents associate with local food, do not significantly differ among the spatial typologies considered. However, approximately the entire sample of urban consumers (96.3%) considers local products as those produced in South Tyrol. The fraction of urban consumers buying local food is 42.1%, higher than the proportion for predominantly urban (36.2%) and rural (12.0%). However, no significant relation emerges among spatial typologies and the decision on whether to purchase local food or not ($\chi2(2)=3.410$, $p=0.182$). Conversely, there are significant differences ($\chi2(2)=8.997$, $p=0.011$) since the frequency of purchases (times/month), increases from predominantly urban (184.52) to rural (199.08) and urban (221.69) consumers' group (Figure 1. Distribution of purchase frequency (times/month) according to spatial typology of respondents).

The stores in which local products are physical purchased also vary among groups. The chi-squared analysis confirmed that this relation was significant ($\chi2(2)=23.169$, $p=0.000$). A Z-test yielded the result that urban consumers attend organic food stores and outdoor markets such as weekly, farmers and grocery significantly more than the other two groups of the population sample. Furthermore, although urban consumers choosing organic food stores represent a relatively higher proportion, compared to the other spatial typologies considered, the aggregated percentage of all consumers preferring this category of stores is rather low (10.2%).

With respect to factors considered prior to a food product purchase, a Kruskal–Wallis H test was conducted to determine if there were significant differences in the distribution of the attribute 'Regional Provenance' between groups. Statistically significant differences among groups ($\chi2(2)=9.836$, $p =0.007$), indicated that the importance of the provenance (expressed in mean ranks) for the choice of buying food products increased from predominantly urban (227.79) to rural (245.05) and urban (268.67) consumers. The same test did not highlight any significant difference in the distributions among groups for the other attributes, although the value of the median values point to relatively high level of agreement among consumers of the three groups, for the

Figure 2. Mosaic plot over expenditure levels according to spatial typology and cultural background



consideration of quality (5='Strongly agree'), price (4='Agree'), and regional provenance (4='Agree').

Differences in the attributes 'Regional Provenance', 'Quality' and 'Direct contact with farmers' are observable among groups with respect to reasons for purchasing local food. The Kruskal–Wallis H test indicated that the importance of quality significantly increased ($\chi2(2)=7.478$, $p=0.024$) from urban (209.83), to predominantly urban (228.52) and rural (247.52). The distribution of regional provenance, as a reason to explain the purchase of local food ($\chi2(2)=6.143$, $p=0.046$.), also indicates that this attribute is relatively more important for rural (251.75) compared to predominantly urban (222.39), and urban (212.81) consumers. Statistically significant differences ($\chi2(2)=9.556$, $p=0.008$) were found in the attribute 'Direct contact with farmers', showing a higher importance of this attribute than in the previous cases, for rural (250.68) consumers, compared to respondents living in predominantly urban (223.19), and urban (198.95) areas.

In terms of expenditures for local food, differences exist among consumers from different spatial typologies. Resulting data from the chi-squared test confirmed that the relations among groups were significant ($\chi2(6)=16.669$, $p=0.011$). Urban (32.0%) and rural consumers (31.5%) differ in proportion to the predominantly urban respondents regarding the category 'Up to 10 euros' spent in a single local food purchase. There is a significant difference in proportions between consumers in predominantly urban (35.9%) and urban (22.1%) in the category range '20-50 euros'. No significant differences among spatial typologies have been detected for the other expenditure ranges considered, namely '10–20 euros' and 'more than 50 euros'. Figure 2. Mosaic plot over expenditure levels according to spatial typology and cultural background shows the distribution of respondents according to their spatial typology (urban, predominantly urban and rural) and cultural (DE=German and IT=Italian language group) characteristics across expenditure levels devoted to a single purchase of local

food (Less than 10 euros; 10–20 euros; 20–50 euros; more than 50 euros).

Among spatial typologies of consumers, no relations in the levels of trust of labelled local food can be detected. The association of the attribute 'Quality' to labels relates significantly to both groups ($\chi^2(2)=12.744$, $p=0.002$), while no significant associations were detected for 'Animal welfare', 'Environmental protection', 'Contribution to the regional economy', and 'Food safety'.

Impact of the cultural background on consumer preferences

Consumers belonging to the German-speaking group associate local food with the region of South Tyrol. The Italian-speaking respondents, on the contrary, identify local food with specific products such as apples, speck, and dairy products. These relations concerning the meaning associated to local food are statistically significant ($\chi2(2)=29.825$, $p=0.000$). A significant relation exists between the purchase of local food and cultural background groups ($\chi2(1)=7.597$, $p=0.006$). A Z-test for the proportions confirms higher share of respondents from the German buying local food compared to the Italian language group. On the contrary, chi-squared test yielded no significant results concerning the relation between the frequencies of purchase (times/month) and cultural background. Statistically significant differences were also found in the importance of price as factor considered prior to a purchase of food products ($\chi2(2)=9.648$, $p=0.002$), indicating higher importance towards this attribute for inhabitants belonging to the Italian (287.47) compared to the German (235.58) language group. Nevertheless, the distribution of responses regarding the expenditure levels do not differ between the two language groups ($\chi2(3)=4.805$, $p=0.187$). Furthermore, no significant differences were found for the remaining attributes, however median values indicate relatively high consideration of quality (5='Strongly agree'), in both language groups. Statistically significant differences exist in the typologies of shops chosen to purchase food. Respondents of the German language group favour supermarkets, local specialist stores, and weekly markets significantly more compared to consumers belonging to the Italian language group.

In the analysis of the reasons, influencing the purchase of local food, no statistically significant differences in the distribution between the two language groups were observable. The analysis of the median revealed the highest rates for the majority of attributes, except for the attribute direct contact with farmers (4='Agree') and shopping experience (3='Neutral').

No statistically significant differences among groups can be detected in the levels of trust in labels and to the list of attributes, which consumers associate to certified local food products.

Discussion

This paper compared the preferences in purchasing local food across a significant sample of the South Tyrolean population, to study whether significant differences exist among specific consumer typologies. The analysis of the survey conducted in this the study provided in depth analysis of selected preferences for two categories of consumers, living in heterogeneous places of residence and manifesting different cultural backgrounds. The results revealed a number of significant differences in specific purchasing attitudes among groups (Table 5. Significant differences in the distribution of selected items

according to spatial typology and cultural background), testing the hypothesis formulated, confirming and partly reviewing the evidence provided by similar previous studies.

Table 5. Significant differences in the distribution of selected items according to spatial typology and cultural background

Item	Type	Spatial typology	Cultural background
Preferred place to buy food	Likert	***	*
Factors considered prior to purchase	Likert	*	*
Purchase of local food	Binary	/	*
Meaning of local food	Categorical	/	***
Frequency of local food purchase	Scale	*	/
Reasons to buy local food	Likert	*	/
Trust on quality label	Binary	/	/
Labelled food products added value	Binary	*	/
Average expenditure for local food	Categorical	*	/

**** = 0.001; ** = 0.005; * = 0.010; / = no difference*

Overall sample characteristics and local food

The results of this study, presented at the aggregate level of the entire sample, tend to confirm the evidence provided in previous studies, particularly with regard to the higher involvement of female respondents in purchasing local food (Bellows et al. 2010). The higher percentage of female respondents in the survey also signals the relatively greater role that this group plays in the management of food provision and purchase in the household.

The large array of meanings that consumers associated with local food confirms the difficulty in precisely defining the term 'local' and the subsequent overall lack of a universally accepted definition of local food (Schwarz et al. 2015). Interestingly, the respondents who named the geographical distance between source of production and consumption as the principal item for defining local food (Galli et al. 2015; Taillie–Jaacks 2015) could not clarify specific a range of minimum-maximum distance. In terms of the implications of these results for food marketing it follows that the widely heterogeneous meanings and values that consumers associate with local food should be considered and addressed accordingly in advertising, packaging and communicating the attributes of local food. Therefore, standard communication strategies should be discouraged, considering the heterogeneity of target groups within the same region.

A further aspect emerged in the analysis is the ambiguous behaviour of consumers with regard to quality labels: although consumers mention their trust in quality labelling and consider quality as a major driver to purchase local food, little attention is paid to quality labelling prior to the purchase. We link this behaviour to the presence of highly heterogeneous meanings, definitions and values of local food. Since a single definition of 'local' does not exists, nor a standardized label for the local origin, products labelled as such may not match the consumers' wide-ranging views and expectations (Feldmann–Hamm 2015). As a result, consumers do not pay much attention to labels while buying local food, although their concerns related to sustainability and quality of the products are relatively high. Evidence confirms that among consumers *'when they are asked about the level of concern with issues related to sustainability in food production in general terms and that there is currently*

generally a moderately high level of concern, however this level does not translate into corresponding level use', for instance in the concrete food product choice (Grunert et al. 2014: 187).

The influence of spatial typology on consumers' attitudes

Contrary to Chambers et al. (2007), this study has identified difference in attitudes according to spatial typologies in general terms linked to urban and rural residency of respondents. Different attitudes relating to the stores where food is usually purchased were also found. Similar to Weatherell et al. (2003), the majority of respondents privilege supermarket. However while in this study urban consumers were less aware of farmers' markets, the survey revealed that South Tyrolean urban consumers prefer outdoor markets such as farmers' markets concerning regional food products. This result confirms the evidence that farmer market shoppers *'tend to live in urban areas'* (Conner et al. 2010: 744). As a reason to explain such a behaviour, the study reported that this form of food retailing was considered antiquated and in contrast, rural groups tended to buy directly from farms, moreover, seeing this as a way to access higher quality foods (Weatherell et al. 2003). Although there are no differences with regard to direct purchase of local food – as a way of accessing local food – such an aspect emerged as significantly more important for rural than for urban consumers as reasons to buy local food, partly confirming the previous evidence. Intuitively, the same reason of better access to quality products applies, due to the closeness of rural consumers to origin of products (Feldmann–Hamm 2015). In fact, deeper quantitative analysis showed that South Tyrolean rural consumers place significantly more importance on quality compared with the other groups. The high consideration of this attribute confirms previous evidence pointing to quality and better taste as main drivers motivating consumers to purchase local food (Adams–Adams 2011, Cranfield et al. 2012, Feldmann–Hamm 2015).

The direct contact with farmers could also be considered an approach to ensure the quality of products, as Weatherell et al. (2003) also found out. Furthermore, although respondents rank the contribution of local food to the local economy, stewardship of natural landscapes and persistence of farming communities particularly highly, no significant differences are observable among groups.

At variance with other studies, which found different degrees of willingness to pay for local products (Denver–Jensen 2014, Gracia et al. 2014, Gracia et al. 2012), the current analysis was based on the comparison of respondents' proportions across different ranges of expenditures. Nevertheless, the study reported the existence of differences in the expenditure levels among groups, although previous studies did not reveal significant differences between urban and rural respondents to this respect (Weatherell et al. 2003).

Cultural background and local food

The results of the current investigation regarding the existence of different attitudes between heterogeneous cultural groups in South Tyrol, confirms that local food is a culturally driven complex phenomenon (Nistor 2015, Martinez et al. 2010, Pratt 2007). More specifically, the cultural background influences the meaning of local food associated by individual consumers. In the perceived meaning and individual definition of local food, significant differences exist between German and Italian speaking consumers. The first group relates

local food to the region of South Tyrol, while the latter to specific typical products produced and processed in the region, such as apples, speck and dairy products. This evidence suggests that stronger non-material and subjective concerns (Cohen–Murphy 2001) play a significant role in the individual conceptualization of local food. The results point to the influence of cultural background on difference in the overall attitude to purchase local food among groups, in line with the evidence that *'food is also bound up with cultural meanings for consumers, tying local and national identities to corresponding local and national specialities'* (Autio et al. 2013: 564).

Such a case also shows that culture has an influence on this attitude towards local food, however this case deserves a more cautious reflection. In fact, such an association may be due to latent attributes characterizing the German and Italian language groups. The inclusion of additional variables – such as the income level distribution across the considered groups – could have provided further elements to explore the relation between cultural background and purchase of local food in more depth. In the absence of such an additional characterization of the respondents, we acknowledge that differences exist among cultural groups.

If we attempt interpreting the factors considered prior to the purchase, we observe that differences in the preferences between the two groups exist with respect to price. However, the higher consideration of the attribute price – in this case of the Italian language group- may be also influenced by budgetary reasons, whose impact cannot be measured for the sake this analysis, because of the lack of data. The choice of preferred stores affects the individual search costs for purchasing local food (Zepeda–Li 2006). In the case of South Tyrolean consumers, we notice significant differences between cultural groups. The German-speaking, although aware of incurring in higher costs, demonstrates a stronger willingness to undertake shopping in multiple venues such as grocery, farms and weekly markets.

Conclusions

The research aimed at understanding the preferences for local food purchase in a selected sample of the South Tyrolean population, according to their urban, predominantly urban and rural residency, as well as cultural background. Evidence deriving from the statistical analysis of the survey showed that spatial and cultural characteristics of consumers influence their preferences towards local food.

Specific results regarding the reasons are consistent with previous studies, confirming quality as a decisive attribute to take into account in the purchase of local food. This attribute, as well as regional provenance and the preference of direct contact with farmers, emerged as relatively more important for rural consumers. These findings show important aspects to consider in marketing local food in the region, since the relation with local food appears relatively stronger for rural compared to urban respondents. It follows that accessibility barriers and more targeted promotion of local food within the urban community is needed to increase the outreach of local food across consumers. Differences exist with respect to expenditure levels across spatial typologies indicating that higher proportions of rural and predominantly urban consumers spend approximately in the range 20–50 Euro, compared to urban ones.

Differences in the cultural background of respondents significantly influence the meanings and definitions associated with local food. The major findings show that the German and Italian language groups associate local food with the region of South Tyrol and specific products respectively. These results highlight the importance of non-material concerns in shaping the individual concept of local food. Furthermore, the results of the paper reaffirm the stark perceived relation of local food with a specific region of production.

In order to explore additional relations and attributes in more depth, related to the purchase of local food, further research would consider a wider population sample and more specific economic indicators e.g. household income. Furthermore, future studies undertaking similar consumers surveys, should take into account an adequate distribution of demographic characteristics such as age and gender across the analysed groups, to control the risk of correlations between independent variables, which as the authors of the present study acknowledge may partly influence specific results.

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Judit Farkas[1]

'Where is the large garden that awaits me?' Critique through spatial practice in a Hungarian ecological community

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Abstract

Hungarian ecovillage dwellers are mostly 'moved-out-of-town', i.e. ex-urban, middle-class intellectuals whose narratives, besides the crisis-narrative and ecological principles, contain an urban-rural dichotomy as well. The ecovillagers' aim is to operate a settlement causing as little damage as possible to the natural environment as well as to set up an autonomous community where functions necessary for human life (housing, employment, suitable environment for leisure time, social life and trading) can be implemented in one place. The village is considered to be the most ideal form for this. One of the main elements in the ecovillage concept is therefore space and localization. Ecovillages, due to their specific condition, raise many questions in relation to space, place and identity: what motivates the ecovillage dwellers to change location and what critical elements are there. Do they experience real bonding with the new place? Do they belong to that particular land, the settlement, or rather to the ideology? What spatial practices characterize this type of settling down and how does the given ecovillage become a meaningful place and home for individuals? The aim of this study was to look for answers in one particular community.

Key words: ecovillage, radical rurality, localization, critique-through-spatial-practice

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'Where is the large garden that awaits me?'

Critique through spatial practice in a Hungarian ecological community

Preface

Hungarian ecovillage dwellers are mostly ex-urban middle-class intellectuals whose narratives, besides the crisis-narrative and ecological principles, contain an urban-rural dichotomy as well. The ecovillagers' aim is to operate a settlement causing the least possible damage to the natural environment as well as to set up an autonomous community where functions necessary for human life (housing, employment, suitable environment for leisure time, social life and trading) can be implemented in one place. The village is considered to be the most ideal form for this.

One of the main elements in the ecovillage concept is therefore space and localization. Ecovillages, due to their specific condition, raise many questions in relation to space, place and identity: what motivates the ecovillage dwellers to change locations and what critical elements are there. Is there real bonding with the new place? What do they belong to: the particular land, the settlement, or rather the ideology? What spatial practices characterize this type of settling down and how does the given ecovillage becomes a meaningful place and home for individuals?

This study seeks to answer the above questions in one particular community. After outlining the theoretical framework and introducing the given community and ecovillages in general, the stages of identification (choosing a location, inhabiting the space, reserving the space) will be presented. The questions who chose this place and why, as well as what motivations they had when choosing this place will be explored. It will also be examined how these newcomers relate to the environment, the settlement and the local people. How they create their own space, how they are settling in the village and its spaces, what the role of process is of learning the history of the village and placing themselves into that history. How they themselves shape the meanings of that place and participate in the competition of meaning creation.

The author has been carrying out cultural anthropological research in ecovillages since 2008, putting an emphasis on their socio-cultural dimensions. From among the Hungarian ecovillages my main field of research is the Kisfalu[2] Ecocommunity. Kisfalu's history is made up of waves of people moving in and out, which makes the question of space, place and identity even more exciting.

This case study is based on qualitative and cultural anthropological methods: semi-structured interviews and participation observation. Semi-structured interviews with 22 newcomers (both women and men,

2 In my paper I use false names for the settlement (Kisfalu) and for the community (Kisfalu Ecocommunity). At the end of the cited conversations I indicate the initials and the date of the interview or conversation.

between the age of 18 and 55) were conducted specifically on this topic, focusing on questions like: how did they get here, why did they choose this village and how do they live here now. Beside the formal interviews data was also collected from informal conversations with newcomers. As a cultural anthropologist the author mainly uses participation observation to understand the life of the village, and the life of the newcomers in it. Participation observation in this community has been conducted since 2009. Initially the focus was on the Eco-community, but this was later extended to the other newcomers and the whole village. Since 2009 the author has spent many weeks (from 1–2 days to 2–3 weeks at a time) at the research area. Although the author is not a member of the community, but did live with the families and participated in their everyday life and in the life of the village (festivals, meetings, courses etc.). When not in the village the author communicates with them via Skype, telephone, e-mail and Facebook.

Space and radical rurality—theoretical frameworks

In the last three decades (from about the late 1980s) the number of works dealing with space, place, time and culture have substantially increased, not only in anthropology or sociology, but also in geography and political ecology (Escobar 2001: 139, Szijártó 2008: 188). This interest – as Zsolt Szijártó puts it – is of course not coincidental, but *'in many ways linked to the post-modern societies current transformation processes.'* (Szijártó 2008: 188) It is therefore a part of one of the most dominant, and therefore often discussed phenomena: globalization. In social and cultural sciences, a great amount of work has been created about the relationship between space and culture and the resultant changes (see, inter alia, Castells 2005, 2006, Certeau 1984, Clifford 1997, Lefebvre 1991), but I am not taking on the task of presenting all this, only outlining in brief the main theoretical lines of support of my work. Such support is the so-called spatial turn (see Castells 2005, 2006, Harvey 2000, Sassen 1994, Soja 1990), which considers it necessary to develop a new category system for the analytical approach and socio-spatial understanding of the new social and cultural phenomena created by global capitalism, whilst it simultaneously calls for redefinition of a number of socio-cultural basic concepts (such as ethnicity, migration, culture, home) (Szijártó 2008: 195–215, 219–231). This approach looks at space as the result of human activity, social practices and communication flows, and because people are constantly forming the space around them and created by them, they assign meanings to the three-dimensional structures, and hence a major feature of space is constant transformation. The space is therefore not a priori given, but the result of social and communication processes (Szijártó 2008: 198–199).

The two dominant phenomena of contemporary transformation processes are migration and new social movements. Migration (and, definitely, mobility) makes us fundamentally rethink concepts like locality, neighbourhood, places and non-places, deterritorialization (see, inter alia, Appadurai 2001, Augé 1995, Bausinger 1991, Escobar 2001).[3] New social movements enter the focus of space and place studies due to their special ways of interpreting locality (see Castells 2006, Escobar 2001).

A significant part of new social movements can be characterized by the attempt to protect the area

3 And it causes the sciences dealing with these issues to reconsider themselves: see Appadurai's question: *'Does anthropology have any specific rhetorical priority in a world where locality seems to lose its ontological support?'* (Appadurai 2001: 3)

(Escobar 2001, Horlings 2015),[4] and regaining control over the place (Castells 2006). Many of them relate to the land and the countryside and the phenomenon of radical rural spatiality, as Keith Halfacree calls it. The author defines this as follows: *'The radical rural locality identified revolves around environmentally embedded, decentralised and relatively self-sufficient and self-reliant living patterns.'* (Halfacree 2007: 132). Halfacree sees and lists many perceptions of the way of thinking on the rural world in the contemporary interpretation of it, such as the productivist countryside (which is characterized by a food production oriented industry in the typical capitalist mould); super-productivism (agribusiness, GMO, biotechnology); consuming idylls (its key spatial practices are consumption-orientated: leisure, residence, counterurbanisation, dwelling, contemplation) and so forth (see, inter alia Halfacree 2001, 2003a, 2003b, 2006, 2007).[5] The best expression of radical rural space (or radical rural locality) is what is known as low impact development (LID), but other more specific activities that inscribe the locality belong here as well. One of these is 'alternative' back-to-the-land migration, permaculture and other forms of agricultural production, sustainable forestry, the strongly place-based practices as locally produced and consumed goods, and it has clear links back to the idea of bioregionalism. With regard to our topic, the observations of Halfacree that state, *'in the radical rural representation there is a strong 'community' discourse, communistic visions of everyday life'* (Halfacree 2007: 132) are particularly important, as they envision a landscape which is lived in and worked upon, with humans who are integral to their environment; who connect with the ecological self-conception (see Castells 2006: 213–240, Devall 1995), and who as a rule have ecocentric and deep ecological beliefs (Halfacree 2007: 135).[6]

The subject of this paper, the ecovillage, which is also the best example of a radical rural locality, stands at the intersection of migration and social movements.[7]

Ecovillages. The Kisfalu Ecocommunity

The use of the ecovillage concept became commonplace in the 1990s, but the first ecovillage initiatives had already appeared in the 1970s in Western Europe and the United States. In 1994 the Global Ecovillage Network (GEN),[8] an international network, was established. Beyond the common goals that connect them, ecovillages are extremely diverse due to the great variety of natural and socio-cultural contexts in which they have been created. From the small village to the metropolitan inner-city ecovillage, from the jungle to the desert there are now ecovillages in many environments and on all continents.[9] The fact of their existence is a response to an expected – or developing – ecological, economical and social crisis.

The overall objective of ecovillage dwellers is to create a settlement that fits into its natural environment in the most efficient way and with the least possible damage. To achieve this, they engage in chemical-free farming, trying to apply environmentally friendly technologies and using renewable energy sources in

4 'Place' — or, more accurately, the defence of constructions of place — has also become an important object of struggle in the strategies of social movements." (Escobar 2001: 139)

5 About Hungarian thinking on rural life see Csurgó 2007, Megyesi 2007.

6 In his thinking of rural space the author uses the model developed by Henri Lefebvre (Lefebvre 1991).

7 However, Halfacree does not mention ecovillages in his examples – at least not in his works known by me.

8 For the history and origin of ecovillages, see: Farkas 2014a.

9 For more information, see: www.gen.ecovillage.org (last visit on June 24, 2015), Jackson and Svensson 2002, Taylor 2000.

construction, waste management and wastewater treatment. They pursue moderate consumption, which includes the principle of recycling besides using natural resources in the most economical way. Their aim is to maintain a local livelihood, trade and recreation, to achieve greater autonomy and self-sufficiency and to establish a community based on close relationships and cooperation. Most ecovillages are known as intentional communities; that is, village communities created through a conscious effort by smaller or larger groups.[10]

The ecovillage movement is characterized by a number of ideological waves out of which perhaps the most prominent are environment-centred philosophical trends (and especially the Gaia Hypothesis, Bookchin's social ecology and deep ecology),[11] but typically they also make use of scientific results (sustainability theories, systems theory, etc.).[12] Connection to various religious teachings also features in these communities' worldviews, most of them being based on some other religious/spiritual ideology in addition to green ideology (historical religions, new religious movements, New Age, neopaganism, etc., see Farkas 2012, 2014b). For some of the Hungarian ecovillages Hungarian pre-industrialization peasant culture is an important reference point.

However, mainstream society considers ecovillagers (and all those who move to the countryside because of ideological principles) as retreaters and their move is considered to be an escape. A significant part of ecovillage-dwellers protest against these definitions, and look upon themselves not as 'utopian fugitives' (utopian fugitives, Litfin 2011: 136), but participants deeply embedded in the social and ecological system of the world. As autonomous communities they consider various forms of resistance as important; however, they are proactive[13] communities that instead of solely protesting, look for workable alternatives in everyday life that will lead to a broader social goodness (Litfin 2011, Pickerill–Chatterton 2006: 737). Most of them would like to provide an example: they define themselves as a model of a more liveable, more human, and what is more, a long-term sustainable lifestyle.

The community presented here does not form an individual ecovillage: its members have been moving in and out of one of the streets of a Hungarian cul-de-sac village since 2003. The settlement's history has undergone a population exchange several times. Germans resettled here in the 1720s were forced to leave after the Second World War, and new settlers from Felvidék (historic Upper Hungary, now southern Slovakia) and mainly from Békés County took their place. From the 1980s onwards, new urban settlers entered the village, who settled in several waves.[14] One of these ingoing waves is a community that belongs to the ecovillage movement. In its golden age (2008–2013) this smaller group consisted of eight households, their adult members being in their thirties and the children between a few months and fourteen years old. A significant number of the members had a profession (or a university degree) closely related to agriculture and/or environmental

10 See Taylor 2000.

11 See in Hungarian Tóth 2003. The appearance of environment-philosophical ideas in ecovillage concepts and discourses does not mean that everyone knows what social ecology is or who Bookchin or Naess are, and so on. This knowledge becomes part of everyday ecovillage knowledge and works the same way as any philosophical, ideological thought in public thinking.

12 See Borsos 2002. To see how they use the principles of sustainability and system theory when planning an ecovillage, see the dissertation by Béla Borsos (Borsos 2007: 7–48).

13 Proactive movements try to solve problems by reinterpreting human relationships while looking for the roots of the problems. Manuel Castells considers alternative social movements as such, thus the ecological movements as well (see Castells 2006).

14 According to the mayor about 40% of the population have moved to the village since the 1990s.

sciences (horticultural engineers, agricultural engineers, biologists, ecologists, meteorologists, an economist dealing with environmental issues). Continuous changes have taken place in the composition of the community since the beginning of my research, for example, some of the examined families have moved away, but there are some who have moved back. The term 'smaller group' is used above, because more and more members joined the group over the years who were loosely connected to the group and formed connections with only one aspect of the expanding range of activities of the community (for example, they are not entirely devoted to special organic farming which is one of the main features of the community, but are involved in other community activities – holidays, joint voluntary work, organizing courses, etc.).

The group operates informally; it has no officially registered form, and has no leader (either formal or informal). In their operation they apply basic democratic techniques. There were periods in the life of the group when they regularly held formal meetings to discuss the current issues of the group. These meetings were sometimes discontinued, sometimes revived depending on how much need and capacity people had for them. In addition to this they have met many times (working together, dinners, playing, playing music, children's programmes, etc.).

The community consists of different households: single young men, a single mother with school-age children, families with small children and a young childless couple. Some of the school-age children study at the local school, in lower primary classes, while the upper primary and high school pupils go to a nearby settlement. The way of life of the families living here is also affected by the income of the family members, by their tastes, and their 'ideological rigour'; that is, how much they stick to ecological principles and to the principle of self-sufficiency.

The basic organizing principle of the community is given by a special form of organic farming known as *permaculture*, as well as the lifestyle attached to it. The group is one of the bases of the Hungarian 'permaculture movement': they stand out from the rest of the domestic permaculture initiative by living together in a close-knit community in one village. The word permaculture is derived from the combination of the English words *permanent agriculture*; its inventor is the Australian Bill Mollison, who defined the principles of this organic farming method in the 1970s (Mollison–Holgrem 1978). As there is no room here for a detailed description of the history of the movement,[15] I list only the outstanding elements necessary in order to understand the life of this group. These are the following: imitating natural ecological processes in the human habitat and in the process of satisfying their needs; drastically reducing consumption; energy-saving and recycling; creating systems for self-sufficiency (garden, food, energy, community, etc.); covering their own needs with their own resources as much as possible; all components of the system performing many roles, and all important functions being supported by several elements; preferring and strengthening mutually beneficial relations and symbiotic relationships; diversity; and a focus not on one's own welfare but the well-being of all living things, where the land is looked at as a whole (In Hungarian see: Baji 2011, Pásztor 2013). Their notion is that these aforementioned principles generate such a practice that serves as preparation for a future with ecological sustainability. These principles are decisive for the whole way of life: as a young woman put it, permaculture

15 See Hungarian Permaculture Movement website: http://www.permakultura.hu/index.php (last retrieval 2015. 01. 22.). There are several articles of social science on permaculture, see for example: Veteto–Locker 2008.

is *not just scratching in the garden*, but much more than that: it is a lifestyle, a worldview that requires the existence of the community (KE 2009).

'The search for my way grew larger inside me.' Choosing a location, moving out/moving in

As we have seen above, ecovillages are typically intentional communities; that is, their residents have moved to their new location, leaving behind their own homes. So it seems worthy of investigation to start from the question of migration, since ecovillagers are in the process of creating their own homes, they are working on making the place meaningful.

In the following I will show the motivations of the members of the given community had when they started to look for a new place to live, and why they chose this place. I also show where the ecological thinking and the radical rurality in this process is and what social critique aspects it has.

Rural migration, moving out of the city to the countryside, has many different reasons and ways.[16] One of these forms in Hungary dates back to the eighties and nineties, its essence being to return to cultural and natural roots, integration into the village and return to the rural way of life. This typically meant – as Zsolt Szijártó puts it – moving away by independent and system-critical intellectuals whose act was based on the concepts of crisis and a longing for another place. Accordingly these people created a counter-world, expressing their opposition to the core values of the given political, social and cultural system (Szijártó 2002, 2007). In this sense, the move was not motivated by economic reasons, but aimed at a better life in the moral, cultural or ideological sense. It included the move of urban intellectuals to small villages (for example, So-uth Transdanubia) who had a close connection to the folk dance movement *(táncház-mozgalom)* and green movements. As I see it, one of the manifestations of this special type of migration is the creation of ecovillages in Hungary. When observing their motivation, the relocation of ecovillagers can be distinguished from other types of migration to villages by the need to create a lifestyle different from the mainstream based on an ecological commitment, and this need is not only manifested in their relationship to the environment, but also permeates individual and community life in all aspects. In terms of the goals of ecovillagers, these differ from other phenomena involving movement to a village in that they are undertaking a role model: many of them are aiming not only to achieve a socio-economically and environmentally sustainable way of life, but to transfer the experience and the model.[17] An important feature of late modern societies is a sudden boost of opportunities in parallel with the growing significance of the issue of quality of life. One of the best-outlined options and quality-of-life alternatives is the ecological way of life,[18] which defines itself in opposition to consumer society and interprets good quality of life in a broader context, that of the natural and social environment. That is, it considers not only one's own well being as important, but also the quality of life of one's immediate and wider environment. This is most evident in those movement activities that perceive natural and social problems

16 There is considerable literature on moving from a city to a village. Some Hungarian examples: Járosi 2007, Pulay 2002, Virág 2007, Csizmady–Csurgó 2012.

17 For locating ecovillages within migration, see Farkas 2014a.

18 Or sustainable, low-scale, degrowth, etc. lifestyle – various names and movements can be found here.

(poverty, equal access to resources, human rights, etc.) together and which offer a complex solution to them (see globalization-critical movements, green movements etc.). The inhabitants of the Hungarian ecovillages use similar, but perhaps less spectacular, considerations; they aim at the same goals in their use of the natural environment and community activity. To achieve this goal they take the first step of moving from the city to the countryside. When deciding about migration, those who wish to move are – to borrow a term from environmental psychology – making a double assessment; the first step is seeking a destination and the second the evaluation of all possible locations selected (M. Horváth–Dúll–László 2006: 134). In ecovillage circles the familiar 'seeker' category is applied to those who have already made the decision to move but have not yet selected a migration target and are visiting potential places to gain experience. It can take up to several years of searching, during which time individuals spend extended periods of time in one potential area, living for example as volunteers, as a means of choosing their place of residence. The local community has a prominent role in their choice: no matter how beautiful the place in question, even if it is perfect for the ecological way of life, if the place-seekers do not find the community to be to their liking they will usually continue their search.

In examining the motivations at the core inhabitants of the Kisfalu Eco community it turned out that all were so-called 'questing-type people', who defined themselves as people thinking differently than the mainstream,[19] looking for an ideal place to live their preferred ecological and social way of life *('Where is the large garden that awaits me?'* KE 2010). Most of them had lived in another, similar type of community (Agostyán, Visnyeszéplak, Gyűrűfű) earlier.[20] Nearly everybody mentioned the community and the same way of thinking as the main reason for moving to Kisfalu[21]: *'we are here clearly because of the personal connections'* (HL 2010). *'Why here, and why was this so obvious? The things radiated by M could be felt well enough to see what kind of people they are.'* (BG 2010). Only after that did they mention the settlement's characteristics (location, cul-de-sac village character, the beauty of the landscape, a beautiful view of the village, unique architecture, organic farming ability, great for bringing up children, good schools, etc.).[22] While the rest of the people who moved into the village talked about the beauty of the landscape, they went beyond this, carrying out a kind of assessment made possible because of their profession or their experience in permaculture they could observe what 'lay people' could not. There were some who thought this area was ecologically degraded: *'Then we were*

19 Not fitting into the mainstream society is a recurring motif in life-stories: *'With my way of thinking I was quite out of place there.'* (KE 2010) *'I was somehow always out of place, both in my age group as well as in the society; somehow I always had a different outlook on life. And somehow I could never fit into the system and the search for my way grew bigger inside me.' (JA 2010)*

20 Those who were loosely connected to Kisfalu Ecocommunity had this place as their first place after leaving the city. They were motivated by and attracted to the escape from the city and the beauty, silence and tranquillity of rural life.

21 This required a 'starting point', with initial people later attracting others. This couple (who have since moved) were known for their outstanding credibility and wisdom in the ecovillage movement, and members of the Kisfalu Ecocommunity met them later at an ecovillage meeting. They moved into the village in 2003, with an earlier incoming wave through acquaintances. They attracted a young couple, who then attracted more people and so on, and then the whole community became an attractive target among people looking for a place to live. The importance of their role in this story is indicated by the fact that there are people who separate incoming waves by the people who have attracted other individuals. Thus, there are J-s' newcomers (moving in with a previous wave), and M-s' newcomers, who are the members of the eco-community.

22 All the members of the group came here through acquaintances (not just by accident), but family roots tie only one family here, a young woman whose father lived nearby. *'Roots are pretty important. I mean, the old roots. My family is from here on my father's side, from two villages away. I spent every summer there when I was in primary school, and I always had a feeling of what it would be like to move here with my family.'* (KE 2010).

looking for a place, which is why we came, we connected it to a meeting with permaculture. We wanted to look at Kisfalu and get to know the residents. The community made a very positive impression on us. The village and the natural environment less so. Because it was November and everything was bleak. The houses were beautiful, the village was attractive, but it seemed that this was a very dry land, and ecologically degraded.' (FJ 2014). On the other hand, others were attracted by the ecological diversity: *'The natural conditions are good enough: at the road there is a wooded area, and the conditions, diversity and the wet area as well. There is a forest, there are pastures.'* (JA 2010) This practical attitude – as Halfacree also found during his research in England – *'challenges the abstracted and aestheticised idyllised vision of a neatly manicured and commodified rurality, since it prioritises permacultural concerns about more holistic connections between people and their environment over superficial appearances.'* (Halfacree 2007: 134). As a result of this their relationship to nature and the landscape is not just an aesthetic but also a moral relation – which is fitting with ecological thinking – , and they consider its productive functions (also ecologically based) as well (for this see Csizmady–Csurgó 2012).[23] This attitude is a fundamental and typical feature of radical rural locality, this special rural-perception. While Kisfalu and its region with its hilly landscape, folk architecture and tranquillity is admired by the average layman, those who have more experience in land-use and are more holistic-ecological thinkers can see, in addition to the overtly positive features, the degraded land elements (forest conditions, monoculture used on the fields of large farmers) and a depressed local community alienated from their natural environment.[24] Nevertheless, they found the settlement and its street suitable for their lifestyle *('It's not a spoiled village, where people live in small cages like in a city, there is space here.'* PG 2014). As we have seen above, the community started to move into one of the streets of the village. It is a village-end edge of the settlement, where they could buy houses relatively cheaply and former inhabitants of the houses had carried out minimal modernization, which suited their organic principles perfectly; also, the area was suitable for organic farming. At the back of the properties in the loess wall centuries-old cellars, storage rooms and kilns could be found, the land stretched as far back as the high bank (hostel), and sometimes more land was available at a relatively good price. A further advantage for them was the less central location of the place, so that – they hoped – they would be able to live there peacefully, far from the mainstream way of life: *'I thought that in a village with a bit more natural environment what we do is not so unique. The neighbour's garden is quite different from ours, but it's all right'* (KE 2010). The family who comprised the starting-point of the community also lived in this street. Living near one another had a positive impact on community life (they could see one another's houses, they could take a look at one another's gardens, within a minute or two they could reach each other if needed). The group very quickly formed its own meaning and character, at the same time their dominant presence (not really their number but their different way of thinking and lifestyle and activity) started to shape the meaning

23 In the course of examining suburbanization (and gentrification) processes Adrienn Csizmady and Bernadett Csurgó found that the newcomers' aesthetic and moral relations to nature greatly differ from those of the locals, whose priority is production (Csizmady–Csurgó 2012: 161). In our case all the three aspects are equally important.

24 Newcomers express their criticism towards this lifestyle with the image of a village person who does not cultivate his garden, sits in front of the television and buys vegetables in the shop. This, however, is not their opinion alone; local residents also criticize this phenomenon. *'When I first saw they sold vegetables in the shop, and I saw people buying them, I found it very strange, I could not understand it.'* (KÉ 2016). Members of the study group – in addition to those above – formulate more criticism along ecological principles, and dislike chemical farming, clear cutting or burning forest litter.

of the village as well. While their street was soon identified with young settlers, nicknamed the 'bios',[25] prior to the ecovillage scene Kisfalu was identified with permaculture and its largest living and well-functioning community in Hungary. Previously we have seen that the move to the countryside and settling is preceded by a lengthy search for a suitable environment. The long process of moving out and the careful consideration of the choice of location also means that by the time they select the right place, the ecovillagers have partly become acquainted with the essence of the given place and they have already begun to integrate its meaning into their identities before actually moving there. Hungarian ecovillages have had little time to consolidate a composite meaning, for even the oldest among them are only 20–22 years old. Although meaning-creation has taken place (even if it is constantly changing and being formed), in ecovillage discourse (which is made up not only of the individual ecovillages but their considerably larger collective scope) identities can be traced that are strongly linked to one or the other village.

In the case of Gyűrűfű this is a complex symbol of rebuilding (see Farkas 2009), Visnyeszéplak appears in these discourses as a place reviving traditional peasant culture and preserving traditions. Krishna Valley is naturally identified with the Krishna faith, but their significant results in self-sufficiency are also dominant in the interpretation of the community (Farkas 2011). In the case of this village it is the permaculture and the reputation of the community as being a 'good community'. Those who moved here in the 'golden-age' knew this prior to their arrival: indeed, that was the reason they came here and, having settled, it was to this that they endeavoured to adjust.[26] The fact that the majority came because the community had an influence over how they felt about being Kisfalu people. One of the core members after 2–3 years of searching regarded Kisfalu as a final homecoming: *'I prefer to say it is not us who found the place, but the place that found us. Both of us* [his wife too] *felt that this was the place where we have to live. Here we had things that were very important to us then, and luckily still have, and we felt that we had to choose this place.'* (JA 2010). Others do not necessarily identify with the village; in other words it is not the village they feel attached to. One young woman made a statement during our conversation that was a surprise to me: *'During three and a half years I realized that my aversion to villages had not disappeared. The fact that I live in the last house of one of the last streets makes my life here very easy. I'm not in Kisfalu, I relate to the Kisfalu Ecocommunity. And I relate to my friends who live nearby the most. For me, this Kisfalu life is not really a Kisfalu life.'* (PK 2014). One young man (who has since moved) said something similar: *'I was not so convinced about the place. I liked the people, but if the company had told me to go on somewhere else, because there was an even better place, I would have gone with them.*

25 Local people started to call the street Zöld utca (Green Street). This refers to the end of the street where the gravel road ends and a grassy road continues, as do the people coming here with green ideas. Those who disapprove of these young people and their lifestyle use more pejorative expressions: 'seed-eaters' or 'grass-eaters' and so forth. This does not necessarily refer to their vegetarian way of life (only the minority of the group is vegetarian but locals may not know that), but to the fact that they eat a lot of vegetables, fruit and cereals, or even some plants that are commonly known as weeds (goosefoot, dandelion, etc.). Besides, they do not consume ready-made food or the 'classics' like coke and crisps. For the nutrition of this group and ecovillages see Farkas 2015.

26 This image became an expectation, which placed a serious burden on the group. There are families who moved here because of the reputation of the Kisfalu Ecocommunity, without having previously got seriously involved in its lifestyle. They became disappointed very quickly, so much so that they have kept little or no connection with the community. The group therefore tried to convince everyone to spend more time to get to know the community to avoid cases like that, because not only those individuals, but the community were frustrated as well.

[...] There are some who would put Kisfalu on our common flag, but I wonder whether these people could do the same thing somewhere else? So is Kisfalu needed for this? There are some who say yes, it is, and they are probably right; I think it can be done elsewhere too. So I do not think that this team is defined by Kisfalu, no, I don't think so.' (BG 2009).[27] One part of the group therefore looks at the village as the home they have found, while others do not, or think *'it is not clear yet whether it was just one stage, or a final destination.'* (PG 2014)

'A life more rounded.' Inhabiting the space

In the following I examine how members of the community form their spaces and how they are settling in the village and use it as a space and what ecological aspects it has.

In the introduction I have already emphasized that a significant part of the new social movements is characterized by the attempt to protect and regain control of the place. Manuel Castells in his well-known work (Castells, 2006) writes that two types of spatial logic work in the network society: the space of flows and the space of places. While the former organizes distinct social practices with the help of telecommunication and information systems, the latter prefers social interactions resulting from the physical contact and contiguity. The thing that distinguishes the new social structure, the network society, from the old is that most of the dominant processes are organized in the space of flows by concentrating power, economy, and information. However, human experiences and the majority of the goals are still locally based. In connection with the emphasis placed on locality and regaining the control over the place, he underlines: *'What the environmentalists' localism and "favouring the place" is actually questioning is the loss of relationships among different functions and interests, alongside the principles of representation mediated by abstract technical rationality produced by uncontrolled business interests and the unaccountable technocracy.'* (Castells, 2006: 229). In contrast to this, they favour and try to create local communities and civic participation, grassroots democracy, self-management, small-scale production and self-sufficiency (which also leads to moderate consumption); they criticize conspicuous consumption and emphasize the value of life instead of the value of money (Castells, 2006: 228–229).

Castells also argues that green movements create a new global identity: *'the culture of the human race with biological identity and as a component of nature.'* (Castells, 2006: 231). This kind of ecological self is clearly displayed in the mind of the community studied here; for them, community is not just a community of people, but also includes humanity and all living things:

> *'The sense of community for me means that I can feel the community not only through neighbours, but also with African children who do not have drinking water. [...] If we say we live in a community of flora and fauna, and here we are with each other in the world, a different world will be created around this idea. So I usually say that the community feeling is not just a human feeling.'* (HL, 2009)

The community's image of locality should on the one hand be understood in a global context, but on the

27 This specific non-binding is probably the reason for the large fluctuation in the population, in that about half of the group no longer lives here. A specific reason for moving out is commonly some family problem (disintegration of the family due to a divorce; one member of the couple cannot get used to living here, and so leaves etc.). Until 2013 four households (three families and one single young man) moved away from here, but two (one family and the young man) had moved back by 2015. I am planning to deal with the issue of moving from here and the relevant questions (why and where they move, what impact it has on those who stay here, etc.) in another study.

other the lived landscape, human beings integrated into this landscape and the natural environment are the basis for this localism. That is, they have to build the place with their own hands both figuratively and in reality.

The first and most important step of the process is always to create a home. The ecovillage lifestyle greatly relies on physical work, which makes a number of non-sustainable resources and methods redundant. However, this physical work means much more than cutting trees, hoeing, washing by hand or drawing water from the well: it is attuning to and appreciating one's place within the natural world (Halfacree 2007: 135). As one woman put it: *'I, too, feel that the close engagement with the soil, to see how the crops grow, what processes there are, and being closer to the Earth is a sort of 'rounded' life, so life is more complete.'* (HK 2014).

For us, another important aspect of locality-creation is the creation of the community, as we have seen above. A major component in this is spatiality, that is, the core membership of a community in close proximity with each other. We have seen that the Green Street identity is the dominant segment of community identity; what is more, for some members space means only a narrow slice of the street. However, this space is 'enwrapped' by the village, and certainly it is not inconceivable, not feasible to use the space without any contact with the receiving space. Even those who have the least possible contact drive through the village (weekly) when going to another village.

The fact that members of the community did not create a brand new settlement, a new ecovillage (as in Gyűrűfű), but moved in to an existing village, means that they took on board the knowledge that their efforts would be 'watched' and that they were entering spaces that had been created and lived in earlier, and where they would have to place themselves.

When examining the wider use of space (the village) we can find very different patterns and examples among the members of the ecocommunity. In a small village the most dominant locations are usually the shop and the pub. These are the two places where people come together every day and chat a little: even those who live further away from each other meet here. In Kisfalu there is no pub, and the shop's stock motivates people to do their shopping in larger nearby settlements. In addition, members of the study group need to buy a lot less than others due to their attempt at self-sufficiency. What they do not produce they exchange or acquire from a local producer (vegetables, fruit, eggs, meat, dairy products, honey, cereals, pasta etc.).[28] Beside this, how much people use the village depends mostly on personality, life situation and their work. Those whose children go to the village nursery or school are inevitably involved in the village life, for example through parenting conferences or gala performances of the children. One of the religious members of the community got involved in village life by 'using' the church. She also lived an active social life, so to her space meant the space not only of the community, but also of the entire village. Two male members of the group undertook odd jobs in the village, so they moved around the entire village and had a broad network of relationships. One key member of the group worked at home to make a living, and sometimes went into the village, but to him the grass-covered street was his inhabited space, and the community was of primary importance. The rest of the village – as he said – did not really interest him (he did not like the locals' hostility, envy and gossip). I met two members who hardly ever left the street, one of them being the young woman quoted above, who

28 One of my hosts could only recall one occasion when they had bought something in the local shop.

said she was not in Kisfalu, but only in the 'community'. Three families are connected with multiple ties to the village: to them the whole village is a discovered and used space, a real home. Opportunities for the group to appear as a community in the village were mostly festive times, organized by themselves or together with other people, but where their presence influenced the perception of the event. This leads to our following point, the symbolic colonizing issue of forming a place.

'Here, everyone is an upstart.' Symbolic reservation of places

As soon as migration occurs, and the individual has moved into a selected locality, a cultural learning process starts: the person learns the history/story of the settlement and, more importantly, the history of their own community.

This is because *'the particular geographic location provides the social group or individual with an opportunity to search for, discover and redefine identity or self-expression, so that its specificity, history and environment become more and more meaningful.'* (Maase 1998, quoted by Szijártó 2008: 203). Everybody who moved to Kisfalu considered it important to get to know the history of the village, and a local historian's work proved to be greatly helpful for that. He had made extensive research into the history of the village and church, exploring family stories, making photographic archives and editing a magazine. But the most significant events in the history of the village, such as the resettlement of the German population, the village's heyday, signs of civil life at the turn of the twentieth century (secondary school, hotel, ballroom, dance lessons, early adoption of street lighting etc.), live vividly on in orality. These items are intended to present the long gone flourishing of the settlement as opposed to the decline that started with socialism and continued in contemporary economic and social depression.

In the case of our group this history-learning process starts typically from the history of the community; members learn the history of the community's foundation and its evolution before they move here. The narrative of the village's history includes the 'positioning' of the group in that history (as a kind of symbolic occupation of the place), which also contains a serious act of legitimacy: each time they talk about the village they mention that the current population of Kisfalu is made up of several incoming waves, and that they are one of those waves. I think this narrative is an attempt to eliminate the idea of their being upstarts *(gyüttment* in Hungarian): I could often hear them responding to opinions emphasizing their foreignness by saying that the 'locals' themselves have only lived here for 50–60 years. *'Everyone here is an upstart, but there are some who came 40 years ago, and some 20 years ago. Because those who came 20 years ago feel they are from Kisfalu as well as those who came 50 years ago.'* (HK 2014)

This attempt at legitimacy, this argument, is our next topic and it is of great significance in the process of redefining and occupying space.

Social science literature dealing with space and place now takes it as an obvious, basic thesis that the work carried out with and through space, human activity, narratives, images and narrative structures has a space-defining and redefining role. A number of researchers have asked the question of what happens when new social groups suddenly appear at these places with specific intentions and plans. (Szijártó 2008: 201–203).

Different social groups form spaces according to their intentions, through their social practices, assigning different meanings to them. This process is called locality reproduction by Arjun Appadurai (see Appadurai 2001). According to him, building locality, a seemingly peaceful and harmonious action, always entails colonization manifesting itself in a symbolic struggle. In our case, in this process, it is extremely important that behind the transformation of space there is an underlying criticism related to negative socio-cultural processes (consumer culture, ecological crisis, depressed rural areas, urbanization, etc.), and attempts to redefine space are made in accordance with these. The eco-conscious lifestyle elements such as the de-modernisation of houses (using clay, kilns, outdoor and compost toilets, the use of wells, showers in the garden, some houses without bathrooms, etc.) or permaculture gardens (which look 'untidy' due to their mosaic arrangement or mulch cover) embody the critique of modern society. However, all these are foreign elements when compared to the values of the villagers who prefer modernization: they create an image of disorder and disharmony and are signs of the reservations of the new residents. Neither did the village appreciate the efforts of these young people to apply ecological principles on the common land of the village. One such was not to let the rainwater flow into the trenches but for the precious water to be collected and utilized. Another was not to burn the dry leaves accumulated in public areas, but to make use of them through composting in the garden centre of the village. On behalf of the insect world and diversity the local government should not mow off the grass in all public areas even where nobody walks. In 2015, thanks to the work of some members of the community, local landraces of fruit trees were included in the Local Depository. To achieve this, they took cuttings from these very old trees that were about to be cut down, thereby preserving them for posterity. They also tried to persuade the owners not to cut down trees that were still growing, healthy, old or just in the way. This issue generated incomprehension, sometimes an explicitly hostile attitude, and preservation of landrace fruit was considered as a new fad. And so on.

With these efforts the new, eco-conscious residents were questioning the validity of established practices, and the act of questioning and the ensuing proposals were interpreted by the locals as a sign of an attempt at occupation.[29] Similarly signs of the settlers' reservation and symbolic colonization can be those community events organized for the village in the public areas that aim to promote community life. One such event was the baking of bread on 20th August. This tradition already existed in the village (thanks to a woman who had moved here earlier and was active in the civil life of the village), but it grew bigger when the community got actively involved in the organisation. One young man built a kiln in the middle of the village, and members of the group baked bread together with some older residents. The event was held throughout the day, from heating up the kiln early in the morning, through the process of kneading, to when the bread was blessed by the local Calvinist priest. Locals distanced themselves from this event spectacularly from the very start: they either did not attend it, or watched from a distance when they passed.[30] There are many more examples

29 In retrospect, more members feel that they did not take a 'good approach' to the village, that 'they were not clever enough' with the locals. They wanted to create change too fast. Some of the locals thought they were conceited and loud-mouthed, but there are plenty of exceptions too, of locals who acknowledge their activities.

30 Here the bread is not only the new bread traditionally baked on 20th August, but also a symbol of self-sufficiency, which is why it is of special importance that this community started to organize this festivity of baking bread. The feast of bread baking ended when a large number of the members moved away, and the energy to organize it fizzled out. This energy was redirected towards new holidays, thereby showing the most recent newcomers preferences, and so reservations. I examine this in

of spatial distance between the locals and newcomers, and with some experience it can be predicted quite well who will go to which event. The settlers would like to eliminate this spatial separation that takes place at festivals, and they feel disappointed each time they fail.

Besides such techniques in producing spatial locality, of particular importance are the enduring symbols that might not say much to an outsider, but the meanings of which can be explored clearly in the community knowledge. In Kisfalu these symbols include the above-mentioned kiln for baking bread, as well as the village gate set up in 2015. In the literature dealing with people moving from the city to a village it is not unknown that *'a majority of these people arrive with a desire to find community life, and start an active community-creating process there. In the desire for a rural community the need for pre-modern values and authenticity is strongly present and manifests itself in retraditionalizing community life, with reinterpretations of traditions.'* (Csurgó–Szatmári 2014: 36). It is also true in Kisfalu that because the new settlers have become leaders in public and civil life, the local community's cultural life will be determined by their needs, tastes and values. Thus, environment and nature protection, cultural activities based on traditions, and organic farming, have become increasingly important, and the local identity begins to change (see Csurgó 2013).[31] It is no different in Kisfalu, and one of the dominant factors was this given community (even if not for all the members): *'We feel that as we had moved here, we had to take responsibility for the village at some level'* (JA 2010) This sense of responsibility causes many people to think about the village's future (and thus their own future). One 'scene' of the opposition of various spatial imaginations can be the discussion between the newcomers and the locals regarding the development of the settlement (see Halfacree 2007: 130, Murdoch–Marsden 1994). This debate is therefore an ideal forum for assessing a variety of spatial imaginations. In the given settlement it contains a three-dimensional element, specifically a road, and the way people think about it. This road does not in fact exist, but it is interpreted by many as an opportunity to rescue the village. It is a road that would significantly shorten the journey to a nearby town (which is now almost impossible with public transport), thus facilitating the possibility of working there. In this way the road would mean work and prosperity, and in a broader context the future of the village: migration from the village would stop, the achievements of modernization would become more accessible, clubs could be created and a more colourful life could begin. On the other hand, the road would eliminate the cul-de-sac feature of Kisfalu, it would bring through-traffic to the village, and as a result the settlement's tranquillity, peace and security – everything that the other spatial imagination interprets as a value – would disappear. The community under our scrutiny – unsurprisingly – is clearly 'anti-road':[32] they would prefer small-scale development, in which they emphasize the place's ability for a low-impact development along the images of nature, tranquillity and an artificial environment with a further step towards a more radical vision. In their development plans, the place would continue to move forward towards an economic, self-sustained lifestyle collaborative with nature; its value and attractiveness is the landscape and natural resources, used in a versatile way but not overused. The use of space in this way usually generates a

another study.

31 However, new settlers' images of the rural life and idyll diverge considerably. As a result, their ideas about opportunities and ways to develop are also various. See Farkas 2016, manuscript.

32 Even more so, because the road would pass close by them.

forgiving smile or aversion, and in the worse scenario serious resistance by a section of the local population.[33] But without doubt it can be seen by the older community as a symbolic colonization process on the part of the settlers.

Summary

This study shows a community, which in its principles and everyday practice has rejected many elements of modern capitalist society. It practices strong social criticism, and attempts a local implementation of an alternative, eco-conscious lifestyle. The group manifests these criticisms in its spatial practices. The step of moving from the city to the village itself includes this critical element, which is extended through specific farming style, lifestyle and community orientation.

For the interpretation Keith Halfacree's *radical rural locality* concept provided an excellent framework, which describes a special community-based and socially critical, environmentally embedded, decentralized relatively self-sufficient form of rural life and the attitude to it (Halfacree 2007).

During the research it became clear that in the decision of moving to the country the recognition and refusal of the city and social processes and practices considered to be harmful and identified with the city (environmental and social crisis, overconsumption, wastefulness, unsustainability, alienation etc.) already appears. Members of the study group articulate all this very precisely in their narrative of looking for and finding a place, and when they justify their decision on Kisfalu, they also reflect these problems. The responses indicate that a thorough site assessment was carried out before taking the decision. An important aspect of the assessment was the settlement's capability for sustainable lifestyles and permaculture, but the like-minded community was equally important.

One aspect of settling in the space was the creation of a home, which shows different patterns from the majority: the ecological practice (mud-architecture, organic farming, water-saving management, composting toilets, etc.) criticizes and bypasses several elements of modernization. A central element of creating locality is the creation of the community, which has an especially important element: spatiality, that is the core membership of the community settled near each other. Another important aspect of the settling in the space is the use of village spaces, which has more differences, individual variation than the practice of creating a home. There are various attitudes and the related use of space practices in the community from the individual who hardly leaves the street and barely communicates with the locals to the person who is taking an active role in organizing the life of Kisfalu.

The *critique-through-spatial-practice* (see Halfacree 2006: 313) can be found in their attempts to (re) shape their chosen place of living. The symbolic colonization formulated by the literature (Appadurai 2001, Szijártó 2008) can be detected in Kisfalu, and in the practice of the new groups appearing in the given area, in the re-creation of locality. In their case, in this process it is extremely important that behind the transformation of the space-related endeavours criticism related to negative socio-cultural processes can be found (consumer

33 Not everybody feels the same way. During a conversation the mayor said she pictured the future of this village as a small ecovillage.

culture, ecological crisis, depressed rural, urbanization, etc.) and attempts are made in accordance redefine the space. Such experiment is to put village on the ecological track, or to advocate community events in the village.

To the question asked at the beginning of the study whether there is a bond to the new residence, what do they belong to: the particular land, the settlement, or rather the ideology – there is no single answer but individual responses. For some the village means homecoming, for someone else 'the place' is not the settlement, but the ideology and the close community, and for some others it is an undecided dilemma whether Kisfalu is the right place or not.

From 2011–2012 new settlers have appeared in the settlement whose different values are forming the existing space in a different way and assigning new meanings to spatial structures. Through their community-organizing activity they play an important role in village life, and we can witness the rearrangement of conditions, which naturally affects the use of space. In this process, we can see how value preferences relate to (or go against) each other; we can also observe attitudes towards the village's past, the way national identity is harmonized and placed in the village space, the method of image creation, and other features. The assessment of this process is the subject of my further research.

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The suburban townscape
its origin and perspectives based on the example of a border town in Hungary (Komárom-Koppánymonostor)

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Abstract

The paper aims to illustrate through a local study how the North American suburban townscape appears in a historical small town in Hungary. The core idea is that North American suburbanization resulted in a special suburban townscape. Instead of the traditional structure of towns and cities where the centre and periphery made up certain circles or zones, mobility axes like motorways, airports structure the suburban zone. The first chapters of the paper discuss this process and they can also be read as an independent theoretical essay.

The second part of the paper shows the case study of Komárom-Koppánymonostor. Our first question is whether in this case we can speak about a suburban townscape (as a North American type). After empirical investigations the answer to the question is no. Komárom-Koppánymonostor shows a mixture of the petty-bourgeois milieu typical of late socialism (and post-socialism), while the North American type of suburbanization is a new pattern of lifestyle after 2000. The second question is: what are the specific historical-social conditions that influenced the suburbanization in Komárom-Koppánymonostor? We claim that it was the Danube bank which preserved its natural environment in the phase of the rapid urbanisation of the 20th century.

Finally, we claim that the suburban transformation is by no means a closed chapter seeing today's trends. Thanks to the planned new bridge (Komárom, HU – Komárno, SK), the area of Komárom-Koppánymonostor can dissolve in future in a twin town trans-border suburban townscape. In that case, the suburban zones will get a wider dimension, in their morphology as well as in their economical potential, and they will move closer to the North American patterns.

Key words: suburbanisation, border studies, divided twin towns, architecture sociology

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Introduction

This paper discuses a special case of suburbanization. The classical discourse of suburbanization focuses on migration from cities (Jackson 1985, Hayden 2004, Garreau 1992, Fishman 1987). The processes presented here take place in a small town, Komárom, and its former vineyards, Koppánymonostor (Komárom, Hungary, fewer than 20,000 inhabitants). A further specification of the objective is the focus on space: it will interpret the suburban townscape in its morphological aspects. The main (but by no means only) feature of the suburban townscape is the high number of storeyd dwellings. From that point of view we can say that a large part of the townscape of Komárom is suburban. Only 7.7 per cent of the buildings have more than one storey according to statistics (KSH 2011). This is not unique in the region as only 6.6% of Esztergom's houses have more than one storey (KSH 2011). Nevertheless, Komárom without a historical urban centre seems very rural. Indeed, the history of Komárom's urbanization goes back only to the first half of 20th century, when the former suburb (named Újszőny) across the railway with a few thousand people was detached from its mother town, called Komárno (SK) today, by the establishment of the international border (Tamáska 2016).

The policy of forced urbanization accompanied the development of Komárom throughout the 20th century. Most of the development plans present torsos: the neo-Baroque administrative and school buildings of the twenties, the endeavours of modern architecture in the forties, and the rows of houses of socialist realism from the fifties. The prefabricated block of flats eventually eliminated the one storey centre of the former district (1960–1980), but the transformation to town centre lacked social support (see Tamáska 2015). In spite of the subventions from regional planning, the town lacked all the social and economic backgrounds for a striking expansion in the late seventies. The number of inhabitants stagnated. The regional planning authority tried to force development: in 1977, the town incorporated its neighbouring town, Szőny. It was the last stage in the history of enlarging the inner town, a process that resulted in a linear town structure along the Danube. It is an 8–10 km long, and only 600–2000 meter wide texture of the town that offers a morphological background for inner suburbanization.

The two edges for suburbanization within the town structure are Szőny and Koppánymonostor. This paper will present only the second, because Szőny is still an independent structure within the town today. The website of Komárom describes Koppánymonostor: *'the weekend houses offer the most beautiful panorama*

of the town'.[2] The recreation zone was established in the late sixties. In the past two decades the weekend houses have constantly been giving way to family houses.[3] Contemporary Koppánymonostor is a mixture of the relics of a recreation zone and the new wave of suburbanization. The townscape of family houses links to other elements of developing suburban townscapes, to so-called 'thematic parks': an industrial park, a cultural heritage park (fortification), and a recreation park (the promenade along the Danube) (on thematic parks see: Low–Smith 2006, Sorokin 1993).

Currently a new bridge is under construction between Komárom–Koppánymonostor and the suburbs of the twin town of Komárno (SK) on the other side of the Danube. It is possible that, the integration of the twin towns of Komárom/Komárno, supported by EU funds, will take place not (or not only) around the historical centre but rather in the new suburbs following patterns of global towns in a regional-local dimension.

Research objectives

The paper below aims to illustrate using a local study, how the North American suburban townscape appears in a historical small town in Hungary. The core idea is that near one hundred years of North American suburbanization resulted in a special suburban townscape. The first chapters of the paper discuss this process and they can also be read as an independent theoretical essay. However, the central ideas of those chapters were to find the most important elements of a well-developed suburban townscape, which is a mixture of thematic parks around the mobility axes, like motorways.

Suburbanization in Hungary is another story. In started only in the late seventies of the 20th century around Budapest, and even later (after 1990) in the small towns (Brown–Schafft 2002). Our first question is, whether we can speak in the case of Komárom-Koppánymonostor about a suburban townscape (as a North American type), or whether it is adequate to speak only about classical suburbanization (residential mobility)? The differences between the two categories (suburban townscape and classical suburbanization) will be presented in the theoretical part of this paper.

The interaction between the American type of suburban townscape and the spaces that can be observed in Komárom-Koppánymonostor is not self-evident. The history of Hungarian urbanization has different roots, especial in the second half of the 20th century. Thus, the paper has to answer a further question: what are the special conditions (townscape, historical heritage, social trends), which shaped the suburban area in Komárom?

The most important aspiration of this paper can be summarized by noting that the global trends and narratives (often laying far away from local issues, like 'global cities') mix with local patterns. The paper will confront both point of views. It aims to understand the coexistence of global and local trends, which finely creates the suburban townscape of Komárom-Koppánymonostor.

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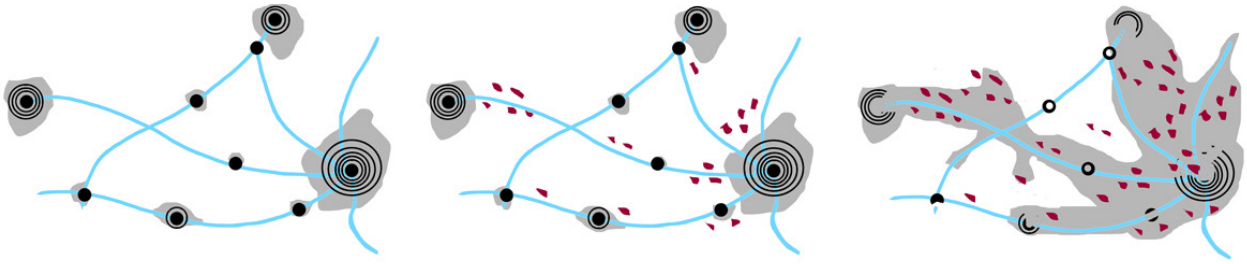
2 http://komarom.hu/komaromrol.php 03.08.2016

3 It is hard to give exact numbers about this change. The statistical number can only give an outline of the trend. There were only 20 weekend houses in Komárom in 2001, but 50 were officially in use as a dwelling in 2011. (Data from KSH – Hungarian Statistical Office).

Fig. 1. Comparing the geographical structure of the classical suburbanization, the Zwischenstadt and the suburban townscape. Circles: Towns and Cities (black point: Central Business District, circles: zones in the city); Blue: motorways. Grey: suburban area (most with family houses). Red: thematic parks (storages, industrial parks, entertainment parts).



About suburban townscape

The topic of suburbanization is broader than the framework of this paper. Nevertheless, it is important to review the history of suburbanization and its effects on cities, towns, and their surroundings briefly. There are three ideas to take into consideration. (1) Firstly, the theoretical thesis of the paper discusses the differences in the suburbanizations that follow patterns evolved in North America and the idea of the garden city that derives from the European urban planning tradition. (2) Secondly, suburban townscape means much more than relations between the urban core and its surroundings. It represents a structure between towns (Zwischenstadt), a texture, which is more or less independent from the historical town cores. (3) Thirdly, the suburban townscape follows other structures than traditional towns and cities. While traditional towns and cities have a massive structure (centre, zones) the suburban townscape follows the mobility pathways. The idea of the 'space of flows' of Manuel Castells could help to understand those new spaces (Fig. 1).

Garden City and suburbanization

Suburbanization and the idea of garden cities are two different phenomena. Despite the similarities (both oppose the industrial town of the 19th century, both aim at decentralizing large towns, both idealize rural life as opposed to the urban), their forms are fundamentally different. The garden city movement goes back to late 19th century England. It aimed to establish suburban towns around the large cities (first of all, around London) with comprehensive functions: residence, gardening (agriculture), middle-size industry and craftwork, recreation, church, schooling etc. (Hall 1996, Stern et al. 2013). The movement contradicted not only the form of contemporary (late 19th century) major towns but their very existence. It sought for the diffusion of the population and for the evocation and passing on of traditional social forms. The movement was typically organized top-down, from intellectuals (architects like W. H. Lever, E. Howard, R. Unwin) to the average man.

In the 20th century, the idea of the garden city became a coherent part of urban design, however, the original principles had changed a lot. The target areas were no longer only the suburbs, but built-up areas as well. Here, in the inner parts of towns, developers created vertical garden towns (high-rise buildings) to eliminate residential density. The building of prefabricated blocks of flats placed in a green environment is one of the outcomes of the garden city movement (Meggyesi 2005). Another palpable outcome of regional

planning is that in order to relieve the large cities, the developers started to establish satellite suburban towns. The two outcomes (vertical garden cities and suburban satellite towns) could naturally interlock: most new suburban towns after the WWII followed the architectural idea of vertical garden cities. The original anti-large-city attitude of the movement lost its legitimate drive with time and its urban planning ideas rather served the development of large cities, partly even into the surrounding areas (Hayden 2004, Hall 1996).

In effect, the latter got combined with another spatial process: with suburbanization. Suburbanization – although it also had European traditions – came into being in North America and it was imported after WWII into Europe as a life style pattern (Baum–Snow 2007, Bentmann–Müller 1970). The urban development in North America occurred in essentially different circumstances. North America in the 18th century contained vast territories for free use, while in Europe, nearly all estates had been in possession since the Middle Ages (Lichtenberger 1998). Thus, the North American city development occurred as a permanent expansion into its surroundings. The classical (18th century) North American town had a very weak centre, a 'main street' and the settlement itself dissolved into the townscape. So, the appearance of modern suburban townscape had its historical patterns in the heroic age of North American history (Rifkind 1977, Kazepov 2004).

The historical-cultural heritage of suburbs is very important, because this is what determines the narratives about ideal American citizens. These narratives show us a 'farmer in his own estate' (individual rights – own house), and this farmer is also politically active, he takes part in local issues (Schlesinger 1961). Thanks to the architect and statesman, Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) this ideal became a guiding principle in regional and urban planning (Wills 2008). 'New-England' was divided into a grid system, and the towns and cities followed this very simple system as well. The plots were built up with detached villas and economic buildings. This loose townscape had projected the suburban townscape forming after 1920. Of course, the suburbanization after 1920 no longer aimed at agricultural activity.

One of the most significant theoreticians of modern suburbanization was F. L. Wright (1867–1959, Nicholson 1963). He reckoned Thomas Jefferson as the intellectual father of ideal cities. Wright connected the technical development (automobile) and the romantic idea of living in nature. He believed that the everyday mobility from the cottage near to nature (residence) to large cities (work) would solve the problems of large cities. The architect definitely described the ideas of middle-class America here.

Another classical author, Lewis Mumford termed this trend the *fourth migration* (1925). In the fourth migration, the inhabitants move out from the densely built-up large cities into the surrounding rural areas.[4] Of course, the ideal America of Jefferson and the trends of the twenties had very different social backgrounds, but some similar values and circumstances exist: the idea of independence (including the family), openness for mobility, the ideal of rural life, and not least the low price of plots. A substantial difference however, is that modern suburbanization provides only residential functions and not those of production. While the historical North American townscape resembled a green carpet with scattered buildings, the suburban districts after 1920 and after the WWII produced a high density of family houses.

4 *'The first migration (1790–1890) cleared the land and settled the continent. The second migration (1830–1910) futted out natural and human resources and created the mean and chaotic industrial district. The third migration (1870–?) gathered population in New York and the twelve sub-metropolises.'* (Mumford 1935: 131)

Summarizing, we can assume that several factors lie behind the success of North American suburbanization. The cities did not have long histories, and the morphological and social traditions were not as rigid as those in Europe. On the other hand, the first generation of North American farmers received an identification motivation to own their land and their houses as well. Furthermore, the construction of railway networks differed between the two continents – the interference between urbanization and mobility is well known in urban history (Schivelbusch 1977). The lack of land in Europe demanded a fundamental change in the townscape to make place for embankments. It meant of course higher costs. It resulted in a more stable structure in both industrial cooperation (corporation of railway and state administration) and in morphological elements (tunnels, viaducts, and railway stations). The railways in North America could be built faster and more easily because of the available land. The embankments followed the morphology of the townscape, and there were fewer legal and social obstacles in the way of investment. One hundred years later, as the car and motorization sought its place in the townscape, it all happened inversely: the railways vanished more rapidly in North America than in Europe, and Americans changed their mobility habit more thoroughly than people in Europe, where the trains play a very important role in personal mobility until today.

Suburban networks between the Cities

The effect of mobility on suburbanization can hardly be overvalued (Baum–Snow 2007). Using a car offered an individual timetable and 'free choice' of residence for the people. Indeed, the trains also contributed to suburbanization. But the railways opened up the townscape in linear axes and made nodes around the stations. Thus, large areas between the railway lines remained green.[5] This is not the case when cars serve mobility: The family houses were no longer bound to railway stations, the built-up areas filled in the townscape around the cities (Downs 1999).

In the first phase of suburbanization (in North America about 1920–1960) only the residential function moved out from the inner cities. Since 1960–1970, more and more researchers have pointed out that not only the residential functions, but the complexity of urban life have started moving towards the outskirts: commercial buildings (malls and shops), medical centres, back offices, and even organs of state administration have settled in the suburbs, where plots are cheaper and administration and architectural planning easier (Archer 1973, Keil 1994). This process means that the nucleus of new urbanity is no longer the historical city itself but the suburbs (or at least there exists a duality between them). The urban regional geographer, György Enyedi (2011) emphasizes that the new city is not urban anymore in the classical way, but a 'rurban' society. Thus, after the phases of urbanization (moving into cites), suburbanization (moving into suburbs), desuburbanization (ascent of rural areas), a new phase has started in the last decades. It is not a classical re-urbanization (as it may seem at first sight, since the large cities in Europe are attracting people again), but the birth of a new age, where urban and rural areas melt together in agglomeration zones. Such agglomerations have been forming between the large cities along the highways. The suburban townscape integrates different functional units specialized in one function. There are the so-called 'thematic parks' for commerce, residence, and entertainment (including nature reservation areas for leisure, Lukovich 1990). The transport to and from

5 The famous Copenhagen, the 'Finger Plan' development plan could preserve this structure until today (Knowles 2012).

thematic parks requires the individual use of cars. The model of suburban agglomeration (also termed 'rurban areas') is a typical North American phenomenon, yet there are similar suburban townscapes in Europe – though less well-developed –, too (Szirmai 2011). German literature uses the word 'Zwischenstadt' ('inter-town') to describe this (Sieverts 1997).[6]

Thus, the formation of the suburban townscape has followed North American models (Fishman 1987). Its distribution in Europe shows a west to east orientation. Pierre Bourdieu (2002) wrote his thesis about family houses and their social effects, like the social disintegration of the housewife who spends her 'life' sitting in her car. The great escape from large cities to suburbs happened in Austria only in the seventies and eighties, while in Hungary only in the late nineties (Burdack–Herfert 1998).[7]

Obviously, suburbanization depends not only on the geographical position in the region (Csurgó et al. 2012). The most important factor is the size and density of the classical cities and towns: the most developed suburban townscapes occur around the metropolises, while small towns often do not have suburban structures.[8] Historical heritage plays an important role as well. The cities with large green territories within their administration can cover up the desuburbanization, because people do not appear in the main statistics. However, the inner suburbanization does not fundamentally differ in lifestyle and effects on urbanity from the classical situation, when people leave the administrative borders of the cities.

To sum it all up, it can be pointed out that there are qualitative differences between the classical suburbanization and the suburban townscape that has developed in the last decades. The first one refers to the moving out of the middle class (and later some industrial and commercial utilities), while the suburban townscape refers to the fundamental change between urban and rural areas, to the shaping of a rural area (Zwischenstadt), with special elements (like thematic parks) and networks (highways) and not least, a new lifestyle (based on using a car and living in a family house).

(3) Space of flows: the structural phenomena of suburb townscape

The suburban townscape does not contradict another contemporary process: the renaissance of some global cities (in Europe for example: Brussels, London, Copenhagen, Frankfurt M or Vienna, (Less 2008, Matznetter–Musil 2011). The concepts about the 'global city' allow for the interpretation of all issues from the view of a 'global network" of cities and capitals (Kunzmann 1996,Sassen 2001). Manuel Castells (1989) is one of the most cited authors regarding his theory on the 'Space of flows'. Castells' starting point is the revolution in

6 As reaction to the suburbanization, it started a trend of overvaluing old historical townscapes. The rehabilitation of old urban structures has become a significant part of urban policies since the sixties, especially in Europe. Therefore, the formation of a suburban townscape does not necessarily mean the disappearance of old structures, but rather a symbiosis (Csanádi–Csizmady 2012).

7 Hungarian suburbanization has some special characteristics too. (1) in some cases it appears as motivation for agricultural activities (especially around Szeged or Debrecen, around the classical agrarian towns). (2) the suburbanization of lower classes, who do not choose the suburbs but are compelled to live there because they cannot afford an urban flat (Timár 1992).

8 In fact, suburbanization has a specific Eastern European version that likely occurs elsewhere, like North America, but researchers have observed it in our region. Part of the population moving in the city is unable to settle in the city because of high plot prices, and they find a home in the peri-urban villages (suburbanization around Pest). The other phenomenon – intensifying after 1990 – affects people who cannot maintain their city apartments. The poor's "suburbanization" is not the subject of this study however (Timár–Váradi 1999).

communication technology and the revolution of mobility (cheap flying), which brings about a global network of cities and societies. In the nodes of the networks there are the most powerful cities like New York, Tokyo, or London, and not only the cities themselves but their networks.

The space of flows is not only an abstract theory about the information age but it helps understand post-modern urban design and society behind the curtains: *'Seeing, that capitalism in the information age sets up the space of flows, moreover that the flowing space connects the most valuable (local) sites in the world and abstracts them from their social and cultural backgrounds; therefore the post-modern architecture concentrates not on a venture but on objects like airports, conference centres, hotels and office buildings'* (Lukovich 1990: 79 – translated by author from Hungarian). The new urban networks – developing partly in the suburbs along the roads and airports – can absorb the historical settlements as well. The economy often employs these as tourist attractions. The tourist's place in historical urban townscapes is part of global city networking (Rypkema 2005).

Noteworthy is that the global city networks (space of flows) do not aim to fill the grounds. This is the difference between the global urbanization patterns and the former (also existing) national urban networks. The latter (19th century) ventured to establish hierarchical structures on the whole territory of the national state: it also supported urbanization in regions lacking economic background, unlike global networks (Matznetter–Musil 2012). The capital has its own way. The result is that many such regions cannot connect to the energies of the global networks (but at the same time they suffer the concurrences of global trades on the local market). These regions are not only actually far away from the nodes, but – even though communication creates abstract places – physically very near to global networks (inner peripheries – like a little village at the highway, in which village an own car is too expensive for local people).

The present agglomerations are a mixture of groups of settlements that are part of global networks (space of flows) and groups that are outside. There exists no communication between the two societies. It seems that the space of flows has replicated classical capitalism on a global perspective. The suburban townscape is therefore a materialization of segregation. The middle class creates a suburban townscape here definitely closed against outsiders (see: closed communities, closed highway roads, controlled parking garages etc.), and constructs a utopia of social welfare and security.

Methodology: sociological interpretation of townscape

It is not easy to make empirical questions from the theoretical concepts above. At first, behind the theories one can guess the empirical experiences of scholars gained in a specific social-urban environment (mostly in North America). It is a general problem of the 'sociology of knowledge', but special dilemmas arise when sociological methods like the observation or visual analyses of observed townscapes are employed. Moreover, how can the instances of great theories about global trends be adopted in a case study about local issues? The macro-micro issues of urban process do not automatically overlap with each other. Let us only refer to the local elites, who do not necessarily contribute to global networks or historical heritage, local conflicts, state and mentality borders: all can have their own independent interpretations.

Furthermore, the question arises: what should the observation element be in the case of Komárom? The suburban townscape is a phenomenon between towns. Therefore, Komárom should become part of a greater agglomeration area. On the other hand however, the paper wants to present the micro milieu of a small town. Consequently, the classical suburbanization discourses should be recalled for the duality of urban and rural lifestyles.

And last but not least it is important to stress that the paper deals with a special methodological approach, based on the observing of 'stories' telling through 'space'. This architecture sociological methodology is different from the classical approach of cognitional sociology, in wich not the space itself lays in the focus but the narratives about the space (Delitz 2009).

In fact, all the dilemmas helped in forming the first research question:

(1) Can we speak in the case of Komárom about a suburban townscape, or is it adequate to speak only about classical suburbanization? To answer the question it is necessary to investigate the relationship between the historical town and its suburbs at first, and next to understand the structure of suburban zones: is it only a residential area or is it more complex with other functions? The employed method was to analyse historical maps and development plans. In that context it is also important to show, that Komárom is a divided twin town.

(2) The second question belongs more in historical circumstances: what were the special conditions (townscape, historical heritage, and social trends) to form the suburban area? To answer these questions the documents of the planning history had to be collected (local archive) and interviews with people conducted.

The empirical results are part of a larger research activity which focuses on the space and society of divided twin towns in Hungarian- Slovakian border region.[9] One of the investigated sites without this project is Komárom-Komárno. The phenomen of suburbanization is in this project one but not the most important aspect. The investigation of Koppánymonostor within the town structure was a choice after making the first interwiews and field research in 2015 (methodology see below). It is a fact that a large part of the whole townscape of Komárom shows up a suburban character. But in the interviews, two parts of the town were named where people 'move out to'. Both are situated on the outskirts of the town: Koppánymonostor and Szőny. Both have their own structures and milieus. Koppánymonostor was not part of the administration area of the town until the twenties, while Szőny was not until 1977. Szőny moreover was itself a market town, and has local patterns and a historical identity more or less independent from that of Komárom. People differentiate between Komárom and Szőny even today. Whereas, Koppánymonostor can be interpreted as vineyards and summer cottages on the outskirts of Komárom for hundreds of years or even more (however, until 1920 it belonged rather to the present Komárno SK). The original number of 500–600 inhabitants in Koppánymonostor (in 1920–1930) has increased rapidly since the seventies, today it is 2600. Koppánymonostor has the highest proportion of children (under 18 = 21%, in Komárom while Szőny has only 15%), which reflects the typical suburban society (numbers: www.komarom.hu 11.06.2011).

9 The research is supported by OTKA (Hungarian Scientific Research Fund), Nr. PD 108532, 2015–2017.

The case of Koppánymonostor got an actuality through the fact that a new bridge is under construction between Koppánymonostor and the North twin town Komárno. Because this bridge will be the most important change in the divided townscape since 1990, it was logical to undertake some special investigation in the suburbs.

The most important sources were found in the local archives (Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Levéltár, Komáromi Fióklevéltár), where the documents of urban planning from 1900 to 1990 are stored. The urban planning process of Koppánymonostor started from the sixties, as the regional plans defined this territory as a touristic-recreation area. The urban design plans allowed a systematic reconstruction of the development of space from the touristic-recreation area until today.

The other method used was the survey about visual milieus in the field. The views of streets were photographed and the also the typical use of plots, gardens, and houses. The visual analyses of the local milieu allowed understanding the most important values of the people: the traditional gardens (orchards) go back to the late seventies, the house type around the years of 1980 and 1990 show an internationalizing without international market products. After 2000 one finds the house products of international brands (often incorporated into an 'American House', see: Kapitány 2000). The field research about local milieus is also one of participative observation. This method of the research principally exposes the apparent processes of town usage. Its significance lies in incorporating the in situ character of the action: which social groups use the suburban space and to what extent, and how does commutation happen between the people. The suburban townscape has a very characteristic use of space, in which mobility by car plays the central role.

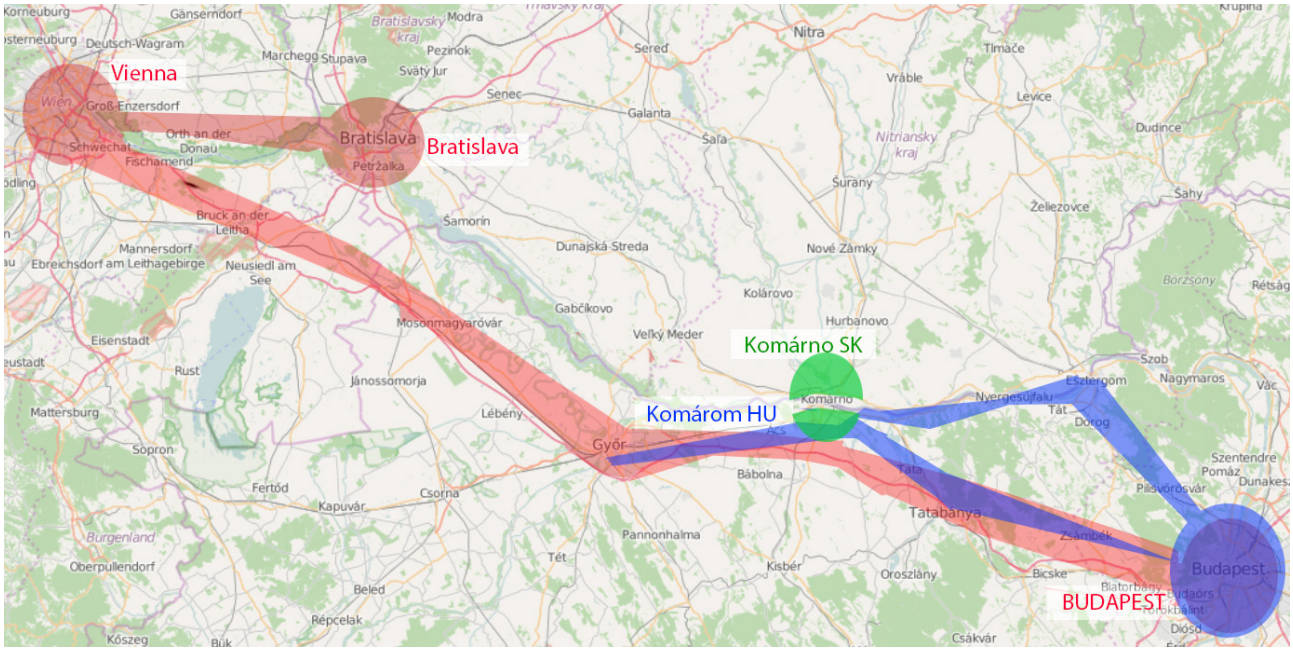
The third part of sources comprises the interviews with local people. Most of the interviewed people do not have a residence in Koppánymonostor (total number: 16 interviews). Some of the interviewed people are or were stakeholders in the local community, mostly in cultural life (6 interviews). The rest of the interviews give the word to local people in the neighbourhood (4 in Komárno, 3 in Hungarian Komárom and only 3 in Komárom-Koppánymonostor). The polled local people show a very mixed social character but most of them (7) belong to the older generations (older than 50 years). The interviews chiefly served to expose town usage and ideas about the town. As mentioned above, the interviews are part of a larger project about twin towns, thus the suburbanization was not a central subject. This also means that the interviews are not the core sources of the empirical study below. They are much more the analyses of urban planning and the field research about visual milieus.

Regional position of Komárom

The regional position of Komárom in the evolving suburban townscape can be examined from three aspects. The first is how the city is connected to the national urban network, whose centre point is Budapest. The second aspect is its position in the developing axis of Vienna, Bratislava, Győr and Budapest. A third aspect is the relation between the twin towns of Komárom (HU) and Komárno (SK). All three aspects will appear in a historical perspective (Fig 2).

The formation of a national network of towns dates back to the 19th century. The rapid industrialization of Budapest made the capital's leading position unquestionable (Beluszky–Győri 2005). The concentration of

Fig. 2. Geographical networks of Komárom. Blue: the national hierarchy.
Red: The Vienna-Bratislava-Budapest developing axes (city agglomeration, space of flows).
Green: the divided twin town: Komárom (HU) – Komárno (SK).
Map: Open Street Map



energies onto Budapest stalled small towns like Komárom. For example, while the trade on the Danube served the development of several regional small towns (including Komárom) at the beginning of the 20th century, only Budapest attracted effective national and international capital. The central administration of the national state tried to compensate for the economic disadvantages with public investments: administrative buildings, bridges, even factories were constructed in Komárom. Yet, all of them depended on the core of the urban network, Budapest.

After 1920, the core parts of Komárom went to Czechoslovakia (Komárno SK). The rest (Hungarian Komárom) was only a former suburb, which needed even more investments to ensure its position within the new state borders (Fig. 3). But the regional administration preferred places where the conditions for development were more favorable, so that was Esztergom until 1945, and it has been Tatabánya since 1945. The new administration taking shape until the sixties inherited the name of Komárom but did not accept the site as a central place. Komárom became only a local principal town at the edge of two industrial zones: one around Tatabánya, the other around Esztergom and along the Danube. The regional plans of the seventies designate Komárom for service functions (residency and recreation) supporting the industrial zones. Thus, in the national urban network Komárom has a strictly defined position even today (see Tamáska 2015).

However, the change of regime after 1990 modified the inherited network positions. The large multinational companies' choice for plant sites moved from west to east. As a result, Győr has become the main host for the capital moving from Vienna to Budapest (Hardi 2013). Komárom was already rather oriented towards Győr than towards Tatabanya in the millennium years, while the attraction of Budapest has not diminished.

Fig. 3. Map of divided twin town: Komárom–Komárno. Source: Open Street Map

Taking in a wider dimension, geographical research in Central Europe has identified a banana-shaped development region forming all the way from Poland to Slovenia, whose most important power centre is currently Vienna (Andrusz et al. 1996). Although Budapest tried to define itself as the Balkan gateway after 1990, Vienna has eventually taken up this role. The Austrian capital has become a regional distribution centre for multinational capital and the centre of the emerging agglomerations (Rechnitzer–Tóth 2014, Szirmai–Fassmann 2012).

Komárom is more in a peripheral position in the emerging international space. The strategic points of international flow of space, such as airports, major industrial and financial centres are relatively far away and difficult to reach (Székely 2007, Sikos–Tiner 2008). Komárom in the late nineties seemed to enter into the multinational production structure successfully. The company giant, Nokia opened a factory in 1999 and attracted more businesses into the industrial park. However, its closure in 2013 has highlighted the ambiguity and vulnerability of the occupational structure in Komárom.[10] While it occupies a strategic position as a district seat (school city) in the national urban hierarchy, it is in the internal periphery of the agglomeration areas between Budapest–Vienna (and Bratislava).

As a final point, the question arises whether the Győr–Vienna–Budapest development axis brings about a suburban townscape according to the identified economic indicators (POLYCE 2012). If the North American and Western European agglomerations are the standards, the answer is clearly not, because the issuer cities in our region are inherently less dense, hence the physical limitations also determine suburbanizational merging. The structure of the smaller county towns, especially district seats do not require suburbanization. These towns

10 The fall in the numbers of flats shows the position of Komárom in the new regional hierarchy: 2001: 8,749 and 357 flats unhabited. 2011 only 8,533 but 671 unhabited (Data from KSH – Hungarian Statistical Office).

have enough building plots within their territories. However, for a small town like Komárom, the loosening of the town's internal structure is much more significant, which apparently follows the 'American way of life' patterns, but the extent is less and the effect is less intense.

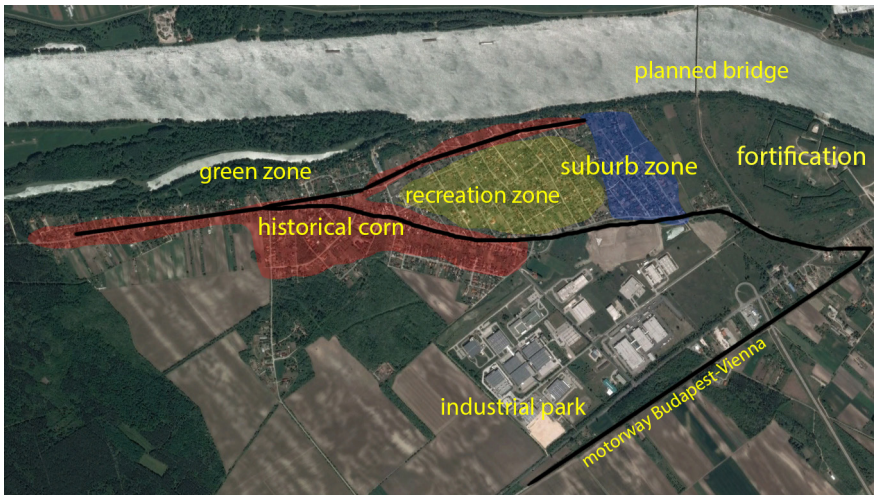
The border situation of Komárom is a special phenomenon. The present spatial structure of Komárom was conceived in constraint, hence the centre is weakly deployed, similarly to the townspeople's ambiguous identity. *'About Komárom (HU) there is nothing to mention, only that there are two of them (Komárom in HU and SK)'* – as one of the interviewees put it succintly. Another strong statement reflects on the relationship of new Komárom (HU) and the historic Komárno (SK): *'There is history there (SK), work here (HU).'* The relationship between the two towns is one of juxtaposition. Although the north and the south towns could constitute a medium-sized town of nearly 60,000 inhabitants, the towns do not work as one organism (Sikos–Tiner 2008). Almost all the interviewees felt this way, and some draw mental maps that typically featured only their riverbank. The two twin towns' separate development already began between the two world wars. The railway in the south, the shipyard (and its extension) in the north did not only cut the towns off from the Danube, but also from each other. The ideological differences between the first Czechoslovak Republic and the truncated Kingdom of Hungary created different mentalities for their intellectual elites by the end of 1930s, despite the same ethnicity. The process really culminated after 1945. The population exchange increasingly affected Komárno's (SK) intellectual elite, whose prominent members often wrote the history of all of Komárom, while already having work and residence in Komárom (HU). Meanwhile in Komárno (SK) shipyard developments generated a specific workers society with a significant immigrant population (Vajda 2014).

Although there had been some cross-river employment through personal contacts in the local factories, people (women in the southern flax mill and men in the northern shipyard) and shopping tourism had picked up, until 1990 the two towns lived in isolation from one another. Several conditions hinder the merger of the twin towns Komárom–Komárno, like the morphological distance between the two towns, difference in legal environment and in social identities. Andrea Székely writes this in her essay on integration evaluation. *'Overall, we can say that in the case of Komárom (HU) and Komárno (SK), the process to become a morphologically uniform town – if it does take place – is at a very early stage'* (Székely 2007b: 23). However, in some areas, the two towns' inclusion is quite palpable: culture (Jókai Theatre, Komárno Days – SK), whereas the most obvious cultural heritage and tourism development should be the fortress, which has buildings element on both banks of the Danube. However the culture heritage management of the fortress has only started on the Hungarian side so far.[11]

The other area is commercial services. Almost all interviewees said that the 'big shopping' (that is, shopping by car) is a major motivation for cross-border traffic. One interviewee said: *'The town centre at the moment is the Tesco store, where people get together and there is always a friend'.* Contemplating the previous example, we may ask what examples the cross-border urban structure follows. Researchers investigating the town's socio-spatial relations typically look for public spaces in the historic old town and along its bridge. Undoubtedly, it would be historically justified. However, it takes place in parallel with another process

11 See a list about the Cross-Border projects: http://www.husk-cbc.eu/en/financed_projects/, 20.06.2016.

Fig. 4. Zonas in Komárom-Koppánymonostor. Photo: Google Earths



that interweaves the town in a non-traditional sense, in theme parks typical of the suburban townscape. Koppánymonostor is one of the strongest urban areas of this emerging suburban townscape that could merge with the north bank via the planned bridge where similar processes take place.

Vine grove becomes suburban townscape

The Koppánymonostor settlement was destroyed in Turkish times and revived in the 18–19th centuries as vineyards (Basahegy, Sandberg).[12] Wealthy families of Komárno (SK) who owned them held famous festivals here like on the Elizabeth Island (Kriegsinsel) opposite. Besides the civil summer villas, the image of the vineyards was rather poor. A good indicator of the economic value of the local vineyards is that the vineyard society disbanded in 1929 for lack of revenue. By then the majority of the area belonged to Komárom township municipally, but it lay in isolation, as the bastion of Fort 'Monostor' blocked it from the inner city (Fig. 4).

The development of the area started in the 1960s.[13] The socialist industrialization policy, the construction of blocks of flats and the designation of recreation areas were simultaneous, complementary processes in Komárom as well as all over the country: *'… industrial workers (…) have an apparent demand for waterfront holidays, which necessitates us to prepare a detailed development plan for the area designated in the general development plan'* – explained the regional planners (translated by the author).[14]

As prospective users of the resort area, the urban planner marked the rural recereaction zona east of the city and boat tours from Czechoslovakia as well (while due to the nearby border, fishing from a boat was subject to a special permit). The plan referred to the example of the Lake Balaton holiday area that involved hotels and camping sites to serve the masses, as well as weekend cottages for individual (family) recreation. The

12 There are no works in English or in any international languages. See the sources of historical data about the site in Tamáska 2016, or in the local journal 'Koppánymonostori Kalendárium' 1998, 2000, 2001 (the articles in that journal are based mostly on oral histories and personal memories).

13 See Archive Document: Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Levéltár, Komáromi Fiók: RT/21 (1970), RT/22 (1961), RT 23 (1965-1966), RT/24 (1981-1986).

14 Regional Development Plan: nr. RT/23 (1965–1966).

Fig. 5. Old vernacular structure (a relic before the development plans of 1960)

development plan outlines three zones accordingly. The coastal strip stretches along the high bank of the Danube to serve mass demand with a wharf and a camping site. The hills with vineyards near the town were intended for individual holidaymakers. In between the two, larger corporate resorts would have been located. The resort area of Komárom-Koppánymonostor has obviously never reached the level of Lake Balaton, it rather offers facilities for people moving out of the town. Only one of the interviewees lived in this area in the eighties. He claimed that the neighbourhood had 'changed a lot', in his time there had hardly been any houses in the area. The suburban migrants' typical narrative is true, as the size and density of built-up areas have spectacularly increased. However, already in the 1960s, Koppánymonostor's traditional structure had surfaced. The streets already built-up show two linear axes: Koppányvezér Road leading to the town and bypassing Fort Monostor (a closed military area for a long time), and the Danube Row running parallel to the Danube (Fig. 4).

The Koppányvezér Road is an 'ancient street' of Koppánymonostor. The property portfolio of the main road leading to the town still mostly consists of traditional buildings due to the relatively heavy car traffic, and the exchange and renovation of the housing stock are happening slowly (Fig. 5). However, the smaller side streets of traditional layout show a mixed picture everywhere. The property prices vary from plot to plot according to the age and size of the house (www.otthoncentrum.hu, 24.05.2016, 24 houses on offer). Old farmhouses in need of repair go for 8-10 million forints (app. 30,000 Euro), family houses of 200 square meters with a driveway, built at the beginning of the 2000s, could reach 50 million (app. 150,000 Euro). The properties between these extremes were typically built between 1970–2000, to a relatively modest design (with the appropriate facilities of that era) with a target price of around 20 million HUF (app. 60,000 Euro).

Another typical constructions of the town emerged in the resort area parceled out after the 1960s, the so-called Felső-gyepű row which had initially been designateded for corporate resorts, but eventually has become a closed garden area. This zone had transformed into a garden suburb of family houses before the political changes, and this process is still going on today (Fig. 6, Fig. 7). The old and new migrants' houses have very different styles, but still there exists no uniform construction: the plots are built up individually according

Fig. 6. Weekend house from the seventies-eighties

Fig. 7. New structure with garage on a former plot designed for summer resort houses

to the builder's taste. This informality reflects the individuality of suburban life. Nonetheless, neighbourly relations are much stronger here than in town: the people here are bound to know each other, and recognize a stranger from afar.

The collective control of the street suggests a strong sense of security, although the sense of security seems not to be the most significant for the suburban idyll: '*The most beautiful is the Danube bank, we go down there with the kids. But few appreciate it.*'– said a man who had just moved out from the centre with his family. In reality, the river is the natural element that has been the most important driving force for the development of the garden town and it remains so today (Fig. 8). It is a typical phenomenon that the suburbanization has a natural background and so a cultural and property value (Kovách et al. 2009). Even the 19–20th century villas

Fig. 8. The branch of the Danube. The attractive natural environment

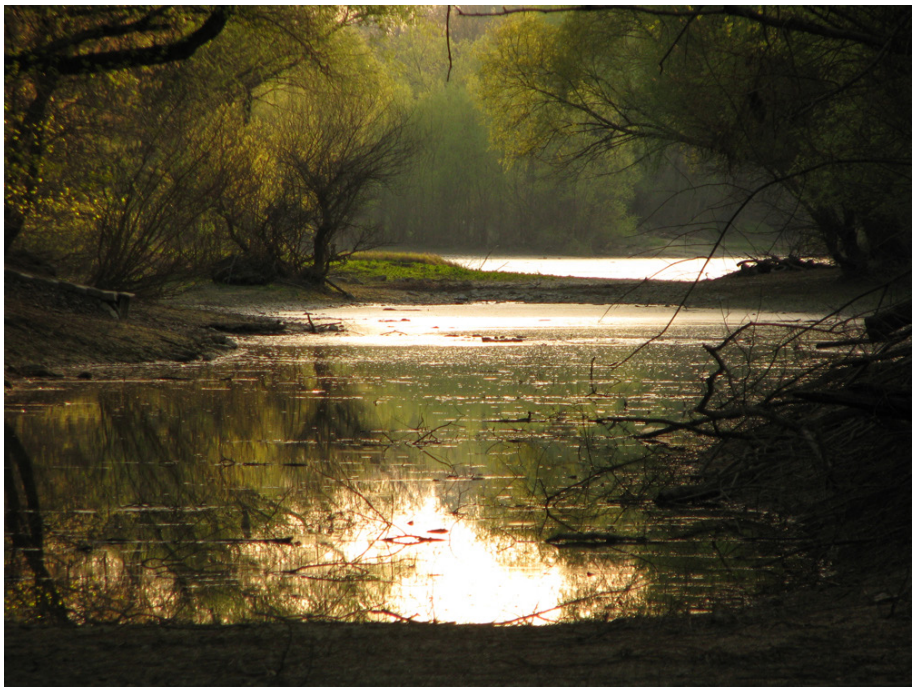


Fig. 9. Classical second-home villa (named Tuba-villa) from the late 19th century, with a view of the river

tried to take advantage of the Danube panorama, and today the most elegant family houses are situated on Danube Row (Fig. 9). They represent a very actual international style with a 21st century design language: 'neo-modern' (Fig. 10.). However, this area is not the richest part of Komárom. Therefore, only a few examples of contemporary architecture can be found. The strongest dynamic growth in the suburb occurs not in the streets that existed before 1990, but at the edges of the suburban zone. There are almost only new houses in the area next to the railway embankment. This territory was parcelled out at the end of the eighties but was only built up in the past decades (Fig. 11).

Fig.10. Modern building in international neo-modern style, with a view of the river

Fig. 11. New street lines, forming a typical suburban townscape

The question arises whether and to what extent the street milieus came near to the ideal 'North American' suburban townscape? To that purpose, a few street images and house-floor plans will be reviewed. Here it will be attempted to grasp the suburban townscape characteristics by the presence of cars for the sake of simplicity. The street image can be revealed at two points: (1) at the road system for car traffic (2) at the pronounced pattern of garages about houses. Regarding the first aspect, only one road (Koppányvezér Road) serves to access the area reaching to almost all the side streets (see again: Fig. 4). Furthermore, this road has developed from a historical street. Not typical in the North Americas, but in European suburbanization this occurs along former village main streets. Consequently, the oldest part with a strong identity suffers the utmost traffic load. The difference in property prices reflects this fragmentation of the area, which exists between the main road burdened by car traffic and the side streets. Indeed, the side streets typically are not suitable for through-traffic – because they were (originally) intended for the summer resorts. Today, however, those little narrow streets serve daily traffic. However, even the busier parts will access no more than 40–50 plots, which means that the traffic is not heavy.

Fig. 12. Family house in 'American style' with grassy garden

Turning to how the plots are built up, the study area will generally not appear to be the ideal type of the North American suburbia. The heritage of the recreation area and the closed garden still dominates most of the streetscapes: the streets are narrow and clad with green. The first development plan prescribed that trees be planted in the streets, as the gardens were then professionally cultivated. Even today, there are many fruit orchards, however, this active way of weekend life seems to be in retreat. The house renovations, housing constructions prefer a more puritan, grassy courtyard (Fig. 12). The fruit trees (because they need intensive care) are gradually replaced with evergreens. The most significant change, however, is the shift in scales as compared with the conventional constructions. Buildings of the 1960s and 1970s ranged from 60–100 square meters, today's buildings measure 130–170 square meters (see again: Fig. 6 and 7). Another crucial change is that the garage is becoming the central element. In some places the garage faces the street directly, elsewhere the garage is located in the middle of the garden, and the paved driveway becomes the dominant element of the garden.

Overall, the residential areas of the suburban townscape of Koppánymonostor are still in the first phase of suburbanization, where the traditional garden town, closed garden, and recreation elements mingle with house models, settlement organization, and lifestyle patterns that feed on US examples.

However, the suburban townscape consists not only of the garden town with family homes as indicated above. Koppánymonostor as the target area was also chosen, because the new urban townscape components are concentrated in close proximity: residential area, workplace, recreation area, cultural heritage. Komárom's industrial park was established in 1994 with direct connections to the main road. Despite the fact that the railway is just a few hundred meters away, sidings were not built (Fig. 13). The flourishing of the park is linked to NOKIA's local activities (1998–2014). Hence, the first decade of the 2000s produced the most intense development. Naturally, Komárom became an immigration target then; the housing construction was particularly high compared with the other towns of the county. The figures also show therefore, that the new type of industry and new residential areas – the two basic elements of the suburban townscape – are simultaneous tendencies. The third pronounced functional elements of the suburban townscape are the commercial centres accessible by car. Although this area is lacking today, when the bridge is completed,

Fig. 13. Back site of suburban townscape: the former rubbish dump and the block of an industrial park

Fig.14. The thematic park of culture-heritage: the Bastille (Fortification) 'Monostor' (Monsotori Erőd), from the north side

the Komárno (SK) – Komárom (HU) suburban ring will likely be completed too. Because, in the north, at the stretch of the outbound road to Bratislava, there is a very strongly developed suburban area with warehouse stores, and even back offices as well, including a university campus of relatively high prestige (relative to the town's size). The new bridge is planned for 2017; therefore it will be one of the most important infrastructural investments in the development of suburban townscape adapted to vehicle traffic, although impact studies rather emphasize the relieved load on the town center.

Finally, let us discuss the natural environment and cultural heritage that are the attractions in a suburban townscape. All of these are situated as functionally delimited parks. That is, Fort Monostor is not part of the garden town but lies next to it as its leisure park (Fig. 14). The same can be said for the Danube bank, which is more accessible by nature, as the garden town's main axis runs parallel (see again Fig. 8). However, the Danube bridge will considerably reduce its value. Nevertheless, this is precisely one of the main characteristics of the suburbanization moves: the biggest attraction is the proximity of the natural environment, which developments urbanize, even in a much more extensive way as compared with the historical centres.

Summary – Conclusion

The study above wanted to confront the idea of suburban townscape with the reality of a small Hungarian town. First of all, it has focused on the transitions between suburbanization and the suburban townscape. The suburban townscape is a phenomenon of the last four-five decades of North American Urbanism. It shows how the town is dissolving into the surrounding townscape, how the centre of urbanization is shifting from the historical town core towards the suburban zone. Instead of traditional structure of towns and cities, where the centre and periphery made up certain circles or zones, mobility axes, like motorways, airports, structure the suburban zone. Is seems that the traditional city is dissolving into a network of places.

However, European urbanization has other traditions than the North American. Thus, the suburban townscape has another character in Europe. The German terminology 'Zwischenstadt' (inter-town) shows the differences: it means an area, which depends upon the historical town centre and upon the historical use of the land. The 'Zwischenstadt' is home to back offices, logistics depots, residences or contemporary means of production, but it does not attract the completely urban life to itself.

The first question, whether the case of Komárom-Koppánymonostor is identical with North American type of suburban townscape is to answer negatively. The townscape forming today in Komárom-Koppánymonostor is much closer to the idea of 'Zwischenstadt', however, this is not the best definition of the process either. First, the suburban agglomeration in the region between Budapest and Vienna is not as extensive as to form a megalopolis. Consequently, small suburban micro regions emerge around each town centre. The development axis along the Budapest–Vienna traffic corridor can bring new elements into this regional structure but it cannot override it.

In Komárom as in many similar places in Hungary, a resort area development preceded suburbanization. Consequently, the structure, street access, plot system, and partly the social composition of the area show a mixture between the petty-bourgeois milieu typical of late socialism (e.g. 'do it yourself' around the house, joints, orchards – a production-oriented way of life) and the North American type of suburbanization (cars, courtyards for cars, large living spaces, storage rooms, garages – a consumption-oriented lifestyle).

At this point, we have arrived at our next question: what are the specific historical-social conditions, which influenced the suburbanization in Komárom-Koppánymonostor. The suburbanization process always links to the geographical conditions. The middle class prefers the antitheses of 'urban desert' where nature can be reached from the windows. Komárom started to shape an urban townscape with blocks of flats only in the late sixties of the 20th Century. The formation of the suburban townscape – or what we can compare with that in Koppánymonostor – goes back to this time. The industrial and logistical corridors in the town centre made access to the river impossible. However, this was not so in Koppánymonostor, where the Danube bank preserved its natural environment. The development plans designated a recreation zone here. From this zone after the 1990 changes and even more so due to the economic flourishing around 2000 a semi-suburban townscape emerged: detached family houses, thematic parks, like industrial parks, a cultural heritage park (fortification), natural reserve zones and mobility axes.

Fig.15. The planned bridge: the new axes of an evolving trans-border suburb townscape. Source: http://komarno.sk/docs/2006_04_26_interreg_29.jpg

These are all today only in an embryonic phase. It shows elements of an evolving suburban townscape but in no way is it be considered identical with a North American type of suburban townscape. The suburban transformation is by no means a closed chapter seeing today's trends. The most current part of this paper was about the construction process of a new bridge between Komárom-Koppánymonostor and Komárno (SK). Together with the middle-class lifestyle patterns outlined in the interviews (house, car, nature-friendly house, consumption) it predicts that Koppánymonostor will be only one part of a twin town trans-border suburban townscape in time stretching to the northern side across the bridge (Fig. 15). The often-mentioned integration of the two twin towns (Komárom HU – Komárno SK) therefore will occur not (only) or primarily in the historical cores, but in the suburban areas around the new bridge. In that case, the suburban zones will get a wider dimension, in their morphology as well as in their economic potential and they will move closer to the North American patterns.

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Local Food as an Agent of Regional Rural Development
Three Examples from the Małopolska Region in Poland

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Abstract

The article presents current issues and research problems concerning the problems of food in the area of sociology and other social, humanistic, and political sciences. Since the lack of analytical approaches other than the traditional division between scientific disciplines, the authors suggest a new approach based on the reviewed literature, namely: the so called intra-human and extra-human approaches. In this paper the authors use the extra-human approach combined with the neo-endogenous perspective to analyze three empirical cases of the following regional products, namely: oscypek cheese, zatorski karp (local pound fish), and lisiecka kiełbasa (regional sausage).

Key words: food studies, rural development, neo-endogenous development, regional food, food chains

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Three Examples from the Małopolska Region in Poland

Some Introductory Remarks

Food seems to be an object of interest and study in many disciplines; for instance, one extensive international collection of papers published recently (Albala 2014) contains various perspectives and frames (humanistic, social, and political ones). All of these perspectives also incorporate some anticipation about the new agricultural research agenda in the current century (Kirschenmann 2014: 364–370).

Food might also be considered in various broader contexts related to forming the agenda of current social analyses, such as: politics and power; the nature and geography of malnutrition; globalization and development; national and sub-national perspectives; conflict and hunger; food and security; as well as some alternative visions (Young 2012). It is also worth emphasizing that major change in the contemporary world's food system might be treated as an effect of the current wave of globalization. As Young puts it: *'Corporate globalization has transformed the way food is produced and where it is produced. It has also transformed the type of food consumed and, frequently, where it is consumed. The global food business is very concentrated, and a great deal of power rests with a few global corporations who dominate the global food chain'* (Young 2012: 144–145).

It is not an exaggeration to say that social conflicts resulting from the globalization of the food industry are both directly and indirectly responsible for food insecurity. Such conflicts are usually rooted in deep structural and geopolitical contexts resulting in the growing wave of refugees having limited access to healthy food (or even any kind of food at all). In such a context food also has to be treated as an important element of national sovereignty and security. Food is also used in many situations as a kind of weapon as well to put pressure on other actors in international relations. Based on these considerations we conducted some research to show the role of regional foods in the processes of regional development. In all cases presented below the regional products seem to be perceived as an important tool to stimulate a bottom-up approach to rural development. In each case one might observe the historical component bringing the product to the tradition of the particular locality. In this context each product is legitimized because of its tradition and quality, as well as its targetting towards the consumers, who are mainly tourists coming to the particular area. Local producers and local communities seem to meet requirements of extra-local (global) consumers, mainly global tourists, including those with postmodern personalities looking for new feelings and impressions concerning culinary tastes (Bauman, 1993). Three local products presented above in this paper can be found on the list of regional products issued by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. Their certificates can in fact impact the choices of consumers seeking authentic products.

Perspectives, frames and themes in food studies in social sciences: some major messages

Coming back to the anthropology of food, the role of cooking in human evolution has been discussed extensively. Moreover, anthropologists have been focused on several other areas, notably archaeological investigations of feasting, historical studies of global commodity trade, and in-depth analyses of the food ways in various communities (Dirks–Hunter 2014: 3). It seems however, that sociologists have taken a much broader perspective in food studies.

Let us start with McIntosh (2014: 14–26), who sketches the panorama of historical studies, including the evolution of food consumption and family as well as cultural conflicts related to it. Then food studies contribute to the development of sociological theories. Several such theories have been mentioned, namely: agency theory, sociology of culture, social problems, social capital, and the family and social movements. In each case one might observe the analyses of various types of actors' (producers, processors, retailers, consumers, etc.) behaviour concerning different aspects of food problems. Moreover, the issues of production and especially those of consumption have been taken into consideration in the context of particular cultures treated as social tools dealing with various aspects of food problems. Some sociologists (Albala 2014, Goodman–DuPuis–Goodman 2014, Rosset 2006) further argue that food has become an important part of both social capital and social problems. Discussions of food and social problems deal on the one hand with issues of food scarcity and malnutrition, and on the other with diets and obesity experienced in many developed societies. When food issues are linked to social capital the role of food in the context of social relations is highlighted. There are also references to food security and trust in the area of market relationships in neighbourhoods and communities. In the light of the growing lack of trust in food offered by global retail networks, neighbourhoods and communities seem to be becoming a kind of trustworthy frame of food production and consumption. Families also seem to constitute an important 'food frame,' which is related not only with food production, but even more so with food consumption. Within this context one might discuss cooking, family meals, meal rituals, as well as roles of particular family members in the processes of meal cooking and serving. The issues of the diminishing importance of family meals, being replaced by 'eating outside of the home', have also been considered here. Food production and food consumption have been perceived as important issues by various types of social movements, both the traditional ones mainly focused on economic contexts of basic, and so-called healthy food accessibility, as well as new social movements dealing with some cultural and social issues of food, as exemplified by the Slow Food Movement.

The role of cooking food is also quite important in food studies. As Wrangham (2009) argues: *'(…) cooking food made digestion easier and so the human gut could grow smaller compared to other non-human primates. The enormous energy previously spent on digestion then allowed the human brain to grow larger'* (Cargill 2014: 41). Considering that, one might argue that the advantages of cooking food were not only limited to biological conditions of humans but also helped to develop their social and cultural abilities. The sociological overview should additionally include food studies, some studies on obesity, and poverty should also be added to the larger picture (for example Drewnowski 1996, see also: Cargill 2014: 42).

Nutritional anthropology is another conceptual and theoretical framework that should be presented

here. As Chrzan (2014: 48) stresses: *'Nutritional anthropology traditionally has been defined as a combination of biological and cultural paradigms, which jointly are considered to determine food choice, consumption, and resulting nutriture.'* Such a perspective shows that nutritional anthropology seems to be a kind of multidisciplinary approach to food issues. However, on the other hand, some social dimensions seem to be stressed by many authors. For Pelto, Goodman and Dufour (2000), nutritional anthropology deals with extreme omnivory, cooking as a specific human activity (compared to other primates, not to mention other animals), complex and carefully arranged systems of food distribution, as well as systems of food preferences and prohibitions. The latter issues are related to systems of belief and other social regulations pertaining to diets. This is also connected to the archaeology of food, which focuses on several historical aspects of food issues within human societies, such as the results of first farming practices, the domestication of various animals and its effect on human diets, and the growing appetite for sweets, fatty foods, spicy foods, alcoholic beverages and the like (Moore 2014: 74–75).

Another frame has been connected to the studies on journalism. For Rosner and Hesser (2014: 89) food journalism *'(…) is a tremendously diverse category of nonfiction that is only minimally defined by genre or format; instead it applies to any sort of writing that deals with matters of food, cooking, food production, food culture, and the dozens of nooks and crannies in those categories.'* Moreover, the authors say that such nonfictions might be a historical component or a type of instruction for anybody. They might also be humorous, critical, memoir-driven or even inspirational. However, what is important is that such writing cannot have an academic character and must be directed to a lay readership. Then, one should stress that food journalism might itself be an object of academic study, a kind of discourse that can be taken into consideration by social scientists and/or humanities academics conducting research on food issues.

The next humanistic perspective has focused on culinary history. As Albala (2014: 114) puts it simply, culinary history theorizes about the past via food practices. Further issues such as gender, class, race, ethnicity, and other social and cultural dimensions, which can be observed in human society, should be taken into consideration as well. While culinary history has been dominated by the so-called Western traditions, contemporary authors also include the role of African, Asian, Muslim, etc. culinary history in the contemporary globalized world. *The cultural history of food* (Valenze 2014) focuses on major historical and cultural changes in which food plays a rather supplemental role. In turn, the perspective of culinary history directly deals with changes concerning food production, eating etiquette, table manners, and so on. Another perspective known as 'philosophy and food' has some similarities to the issues mentioned above. As Heldke (2014: 135) frames it: *'Philosophy has only recently begun the formal study of food, although philosophers have been discussing food since Plato (…) questions of humans' relations to food have arisen quite naturally, even necessarily, for theorists challenging a certain historical prejudice against the body, practice, ordinary everydayness, and temporality'.* The aesthetic significance of food has been given special consideration under this frame. Moreover, some other authors have focused on issues of eating as a social event and on recipes, developing some theoretical approaches to reasoning as well as emotions. Moreover, philosophers have been welcome in public discussions concerning food, especially pushing these debates beyond just moral dichotomies. Therefore, philosophical debate has reached beyond simple moral issues: organic foods or genetically modified foods. As Heldke (2014:

136) concludes: *'Philosophy best contributes to public conversations about food not by solving or resolving ethical or aesthetic conundrums, but by problematizing the terms of those conundrums'.*

The next perspective contains food and theology issues. Let us start with the statement by Grumett (2014: 159): *'Current work on food and theology is indebted to prior development in religious studies, social anthropology, and sociology'.* This rather broad perspective points out three major elements characterizing this particular approach to food studies. The first one is connected to the already mentioned perspectives of sociology, anthropology, as well as culture. In this particular case theological perspective gives an additional dimension to food studies, namely: a kind of supernatural aspect to food practices treated as a peculiar aspect of human activities both historically and presently. The second one seems to be related to the sacred aspect of eating. For example, in the Christian tradition it might be the event of the last supper. That had not only an aspect of togetherness, i.e. having a meal during an important moment of Jewish tradition, but also started a particular rite in the Christian tradition. The last of these elements has to do significantly with food production. Quite unsurprisingly the role of farmers has been emphasized in theological and religious studies as those who take care of the land and also share the responsibility to feed others.

Under the humanities frame, the perspective of food and art has also been a subject of academic reflection. To quote Nygard who represents this perspective: *'Art is considered as a data set useful in the interrogation of food-related social history'* (Nygard 2014: 169). Three main areas of analysis may also be distinguished in this particular perspective. The first one has been strongly connected to some already mentioned perspectives of culture, history, literature and theology. Nevertheless, food is sometimes treated as a kind of piece of art, which brings us to the second component of this perspective. Here, one might appreciate the whole process of food preparation and serving during some social events, which might be somehow related to the process of artists producing various types of art. Moreover, the arts seem to be important in the processes of designing tools used for the serving and eating of food as well, namely the design of cups, jars, etc.

Two other perspectives address connections between food studies and film, as well as television. They have a lot in common with perspectives concerning food and culture as well as food and literature. As Bower and Piontek (2014: 177) explain: *'Throughout cinematic history, food has played a part in all kinds of films, frequently revealing aspects of characters' emotions, identities, cultural backgrounds, fears, and aspirations'.* In short, film is perceived here as an instrument for showing many social aspects of food production, cooking, as well as consumption/eating. A similar perspective has been developed in the studies concerning the relations between food and television. As Murray (2014: 187) frames it: *'The history of food on television is an old as the history of television itself. Descending from the cookery broadcasts of the radio era, food's enduring presence on television has been iterative yet varied, ranging from segmented on-air cooking demos and educational "how-to" programs to celebrity-infused food competitions and narrow-casted lifestyle television for the foodie niche'.* However, what is different in the case of television seems to lie in the planned efforts perceived in various shows, to suggest some particular food diets and habits that might be recognized as 'more healthy' than others.

The broad overview of food studies might point to at least two other perspectives. The first one is called 'interdisciplinary food studies' (Albala 2014: 199–291), while the second one is 'special topics in food studies'

(Albala 2014: 293–378). In fact, there is no visible or significant difference between the two parts of this frame. In the first one, the authors discuss food studies programs, relations between food and American studies, folklore, food museums, relations between food and law, food studies and gender issues, relations between culinary arts as well as food service management. The areas of food and cultural studies and popular culture as well as relations between food and race deserve mentioning here as well. In the second part, the main frame contained several academic reflections that encompass food justice, relations between food studies and animal rights, qualitative and mixed method approaches to the exploration of the social dimensions of food and nutrition security that were mentioned earlier in this paper. Other areas of interest include: school food, food in tourism studies, food and senses, food and agriculture, as well as food and ethics.

We are not able to explain in what sense these last two perspectives provide a different framework to food than some other perspectives also presented briefly in this paper. In each case food has been conceptualized and analyzed in a particular context, namely: culture, religion, philosophy, nutrition, race, linguistics (Buccini 2014: 146–158), film, history, archaeology, anthropology, sociology, communication, psychology (Cargill 2014: 39–47), public health (Spark 2014: 65–73), journalism, literature (Fitzpatrick 2014: 122–134) art, television, food and communication (Lizie 2014: 27–38) and many others. Therefore the question arises: can food studies somehow be systematized?

Food studies—two general traditions and two approaches

Food studies in rural sociology: American and European traditions

As already noted in this paper, significant sociological categories are used to describe numerous aspects of food phenomena. The humanistic or individual approach can be intertwined with broader social contexts in both European and U.S. perspectives that will briefly be described here.

Food studies have already established a strong presence in rural sociology, both in the United States and in Europe. While the American approach mostly focuses on community, citizenship, partnership, democracy, food-security, and globalization, European studies seem to prioritize theory. To some extent the bulk of both approaches combine theory with discussions underscoring the need for new, more suitable theoretical paradigms. Therefore we start our presentation with some examples from *Rural Sociology*, deeply connected with the American tradition, since that journal is an official periodical of the Rural Sociological Society (of North America).

The multidisciplinary approach is widely used in food risks assessment. Some authors have developed a model of interpersonal trust in the food system, taking into account estimates on pesticides, Salmonella and fat risks as well as psychometric and cultural characteristics of the study participants, and influences of modernity they had been exposed to. Knowledge and trust appeared to be significantly associated with the three threats mentioned above and the study results *'show that trust is an important determinant of risk perception even when people believe they have knowledge and control over risks (…); trust in the food system was negatively related to concern about pesticides,* Salmo-

nella*, and fat, suggesting that trust may alleviate some of the concern'* (Knight–Warland 2005: 272).

Food-system researchers may support the discussion on food security and to ensure it they may encourage various types of partnership within the food sector. Consumers in many developed countries are concerned about safety and the nutritional value of food, environmental degradation, and the treatment of employees. Sapp and co-authors (2009) describe the consumer trust theorem as based on the estimation of 55 structural equation models to explain trust and support and give suggestions for the development of public-private partnerships in the United States. The data used to test the theorem came from two nationwide samples of adults and dealt with five areas of the U.S. food system: food safety, nutrition, treatment of workers, environmental protection, and treatment of livestock. *'The finding that fiduciary responsibility outweighs competence in understanding public trust might have a significant implication for improving approaches to risk communication. That is, the results imply that making consumers aware of the skills and expertise of food industry actors might be a key element in gaining their trust'* (Sapp et al. 2009: 542).

Food insecurity can also be a subject of research in the context of group membership in a long-term perspective. In 2014, Dean, Sharkey, Nalty and Xu examined a sample of 1924 adults, aged 50 and older, in terms of the impact of intimate social capital, individual evaluations of community social capital, government capital, and interactions between social and government capital. It could be inferred that: *'Community social capital measured by individual perceptions of community life and civic quality increased with income'* (Dean et al. 2014: 524). Another important conclusion was that forms of social capital associated with food-security status varied over the three income stratification groups for older adults. Survey participants in rural areas relied on gardening, hunting, and fishing more than their counterparts in urban counties.

Empowering communities provides an important topic in the context of democracy and globalization. *'It is argued that the ways in which we view and structure work, generate and disseminate knowledge through science and technology, and produce, distribute, and consume food are essential factors affecting our self-identity and the empowerment of our communities'* (Lacy 2000: 3). This author discusses three areas of public work, science, and food systems with consideration given to production, distribution, and consumption of food. All those fields are crucial for building sustainable communities and a strong platform for citizens' public actions.

Social movement studies support research on alternative agrifood movements including those that focus on organics, fair trade, localism, farmers' markets, anti-GMO, animal welfare and, of course, the Slow Food movements. In turn, Friedland (2010: 601) uses the social theories of resource mobilization, strategic intervention, and structural parallelism to enhance academic discussion on these subjects. He calls for academics' involvement in agrifood movements, strongly emphasizing the significance of the activities of these movements and their ability to change how US consumers have perceived food since 1989 (Friedland 2010: 619).

In turn, the well-established periodical *Sociologia Ruralis* stresses the importance of more general theoretical issues. Quite unexpectedly, American authors claim that agrifood studies have the potential to discover points of convergence in the areas of social science and humanities, as indicated by recent research. For example, the theoretical approach should go beyond Actor-Network-Theory and commodity system analysis undertaking a historical overview of consumption studies. As the authors put it: *'There are many possible ways*

in which bridges between the sociology of food and agrifood studies could be built. In this respect, the current focus on knowledge systems in agriculture is extremely promising' (Goodman–DuPuis 2002: 15).

Lamine (2014: 55) goes further, pointing out that: *'The sustainability and resilience of agrifood systems are generally considered through one of two main paradigms: the sustainable development paradigm, which focuses on the interactions between agriculture and the environment, or the relocalisation paradigm which prevails in the alternative food systems' literature and in social movements' discourses. Because of its focus on direct producer-consumer relations, the relocalisation paradigm does not address the larger interdependencies in agrifood systems and thus fails effectively to reconnect agriculture and food issues. The frequent focus on alternative agrifood systems, which differ radically from the mainstream, does not help to develop pathways towards sustainability and resilience for less alternative institutions and actors'.* Therefore, Lamine proposes a territorial agrifood system approach, which should be helpful in examining the processes of exclusion, the alliances involved, and the socio-ecological perspective in food studies.

Food can be treated as a cultural object, the best example being the attention that heirloom tomatoes received in the late twentieth century. *'The heirloom tomato certainly emerges as a symbol of elite status in the pages of popular magazines and newspapers by the early twenty-first century – but the act of "distinction" and the marketplace in which it happens are spatially demarcated and do not interfere with the access of non-elites to the object'* (Jordan 2007: 20). These cultural changes have significant consequences for economics and the environment, resulting in the preservation of biodiversity and significant changes in the landscape as well. Family farms have gained opportunities to survive as well as develop while marking their presence in an urban environment by providing specialty and high quality foods (Jordan 2007: 37–38).

Food supply chains can be considered a dimension in rural development, which can be considered a building block for a new theory (Marsden–Banks–Bristow 2000: 424). The main conclusions are that participants in new short food supply chains need to rely heavily upon their own knowledge and networking abilities. The presented analysis '(...) demonstrates the significance of bringing together at least four types of evolution: temporal, spatial, demand and associational or institutional' (Marsden–Banks–Bristow 2000: 436).

The sociological approach also allows for a comprehensive analysis of food as a specific product. Tregear (2003: 91–107) proposes a new insight into the category of 'typical products,' 'origin labelled products,' 'traditional foods,' 'regional speciality products,' 'artisanal products,' 'special quality,' and 'quality farm' products. All these products are conceptualized as having small-scale production, grown by local farmers, and based on natural ingredients. The author shows *'(...) how food and territory are inter-related, conducted from a sufficiently broad perspective to allow alternative conceptualizations of typical products to emerge, and for the different socio-economic impacts associated with them to be assessed comparatively'* (Tregear 2003: 92). She further explains: '*Overall, a broadened concept of the typical product develops: the manifestation of the links between nature and culture, shaped by the actions and value systems of actors in production and consumption domains, in turn linked to macro social, economic and political forces. Thus, all typical products represent a mixture of tradition and innovation, physicality and symbolism, mechanization and craftsmanship, endogeneity and exogeneity, myths and realities'* (Tregear 2003: 104).

Some differences between American and European approaches are due to the nature of scientific discourses. According to American traditions the approach to food studies entails practical issues concerning general recommendation for food system development and also advice for particular actors such as family farmers, local communities, or social movements. On the contrary, European tradition focuses on more general theoretical issues connected to changes from modernization to the so-called post-modernization processes.

3.2 Food studies: intra- and extra-human approaches

Following the issues discussed above one has to stress two types of possible analyses in the area of food studies. The first one might be seen as an intra-human approach, while the other has a feature of the extra-human approach, i.e. focusing on social relations mostly visible in the perspectives of rural sociology, both in the American as well as the European tradition. The intra-human type of analysis encompassing nutrition, nutrition health, healthy food, etc. has been perceived as a minor one. The extra-human approach, however, seems to be a major approach with the emphasis on various aspects of social relations. In such a context food may be perceived and interpreted as a social construction, part of social networks, or an issue at social events. It definitely plays a valuable part in processes of social changes. In the following part of this paper we argue about food as an important element of rural development. Based on three different empirical cases from the Małopolska region in Southern Poland we will try to show its role in various types of rural development using some elements of the so-called neo-endogenous development theory.

The most comprehensive and clear presentation of neo-endogenous development, can – in our opinion – be found in the articles of Ray (1999, 2006: 278–291). His concept of development is founded on two premises. On the one hand, there is an endogenous element according to which the development processes must be based on local initiative and be related to an approach known from academic literature and social practice as a *bottom-up approach*. The 'neo' component – according to Ray – indicates that extra-local factors must play an important role in the development processes. It is not feasible, as Ray emphasizes, to guarantee integrated development at the local level by cutting local communities off from the outside world, which some extreme concepts of endogenous rural development seem to propose (Krzysztofek–Szczepański 2005).

The neo-endogenous approach to development has two primary characteristics. Firstly, the activities that occur in rural areas in pursuit of economic development are reoriented to maximize the retention of benefits within the local territory. This happens by valorizing and exploiting local resources, including both physical and human resources. Secondly, the activities that lead to development are – to use Ray's (2006: 278) wording – *'contextualized by focusing on the needs, capacities, and life perspective of local people'.* The principle and process of local participation in the design and implementation of developmental practices, as well as the adoption of cultural, environmental, and 'community' values, are being emphasized here. This perspective relates to the rhetoric of local areas assuming significant influence over their own future through the use of local resources, as mentioned above and through constructing mechanisms of lasting development, initiated often by the external stimulus.

4. Combining traditions and approaches: food studies in the context of rural development

Using all the perspectives mentioned above we will analyze three empirical cases focused on particular types of regional foods. The Małopolska region is known for its rather friendly environment for local food initiatives. As we have stressed: *'Paradoxically, such a state of affairs favours the development of distinctive local food products. Because Małopolska has such a disadvantageous agrarian structure, the majority of farmers have been forced to adopt a strategy of self-sufficiency in food and to specialize in various types of niche production'* (Adamski–Gorlach 2010: 179). The particularly strong social and cultural heritage in the region is also quite significant in the context of food. Furthermore, mass tourism has played the role of an additional factor to strengthen the meaning of food in this social and cultural realm. Therefore we argue that local/regional food products should be treated as part of the cultural and territorial heritage. According to the theory of neo-endogenous development (Ray, 1999, 2006) food products can be viewed as local resources and even local amenities that, combined with various extra-local factors, might form ways of development for different communities and regions. In further analysis we will focus on the history and significance of most recognized Małopolska products, namely: the 'oscypek cheese' and 'kiełbasa lisiecka' (lisiecka sausage). According to the results of a survey (Grębowiec 2014: 70–79) almost 100% recognized 'oscypek' as a Małopolska regional product. Moreover, 42% of investigated persons recognized 'kiełbasa lisiecka' as well. We will also describe one of the new Małopolska regional products, namely: the 'karp zatorski'.

Let us then consider three major elements of the oscypek case, namely: the history, the definition, as well as the results of the process of constructing a European Regional Product. The history of the oscypek cheese has been connected to the history of sheep husbandry in the Podhale region. It started with the old shepherd culture coming to the Podhale region from the Balkans prior to the 15th century, bringing to the region some methods of sheep grazing and sheep milk processing as well as some elements of social organization with a key position of master shepherd (baca) and younger shepherds (juhasi) being in charge of all sheep collected during the summer grazing season from the rest of farmers in the village. Baca has been personally in charge of milk processing and making cheese. The first information about sheep grazing and the production of oscypek was mentioned in historical documents as early as 1416.

However, in order to understand the current history of oscypek, one has to take two key factors into consideration. Since the beginning of the post-communist transformation many sectors of Polish agriculture, have entered a period of problems and difficulties. As a result, they have shown many crisis symptoms: the rising prices of inputs and at the same time the decreasing prices of wool and the number of sheep. At the same time, a contradictory factor has been observed as well. The mountain region has experienced a real tourist boom including also a growing number of international tourists. Moreover, the pattern of tourism changed with an extension of the winter holiday season and growing popularity of skiing. It opened a great potential market for oscypek but with some significant complications. The oscypek production season really depended on the sheep grazing season between May and September. It did not correspond with the peak in demand during the skiing season, usually from December to March. Something had to happen. As Gorlach and Adamski explain (2010: 181) *'This triggered a revolution in the oscypek cheese market. It involved "commercialization of*

tradition", driven by economic realities. "Commercialization" in this context meant improvements in the recipe. The crucial shift was from sheep's milk to cows', a modification that enabled sellers to overcome the two main structural obstacles. The limited number of sheep was no longer a problem. "Improved" oscypek could be produced all year round and therefore in the winter as well. Furthermore, since oscypek had been decoupled from shepherding, it could now be made on farms without any sheep. This led to further departures from the original technique, with the traditionally lengthy process of smoking often being reduced to just several hours, or even replaced by the procedure of steeping cheese in a tea-based blend. By implementing all these "improvements" the local community has created a large and decentralized sector for home oscypek production, located almost entirely within the sphere of the black economy'.

This tendency within the production sphere led to a distribution system that has occupied main traffic routes. It utilized street stalls as well as local food markets that became main sales points of the 'fake oscypek' *'This "fake" oscypek network is in fact something like a self-sustaining economic system'* (Adamski–Gorlach 2010: 181). It is produced without any limitations or regulations and the product is sold to tourists in many places. The only issue that, first of all, characterizes such relations between producers/retailers and consumers seems to be the price of the product. Therefore the 'fake' oscypek product has reduced social relations of production, purchasing as well consumption to the pure economic event, in which the price seems to be the major (if not sole) and defining factor of the whole social situation. In this sense the so-called oscypek boom has been created.

What should now be addressed concerns the second food network. '*The second distinctive food network was created as a reaction to the above-mentioned "oscypek boom" (…) The key strategy of this second network was to satisfy the new demand*' (Adamski–Gorlach 2010: 182). The 'satisfaction' policies, however, took the form of two initiatives. The first one was connected to the oscypek as a product of dairy factories, using the cows' milk to a large extent as well as pasteurized cows' milk. There are other noticeable characteristics of this second type of 'fake oscypek'. *'Products are labelled, hermetically packed and tested regularly. The name of the producer assures traceability. And, last but not least, supermarket-type oscypek is very accessible. It is being distributed through the system of grocery shops and supermarkets'* (Adamski–Gorlach 2010: 182). However, the name of the product has become a main issue in the discussion. Local breeders being in favour of the preservation of tradition accused some local businessmen of unauthorized use of the product's name. The reaction from the industrial-type producers was almost immediate. *'The biggest producer of factory-made smoked cheeses from Podhale uses the name "oscypek" to market its products. Although the difference in the name amounts to only one letter, this is enough to avert accusations of illegal competition'* (Adamski–Gorlach 2010: 182).

Two retail networks mentioned above seem to be of complementary character. The first one has been directed at people coming into the Podhale region. Therefore it offers its product locally, in the region, at road stands frequented by all comers, in local food places as well as on tourist tracks. The second one might be perceived as a kind of globalization (de-localization) of food case, serving the oscypek as a luxury and/or peculiar type of food in many restaurants as well as the so-called organic food shops all over Poland. '*The two food*

chains simply embrace alternative market niches. They do not compete with each other' (Adamski–Gorlach 2010: 183). However, they share one particular characteristic. Both of them use the traditional name of cheese (or its variation), but have almost nothing to do with the particular, traditional type of production. Therefore we should stress that the 'fake oscypek' is a product that may be distributed both in local shops and/or stalls as well as being a product accessible in restaurants and markets all over the country.

As if it were not complicated enough, a third network emerged connected to the 'legitimate' oscypek, i.e. the sheep cheese produced in accordance with specific rules. Fittingly, it found its proper place in the context of European Union policies focused on the certification of traditional, local, etc. types of products in order to preserve many local and/or regional traditions showing the richness of European heritage. *'The third network (…) built around oscypek cheese is also the most recent one. Its current profile has emerged from the practice of certifying traditional local food and is also dependent on oscypek as a symbol of regional tourism. New categories of actors are involved in it (…). The dominant role of local authorities and the collective representation achieved by the participating breeders has given this network a more organized character'* (Adamski–Gorlach 2010: 184).

Due to the already mentioned fact that oscypek originates from the region of Podhale, located near the Tatra mountains, *'(…) in the final version of the registration documents the area of the traditional oscypek production has been limited to the two administrative districts of the Podhale region (Tatrzański and Nowotarski poviats)* [counties – K.G.; M.W-K; A.J-W; P.N.] *and some parts of other districts to the west and north. This means that the EU-approved area of origin for oscypek is greater than the Podhale region but smaller than the actual area of production (…) The agreement left out the whole area of eastern Beskidy. Shepherds from that region cannot use the name oscypek even though their cheese meets all the standards in terms of production procedure and ingredients. The above described situation is an indication of how the "area of origin" of oscypek was more the outcome of a social construction than of geographical research'* (Adamski–Gorlach 2010: 190–191).

Let us now turn to the second case, namely: the lisiecka sausage. Butchers seem to be a kind of aristocracy among the regional craftsmen in Malopolska. What is more important, they might recall their history from the year 1257 when the city of Kraków was founded. At the same time the meat trade was established as well.

The history of Kraków butchery goes back to the 16th century when the town was recognized as an important part of the European cattle trade. Therefore, the name krakowska sausage (kiełbasa krakowska) developed as an international concept used by producers in many parts of Europe and America. The word 'kielbasa' became a part of the English language, especially in the United States where it usually implies 'Polish' culinary origins. In such a context 'kiełbasa lisiecka' became one of the most important types of Polish ham and sausage products (Produkt Regionalny Kiełbasa Lisiecka [Regional Product Named Lisiecka Sausage] 2010).

The kiełbasa lisiecka is a deli product of dark brown color, with a slightly dried and slightly shiny skin. It has a rather distinct smell of pork meat seasoned with pepper, garlic, and salt. The kiełbasa lisiecka is usually made of the most tasty and delicate parts of particular types of pork meat, namely: the sirloin and selected parts of ham. They should be chopped by hand and pickled for at least 48 hours. As a result crispy portions of

meat flavoured with white pepper as well as garlic are placed into the so-called 'trynkal' (ox bowel) of the diameter of 3–5 centimeters. Later these portions of meat go through a period of so-called 'lying in the deck chair' for at least a week. Next, they are formed into small loops and go through the processes of drying, smoking and/or roasting for several hours. In this particular process only traditional and well-tested methods have been used. One of the requirements is that the only source of heat and smoke comes from the chunks of fruit trees and in some cases beech and/or alder.

The use of any chemicals is strictly forbidden in the whole process, quite contrary to typical modern, standard meat productions. The recipe, coming from – as the tradition says – the 16th century was discovered by one of the Krakow butchers in 1930s. Since then the art of sausage production has been continued by butchers from two communities, namely: Liszki and Czernichów, located exactly on the outskirts of the city of Kraków. Currently, the product is under the protection of EU law thanks to the initiative of the association called Konsorcjum Producentów Kiełbasy Lisieckiej (The Lisiecka Sausage Producer Consortium) established in 2004. This is an extremely exclusive producer group consisting of only nine (!) producers from Liszki and Czernichów communities.

Let us try to complete this part of our consideration with the third case, namely: the 'zatorski karp'. Carp is a very popular fish in Poland. Nobody can imagine Polish cuisine without carp, especially the traditional Christmas Eve supper in Poland. In earlier times carp was served in the houses of rich and influential families in Poland, including the royal court. The region of Małopolska might have been recognized as a centre of carp breeding since early medieval times in order to supply the royal court in Kraków. The carp was mentioned in the 16th century by the famous Polish chronicler Jan Długosz. It should also be mentioned that at that time carp had been an important part of various heraldries of Polish knights (Produkt Regionalny Karp Zatorski [Regional Product Named Zatorski Carp] 2007).

The beginnings of the history of carp cultivation in Poland are not quite clear. Most likely, it was Cistercian monks who established the breeding ponds for carp as part of their economic activities. The Cistercian monks were pioneers in introducing many new techniques and procedures in agricultural and fishery productions. One of the carp breeding centres was started in the community of Zator, west of Kraków, almost on the border between the Małopolska region and Silesia. The latter became an important area of industrial production with coal mining, steel-works as well as chemical industries.

One should also stress that today the zatorski (Zator area) carp has not been a typical type of a breed. Quite to the contrary, it is a (hybrid of various types of carp fish. Its origins come not only from the local breed but also from Hungary, the Balkans, as well as even Israel. As a result the zatorski carp of today is a blue-olive fish, with a curved back. It is a fast growing breed with a relatively big mass of meat. Among its other characteristics one should stress a delicate taste and fresh as well as a nice fish smell. It should also be added that typical carp fish should weigh from 1100 to 1800 grams (Stowarzyszenie Dolina Karpia [Carp Valley Association] 2015). It should be noted here that the breeding of zatorski carp requires a clean environment with numerous plants and some animal breeds protected against extinction. It is also worth mentioning that the beginnings of fishery production in the Zator area date back to the 16th century while the fishery economy can be traced to the 12th

century. The oldest ponds were constructed by Tartar prisoners of war. These ponds have been named after some famous families living a long time ago in the area (famous Boner family of Krakow) or from the names of their societal position (kasztelan, starosta). The popularity of zatorski carp comes mainly from the long-lasting tradition of breeding, knowledge and practices concerning fish production, etc. Contemporary breeders have been heirs of people involved in fish production business for a long time. This is the reason that they have been named as 'karpiki' or 'karpiany', which means carp breeders.

Today the production of zatorski karp has been conducted in the area of three different local communities (gmina), namely: Zator, Przeciszów and Spytkowice. The communities have become an important recreation area in the western part of Małopolska, located in between the Kraków agglomeration and the industrial Silesia region, as mentioned earlier. Currently, the whole 'Karp Valley' project has gained regional, if not nationwide, recognition. However, the essential part of the carp breeding and production seems to lie in the fact that almost all parts of it are done manually without introducing elements of industrial fishery production. There are also special events organized in order to promote karp zatorski. Each year the beginning of July becomes a major socio-cultural event in the region and is celebrated as the Days of Zatorski Carp. The festivities include presentations of work by local and external artists, rural NGOs as well as other local food producers (Dolina Karpia [Carp Valley] 2015).

Discussion and Conclusions

In the broadest terms, the situation of many local and regional products has to be seen in the context of food culture transformations at the national level (Adamski–Gorlach 2010). Poland with its rich and diversified culinary culture had been able to overcome the communist period (1944–1989) with its tendencies to provide the mass population with rather standardized types of foods in the contexts of rapid industrialization as well as urbanization. Major results of such changes have demolished many social relations or a lot of traditional institutions but not some peculiar areas of local cultures and traditions. Therefore we might argue that some traditions of particular local foods have survived mainly in families located especially in rural communities.

Such discussions seem to be properly framed inside some general food-consumption debates. In recent work Adamski and Gorlach (2010: 175) note that 'theoretical debates over food production and consumption seem to involve at least three basic streams of discussion and thought'. For these authors 'the notions of territoriality, quality and tradition introduce a new conception of food that seems to be an alternative or a challenge to the standardized products perceived as commodities produced in the industrial agricultural sector' (Adamski–Gorlach 2010: 175). The first stream of thought they address is the one connected to the issue of tradition. In this particular context one can distinguish the de-territorialization as well as re-territorialization of food as being two sides of one proverbial coin. It is not surprising that in the era of industrialization and urbanization the massive processes of food de-territorialization have taken place. However, in the era of post-industrial development the processes of food re-territorialization might be pointed to as part of the new patterns of human development infiltrating some parts of tradition and some efforts to overcome the mass production approach of the industrial era. As Tregear (2003: 91) stresses, special food products have strong ties with particular territories.

Such a 'placement' of foods might be also connected to another characteristic, namely, the quality. It is strengthened in literature: '*In broad terms, the catalyst and fundamental theme of the Western European AAFN* [Alternative Agriculture Food Networks – K.G.; M.W-K; A.J-W; P.N.] *literature is the perception of a "turn" by consumers away from industrial food provisioning towards quality'* (Goodman 2004: 4).

Such a perspective based on the contradiction between regular, industrial-type food networks as well as this of an alternative one has resulted in a few important consequences (see for more: Adamski–Gorlach 2010: 175–178). First of all, we have to stress the particular duality of observed food chains and/or networks. Moreover, we cannot treat them as disjunctive ones. Quite to the contrary, they should be mentioned as complementary contributions to the whole system of food production, distribution, and consumption. However, there is one particular component (among the three, namely: tradition, quality, and territoriality) that seems to be especially important for our further analysis.

As expected, the presented regional products confirm our initial assumption to be an important part of the local development. The oscypek cheese plays an important part in the food economy of the Podhale region and contributes to the attractiveness of the area as a tourist destination. In turn, the case of kiełbasa lisiecka highlights the role of small food initiatives occurring on the outskirts of large cities. Here the importance of close rural-urban relations as a vital part of rural development is undeniable. This is also true for the karp zatorski case. This particular traditional food product has to be perceived as a certain driving force in rural development fostering the ties between the leisure and recreation area and major urban and industrial spaces. The example of carp zatorski shows how the local production of food enables direct access to fresh, minimally processed food that does not contain chemical ingredients so typical for mass production of food and advanced processing (Krelowska-Kułas, 2001). Production of local and regional foods is known to have a positive impact on the increase of employment, incomes, and other economic results in particular communities (O'Hara 2012).

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Structural holes in the local governments' tendering activity network in a Hungarian sub-region

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Abstract

The paper discusses the collaboration network of local governments through their tendering activity.

Although many tenders in the Hungarian tendering system have given special attention to those joint actions that targeted cross developments of multiple localities, collaboration between local governments in the tendering activity cannot be considered typical. This observation is corroborated by our research conducted in 2009–2010, mapping all tender collaborations by local governments in the Kaposvár sub-region, a total of 54 localities. Our research identified a social network with structural holes of tender collaboration between local governments in the sub-region. Network structural holes allow the presence of a 'third party' that profits from this network structure. This paper seeks to identify which actors benefit from the structural characteristics of the collaboration network of local governments in tendering activity.

Key words: local governments, tendering activity, social network

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Structural holes in the local governments' tendering activity network in a Hungarian sub-region

Introduction

Many tenders in the Hungarian tendering system have given special attention to those joint actions that targeted cross developments of multiple localities. Although joint actions are encouraged, collaboration between local governments in the tendering process cannot be considered typical. This characterizes small Hungarian localities, too, where the lack of infrastructure and lower representational power would justify strong collaboration and common interest representation.

Our research conducted in 2009–2010, mapping all tender collaborations of the local governments of the Kaposvár sub-region, also describes this phenomenon. The Hungarian sub-region was selected because of the high number of small settlements that it consists of (except Kaposvár, all the 54 settlements had fewer than 2000 inhabitants, whereas the typical case was under 1000).

Our research identified a social network with structural holes (the term refers to the gap between closely connected groups) of tender collaboration between local governments in the Kaposvár sub-region. The gatekeeper actors—or in Burt's terms opinion brokers—between closely connected groups (the tender writing companies), can benefit from the tender collaboration network characteristics of local governments in the sub-region.

After 2010 the local government system and the territorial administration changed which affected the tendering activity of the local governments as well, especially in the case of communities with fewer than 2000 inhabitants. Our empirical evidence refers to the 2009–2010 years, and we can only make some hypothesis based on a couple of interviews on the consequences that the changes introduced after 2010 may have brought.

Background

According to Vági (1982) before the regime change in 1990 in Hungary the hierarchy of settlements was associated with a centralized resource distribution system that strengthened regional inequalities. After 1990, with the implementation of the local government law, decentralization began, which had an impact on the resource distribution system, too. This law established the structure and function of the local government sector (Pálné Kovács 2008) distinguishing it in four structural characteristics compared with other European systems: the organizational differentiation of the small settlements' local governments, the differentiation of power, the arbitrariness of the association system and the building of a Hungarian-specific local government/

state administration level. However, this law did not address the problem of the small settlements, while the empowerment of the localities was not defined specifically (Pálné Kovács 2008).

Although Hungarian local governments have a lot of leeway, in reality they have to make many compromises while completing their compulsory tasks. Tendering activity oriented to development funds was considered an optional task that could be tackled only after the local government had completed its compulsory or operating tasks.

Separating the operating funds from development funds, in the early 2000s there were governmental resources that financed the compulsory operative activities of local governments: infrastructural funds (TEKI,[2] CÉDE[3]) and funds for financing those local governments disadvantaged beyond their fault (ÖNHIKI). This kind of financing was discontinued in 2010. In parallel with this kind of financing, the process of pre-accession and accession to European Union changed the system of financing local governments. The accent was moved to development funds for local governments at the beginning, with the help of SAPARD and LEADER programs, later with the help of applying for funds to the National Development Agency (NFÜ).

Our study was conducted in 2009–2010, when tendering activity of local governments amounted to applying for national operational funds (TEKI, CÉDE, ÖNHIKI) and also EU development funds through Rural Development Plans (NVT, ÚMVP, NFT, ÚMFT) and the National Development Agency (NFÜ).

We were interested in the collaboration characteristics of small localities (up to 2000 inhabitants). That is why we conducted our research in the Kaposvár sub-region, where small settlements were overrepresented (except Kaposvár city, all the localities were home to fewer than 2000 inhabitants). According to the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH) in 2009 although 75% of the total number of settlements had fewer than 2000 inhabitants (N=2381). The question is how do these settlements manage their tendering activity? What network conditions define collaboration between small settlements in their tendering activity?

Originally the Kaposvár sub-region included 77 settlements (as in Figure 1). However, the aggregated economic indicators for all the localities in the region was relatively good, influenced by Kaposvár's good economic indicators (low unemployment rate, high level of incomes, etc.). For this reason 22 settlements chose to secede from Kaposvár and to join Kadarkút, another sub-region. The Kadarkút sub-region had the most disadvantaged (LHH) classification (assigned to regions with poor economic indicators), making it possible for the local governments to obtain down payment discounts through tendering activity.

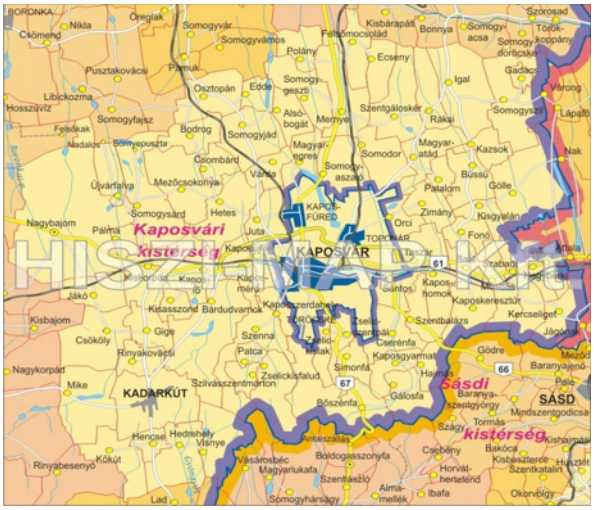
The remaining 54 settlements in the Kaposvár sub-region also organized themselves into three micro-regions: the micro-region of Igal, the micro-region of Kaposvár-Somogyjád and the micro-region of Zselic.

Development goals of the Kaposvár sub-region were set out by the Kaposvár Multi-Purpose Sub-region Association (KTKT) in 2005, an organization founded especially to help the localities realize their development in concordance with sub-regional aims. Long-term goals were defined in connection with improving quality of life, infrastructural developments, environmental protection, economic developments, improvement of the la-

2 Development support for regional equalization

3 Support for local development projects

Figure 1. Kaposvár sub-region in 2009



Source: http://www.hiszi-map.hu/catalog/displayimage.php?album=42&pos=5

bor market etc. Tendering activity of local governments and also of the KTKT were subordinated to these goals.

Collaboration between settlements through tendering activity was encouraged by the KTKT. As the small settlements were having difficulties with tender writing because of their lack of knowledge and human resources, the KTKT established a tender-writing organization, the Paktum Iroda, which assisted in the tender writing activity of the settlements at a very advantageous price.

After we finished our research in 2010, a reorganization of the system came to light, motivated by the new national administration and local government system changes.

This reorganization resulted in prestige loss for the local political elites with the introduction of the five year cycle and reduction of the number of delegates in parliament. The tasks of local governments were also decreased by centralization (public education, some social care duties, health care, etc.) and magisterial duties were removed from local governments.

In the case of small localities the possibility of compulsory associations was introduced, but it is exactly these localities that lost most of their functions (Pálné Kovács 2014). Furthermore, the law on sub-regional association and the Companies Act were repealed. Partly because of these changes in the studied sub-region of the 54 locality collaboration, the KTKT ceased to function. The failure of the KTKT is unique in the region, for example, the Kadarkút sub-region still exists. Even prior to ceasing it was a massive task to represent the interests in a unified way for a region with that many localities. Following the abolition of micro regions and sub-regions, in 2015 mayors unquestionably miss 'belonging to somewhere.' No structure remained of an inter-locality collaboration, common interest representation from the old sub-regional level. Although some entities do exist today, with the alliance of Somogyjád (the old center of the sub-region) there is a social network of 33 localities, a public education network of 18 localities, and a collaboration of 43 localities with the call for internal control. The Zselic micro region recognized as the most integrated one in 2010, is not a member of these associations.

Theoretical frame

Report on the tendering field of local governments in the first seven year cycle of joining the EU.

Theoretical and empirical research studies from Hungary have several conclusions as to the methods of distribution of local government tenders. There is a theoretical background as to how the funding of local governments adjusts to institutional transformation (Somlyódyné 2003, Kovács 2008, Pálné Kovács 2008). With the appearance of EU funds for local governments the number of studies that focus on the institutional distribution of sources (Perger 2009, Pálné Kovács 2011), and the effects of the funds distribution (Voszka 2006, Pálné Kovács 2009, Perger 2009a and 2009b, Balogh 2009, Hutkai 2009) increased.

Separating the governmental operating funds from the developmental grant funds, Somlyódiné (2003) analyzed the allocation of national operational resources: in the case of sources like TEKI, which was abolished in 2010, and CÉDE, it was found that the principle of need and fairness prevailed. ÖNHIKI was another source of support used among local governments, that provided help for those who were disadvantaged beyond their fault, and although from the national budget came only a small amount of support, in 1999 one third of all Hungarian local governments had to rely on this support to ensure their operability (Puskás 2000).

In parallel with the national resources, which were firstly operational in nature, the pre-accession and later post-accession EU development funds appeared. The pre-accession process was intended to develop the institutional system following a bottom-up design and regional planning. It is relied on current need and after the accession would further support maintaining finance of the development. Perger (2009) calls attention to the inconsistency between economic indicators and socio-economic development: while the economic indicators are favorable for Hungarian society, economic and social development is lagging behind.

Analyzing the use of resources from a sociological perspective, Kovách (2007) concludes that the business sector gradually gained ground in the financial funds raising system against local governments. Kovách named the process 'project conceiving,' in which the local governments are not able to perform the undertaken tasks, and they are then forced to outsource certain duties in the form of projects. As a consequence designers, experts, advisors, managers, organizers, civil servants, and researchers gained greater opportunities and influence in the preparation and execution of the national and EU development programs. The 'project class' according to Kovách is the social group (not social class or order) that is able, with the help of its social capital, to legitimize their own influence or power in the project.

The impact of resource allocation on regional inequality was investigated by Balogh (2009), who found that chosen projects are not reducing inequality. He also found that the individual's position in politics played no major role in winning tenders.

Organization theory of public administration and local governments

Organizational theory of public administration and local governments became popular in the sixties (represented in the USA by Merton (1968 [1949]), and in Europe by Weber (1970) and Crozier (1964), while in Hungary Lőrincz, Nagy, and Szamel (1976) gave an overview of the contemporary perceptions of public administration).

The sociology of organizations approach to local governments was reconsidered when scientific interest was turned toward social networking of local governments. Local community studies continued—or redefined—opinion leader researches, and by investigating local/community power and mapping relations among individuals/organizations (Dahl, 1958, Polsby 1959, 1962 for example) foresaw the social capital, embeddedness and social network approaches.

Recognizing the importance of regional power relations, in the 90's scientific interest was shifted towards research focusing on municipality, regional, interregional and personal relationships (Pálné Kovács 2008). Due to the urban regime school, the focus of research was not institution or structural elements, but the personal relations and circumstances affecting behavior (Stone 1998 [1995], Stoker 1998 [1995]). This school/paradigm will gain even more importance in the (macro level) network approach in the governance literature.

Governance literature's foundational recognition is that the government is not the sole decision maker but the civil society is also playing an important role (Rhodes 2000). But it was this governance literature that brought up several public policy dilemmas such as defining the bound between cooperation and competition, the topics of openness and closeness, controllability and flexibility, accountability and efficiency (Jessop 2003). A new term metagovernance got introduced through which Kooiman (2000) differentiated three levels of government: first-order (problem-solving), second-order (institutional changes) and meta-order (governing the government). The appearance of transnational organizations—such as the European Union—can be connected to this approach as well.

In the Hungarian sociology literature, rural studies also consider social networks (descriptive studies such as Kovách 2009, or regarding relations among localities, for example Kovács 2008 or Somlyódyné 2006, considering social capital such as Csurgó, Kovách and Megyesi 2009). A closely related study to ours is the ADAPT research conducted in 2001-2003 by Pálné Kovács Ilona on developmental policies and local development. The study emphasized the importance of intensive vertical relations among actors on a regional level. Results show that the density of relations within a region is higher than inter-regionally (Pálné Kovács 2008:279). As a follow up of the ADAPT study an OTKA research was conducted in 2008, that focused on the change of relations among regional actors (Pálné Kovács 2009b). Focusing on decision-making elites, 23 institutional and positional types were identified based on a sample of 200 respondents.

These results lead us to the conclusion, that local governments are using their social relations, whereas civil society is less embedded. The comparison of the sectors also shows that local governments have an emphasized role, as their network is the strongest (among politicians, media and local development institutions).

In our study, we use the results of the ADAPT research as foundational while going further in considering the characteristics of social networks and with inspiration from Ebers (1997), we suggest the differentiation of two separate research mechanisms. The first mechanism is the micro-macro approach,from?the personal network we can deduce the inter-organizational network. Second is the macro-macro approach, where from the regional network we can draw out the inter-organizational network.

Micro-macro approach of inter-organizational social networks

Micro-macro approaches are those studies that are deducing inter-organizational ties from interpersonal connections. Social network analysis on a macro level (inter-organization relations) reaches conclusions similar to micro levels (personal relations) studies (see Powell 1990, Burt 1992, etc.) likewise with studies where economic actions or inter-organization ties are deduced from the structure of personal networks (for example Uzzi 1996, Burt 1992 and others).

Macro-macro studies are making conclusions regarding the inter-organizational networks, by relying on the environment, the regional networks (Sabel 1989, Saxenian 1994), research of regional and local government relations (governance), collaboration or network studies of the development policy system.

From one hand, this research uses micro-macro approach when, during the analysis of inter-organizational network of local governments, studies the network structure, especially the structural holes. In the inter-personal analysis, networks that have structural holes, gives opportunity to brokers for playing important roles. The role of brokers was first mentioned by Simmel (1921(1908)) who differentiated dyads from triads. According to Simmel, triads are always carrying the possibility of breaking into dyads, which also means that the third member will be the subordinate of the new dyad. In this case the broker is the actor who as a tertius gaudens profits, while maintains the distance between the other two actors. The uniqueness of this relationship is the influence that the broker has on both actors. The most prominent broker literature is accorded to Fernandez and Gould (1994), who altogether differentiated 5 broker types (liaison, itinerant, coordinator, gatekeeper, and representative). Burt (1999, 2005) mentioned the opinion broker term, which means a broker, who is carrying information from one opinion group to the other, taking advantage of the structural holes. Obsfeld (2005) introduced the tertius iugens term, who, unlike the selfish broker profiting from the lack of communication between two associated partners, rather initiates and facilitates the cooperation and communication between the partners.

On other hand, this research also takes into consideration the macro-macro level, when the regional relations between local governments and other tendering institutions are considered. Analysis also aimed to find out if a broker's position at the micro level remains the same at the macro level.

Network structure is analyzed taking into consideration these two approaches. Since the network study of relations among local governances is not very popular in the sociological literature, the multiple functions of different organizations, as actors of a network, lead to definition difficulties.

Instead of terms such as opinion leader and opinion broker, which are already known from the specialized literature, our study prefers the notions of information leader and information broker. The information leader is the sociometric star, or the local government fulfilling the formerly used opinion leader role. The information broker is the local government that fulfills the role of a bridge as compared to the opinion broker among different actors of the network.

Methodology

During 2009 and 2010 we used qualitative methods (interviews) for investigating the relations between local governments.

The investigated region was Kaposvár's, where 54 localities constitute the country sub-region, most of them under 1000 inhabitants. The localities were grouped in 21 (district) notaries. Half structured interviews were made with the mayor or notary from each district notary: a total number of 21 interviews were made between 2009 and 2010. Previous fieldwork made in 2009 revealed that the notarial centers of the district notaries are familiar with the district localities' tendering activity. The information regarded the number of tenders, and the collaboration between local governments was comprehensive and valid for each 54 settlements.

The half structured interviews contained many questions, in this paper we will present only the results referred to the network investigation of tendering activity.

Network questions referred to the collaboration with other organizations through tendering activity.

In the case of notaries (where a single locality forms the notary) the questions referred to the locality, while in the case of district notaries (where typically 3 localities formed the district notary) the questions referred to all the localities in the district.

We were primarily interested in the inter-organizational relations between local governments. Secondly we were interested in the relations between local governments and other tendering institutions.

Through the investigation, and later through the analysis and interpretation the nodes of the networks represented organizations (local governments, tender writers and other regional tendering organizations).

The network investigation followed the section referred to the quantity of tenders, where the questions referred to the number and type of tenders of each localities. The interviewee was asked to list all the tenders (in the case of district notaries all the tenders of the localities from the district) in the past year.

All tender applicants were asked whether during the tendering activity help/consultancy or other type of collaboration was applied for with any other local government and/or other type of organization (like tender writers or local tendering agency) and interviewee were asked to name the organization they collaborated. The questions were: *'During the tendering activity which organization helped you?'* and *'Whose advice did you seek about the tender?'* The methodology corresponded with the name generation method, where a node generated other nodes connected to it. As a result we get not only the inter-organizational network of local governments in the sub-region, but the inter-organizational network of local governments and other tendering institutions, too.

The relation between the collaborators was also classified. In the case of local governments we asked what kind of relation the collaborating localities' mayors or notaries have: formal (derived from district notaries or micro-regional relations) or informal (acquaintance or friendship). In the case of relation with tender writers we also asked why they chose the given tender writer, what kind of relation do they have with the tender writer: whether there are any other formal or mandatory collaborative terms and conditions (for example they

have to collaborate to each other because they have legally defined relations or they are involved in regional associations), whether the collaboration has regional, county or national level, and finally whether the relation is a formal or personal one.

In order to better understand the collaboration networks of the local governments we made 10 complementary interviews with institutions regarded in some way as territorially important to tendering activity, such as with representatives of the regional development agency, tender writers, employees of institutions of regional importance (like Kaposvár University). We contacted all the regional development agencies, and the most mentioned three local tender writers.

The network relations were registered in a network matrix, 1 being the value for the existing relation, and 0 for the non-existing relations. Matrices were analyzed with Ucinet6 software, and networks were presented with Netdraw software.

In 2015 additional interviews were made in the region to inquire what happened to the previously investigated localities because of further changes in the local public administration system.

Research findings

Structural holes in the collaboration network of local governments

As our research findings revealed, the network structure of local governments' tender collaboration networks was highly determined by the type of inter-organizational relations. Classifying the answers to the questions *'Why did you collaborate with the mentioned organizations through the specified tenders? How would you characterize the relation you have with the organizations you mentioned?'* four types of collaboration could be distinguished in the Kaposvár sub-region.

The formal network is when local governments were collaborating through their legally defined relations, such as district clerks, regional association (KTKT), and the micro regions (with micro-regional centers in Somogyjád, Igal and Szentbalázs). Not being able—or not easily being able—to change the members and the conditions/premises is the most characteristic feature of formal relations. The formal network shows the hierarchy of localities in the administrative system where central nodes are micro regional centers (see Network1).

The quasi-formal relation connects those local governments that are not strictly following the formal demarcation. Associations with social implications, like development of education organizations, family support, social care, or sewage are not strictly following the sub-regional or micro-regional borders. For example, in the case of schools' integration tenders 18 localities were associated in order to develop schools' infrastructure. The main idea of the joint action derived from Somogyjád's mayor, and also the president of KTKT, initially wanted to unify all the localities in the schools' integration tender, but later 18 localities agreed to associate. Ties formed like this among localities can already suggest the kin- or negative ties among mayors to a small degree. The quasi-formal network differs from the formal network in the case of group members, but central nodes are very similar with those of formal networks (see Network 2).

The quasi-informal ties are often relying on informal relations connecting local governments with tender writing or consulting companies. Not derived from national administrative system, and neither from informal relations, some tender writers collaborated with local governments because they had a good reputation. Gossip about the successes and 'good' relations of tender writers was spread among mayors. They wanted to reduce the risk of failing in a tender by working with those tender writers who had been successful in the past, or who had proper relations in the fund distribution system (see Network 3).

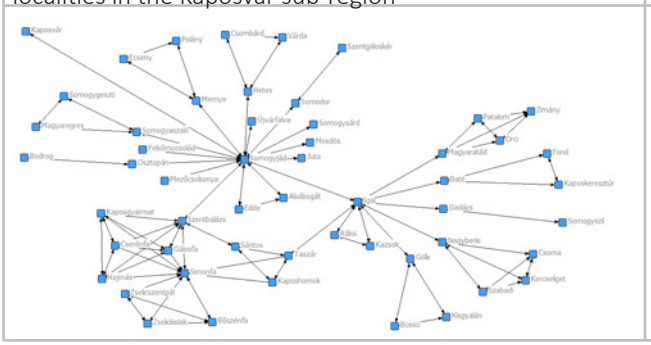
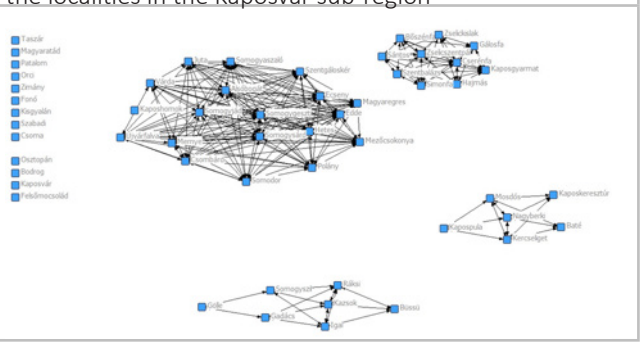
Finally, the informal network brings together the aid, mutual information exchange, and opinion groups regarding the tendering activity where sympathy, friendship and acquaintance ties dominate. Compared with the quasi-informal network, the informal network contains relations from other sub-regions (see Network 4).

Analyzing the answers to the question *'During the tendering activity which organization helped you?'* we found out, that formal and quasi-formal relations were dominated contrary to quasi-informal and informal relations. In the case of quasi-formal and informal relations mayors and notaries typically mentioned tender writers instead of local government institution in addition to their formal relations.

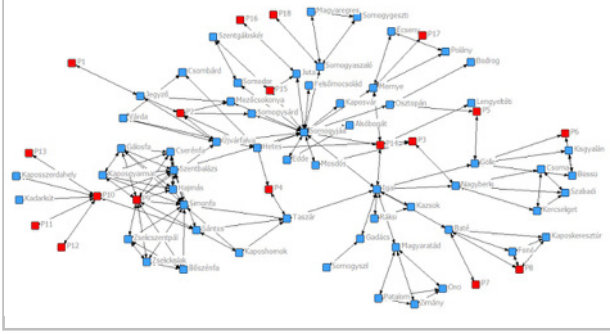
Through the network analysis we visualized all the four types of relations in one network. Since the network ties represent collaboration, we worked with symmetric relations.

Table 1 shows the relations reported by the mayors polled at four collaboration levels. The blue nodes were local governments in the Kaposvár sub-region. Red nodes represent tender writers (we did not obtain permission to use the tender writing companies' names). Green nodes are settlements from other sub-regions. A total number of 18 tender writing companies, and 9 local governments from other sub-region were mentioned. The Kaposvár sub-region contained 54 localities, and two more nodes were added to the local network: a notary who played an important broker role in the relations between local governments (Jegyző), and the County Local Government (Megyei Önkormányzat).

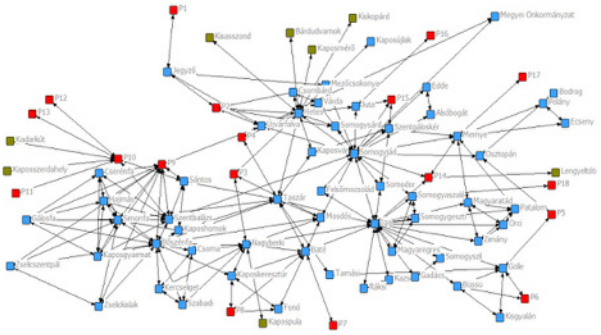
Table 1. The four types of collaboration networks of local governments

Network 1. Formal tender collaboration network of the localities in the Kaposvár sub-region	Network 2. Quasi-formal tender collaboration network of the localities in the Kaposvár sub-region
	

Network 3. Quasi-informal tender collaboration network of the localities in the Kaposvár sub-region



Network 4. Informal tender collaboration network of the localities in the Kaposvár sub-region



Based on these networks three characteristics of the tender collaboration can be observed.

1. In the tender collaboration networks formal relations dominate. Even when mayors and notaries were asked to mention with which organization they would prefer to collaborate, they usually mentioned the formal relations they already have with the other localities. That is why in the quasi-formal and informal networks the formal relations are represented.

2. The quasi-informal and informal networks move from the micro-macro approach to the macro-macro approach, where there are not only one type of organizations (local governments) in the network, but also other institutions that take part in the tendering system (tender writers, County Local Government). The role of tender writers in the tendering activity can be very important especially for small settlements without knowledge and capacity for writing tenders. Collaborations between tender writing companies and local governments were several: from the case where the tender writing company specifically asked local governments to collaborate in a tender (for example, the development of a children's playground) to the case where a tender writer was permanently employed, being responsible for searching out tendering opportunities, writing tenders and monitoring the development procedure.

3. The structure of tender collaboration network in the Kaposvár sub-region shows 'structural holes', which means that between densely connected groups brokers can provide information from one closely connected group to another. The question is which actor was able to take the most advantage from the peculiarities of the structural characteristics of the network.

Due to the domination of formal relations, collaborations within the sub-regions, typically the centers, had more ties. The degree of micro-regional center Somogyjád was 21 while Igal's was 20. The most interconnected group was the micro region of Zselic (with the center in Szentbalázs), where the local governments are permanently collaborating not only at formal, but at informal levels as well. The localities have similar geographic characteristics, they are representing their interests mutually and they apply for development sources together as well. The degree of Szentbalázs was 10 while Bőszénfa's was 16, and while the second is not a micro region center, due to the operation of a school, it is connected to the district notary of Nagyberk, and the mayor is also a member of several forums. The betweeness was the highest in the case of Somogyjád (1448,602), the most influential locality in the sub-region. Somogyjád was a micro-regional center, and a sub-regional

center, too. The mayor of Somogyjád was also president of the KTKT (the sub-regional Association) and a member of the County Local Government.

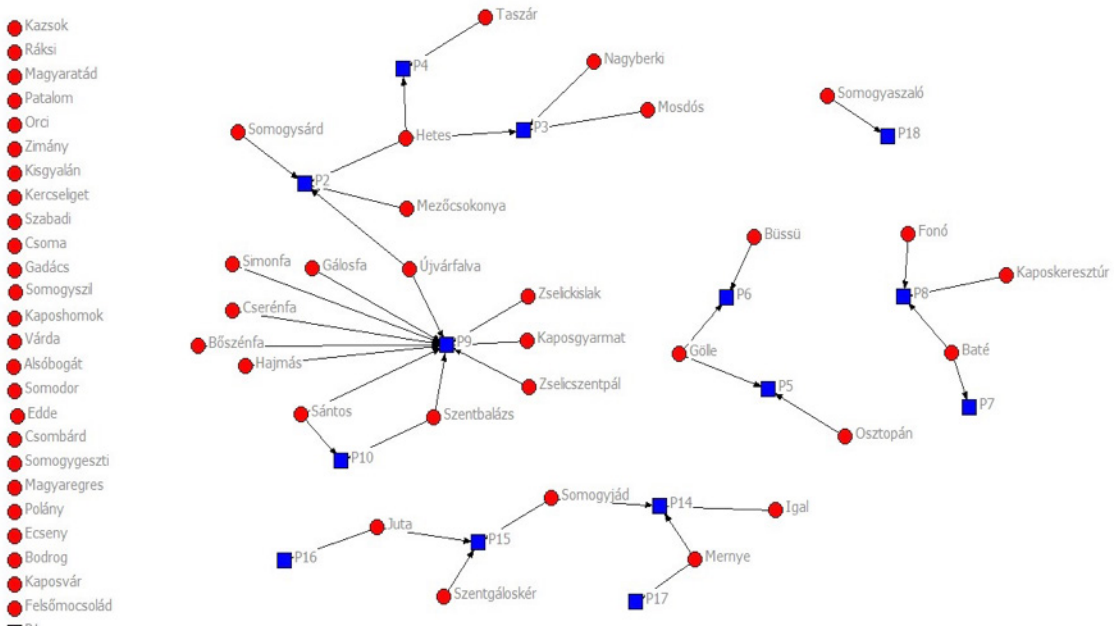
The formal and informal tender collaborating relations suggest that the most influential or 'information leader' node can be well defined: the local government playing the central role in the sub-region (Somogyjád), the mayor being a member of many forums and associations. At this point was not very clear what role the structural holes can have in the network, and which institution can profit from this network structure.

The laughing third party

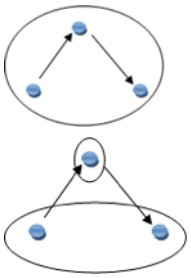
The localities of the sub-region (without Kaposvár) submitted 269 tenders in the observed period of time, and from these they claimed the help of professional tender writers in 177 cases. At the time of our study there were 18 market based tender writers in the sub-regions, complemented with the 3 organizations responsible for Leader tenders.

The sub-regional network shows that the tender writing companies were able to bridge among localities and even sub-regions which are otherwise not connected (e.g., P5, P15, P19, P3). Network 5 highlights the role of tender writer companies from the previous network and represents which localities (red nodes) are connected with specific tender writer companies (blue nodes). P4, P3, P2, P10, P15, P6, P5, P14, P8 and P9 tender writing companies collaborated with two, or more local governments. The most integrated tender writer was P9, who managed the tendering activity of all localities in the Zselic micro-region. About P18, P7, P17, P16 the interviewee did not mention other connections. What we can observe in this network is that some tender writers connected localities from different notary districts or micro regions with each other (for example in the case P2 who connected Mezőcsokonya with Somogysárd, or P3 who connected Mosdós with Hetes, otherwise connected only through the sub-regional center, Somogyjád).

Network 5. Collaboration ties of local governments and tender writing companies



Among the tender writing companies active in the Kaposvár sub-region, according to the Fernandez and Gould (1994) typology of brokers we could typically identify two kinds of brokers.



The coordinators (P2, P10, P9, P3) who spread information among local governments about tenders collaborating with local governments that already knew about them.

The itinerant broker (P14), who provided outsider help to groups otherwise strongly connected.

Results raise the question what explains the importance of the tender writing companies in the local government collaboration network, especially when the tendering system has service institutes that should aid the local governments in their activities (for example KTKT, DDRFÜ, etc.). It seems a viable answer that where the institutional system is not able to integrate the functions accordingly to the tender system (meaning the majority of small localities), the outsourcing of human capital, the trust in the professionalism of tender writers, and the hope of accumulating extra points during the application, the local governments reached out to tender writers. But it is also worth considering, that it was in the interest of the local governments to maintain a 'network with holes.' Perhaps a less dense network allows certain lobby activities, when actors believe that the successfulness of a tender does not depend solely on the quality of the application.

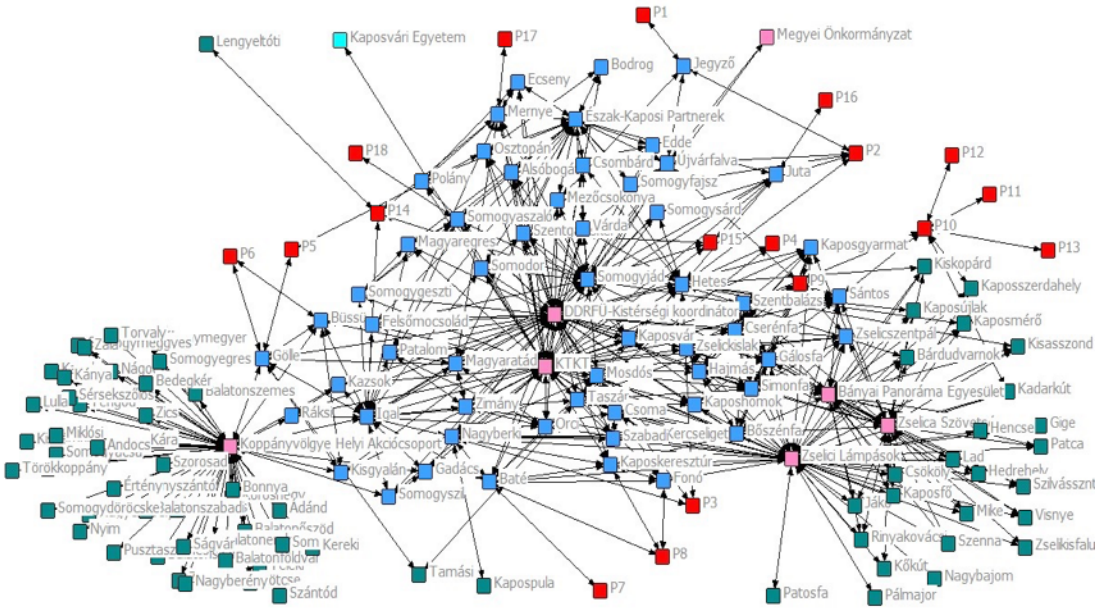
Regional networks—important, yet still peripheral tender writers?

The previous sections analyzed only the answers given by representatives of local governments to the questions *'During the tenders which organization helped you?'* and *'Whose advice did you seek about the tender?'* The mentioned local governments and tender writing companies were visualized in the above networks.

However, in the regional tender collaboration network there are influential service tendering institutions, which do not have the role of help giving in the administrative part of tender writing, but were responsible for information giving about the tendering possibilities and encouraging the collaboration between local governments by providing them with informational support. Analyzing the answers given to the question *'Which other organizations do you meet through your tendering activity?'* interviewees named the KTKT (the sub-regional Association: Kaposvári Többcélú Kistérségi Társulás), the sub-regional coordinator from DDRFÜ (regional development agency: Dél-Dunántúli Regionális Fejlesztési Ügynökség), associations due to previous PHARE and SAPARD programs (funding available in the pre-accession phase to European Union), now responsible for LEADER projects (Kopányvölgye Helyi Akciócsoport, Zselica Szövetség, Zselici Lámpások, Bányai Panoráma Egyesület, Észak Kaposi Partnerek). The partner communities in these last three associations did not follow the sub-region grouping. Within a micro-region, these organizations could strengthen integration, as they were providing the smaller funds accessible for small grants.

In Network 6 blue represents local governments, red nodes are tender writers, green nodes are local governments from other sub-regions and the regional tendering institutions are purple.

Network 6.
Regional collaboration network of local governments and organizations active in the tendering activity



In the event that these organizations were also included in the collaboration, they became the most central by the number of connections: KTKT and Koppányvölgye Helyi Akciócsoport with a degree of 55, Zselici Lámpások with 48 ties, Zselica Szövetség with 32, Bányai Panoráma Egyesület had 29 connections, while Somogyjád, the sub-regional seat had 24 ties. The betweenness was also high for these organizations, although with this indicator the brokerage role played by Igal, Somogyjád, Hetes and Taszár came to the fore.

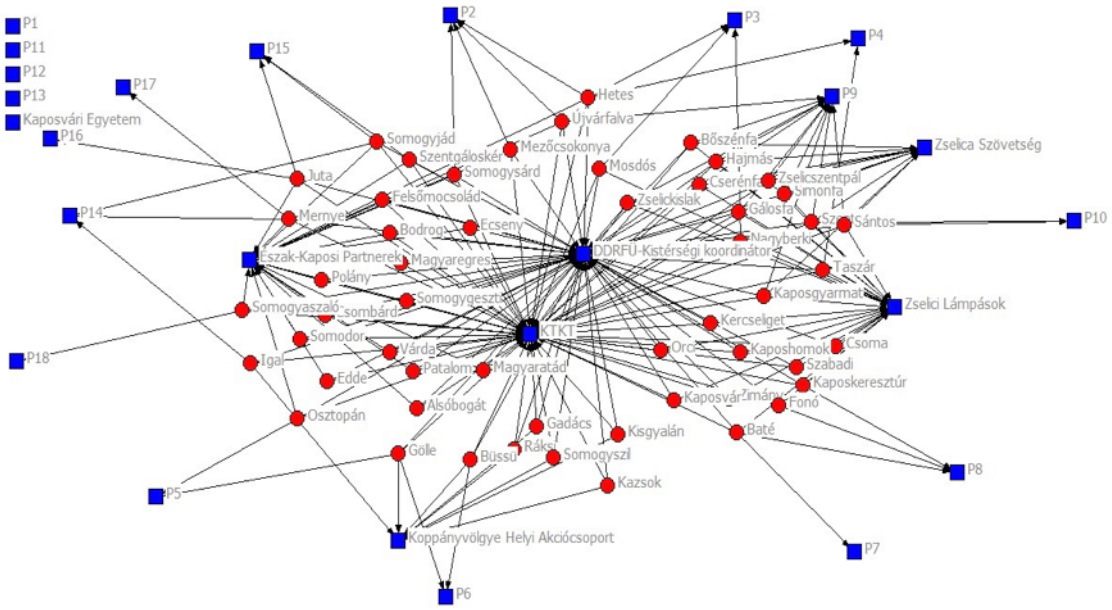
Interviews and observations made in the research period lead to the conclusion that the history of collaboration has an impact on partner relations as well. A good example to this is the bloc from the Surány valley, as prior to detaching from the sub-region, the tender collaboration with localities belonging to the Kadarkút sub-region already existed from the beginning of 1990s.

Localities from the Surján valley and Zselic decided not to maintain a legal organization, but to join the Zselica society, adding up to 32 local governments and 3 civilian members to the organization. This is following the European Leader logic, a voluntary collaboration with no public administration obligation, building up from the bottom where everyone elaborates their own agenda. The Zselica society, with the detaching of the Kadarkút sub-region became the connection between the sub-region of Kaposvár and Kadarkút.

Besides them, the Zselici Lámpások (the organization responsible for the Leader tenders), the Észak-Kaposi Partnerek, as well as the Koppányvölgye Helyi Akciócsoport also supported the collaboration.

In the regional social network one organization had a central role, the KTKT. Localities adjusted their development to the regional development goals drafted by the association. A somewhat mixed opinion about the KTKT came through from the interviews. Most often interviewees emphasized that the size and diversity of interests in the sub-region otherwise collaborative localities romper from each other. The KTKT as an institute did not write any tenders, but operated a section—the Paktum Office—that for a symbolic amount helped the

Network 7. Direct collaboration among local governments and organizations in the tendering activity



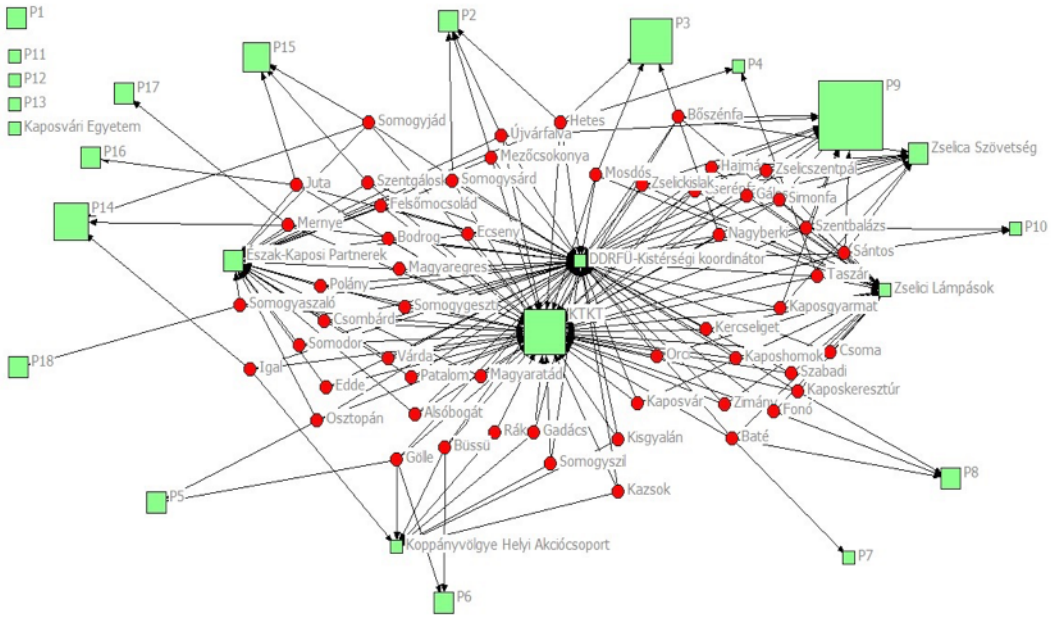
localities with their applications. Interestingly, the Paktum Office and the KTKT merged during interviewing, so if someone sought help from the 'sub-region', it was likely that the help came from the Paktum Office.

Given its position, it is not surprising that the KTKT had the highest betweeness indicator: this was the organization that connected all localities with each other. Due to the number of ties, a similar position was filled by the sub-region coordinator of DDRFÜ, with the difference that he did not provide any concrete help in submitting the tenders. They are connected with the localities of the sub-region for the dissemination: he was informing the leaders of the localities about the tender possibilities. Interviewees recognized the informational importance of the sub-regional coordinator, yet they also emphasized, that the problem is not in the lack of knowledge, but lies more in not having enough capacity and human resources to prepare the tenders. Network 7 shows the connection between localities and tendering organizations, including regional tendering institutions, red nodes are localities, while blue nodes represent the other institutions.

Although, as tendering activity is considered, the micro regions were primarily all held together by the sub-regional association and local development organizations, because of protracted financing these organizations have had the most significant losses. Personnel changes at the local government brought new interests to the fore, causing protracted tenders to lose their popularity.

The institutional background exists for the proper support of the local governments, but in reality during the tenders it was not these institutions whose help was solicited. In answer to the question *'During the last tender, whose help did you ask for?'* mayors pointed to the tender writing companies. Network 8 shows that while local governments are members of different collaboration networks, typically they work with the tender writer(s) through their operative tendering activity. In the network green represents institutions at the regional-level that help the tendering activity of local governments, while red nodes are for local governments.

Network 8. Organizational collaboration of local governments, reflecting the frequency of collaborations mentioned in interviews



As a conclusion we can say that although there are formal connections between localities, the tender writing and administrative help for local governments was not shared among one another: they either solved it with their own workers, or they asked for help from specialist companies. The lack of collaboration among local governments is seen from the responses of interviewees about the consequences of competition for scarce resources.

Conclusions

On the principle of equal access, information reaches all localities through several channels (newsletter, homepage of NFÜ, tender coordinators) assuming that small and big localities are equally able to use the information. However, the odds of receiving and implementing the information are different for every local government. Being informed or under-informed can highly depend on whether they have their own tendering department. Even if information gathering is fully provided for local governments, especially small localities have difficulties in realizing collaboration for tendering purposes and through tender writing processes.

Regarding the hierarchical structure we experienced a low level cooperation of local governments, based mainly on formal or quasi-formal relations. Two types of key actors were identified: one is the information leader, and the other the information broker.

In the Kaposvár sub-region the information leader role is fulfilled solely by local governments (taking us back to the micro-macro approach of the study). The information brokerage role is not very obvious in the network, where more types of organizations are represented (taking us back to the macro-macro approach of the study): it could be local governments, tendering local institutions, or tender writing companies. Based on the interview results, mayors and notaries reported that the greatest help in tender writing was obtained from outsourced tender writing companies. That is why they can be considered the laughing third parties of the col-

laboration. Actors like the Sub-regional Association (KTKT), or local development organizations have important broker roles in the regional tender activity network, yet the local governments rely first of all on the help of the tender writing companies. It seems that in accessing the financing resources, the tender writers are information brokers, the laughing third parties, who can exploit a bridge between two, otherwise not connected local governments.

Meanwhile, tender collaboration developed in a unique way. The upswing of tender writing companies had started in Hungary after the regime change and more specifically with the appearance of pre-accession funds (Phare, Sapard). By 2004, the year of accession, already prepared mediator actors (mostly tender writing companies, i.e., profit oriented businesses) were expecting the challenges of the allocations of the EU funds and they had a giant role in having Hungary efficiently use the EU support funds among the newly joined countries. After nearly ten years of an open tender writing market, a slow closing down period came. The role of the tender writing companies proved to be ephemeral, lasting only as long as the learning period, in which local governments adapted to the tender system. It seems as if tender writing as an activity is not helping the local governments in the sub-region. Given that the execution of tenders also requires massive human resources, the small communities claim 'package' type of market services: contractor, procurement and tender writer. In their case 'good will' is an extremely important factor that at this point local governments seem to discover only through their lobbying capacity and having acquaintances at 'good places'. Survival in the narrowing tender writing market can only be achieved by companies that offer diversified activities and maintain good relations with local governments.

A special situation developed within tender writing support institutions that are not necessarily market-based. In 2010 we saw that the KTKT had their own tender office (Paktum Office), and they offered help to local governments below the market price. With the demise of this association the office was also closed down. As a quasi replacement at the county notary's office there is a Project office, that offers professional help to the local governments.

After 2010 the local government system and the territorial administration changed, which has affected the tender collaboration network of the local governments as well. Additional interviews made in 2016 revealed that KTKT was discontinued. Without this association, and taking into consideration the changes in administrative duties of local governments, and the relegation of tender writing companies, the formal collaborative network of the localities in the region has changed drastically. One can suppose that excluding the most influential node from the network, the accent will move to the following organizations in the hierarchy of relations: to micro-regional centers. But interviewees from the most integrated and densely connected micro-region reported the lack of any collaboration. The following research steps would be the investigation of collaboration in the sub-region and the comparison of actual network structure with that from 2009–2010. We can only suppose that without the hierarchical pressure quasi-informal and informal relations are on the rise. And it is still a question how the relegated tender writing companies influence the tender collaboration network of the sub-region.

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Annexes

Annex 1. Tender collaboration network data of local governments in Kaposvár sub-region (based on Network 4.)

ID	Degree	Betweenness	Closeness	Harmonic Closeness	Eigen-vector	2-Local Eigenvector
Local governments from Kaposvár sub-region						
Somogyjád (micro-regional and sub-regional center)	21	1448.602	249.000	48.667	0.172	114.000
Igal (micro-regional center)	20	1134.735	263.000	46.500	0.139	106.000
Bőszénfa	16	337.770	297.000	39.917	0.377	109.000
Hetes	15	583.370	285.000	41.250	0.094	64.000
Simonfa	11	93.796	306.000	36.750	0.331	87.000
Taszár	11	582.983	270.000	42.250	0.196	93.000
Nagyberki	10	287.923	295.000	38.450	0.146	71.000
Szentbalázs (micro-regional center)	10	556.304	283.000	39.667	0.301	98.000
Baté	8	233.704	300.000	36.950	0.096	59.000
Mernye	8	277.789	316.000	34.833	0.044	45.000
Gálosfa	7	1.702	337.000	32.067	0.261	68.000
Hajmás	7	1.702	337.000	32.067	0.261	68.000
Kaposgyarmat	7	1.702	337.000	32.067	0.261	68.000
Cserénfa	6	0.000	348.000	30.233	0.219	53.000
Gölle	6	138.188	334.000	32.367	0.026	32.000
Mosdós	6	120.072	290.000	37.500	0.131	69.000
Újvárfalva	6	150.198	304.000	35.500	0.078	47.000
Kaposkeresztúr	5	36.798	346.000	30.783	0.085	40.000
Magyaratád	5	23.781	333.000	32.033	0.035	41.000
Patalom	5	23.781	333.000	32.033	0.035	41.000
Sántos	5	133.989	313.000	33.667	0.127	43.000
Somogyaszaló	5	113.389	299.000	35.667	0.047	48.000
Szentgáloskér	5	10.243	319.000	33.167	0.045	39.000
Büssü	4	70.188	338.000	31.117	0.022	30.000
Csoma	4	0.000	350.000	29.783	0.088	34.000
Juta	4	86.776	315.000	33.500	0.038	40.000
Kaposhomok	4	1.736	328.000	32.000	0.130	43.000
Kaposvár	4	17.995	301.000	35.083	0.064	52.000
Kercseliget	4	0.000	350.000	29.783	0.088	34.000
Orci	4	0.000	338.000	30.867	0.030	34.000
Szabadi	4	0.000	350.000	29.783	0.088	34.000
Várda	4	26.523	311.000	33.917	0.046	44.000
Zimány	4	0.000	338.000	30.867	0.030	34.000
Zselickislak	4	0.000	368.000	28.333	0.148	42.000
Zselicszentpál	4	0.000	368.000	28.333	0.148	42.000
Fonó	3	0.000	372.000	26.867	0.026	16.000
Magyaregres	3	0.000	342.000	30.117	0.027	28.000
Mezőcsokonya	3	52.576	325.000	31.583	0.028	30.000
Osztopán	3	128.067	323.000	31.750	0.023	24.000
Somodor	3	8.033	302.000	34.500	0.045	46.000
Somogygeszti	3	0.000	342.000	30.117	0.027	28.000
Somogysárd	3	8.643	315.000	33.083	0.038	41.000

Alsóbogát	2	0.000	330.000	30.500	0.025	23.000
Csombárd	2	0.000	364.000	27.483	0.018	19.000
Ecseny	2	0.000	397.000	24.500	0.006	10.000
Edde	2	0.000	330.000	30.500	0.025	23.000
Felsőmocsolád	2	0.000	303.000	34.000	0.039	41.000
Gadács	2	0.000	344.000	29.450	0.020	22.000
Kazsok	2	0.000	344.000	29.450	0.020	22.000
Kisgyalán	2	0.000	415.000	23.333	0.006	10.000
Bodrog	1	0.000	405.000	22.900	0.003	3.000
Polány	2	0.000	397.000	24.500	0.006	10.000
Ráksi	2	0.000	344.000	29.450	0.020	22.000
Somogyszil	2	0.000	344.000	29.450	0.020	22.000
Tamási	2	25.473	341.000	29.300	0.028	17.000
Local governments from other sub-region						
Bárdudvarnok	1	0.000	367.000	26.733	0.012	15.000
Kadarkút	1	0.000	430.000	21.933	0.007	7.000
Kaposmérő	1	0.000	367.000	26.733	0.012	15.000
Kapospula	1	0.000	377.000	25.700	0.018	10.000
Kaposújlak	1	0.000	367.000	26.733	0.012	15.000
Kaposszerdahely	1	0.000	430.000	21.933	0.007	7.000
Kisasszond	1	0.000	367.000	26.733	0.012	15.000
Kiskopárd	1	0.000	367.000	26.733	0.012	15.000
Lengyeltóti	1	0.000	379.000	24.850	0.006	4.000
Tender writer companies						
P9	11	112.054	327.000	34.900	0.317	83.000
P2	5	38.382	349.000	30.400	0.032	31.000
P14	4	101.281	297.000	35.667	0.046	50.000
P15	3	1.000	328.000	31.167	0.032	30.000
P3	3	38.881	327.000	31.667	0.047	31.000
P8	3	0.000	372.000	26.867	0.026	16.000
P4	2	0.000	324.000	31.167	0.037	26.000
P5	2	9.000	372.000	26.267	0.006	9.000
P6	2	0.000	415.000	23.333	0.006	10.000
P1	1	0.000	452.000	20.383	0.002	4.000
P11	1	0.000	430.000	21.933	0.007	7.000
P12	1	0.000	430.000	21.933	0.007	7.000
P13	1	0.000	430.000	21.933	0.007	7.000
P16	1	0.000	397.000	23.683	0.005	4.000
P17	1	0.000	398.000	24.000	0.006	8.000
P18	1	0.000	381.000	24.767	0.006	5.000
P7	1	0.000	382.000	25.117	0.012	8.000
P10	7	400.000	348.000	30.850	0.059	20.000
Other institutions						
County local government (Megyei Önkormányzat)	2	0.000	324.000	31.250	0.032	27.000
Notary (Jegyző)	4	82.869	370.000	27.450	0.018	15.000

Annex 2. Number of submitted tenders and the number of those tenders, that were submitted with professional tender writer help
(Own data collection through fieldwork in 2009–2010 period in Kaposvár sub-region)

Settlement	Submitted tenders in the 2009–2010 period in Kaposvár sub-region	Submitted tenders with the help of tender writer or consultancy companies
Baté	8	6
Fonó	4	0
Kaposkeresztúr	2	0
Büssü	4	3
Gölle	4	3
Kisgyalán	1	0
Magyaratád	2	0
Orci	2	0
Patalom	2	0
Zimány	2	0
Igal	18	0
Kazsok	0	0
Ráksi	0	0
Mosdós	6	4
Nagyberki	8	4
Szabadi	3	1
Csoma	3	1
Kercseliget	9	2
Mernye	9	3
Ecseny	0	0
Polány	0	0
Hetes	11	4
Csombárd	0	0
Várda	0	0
Juta	0	5
Bőszénfa	17	17
Simonfa	18	18
Zselicszentpál	14	14
Zselickislak	10	10
Taszár	0	1
Kaposhomok	0	1
Somogyjád	8	2
Alsóbogát	0	0
Edde	0	0
Szentgáloskér	6	2
Somodor	0	0
Somogyaszaló	5	3
Magyaregres	0	1
Somogygeszti	0	0
Felsőmocsolád	0	0
Újvárfalva	7	1
Mezőcsokonya	6	1
Szentbalázs	20	20
Kaposgyarmat	8	8
Hajmás	8	8

Gálosfa	8	8
Cserénfa	7	7
Sántos	11	11
Somogyszil	0	0
Gadács	0	0
Osztopán	6	3
Bodrog	0	2
Somogysárd	11	3
Total number of tenders	268	177

Annex 3. Regional tender collaboration network data of local governments in Kaposvár sub-region (based on Network 4.)

ID	Degree	Between-ness	Close-ness	Harmonic Closeness	Eigen-vector	2-Local Eigen-vector	Density	EffSize	Const-raint	r-Const-raint	Hierarchy
KTKT	55.000	4293.657	487.000	93.333	0.361	426.000	0.083	50.596	0.049	-0.049	0.079
Koppányvölgye Helyi Akciócsoport	55.000	6213.717	538.000	88.383	0.044	103.000	0.007	54.600	0.021	-0.021	0.021
Zselici Lámpások	48.000	2257.143	569.000	82.117	0.316	286.000	0.050	45.792	0.034	-0.034	0.042
Zselica Szövetség	32.000	293.482	652.000	68.600	0.218	186.000	0.052	30.500	0.042	-0.042	0.023
Bányai Panoráma Egyesület	29.000	762.312	583.000	72.833	0.209	193.000	0.052	27.655	0.044	-0.044	0.018
Somogyjád	24.000	1228.659	506.000	79.833	0.158	260.000	0.181	19.833	0.114	-0.114	0.140
Észak-Kaposi Partnerek	24.000	344.153	610.000	67.417	0.106	157.000	0.120	21.250	0.091	-0.091	0.084
Igal	22.000	3103.574	488.000	82.500	0.133	255.000	0.186	18.091	0.119	-0.119	0.139
Bőszénfa	20.000	115.155	565.000	72.833	0.244	316.000	0.395	12.750	0.140	-0.140	0.051
Hetes	17.000	539.098	584.000	68.667	0.107	172.000	0.147	14.606	0.104	-0.104	0.057
Simonfa	15.000	57.837	573.000	69.833	0.214	286.000	0.600	6.417	0.185	-0.185	0.055
Szentbalázs	14.000	373.134	567.000	70.333	0.200	292.000	0.560	7.000	0.163	-0.163	0.011
Taszár	13.000	500.201	519.000	74.083	0.143	220.000	0.321	9.300	0.139	-0.139	0.045
Nagyberki	12.000	493.820	528.000	72.583	0.123	192.000	0.409	7.500	0.180	-0.180	0.035
Gálosfa	11.000	44.439	579.000	67.500	0.178	255.000	0.782	3.500	0.210	-0.210	0.009
Hajmás	11.000	44.439	579.000	67.500	0.178	255.000	0.782	3.500	0.210	-0.210	0.009
P9	11.000	28.391	686.000	55.567	0.133	124.000	0.473	6.636	0.180	-0.180	0.019
Baté	10.000	480.391	531.000	71.417	0.102	174.000	0.422	6.200	0.194	-0.194	0.022
Mernye	10.000	182.152	608.000	62.833	0.070	137.000	0.356	6.800	0.195	-0.195	0.052
Cserénfa	10.000	44.339	580.000	67.000	0.161	236.000	0.756	3.553	0.214	-0.214	0.011
Kaposgyarmat	10.000	36.450	580.000	67.000	0.163	227.000	0.844	2.711	0.228	-0.228	0.010
Sántos	9.000	280.582	576.000	67.333	0.127	215.000	0.306	6.556	0.157	-0.157	0.009
Gölle	8.000	504.131	535.000	71.750	0.048	148.000	0.321	5.750	0.217	-0.217	0.040
Újvárfalva	8.000	218.963	607.000	62.250	0.064	131.000	0.250	6.250	0.191	-0.191	0.030
Mosdós	8.000	60.330	574.000	67.417	0.109	185.000	0.500	4.500	0.194	-0.194	0.014
Zselickislak	8.000	44.172	586.000	65.583	0.136	218.000	0.643	3.500	0.211	-0.211	0.002
Zselicszentpál	8.000	44.172	586.000	65.583	0.136	218.000	0.643	3.500	0.211	-0.211	0.002
P10	7.000	464.661	707.000	51.433	0.033	34.000	0.048	6.714	0.151	-0.151	0.002
Somogyaszaló	7.000	172.025	564.000	65.250	0.065	136.000	0.524	3.857	0.246	-0.246	0.017
Kaposkeresztúr	7.000	47.479	583.000	65.750	0.091	153.000	0.619	3.286	0.273	-0.273	0.015
Magyaratád	7.000	29.090	561.000	65.333	0.066	130.000	0.667	3.000	0.286	-0.286	0.010
Patalom	7.000	29.090	561.000	65.333	0.066	130.000	0.667	3.000	0.286	-0.286	0.010
Szentgáloskér	7.000	20.835	606.000	61.750	0.064	127.000	0.524	3.857	0.248	-0.248	0.050

Büssü	6.000	337.892	537.000	70.750	0.047	146.000	0.600	3.000	0.315	-0.315	0.037
Orci	6.000	240.931	539.000	68.667	0.075	145.000	0.733	2.333	0.317	-0.317	0.006
Zimány	6.000	240.931	539.000	68.667	0.075	145.000	0.733	2.333	0.317	-0.317	0.006
Juta	6.000	172.026	605.000	62.000	0.056	124.000	0.400	4.000	0.218	-0.218	0.020
Kaposvár	6.000	47.394	580.000	65.750	0.085	164.000	0.533	3.333	0.224	-0.224	0.007
Kaposhomok	6.000	11.754	582.000	65.333	0.104	160.000	0.800	2.136	0.257	-0.257	0.038
Kercseliget	6.000	11.504	586.000	64.917	0.091	147.000	0.933	1.333	0.334	-0.334	0.002
Szabadi	6.000	11.504	586.000	64.917	0.091	147.000	0.933	1.333	0.334	-0.334	0.002
Csoma	6.000	11.504	586.000	64.917	0.091	147.000	0.933	1.333	0.334	-0.334	0.002
Várda	6.000	5.623	603.000	62.250	0.063	132.000	0.733	2.333	0.284	-0.284	0.015
Mezőcsokonya	5.000	161.796	611.000	60.583	0.049	112.000	0.300	3.800	0.252	-0.252	0.008
Osztopán	5.000	69.982	614.000	60.167	0.050	108.000	0.400	3.400	0.281	-0.281	0.024
Fonó	5.000	38.627	590.000	63.917	0.066	123.000	0.700	2.200	0.364	-0.364	0.011
Somogysárd	5.000	29.343	605.000	61.583	0.056	125.000	0.600	2.600	0.260	-0.260	0.007
P2	5.000	25.789	727.000	49.167	0.021	39.000	0.300	3.800	0.298	-0.298	0.006
Somodor	5.000	20.336	567.000	64.083	0.061	132.000	0.700	2.200	0.272	-0.272	0.005
Somogygeszti	5.000	15.203	584.000	62.500	0.053	113.000	0.800	1.800	0.354	-0.354	0.002
Magyaregres	5.000	15.203	584.000	62.500	0.053	113.000	0.800	1.800	0.354	-0.354	0.002
Kazsok	4.000	261.787	542.000	69.250	0.043	136.000	0.833	1.500	0.386	-0.386	0.008
Ráksi	4.000	261.787	542.000	69.250	0.043	136.000	0.833	1.500	0.386	-0.386	0.008
Kisgyalán	4.000	261.787	541.000	69.500	0.037	124.000	0.833	1.500	0.383	-0.383	0.003
Gadács	4.000	261.787	542.000	69.250	0.043	136.000	0.833	1.500	0.386	-0.386	0.008
Somogyszil	4.000	261.787	542.000	69.250	0.043	136.000	0.833	1.500	0.386	-0.386	0.008
P14	4.000	163.400	586.000	60.583	0.027	57.000	0.333	3.000	0.280	-0.280	0.004
Jegyző	4.000	155.263	748.000	46.250	0.010	19.000	0.333	3.000	0.352	-0.352	0.014
Kaposszerda-hely	4.000	36.510	687.000	54.717	0.058	116.000	0.000	4.000	0.250	-0.250	0.000
Kadarkút	4.000	36.510	687.000	54.717	0.058	116.000	0.000	4.000	0.250	-0.250	0.000
Felsőmocsolád	4.000	15.203	568.000	63.583	0.056	125.000	0.667	2.000	0.288	-0.288	0.001
Kaposújlak	4.000	12.271	664.000	57.067	0.063	126.000	0.000	4.000	0.250	-0.250	0.000
Bárdudvarnok	4.000	12.271	664.000	57.067	0.063	126.000	0.000	4.000	0.250	-0.250	0.000
Kisasszond	4.000	12.271	664.000	57.067	0.063	126.000	0.000	4.000	0.250	-0.250	0.000
Kiskopárd	4.000	12.271	664.000	57.067	0.063	126.000	0.000	4.000	0.250	-0.250	0.000
Alsóbogát	4.000	2.236	616.000	59.500	0.050	107.000	0.833	1.500	0.392	-0.392	0.007
Edde	4.000	2.236	616.000	59.500	0.050	107.000	0.833	1.500	0.392	-0.392	0.007
Csombárd	4.000	2.236	628.000	58.833	0.047	102.000	0.833	1.500	0.361	-0.361	0.002
Polány	4.000	2.236	633.000	57.917	0.043	93.000	0.833	1.500	0.419	-0.419	0.005
Ecseny	4.000	2.236	633.000	57.917	0.043	93.000	0.833	1.500	0.419	-0.419	0.005
Kaposmérő	3.000	9.344	666.000	56.400	0.048	97.000	0.000	3.000	0.333	-0.333	0.000
Bodrog	3.000	2.236	636.000	57.167	0.038	84.000	0.667	1.667	0.445	-0.445	0.006
P3	3.000	2.121	654.000	53.267	0.025	37.000	0.333	2.333	0.382	-0.382	0.004
Csököly	3.000	0.660	695.000	53.300	0.055	109.000	0.000	3.000	0.333	-0.333	0.000
Gige	3.000	0.660	695.000	53.300	0.055	109.000	0.000	3.000	0.333	-0.333	0.000
Hedrehely	3.000	0.660	695.000	53.300	0.055	109.000	0.000	3.000	0.333	-0.333	0.000
Hencse	3.000	0.660	695.000	53.300	0.055	109.000	0.000	3.000	0.333	-0.333	0.000
Jákó	3.000	0.660	695.000	53.300	0.055	109.000	0.000	3.000	0.333	-0.333	0.000
Kaposfő	3.000	0.660	695.000	53.300	0.055	109.000	0.000	3.000	0.333	-0.333	0.000
Mike	3.000	0.660	695.000	53.300	0.055	109.000	0.000	3.000	0.333	-0.333	0.000
Patca	3.000	0.660	695.000	53.300	0.055	109.000	0.000	3.000	0.333	-0.333	0.000
Rinyakovácsi	3.000	0.660	695.000	53.300	0.055	109.000	0.000	3.000	0.333	-0.333	0.000
Szenna	3.000	0.660	695.000	53.300	0.055	109.000	0.000	3.000	0.333	-0.333	0.000
Szilvásszent-márton	3.000	0.660	695.000	53.300	0.055	109.000	0.000	3.000	0.333	-0.333	0.000
Visnye	3.000	0.660	695.000	53.300	0.055	109.000	0.000	3.000	0.333	-0.333	0.000
Lad	3.000	0.660	695.000	53.300	0.055	109.000	0.000	3.000	0.333	-0.333	0.000

P15	3.000	0.500	658.000	52.583	0.021	37.000	0.667	1.667	0.432	-0.432	0.023
P8	3.000	0.000	680.000	49.750	0.019	22.000	1.000	1.000	0.560	-0.560	0.002
P5	2.000	6.061	664.000	50.883	0.007	13.000	0.000	2.000	0.500	-0.500	0.000
Tamási	2.000	2.135	618.000	55.033	0.014	21.000	0.000	2.000	0.500	-0.500	0.000
Kőkút	2.000	0.257	722.000	50.750	0.040	80.000	0.000	2.000	0.500	-0.500	0.000
Zselikisfalud	2.000	0.257	722.000	50.750	0.040	80.000	0.000	2.000	0.500	-0.500	0.000
P4	2.000	0.000	654.000	52.583	0.019	30.000	1.000	1.000	0.621	-0.621	0.204
P6	2.000	0.000	689.000	49.000	0.007	14.000	1.000	1.000	0.657	-0.657	0.001
Megyei Önkormányzat	2.000	0.000	656.000	52.500	0.016	32.000	1.000	1.000	0.588	-0.588	0.004
P1	1.000	0.000	903.000	35.133	0.001	4.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
P7	1.000	0.000	686.000	48.333	0.008	10.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
P11	1.000	0.000	862.000	37.717	0.002	7.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
P12	1.000	0.000	862.000	37.717	0.002	7.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
P13	1.000	0.000	862.000	37.717	0.002	7.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
P16	1.000	0.000	760.000	43.533	0.004	6.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Lengyeltóti	1.000	0.000	741.000	43.383	0.002	4.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
P17	1.000	0.000	763.000	43.617	0.005	10.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Kapospula	1.000	0.000	683.000	48.750	0.009	12.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
P18	1.000	0.000	719.000	45.467	0.005	7.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Nagybajom	1.000	0.000	724.000	50.083	0.023	48.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Pálmajor	1.000	0.000	724.000	50.083	0.023	48.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Patosfa	1.000	0.000	724.000	50.083	0.023	48.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Balatonszemes	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Balatonőszöd	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Balatonszárszó	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Szólád	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Nagycsepely	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Teleki	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Kötcse	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Balatonföldvár	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Szántód	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Kőröshegy	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Kereki	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Bálványos	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Pusztaszemes	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Zamárdi	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Balatonendréd	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Ságvár	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Som	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Nagyberény	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Balatonszabadi	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Ádánd	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Nyim	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Koppányszántó	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Értény	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Tab	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Bábonymegyer	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Kisbárapáti	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Fiad	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Bonnya	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Somogyacsa	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Somogy-döröcske	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Szorosad	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000

Törökkoppány	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Kára	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Miklósi	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Zics	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Nágocs	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Andocs	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Somogy-meggyes	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Kapoly	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Zala	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Kánya	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Tengőd	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Sérsekszőlős	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Torvaly	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Lulla	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Somogyegres	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Bedegkér	1.000	0.000	693.000	52.767	0.003	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Somogyfajsz	1.000	0.000	765.000	44.717	0.008	24.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000
Kaposvári Egyetem	1.000	0.000	642.000	55.583	0.027	55.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	-1.000	1.000

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Social components of food marketing in RDP-supported projects

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Abstract

In response to a growing awareness of the consumers across Europe, efforts towards improvements of food marketing have been intensifying during the last decades. Targeted actions to tackle these challenges have been undertaken by rural communities, public and private sector, including large multi-national companies. This paper looks at the various approaches fostered within the EU Rural Development Programmes. We review different types of marketing schemes relevant for EU rural areas, affected by both market and public sector mechanisms. Social components have been frequently added to these, based on voluntary, bottom-up processes and quality control, and embedded in local community and economic development. We claim that social marketing can be effectively combined with the public support available under the EU rural development policy and help food producers to gain better access to markets. The value that social networking and bottom-up rural development represent in the marketing of local products is essential for food-driven innovation in rural areas. Our paper presents an analysis of projects from the database of the European Network for Rural Development, clustered around different social marketing components.

Key words: social marketing, rural development, Common Agricultural Policy, standards

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Social components of food marketing in RDP-supported projects

Introduction

Food belongs to the strategic concerns of the EU Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). It has been broadly recognised as an important factor for successful rural development (Tregear 1998, Marsden 2000, Renting et al. 2003). Introduced in 1962 as a response to the post-WWII scarcity and austerity, nowadays the CAP combines a set of instruments and tools addressing food-related issues. They offer a systemic response to many specific problems connected to food production, such as health and safety, complex developments of the market, the sustainability of rural communities, production methods, phytosanitary, animal welfare, or labelling and quality control.

This study offers an insight into those CAP instruments that facilitate and finance food marketing under the 'second pillar', that is the so-called Rural Development Regulation (Council Regulation (EC) No. 1698/2005). We concentrate on the results achieved during the 2007–2013 programming period, using the available data related to the delivery of specific measures supporting food production and marketing. The broader context of the theoretical narratives and practical evidence during the realisation of the EU RDPs helps to navigate through the challenges and complexity of food value chains. At the same time, the importance of social networks and local participation in triggering innovative food marketing strategies, and consequently the development of rural communities, can certainly be detected.

Observing the Rural Development Programmes (RDPs) 2007–2013, one can notice the growing importance of the 'social' component, supporting cooperation, networking or peer-to-peer learning among others. In this paper we pull together these approaches under the common term of *social marketing* of food and interpret them in the specific context of EU public policy support. Our context is a neo-endogenous rural development approach, based on social innovation and strategic planning (Ray 1998, Shucksmith 2010). In addition, *social marketing* has strong roots in organisational and marketing theories (Kotler–Zaltman 1971, Lefebvre–Flora 1988, Kotler–Roberto 1989, Andreasen 1994, Kotler et al. 2002). It is affected by commercial marketing methods and at the same time means a public intervention aimed at the change of social behaviour. Some important RDP measures, relying on social processes and various forms of engagement between producers and consumers ultimately aim to raise profitability for food chain actors. Social marketing of food, at the same time, brings together local producers and products in order to reach consumers directly and offer them special, high value added, processed food products. Policy measures, thus, can make an important contribution to the perception and choices of consumers reinforcing local, traditional products against mass produced food available in supermarkets.

Research methodology

Drawing on academic literature and EU regulatory documents we situate our survey in a specific narrative of global developments affecting the European agro-food system. Local perspectives, through examples of RDP projects, provide complementary and contesting views. Based on the grounded theory approach (Glaser–Strauss 1967), our empirical work is mainly based on the secondary content analysis of food related project examples included in the RDP projects database of the European Network for Rural Development (ENRD)[2]. We first clustered RDP projects according to the criteria of indicating *social marketing* components. Then, the descriptions of food-related projects in the ENRD database were screened in detail, in order to extract those components indicating the engagement with the society as an element of product marketing approach. Observing the meaningful patterns, we provide a statistical overview. We also highlight examples of particular projects, supplementing the ENRD database with more qualitative information (publications, websites, videos) enabling us to gain deeper insights into their implementation. Consequently, we analyse the results with a view to provide possible answers to the following questions: Which RDP instruments are most favourable for fostering social food marketing? What are the main characteristics of the related RDP projects? What is the added value of *social marketing* in this context? This way, we intend to provide a meaningful operationalisation of the *social marketing* concept.

The engines of food marketing: standards, certification and qualification schemes

Traditionally, the European agro-food system was dominated by the 'family farm' as a central unit of socio-economic organisation. People used to produce, process and eat local food, and rely on solidarity and help of others in their close neighbourhood. Very few products travelled far, and these were luxury ingredients, normally not present in the every-day diet of average families. This kind of society was greatly based on self-consumption (Fonte 2002) and 'local food' had a very concrete and simple meaning, since most food was normally produced in a surrounding geographic area. However, the evolution of food production and supply chains gained pace with the industrial revolution, changing geo-political regimes, increasing migrations and rapid population growth. Fundamental changes further sped up in Europe from the 1960's, following the launch of the CAP. The modern agro-industrial system gradually replaced traditional production methods, and family farms. Under the new order, crowds of people moved to cities, food started to be mass-produced, often losing quality and connection with its origin too. Thus, 'local food' virtually lost its meaning. Traditional ways of food production had to change; industrial agricultural farms did not produce for self-consumption any more. Urban firms began to dominate the organisation of food value chains. Supermarkets, where both city dwellers and most rural people did their shopping, sold products from anywhere and everywhere, consumers became disconnected from production and unable to trace and control its details.

With the arrival of the 'new rural paradigm', however, the industrial agro-food system became somewhat discredited for generating poverty, exclusion and pollution rather than welfare and social progress (Lowe

2 European Network for Rural Development, Rural Development Programmes' projects databasehttp://enrd.ec.europa.eu/enrd-static/policy-in-action/rdp_view/en/view_projects_en.html [last accessed July 2015].

et al. 1995, Bryden 2004, OECD 2006). Public concerns about hygiene, mass diseases, pollution, animal welfare, changing lifestyles and consumption patterns finally gave raise to new regulatory frameworks controlling food production in every detail. Decrees, institutions and policies intended to provide (EU) citizens with standards that could guarantee the quality, hygiene and traceability of their food. While in the past this sphere was mainly regulated by the public authorities, nowadays it has gradually been shifting out of the public domain. Multiple actors became interested and engaged into regulatory efforts towards setting up food standards, such as private market players and civil society organisations. This led to the development of third party certifications (Hatanaka et al. 2005) and tripartite regimes governing quality assurance, labelling and branding systems (Busch 2010, Loconto–Busch 2010) for food products. Specific governance mechanisms emerged, which are expressed through dedicated institutions and networks, at various territorial levels and across the agro-food sector. Their role is to deal with the creation and 'enforcement' of standards, for instance through audits and controls.

During recent decades the development of information and communication technologies (ICTs) have radically shifted the understanding of space and time, putting more emphasis on the networked character of society (Castells 1996). In parallel, the increasing globalisation of food value chains contributed to a growing complexity of relations between producers and consumers. A new kind of 'local consumer' emerged, living mostly in urban areas (Marescotti 2000), but caring very much where their food comes from and how it is manufactured. In developed countries the relationship between producers and consumers was thus widely revisited. Social movements and alternative food networks (AFNs) took off, formed by customers searching direct personal relationship with their food, its origin and its producers (Cooley 1998, Cone–Myhre 2000, Marsden 2000 et al., Renting et al. 2003, Goodman 2004, Friedman 2005, Guthman 2008). The alternative food networks advocate face-to-face contacts, spatial proximity and spatial extension, though the majority of consumers reside outside the rural area where the food is actually produced. All this brought around new forms of marketing (e.g. box schemes, producers' markets, farm shops, agro-tourism), institutions (e.g. customer groups, consumers' co-operatives), different ways of community supported agriculture and other 'slow food' trends. Some people started to produce their own food again in city allotments, urban gardens or moving to the countryside. Others buy 'local food' in the centre of large cities, on farmers' markets or are part of community supported agriculture (CSA) groups.

The trend is so strong that even large supermarket chains could not avoid it and nowadays one can find 'local food sections' and brands labelled as 'local', 'traditional', 'artisanal' or 'organic' in many of them. All this could be seen as a renaissance of the 'local food', attributing new connotations to the near forgotten term. In this sense 'local food' means that we know: (1) where our food is from, (2) it is produced on a small scale and (3) in a 'friendly way', (4) it is good quality (safe and tasty) and (5) we can have some kind of direct personal attachment to its production and producers. This logic has been followed by many territorially based regional schemes employed for qualification, certification, and defining standards of production and supply in Europe and around the world. Rural strategies started to treat local or regional food as a beneficial component for socio-economic development, however, its explicit impacts are rather difficult to measure (Tregear et al. 2007).

The incumbent European regime, while still financing industrial food production on a grand scale, also started to mitigate the negative socio-economic effects, supporting alternative initiatives concerned with health, safety and traceability, aimed at both social and commercial objectives (Tregear et al. 1998). Ray (1998) notes that local food products are strongly rooted in the symbolism of social movements, such as emerging networks under the EU LEADER Programme. Typical local/regional good quality food products play an important role in rural development (Pacciani et al. 2001). Food quality is, however, a contested idea. It emerges in the process of negotiations between actors, establishing common procedures and standards, creating a fertile ground for the development of certification and branding schemes. The demand for ensuring quality implicates a number of actors alongside the food chain, from producers to consumers. Labels based on standards and qualification schemes are prominent in food marketing strategies (Ilbery–Kneafsey 1999, Marescotti 2000).

The industrialisation of the agro-food system did not diminish traditional ways of production completely. In recent years small-scale farming encountered a revival in many developed countries and was broadly promoted by the key international public players (such as for instance FAO or the European Commission). At the same time, however, smallholders face challenges in the 'global market' and are at continuous risk, having a rather limited ability to participate even in the markets within their geographical proximity. A number of studies attempted to explore the impacts of food standards and their trade-offs for small producers. According to some (Ilberry–Kneafsey 1999, Loconto–Dankers 2014, and others), standards, set up by large players of the value chain endanger small-scale farmers and food processors. Evidence suggests that compliance with standards can significantly increase the costs of production, but does not necessarily result in improved quality, nor does it automatically lead to an increased profit for small food producers. However, it is also apparent that participation of small producers in the development and application of standards normally results in improvements in their capacity to participate in the certified markets through affiliation with dedicated groups or networks. In addition, some targeted public support or mixed public-private approaches can normally be very helpful (ibid.).

Setting up food standards within the CAP: towards the social marketing of food

The main practices of food standardisation under the CAP are associated with quality support, certifications and labelling. Most notable schemes are within the EEC Regulation 2081/92 – Protected Designations of Origin (PDOs), Protected Geographical Indications (PGIs) and Traditional Specialties Guaranteed (TSG). They offer dedicated instruments targeting territorial characteristics, quality and specifics of food products (CEC, 1992). Until July 2015, some 1 285 products indications have been registered under these geographic indications, and many are currently in the process of application (DOOR Database). In addition, an EU label indicating organic farming practices can be acquired by food producers (Council Regulation (EC) No. 834/2007).

The main aim of these schemes is to support good quality, culturally rooted products, through providing them with some competitive advantages on the market. This also allows removing the barriers created by the basic principles of equal opportunities and free movements of goods within the EU. These standards are public and their uptake depends on voluntary decisions of producers. Over time, they have resulted in a growing popularity and recognition among consumers. Products with related labels can be found in many shops across

Europe, both big-chain supermarkets and more specialised local retailers or food markets. Beyond a marketing advantage, another possible benefit of these labels is that the geographic indication helps to guarantee exemptions of specific products from the strict HACCP standards that food producers have to comply with in the EU.

The impacts of geographic indications have been studied in detail, using diversified methodologies and tools (Barjolle et al. 2009). Also, they tend to be much dependent on the context. For instance, according Pacciani et al. (2011) this is related with the different strategies to valuate typical food products to acquire PDO / PGI certifications. They are driven by numerous actors and processes, such as food producers, local authorities and retailers. They perceive typical products as certain assets, both material (e.g. specific plant breeds) and immaterial (e.g. knowledge of local agents), whereby the quality of products is derived from these and associated with a specific area. The valorisation strategies have thus both economic and socio-cultural dimensions. The acquisition of PDO/PGI often raises conflicts between different actors and interests as it affects their participation in or exclusion from the markets. They also lead to an increasing commodification of local assets. Although, reverse examples can also be found, where the certification process leads to enhanced local collaboration and increased awareness of the communities how a food-based strategy can benefit territorial development (ibid; Tregear et al. 1998).

The process of getting the EU geographic indication often involves 'collective value creation' (Barjolle–Sylvander 2002). Due to the highly competitive and exclusive nature of these schemes, their conditions are often difficult to meet by smallholder farmers and local communities. A degree of social capital and many other capacities are needed, in order to participate in the schemes and realise successful rural development (Tregear et al. 2007). However, many rural communities lack such capital or capacity. There is a significant gap in the 'official marketing support system', leaving out a large number of small producers, exactly those players who would particularly need help and assistance both in the raising and control of quality and in the marketing of their products. Thus, marginalised rural communities may encounter difficulties on the way to acquiring the EU geographic indications. One of the main challenges is the difference between 'long established and valuable specialties', which have already gained a certain reputation, and those that are 'nascent or developing systems' (Gorton et al. 2014). Therefore, the access of smallholder farmers and food producers to these schemes should be enabled with suitable policy instruments. These can for instance be found in RDPs and we describe some examples later in this paper.

Marescotti (2003) notices that local communities actively estimate the trade-offs of participation in geographic indication schemes, especially the increased costs of production. The refusal of participation in these schemes is quite typical for those products that are embedded in short value chains, sold near the place of production, mainly to local consumers and tourists. In this case, geographical proximity and the personal involvement of producers can substitute for a certified label. However, this drives us back to the fundamental question that producers and local communities in general have to answer: whether they want to bring customers to their own locality and sell their products directly, or if they want to expand their businesses to reach the 'big markets'. In the first case the food marketing process serves as an 'extended territorial strategy' and contributes to a wide range of initiatives encouraging diverse activities and novel interactions between multi-

ple types of actors. In the second case the branding process serves as a 'supply chain strategy' (Pacciani et al. 2001), enhancing a strong producer network, the effective management of the supply chain and the (mainly external) marketing of the products.

Social marketing can be supported with specific policy measures and campaigns (Michaelis–Lorek 2004, Reisch et al. 2013). In the context of RDP, we suggest to understand it as a hybrid system, combining public support available under the EU rural development policy with resources of the private sector and assets of local communities. It aims at a harmonic inclusive and sustainable development of local economies and societies. *Social marketing* is often initiated by some kind of local reflexive agency (sensu Nemes et al. 2014), such as an animation unit of the LEADER Local Action Group, and strongly involves entrepreneurs and service providers from the outset. The definition, certification and control of quality is based on local participation and embedded social processes. It aims both at bringing external customers to the locality and exporting local products to external markets. It intends to sell not only products, but also the 'experience' and the 'image', thus the whole locality. It is either a territorial brand including many different products and services, or it refers to some kind of production method that is widespread and accessible for many in a certain locality. Moreover, social learning and social innovation processes (sensu High–Nemes 2007, Knickel et al. 2009, Bock 2013) are crucial for the *social marketing* schemes.

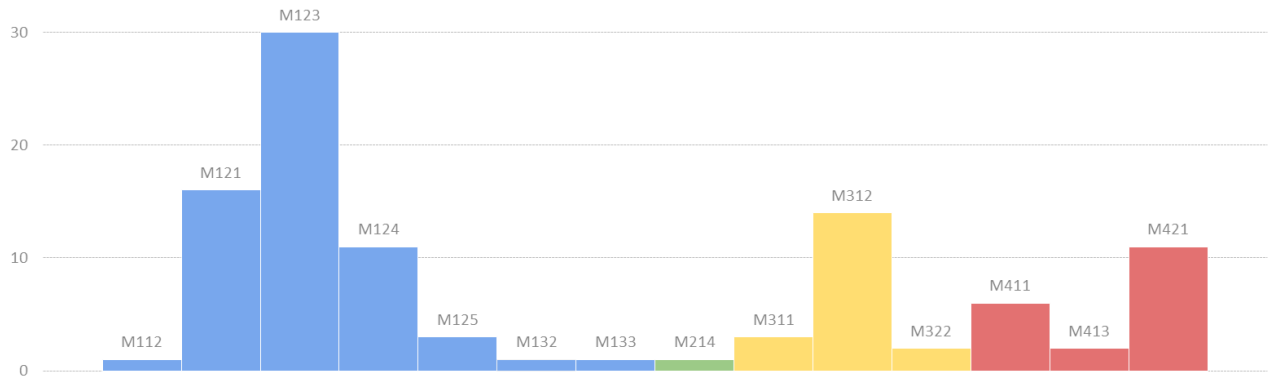
Food marketing strategies fostered by the Rural Development Programmes

Although the majority of CAP funding is still dedicated to the support of larger farms and industrial agriculture, systematic changes to assist smallholders are already visible in a number of national and regional rural development programmes. Alongside the 'classic' CAP certification schemes, specific additional incentives for setting up voluntary food standards are offered, creating the space needed for marketing experiments and innovation in this field. Several measures propose alternative solutions for smallholder farmers and food entrepreneurs to address the gaps that the above described 'official standards' leave in the system. Thus, during the 2007-2013 programming period various RDP instruments contributed to 'local standardisation' and the development or enhancement of food brands. The EU Member States could choose from a menu of measures offered under the four axes of the CAP RDR to create specific policies fitting their particular contexts. Hence, CAP implementation varied by country and was strongly reliant on individual projects realised by farmers, food producers and processors, retailers, Local Action Groups etc. Implemented measures could refer to many different areas, but food related issues normally represented an important target. By studying examples of the implemented projects, we detected certain social marketing strategies. We describe them in the following sections in detail.

The ENRD database: food projects

Our main source of information was the database of the European Network for Rural Development (ENRD), containing best practice examples of rural development projects supported by RDR across the EU. The database was generated through the collection of projects during the implementation period of the RDPs

Figure 1 Overview of the food projects in the ENRD database by measure



Source: Calculations of the authors

2007–2013, following the specific needs of the ENRD.[1] The actual sets of measures and the speed of their implementation were unique in each EU Member State/region (in the case of the regional RDPs). Also, the database was developed gradually, over several years and concentrating on different topics in different periods, the information available was varying over time. As a consequence, the database cannot be seen as fully representative concerning all the projects implemented under the RDPs in the whole EU and conclusions based solely on these data are still of limited merit. Nevertheless, there is no better source at the moment and the ENRD database certainly gives a pretty good indication of the general development trends and points of interest for further investigation of food-related projects. In some cases, the database is supported with complementary material, such as files, pictures, links to websites and videos, from which we were able to learn more details about the projects.

In total, the ENRD database contains 641 individual project descriptions (state as of July 2015). An advanced search, using 'food' as a filter, highlights 107 projects, representing some 17% of the total. This suggests that food-related projects were getting substantial attention in the RDPs 2007–2013. Figure 1 illustrates how the financial support to food-related projects was shared between different RDP measures presented in the database. Below we cluster them according to the specific criteria and undertake a detailed analysis.

Overall, the support to food related projects was the most visible under the axis 1 (competitiveness of agricultural and forestry sector) measures and embraced nearly a half of them (53 out of 107 projects). This might be also less surprising, if keeping in mind that in many EU Member States, axis 1 was the most 'fuelled' in budgetary terms. On the contrary, axis 2 (agro-environment) food-related projects remained rather marginal, despite a similarly strong financial capacity. Nevertheless, through the design of individual measures, this axis did not focus directly on food projects. In addition, some 19 food projects were realised in both axes 3 (quality of life and economic diversification) and 4 (LEADER).

According to the database, the highest number of food projects (30) were realised under the M123, focusing on '*adding value to agricultural and forestry products*'. With 16 documented cases *'farm modernisation*

1 One of the authors of this paper was personally involved in the development of the database, but opinions expressed in this paper do not represent the official position of the ENRD.

and investments' took second place (M121). Also, 11 projects targeting '*cooperation for development of new products, processes and technologies in the agricultural and food sector'* (M124) offer significant insights. It is quite surprising that only 1 project was recorded that is directly focused on '*supporting farmers who participate in the food quality schemes'* (M132), which means that it was either less prioritised in the ENRD work or that the delivery of the measure was not well advanced at the time. Other relevant measures were found under axis 3. These are 14 projects under M312 '*support to the creation and development of micro-enterprises'*; and axis 4 LEADER (11 projects under M421, '*transnational and interregional cooperation'*, and 6 projects under M411, *competitiveness*). In some countries or regions LEADER was a mainstreamed approach towards other RDP axes. This means that the food-related projects could have been implemented through this approach (and through the LAGs) in other axes than the fourth. However, we are not able to state this unambiguously in connection with the database, because this criterion is not clearly embedded there.

Towards the social marketing of food

The next step in our survey, following the grounded approach, was the clustering and a detailed content analysis of the projects. The database contains brief information about the project objectives, activities, results and benefits, lessons learnt, involved partners and financial data. Within these descriptions we looked for indications of social engagement that could be traced in particular projects, regardless of the axis or measure they belonged to. We looked for repeating patterns, exploring the relevance of each dimension in the implementation of every project, and finally considered only those appearing in at least five different cases. As a result, the following typology of *social marketing* with six categories/dimensions was created:

1. Cooperation: the projects generated some forms of cooperation between food producers and/or processors, suppliers of raw material, retailers, information brokers (e.g. researchers, experts), local authorities or reflexive agencies (e.g. LAGs, cooperatives).
2. Joint marketing: the projects focused on common efforts towards identifying new marketing strategies and/or channels, including labelling, branding, joint sales efforts, developing printed and online marketing tools, participating in fairs or exhibitions together, etc.
3. Social events: these projects supported events, creating enhanced opportunities for interactions between producers, retailers, consumers, etc. (e.g. fairs, culinary routes, social dining etc.)
4. Social learning: the projects implied knowledge transfer and/or the creation and rediscovery of local knowledge aimed at individuals and/or communities in order to enhance production methods, product quality, marketing, etc.
5. Intercultural learning: the projects involved learning or knowledge transfer between different countries and cultures, e.g. through study visits.
6. Social space: the projects had an essential focus on investing into public space and built infrastructure where the products could be promoted, tasted and sold (e.g. farmers' market).

Overall, our survey revealed that 34 projects out of 171 included at least one element of *social marketing*. These were found in 15 projects of axis 1, in 5 projects of axis 3, and in 14 projects of axis 4. None was detected in axis 2 projects. The most visible pattern from all the studied cases was cooperation in different forms. For instance in the axis 1 project 'Fio Dourado – a commitment to high quality olive oil' cooperation was fostered between the food processing industry and farmers supplying raw material. In other projects, marketing of food strengthened the mutual relationships between farmers, industry and scientific communities, in order to develop innovative products. In some cases cooperation was a basis of further application for geographic indications (e.g. in the Italian project 'A New Recipe for a High Value Potato Supply-Chain'). Transnational and inter-territorial cooperation was in turn the essence of *social marketing* strategies within the LEADER projects.

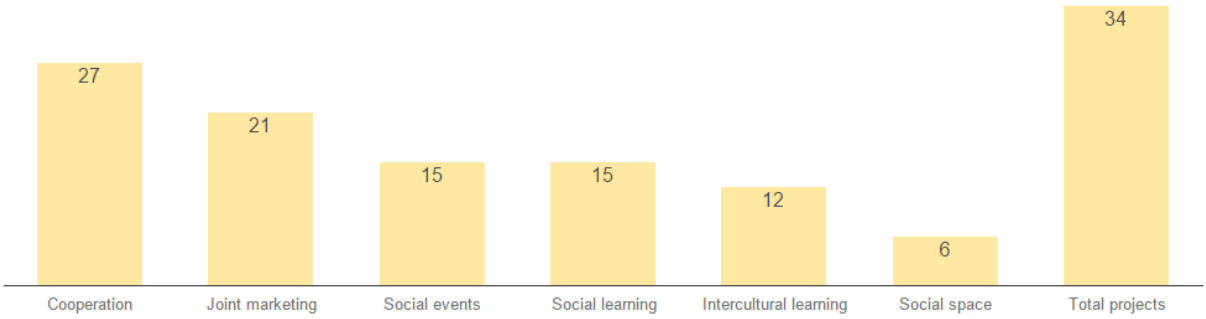
A well-documented example of transnational cooperation is the project 'Smak na Produkt' ('Taste of Product') implemented through the collaboration of one Austrian and seven Polish LAGs. At the heart of the approach was the knowledge transfer from an experienced 'old' EU Member State to a 'newcomer'. The partners organised a series of events to promote the idea of local food products in their respective communities. Participation of smallholder farmers and food producers in fairs and markets both in Poland and Austria was supported. Joint reflection about the development of product quality, a complex branding process and the improvement of overall food marketing strategies were also part of the project. A number of producers got involved in the project, many local products were promoted and finally some 15 of them acquired a traditional food label granted by the Polish public authorities at the Voivodship level. One of the products (Zatorski Carp) proceeded with application for European protection under the PDO scheme and established a strong market presence in Poland.

The second most frequent dimension, after co-operation was joint marketing, observed in 21 projects. The main activity here was bringing together small producers and food processors to create new brands or improve existing ones through more, or less sophisticated approaches. Joint marketing was often supported through social events (15 projects), where food producers could meet consumers and each other. A prominent example of this was a LEADER transnational cooperation project ('Connect Farmers' Markets along the Border'), reactivating traditional famers' markets in Italy and Slovenia. A survey was performed to identify the variety of local products and a number of joint events organised. They consequently led to development of a common geographic indication 'Zelen Kras' and enhancing public recognition of other products from the region.

Another important aspect of *social marketing* strategies was social learning (15 projects). This meant bringing project participants together, generating knowledge exchange about certain practices in relation to their food products. In some cases learning occurred among peers (e.g. farmer-to-farmer), while in others it involved the transfer of knowledge between different types of actors (e.g. scientists and farmers). Moreover, intercultural learning was a strong component in 12 projects, where knowledge was transferred across national borders. This was most frequently visible in LEADER transnational cooperation, but also in axis 1 and 3 projects, where entrepreneurs undertook study trips to visit their peers in other countries.

Six out of the explored 34 projects focused on developing some kind of infrastructure to allow product marketing and sales (social space), e.g. refurbishing an old building where social dinning events with theatre

Figure 2. Number of RDP projects with identified social marketing dimensions



Source: Calculations of the authors

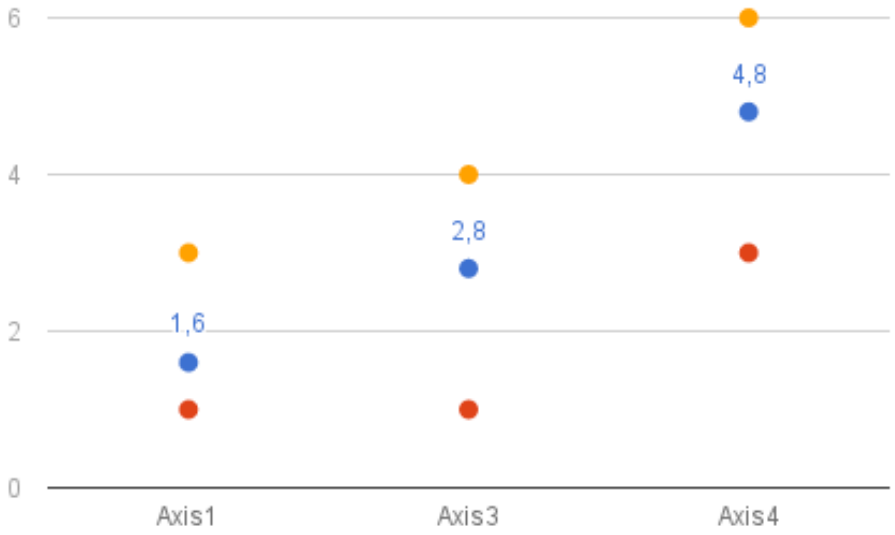
plays were organised (The Lerbäck Theatre Barn, axis 3). Other projects were devoted to construction of the physical space for farmers' markets, where the food could be offered regularly. Again, in other cases thematic trails were created with networks of objects facilitating tourists to meet local producers and purchase food directly. The figure below (Figure 2) presents an overview of the *social marketing* elements identified within 34 studied projects.

A more detailed exploration of the projects according to their *social marketing* dimensions in axes 1, 3 and 4 brought further interesting results. In axis 2 we did not find any relevant projects as the only food related project identified did not demonstrate any of the *social marketing* dimensions. Overall, it became clear that only axis 4, that is the LEADER approach, had projects with relevant and significant connections to all 6 dimensions of the *social marketing* of food. In the case of axis 1, cooperation and joint marketing were notably involved, but other dimensions were barely visible, while in axis 3 they were marginal.

Our interpretation, of course, is limited, since the numbers of realised projects under each axis were different. The perspective of the primary focus of RDP measures concerned and their budgetary weights also resulted in different numbers of supported projects. Therefore, we decided to look at each individual project out of the 34 and check how many dimensions of *social marketing* it integrated. It turned out that on average LEADER axis projects had 4.8 components of *social marketing*. Five projects under this axis demonstrated all 6 dimensions, thus they were the nearest to our 'ideal type'. Moreover, the axis 4 projects were at least three-dimensional in every case. Second in this ranking proved to be axis 3 with 2.8 dimensions on average (1 minimum, 4 maximum). Axis 1, though represented with almost the same number of projects as axis 4, was the least oriented towards *social marketing* with 1.6 dimensions on average (1 minimum, 3 maximum). Figure 3 below illustrates these findings.

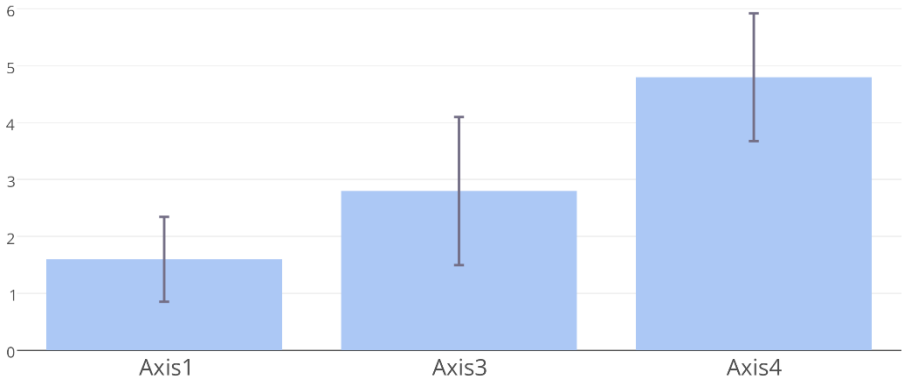
In addition to the average, we measured the standard deviation and margins of error in each axis (Figure 4) to further justify our arguments. Due to the fact that error margins do not overlap, the comparison between axes 1 and 4 is more robust. We can state that numbers of *social marketing* dimensions in the projects under axis 1 were lower than those in the projects under axis 4 with more certainty. With regard to axis 3, however, the results need to be interpreted with caution and no ultimate conclusion should be drawn. The main limitation here is a very low number of projects that was studied (5).

Figure 3. Minimum, maximum and average numbers of social marketing dimensions by axis



Source: Calculations of the authors

Figure 4. Error margins of social marketing dimensions by axis



Source: Calculations of the authors

Clearly, LEADER offered the most favourable conditions for *social marketing* of food. This comes naturally from the LEADER approach that strongly valuates networking, collaboration between people, organisations and territories, thus *social marketing* is its inherent part. In turn, food related projects under the other axes frequently involved investments into infrastructure, machinery, improvements in food processing and ICTs. Especially axes 1 and 3 projects contributed to the creation of new product lines and innovative packaging, enhancing good hygiene and safety standards. In some cases special attention was paid to the compliance with environmental protection standards, sustainability, waste and water management, animal welfare, ecosystem services and biodiversity. However, *social marketing* was generally much less important than in the LEADER axis. At least one dimension was identified in 28.3% of the axis 1 food projects, and in 26.3% food projects under axis 3. Therefore, we can say that *social marketing* was often visible, but not a strongly embedded approach.

Overall, the supported projects, as claimed in their project descriptions, resulted in an enhanced quality of food products, contributing to increased access to markets and/or higher returns from sales. Also, the investments stimulated the rise of production capacity and the ability to meet supply demand from larger retailers (e.g. supermarkets). Moreover, many projects involved the creation of direct sales points (e.g. on-farm shops), thus openly strengthening local food supply chains. Food traceability was also an important objective, and the acquisition of the EU geographic indications and organic farming labels was a typical result of successful projects involving *social marketing* elements. According to the ENRD database both small and large producers participated in such schemes, resulting in better market positions in general.

Conclusions and future research outlook

Our paper focused on food marketing schemes that are crucial for coping with challenges of the globalising agro-food system. We reviewed the major trends and mechanisms driving food standards, certification and labelling in the EU context, including relevant interplays of markets and public policies. We also provided a survey of the ENRD database on best practice examples of projects supported under the RDPs. Based on contextual analysis of project description we argue that *social marketing* of food is a significant, tangible strategy for coping with challenges within the agro-food system.

The typology of s*ocial marketing* was developed, characterised by certain observable activities and processes. It was grouped into six dimensions: (1) Cooperation; (2) Joint marketing; (3) Social events; (4) Social learning; (5) Intercultural learning; and (6) Social space. The number of characteristics applied in individual projects varied greatly, however, it was revealed that successful marketing of food is supported with a holistic and multidimensional approach. Most visibly, *social marketing* was practiced in the LEADER axis. It was also detectable under axes 1 and 3, whereas it did not concern axis 2 at all. Moreover, in a few selected cases we learnt that *social marketing* positively contributed to strengthening the market position of the food chain actors. It triggered collective approaches to problem solving in rural communities and increased their internal and/or external collaboration, in order to brand new food products or improve branding and joint marketing of the existing ones. Consequently, this led to shortening value chains, expansion on the markets and higher returns. In addition, some projects contributed to improvements of actors' compliance with the public standards set up at the EU level, namely the geographical indications.

Our study proved that social aspects in food production, marketing, supply and retail are significant. Even under axis 1, that was predominantly intended to support modernisation and investments of food production, *social marketing* elements supported the implementation of successful projects. Notably, cooperation between stakeholders seems to be crucial for the success of many projects and was clearly visible in the majority of cases we studied. Therefore, these particular mechanisms of *social marketing* could be more consciously integrated into the various RDP measures, in order to foster a greater impact. As the recent policy discussions revolve around the need to emphasise the 'food policy' in the EU undertakings, we argue that more effort could be invested into exploring the different factors beyond actual success or failure of the food projects that were supported with the EU funding. More account could be taken of the *social marketing* elements. Possibly,

an approach could be developed promoting projects that could address the food system challenges in a holistic way, rather than being based on single measures.

Judging by the examples of projects accessible for this study, we argue that *social marketing*, although not mentioned explicitly, has a prominent place in the EU-funded approaches to support food. Through specialised projects and dedicated activities, it is fostered across the EU. However, as the availability of data is still limited, our findings should be treated as the starting points for further investigations, rather than ultimate statements. The ENRD database proved to be a functional basis for the identification of relevant projects and general trends in their implementation and results. We could make observations on the character of each axis or measure and the supported projects. Nevertheless, the available evidence is not robust enough, nor sufficient to project their long term impacts.

The database does not deliver a clear message on what kind of combination of these six dimensions could result in best practice, or what minimum requirements for supporting food projects need to be fulfilled in order to strengthen the local economy and society. Neither can the connections between *social marketing* elements and long-term impacts of projects and how these are affected by the social and economic background of the project area be precisely explained. Further in-depth investigations of complex projects with a strong focus on social aspects in marketing strategies is needed. The potential of complementing 'investive' and 'infrastructural' measures with more collective approaches could also be explored further. All this is important to justify public spending on agricultural policies, giving a high priority to food. It can also be crucial to ensure viable support for the participation of rural communities and smallholder food producers in the globalising value chains.

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Zoltán Lakatos[1]

The substantialist reason in value research
a critical assessment of two Inglehart theses

Summary of Doctoral Thesis

Abstract

Current research into values is dominated by a variable-centered paradigm that defines its inquiry as a study of substances and their impacts on each other. To illustrate the issues with this paradigm, I deconstruct Ronald Inglehart's thesis of postmaterialist value shift and his model of culturally induced economic growth. This critique takes the field analytical perspective, a relational approach to the study of social facts that originates in the pragmatist philosophical tradition and related currents in classical sociology. The engagement with Inglehart's thesis on value change includes a cross-cultural re-analysis of data collected within the scope of the World Values Survey. The study applies the multivariate technique of choice in field analysis, multiple correspondence analysis, which yields more consistent latent constructs than do the linear techniques used as benchmarks—and in Inglehart's studies. Keeping to these dimensions, national values and trajectories of value change challenge Inglehart's account on several counts. The review of Inglehart's proposed update to the endogenous model of economic growth points out inconsistencies with the historical record of public investment in technological innovation and state intervention in general, especially with regard to the economically most developed countries. Incorporating a model using the constructs presented in the first part, this study questions Inglehart's proposition that values have an independent effect on growth. The implications of the two critiques are developed with reference to Weber's concept of elective affinity and Bourdieu's studies of symbolic power. The empirical irrelevance of the culture-economy dichotomy (or symbolic versus material forms of agency) is discussed in connection with the field analytical reformulation of the challenges ahead in the sociology of values.

Key words: value research, substantialism, linear models, structural equivalence, field theory, agency, symbolic power

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The substantialist reason in value research

A critical assessment of two Inglehart theses

Summary of Doctoral Thesis[2]

Preliminaries[3]

This study critically deconstructs two theses by political scientist Ronald Inglehart. The first is the postmaterialism thesis, which sketches a rationale for the cultural transformation taking place in advanced industrial societies following World War II. Originally formulated in the 1970s, this theory of economic growth-induced value change had later developed into a detraditionalization, and more recently a civic emancipation thesis. The second is an update to the endogenous model of economic growth with a variable capturing culture. Although the former is more influential, the latter is no less significant because it develops from an attempt at building a bridge between mainstream economics and the social sciences.

This is not a monograph on Inglehart's work. Within its narrower scope, it aims to drill deeper: the purpose is to reexamine the two selected theses, conduct an empirical study by relying on the debates around them, and use the findings to outline the direction that value research should take in order to overcome the limitations identified in connection with the Inglehart school.

Both selected theses reflect the 'mind and mood' of their era. Scholarly engagement with the cultural consequences of the 'thirty glorious' years of the post-World War II economic boom in the West gave rise to various theories announcing the winding down of class-based political conflicts (Inglehart–Rabier 1986, Inglehart 1988, Inglehart–Siemieńska 1988). Inglehart had adopted this view in his postmaterialism thesis: extrapolating Maslow's needs theory (1970) to collective behavior, he had proposed that Western societies had evolved to a stage where, in matters of political conflict, lifestyle, career paths, etc., the impact of what he terms 'economic determinism' is gradually receding (Inglehart 1971, 1977, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1985a, 1985b; Inglehart–Flanagan 1987; Abramson–Inglehart 1994; Abramson–Ellis–Inglehart 1997; Inglehart–Abramson 1999). From this diagnosis follows his postulate of a cultural shift from 'traditional' to 'postmodern' values. His definition of traditional values includes authoritarianism, religiosity and, most importantly, materialism. Opposed to these are 'postmodern' values: libertarianism, secularism and post- (rather than non-) materialism.

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3 Of the two studies presented in this thesis, the chapter engaging with Inglehart's postmaterialism thesis first appeared in Volume 79, Issue S1 of Public Opinion Quarterly (Lakatos 2015) . Copyright for the relevant sections is held by Oxford University Press, reproduced here by permission. A longer version of the section discussing Weber's concept of elective affinity ('Weber versus substantialist reason', referenced here in section 3.3) has been published in Volume 5, Issue 1 of Elpis in Hungarian under the title *Az elektív affinitás: a fogalom hanyagolásának okai és következményei* [Overlooking Elective Affinity: Causes and Consequences] (Lakatos 2011). Copyright for this part is held by the author.

The thesis regards economic growth as *generally* conducive to a de-emphasis of traditional values, albeit with nuances depending on the national context (Inglehart 1990; Inglehart–Abramson 1994; Abramson–Inglehart 1995; Inglehart 1997; Inglehart–Baker 2000; Inglehart–Welzel 2003, 2005).

The thesis of culturally induced economic growth bears the imprint of a current in Western intelligentsia that has become influential with the deregulatory policies starting in the late 1970s. It assumes that the key to modernization lies in rolling back state intervention in the economy—understood as opening up the avenues for 'individual achievement'—, and explains persisting differences in economic development as stemming, at least in part, from cultural differences. Inglehart's contribution follows up on attempts by economists (Arrow 1962; Uzawa 1965; Romer 1986, 1990; North 1990; Grossman–Helpman 1991; Aghion–Howitt 1992; Helliwell 1994; Leblang 1996; Acemoğlu–Johnson–Robinson 2001) to overcome the limitations of the neoclassical growth model (Solow 1956, Swan 1956), in which the production function is dependent on a number of exogenous factors like savings, population growth or technological change. Positing that technological change *originates* in achievement motivation, Inglehart proposes that differences in per capita GDP are partly *rooted* in national differences regarding the emphasis on achievement (Granato–Inglehart–Leblang [GIL] 1996a, 1996b). In addition to endogenous growth theory, the theoretical framework of this line of thought includes the *established* reading of Weber's Protestant ethic thesis (Weber 2005).

Starting from the early 1980s, the postmaterialism thesis and the related empirical apparatus have attracted substantial criticism. Without undue simplification, this boils down to three major issues. The first is that long-term variations and short-term fluctuations of Inglehart's measures are inconsistent with the posited trajectory of value change (Van Deth 1983; Böltken–Jagodzinski 1985; Clarke–Dutt 1991; Duch–Taylor 1993, 1994; De Graaf–Evans 1996; Clarke–Dutt–Rapkin 1997a, 1997b; Davis–Davenport 1999; Davis–Dowley–Silver 1999). The second is Inglehart's definition and measure(s) of (post)materialism, which conflate materialistic concerns with authoritarianism (Marsh 1975; Flanagan 1982a, 1982b; Lafferty–Knutsen 1985; Inglehart–Flanagan 1987; Trump 1991; Haller 2002; Majima–Savage 2007). Later adjustments to Inglehart's definition and refinements of his measures have not done away with conflation: materialism has been subsumed under a broader construct including aspects of authoritarianism; and authoritarianism has been conflated also with religiosity in a measure of 'secular' (as opposed to traditional) values (Inglehart 1997, Inglehart–Baker 2000). Finally, the value indicators have not been tested for configural congruence (or invariance), a prerequisite for cross-cultural comparisons at the individual level (van de Vijver–Poortinga 2002, Moors–Wennekers 2003). In the absence of such tests, national differences and trajectories of change may reflect not actual values but methodological artifacts.

The endogenous growth model updated with a cultural variable raises theoretical and specification issues that are no less significant (Jackman–Miller 1996a, 1996b; Swank 1996). These have been less debated, because Inglehart abandoned this line of research. Nevertheless, as his study remains a reference for attempts at 'operationalizing' culture in macroeconomic models, a close inspection of these issues is required to reveal shortcomings that extend also to the latter.

Perspective and methods

This critique adopts the field analytical perspective, a relational approach to the study of collective behavior that originates in the pragmatist philosophical tradition and related currents in classical sociology. Much of the concerns with Inglehart's theses stem from what field theory identifies as the *substantialist paradigm* (Abbott 1988, 1992a, 1992b; Bourdieu–Wacquant 1992; Emirbayer–Mische 1998; Martin 2003; Savage–Silva 2013). For substantialist reason, the focus of the inquiry is abstract *entities in isolation* and/or their properties, the variables. This paradigm has long been overcome in the natural sciences: (modern) physics and chemistry in particular owe their existence to a reorientation on *emergent properties* (Cassirer 1953, Hesse 1970). Chemical bonding, living organisms, conscience, and social facts are emergent phenomena, that is, stemming from the *relatedness*—therefore irreducible to the properties—*of the parts* (Dewey 1896, Mead 1934, Lewin 1936, Husserl 1960, Durkheim–Mauss 1963, Emirbayer–Mische 1998, Schröder 1998, Luisi 2002). Substantialist reason is a form of metaphysical thinking in that the objects of its inquiry are defined as existing in their own right, independent of the contexts in which they emerge (Bachelard 2002). This focus gives rise to a series of reifications in the form of false dichotomies: mind versus body, thinking versus acting, substance versus form, etc. The assumption that culture and the economy are objectively existing counterparts is an exercise in reification (Brons 2005), and fits the substantialist template on all counts.

Inglehart's two theses examined in this study reproduce the two main subclasses of substantialist reason: the *self*-action and the *inter*-action paradigms (Dewey–Bentley 1949, Emirbayer 1997). In the former, it is the entities that 'do' things—as suggested by the postulate that cultural substances (achievement motivation, individualistic outlook, etc.) *'bring about'* socioeconomic outcomes. In the inter-action subclass, the focus switches to the properties of the entities, the variables—and the action that the inquiry seeks to isolate takes place *between* the entities. (In other words, it is *triggered* by different levels of entity properties.) The suggestion that driven by a universal utility function, individuals socialized below and above a certain income threshold (scarcity versus affluence) will have different values is closer to this latter subclass—that practitioners of field analysis sometimes call 'the sociology of variables' (Blumer 1956, Esser 1996, Rouanet–Ackermann–Le Roux 2000). The General Linear Model (GLM) adopted by many practitioners of value research reproduces the assumptions of both subclasses (Clogg–Haritou 1997, Manzo 2005, Lebaron 2010).

In statistical formalizations adhering (at least implicitly) to the substantialist perspective, the criteria to retain a model as providing a plausible explanation include the maximization of explained variance and the proscription of collinearity. However, given the relationality of social facts, these criteria are met only under exceptional circumstances. The solutions to this problem: path models, filling in interaction terms, increasingly sophisticated tests for autocorrelation, normally distributed and homoskedastic residuals, etc. do little to resolve the major issues associated with this unrealistic framework (Abbott 1988). Using a parallel from the natural sciences, Lieberson (1985) argues that if physicists had kept to the GLM objective of maximizing explained variance and passing the usual diagnostic tests, they would have never arrived at explaining why things fall. They would have merely provided a set of coefficients expressing the contribution of this or that property (weight, density, composition, etc.) of falling bodies and of the ambient matter to the velocity by which

bodies reach the ground. But this is *not* what physicists are *looking for* when they investigate the determinants of motion.

This example points to the crux of the field analytical perspective. Rather than aiming to maximize variance and producing significant predictors in a GLM framework, relational sociology explains individual action with reference to *relative positions* within a field structured along relations of force (Martin 2003). In accordance with the emergence postulate, these relations of force—the properties of the field—are supervenient on individual properties: they constrain action and perception (Sawyer 2001). The research task therefore is to unravel the gravitational principle that structures action in the field. In social fields, this is defined as a prize or a value, an asset, a stake or different types of capital toward which actors are oriented in what John Levi Martin calls 'organized striving' (ibid.). Social fields are fields of struggle—although, in order for the gravitational force specific to a field to exert its effects, it is not a necessary condition that its principle be recognized by the actors engaged in the struggle.

The latter insight constitutes a fundamental contrast with the substantialist—and, by implication, Inglehartian—approach to the study of values. For the latter, individual action is (self-) driven in accordance with the value emphases that develop at the level of consciousness. Different individuals adopt action rationales that range from identical to irreconcilable, but they are all consciously oriented toward the end states that they find desirable. Against this approach, the field analytical perspective stresses that the value emphases that serve as justifications for individual action will often *not explain* actual conduct (V. W. Turner 1974; Bourdieu 1979, 1980a, 1980b). This is because the function of these emphases is to disguise the field's organizing principle. Actors are typically unaware of the objective logic of their actions: instead, what they perceive is their own cognitive simplification, the subjective logic. Put simply: values matter less than what is being cognitively simplified (disguised).

The deconstruction of each Inglehart thesis includes an empirical study organized in accordance with these considerations—although, in order to spell out the underlying theory, we have to first go through a detailed review of the related issues in terms of the method. The concluding chapter relates the findings from the two empirical analyses to Bourdieu's theses on symbolic power, which provide the most coherent formulation of the field analytical perspective as it pertains to value research.

Postmaterialism thesis

Regarding the postmaterialism thesis, this perspective calls for multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), a technique that is still rarely used in sociology despite its empirical potential demonstrated thanks to Bourdieu's work (Bourdieu 1979, Savage–Silva 2013).

To explore the structure of values, Inglehart uses linear multivariate methods such as PCA and factor analysis, where the focus is the variables: on one hand, the input variables, on the other hand, the constructs that the procedure seeks to establish as giving the best description of the original items. In the case of PCA, this is done by computing linear combinations, whereas factor analysis searches for underlying dimensions using regressions. In contrast, multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) focuses on the space of subjects

(individuals, collectivities, etc.). This means that unlike linear techniques, MCA does not 'search' for meta-variables that best capture the information contained in the input variables (Benzécri 1992; Blasius–Greenacre 2006; Le Roux–Rouanet 2006, 2010). While a space of latent variables is also constructed in MCA, this is done by calculating *relative distances* in a Euclidean space between subjects based solely on their properties. In MCA, the latent structure emerges *from the data,* rather than being 'imposed' on them. This reflects the field analytical perspective, where the focus is the relations between the parts.

The constructs capturing the latent dimensions that emerge from MCA are subjected to tests of structural equivalence. Construct incongruence indicates significant semantic differences in the content of the dimensions, and therefore precludes cross-cultural comparisons. Given that at the *individual* level, these involve the most stringent equivalence criteria that not even Schwartz's internally most consistent value constructs can satisfy for most countries (Davidov–Schmidt–Schwartz 2008), the country differences are studied with regard to dimensions derived at the *ecological* level. However, even at this level, the number of comparable national entities is significantly reduced—but that is a price to pay if one is to conduct the analysis in accordance with the building blocks of this critique. The country comparisons use Inglehart's analysis as reference and highlight those cases where his instruments mis-measure national differences and trajectories of value change. They also extend to subnational divisions rarely examined in value research.

Updated endogenous growth model

Given the centrality of technological innovation in the endogenous growth model Inglehart has sought to update, the review of culturalist growth theories includes a discussion of the sources of innovation in *basic* technologies. Basic technologies are groundbreaking innovations that constitute paradigm shifts in production (Ruttan 2006, Mazzucato 2013). In accordance with the substantialist paradigm, growth models endogenizing technological change typically gloss over the historical context in which it takes place. As a result, they propose that technological change originates in the self-action of utility-maximizing individuals. In contrast, heterodox accounts of economic growth rely on the economic history of the institutional arrangements under which ground-breaking innovations emerge (Baran–Sweezy 1968, Galbraith 1984, Wade 1990, Evans 1995, Woo-Cumings 1999, Mills 2000, Chang–Evans 2005, Reinert 2007, Chang 2008).

The quantitative analysis includes cross-country regressions of mean rates of per capita GDP growth and absolute per capita GDP levels. As with regard to the space of values, these are specified using Inglehart's empirical models (GIL 1996a, 1996b) as reference. A significant difference is that, in addition to macroeconomic indicators and measures of values, they also include historical factors among the independent variables. Also, as the two value measures in Inglehart's model: the 'Achievement Motivation' and the Postmaterialism scales have been found configurally incongruent, the value scales in my models are the religiosity and authoritarianism constructs identified in the chapter dissecting the postmaterialism thesis. (Authoritarianism is an appropriate independent variable for an endogenous growth model, given the claim that its opposite value, individual autonomy is a prerequisite for innovation, hence economic growth.) Maintaining configural invariance as a criterion, their inclusion reduces the number of countries in the model significantly. To compensate for this

reduction, an expanded model uses Schwartz's value scales derived at the ecological level and tested for construct equivalence (Schwartz 1994, 1999, 2006).

Findings and conclusions

Postmaterialism thesis

(1) Instead of stemming from sociologically coherent definitions of religiosity, authoritarianism and materialism, Inglehart's value scales: the Postmaterialism Index, the secular versus traditional, and the self-expression versus survival scales are produced by their conflation, which renders them inadequate to account for such phenomena as non-authoritarian religiosity, secular authoritarianism or even actual materialism.

(2) Multiple correspondence analysis yields conceptually clearer value dimensions than do linear combinations of (PCA) or latent variables imposed on the original items (factor analysis). In the MCA solution, religiosity, authoritarianism and materialism clearly separate out. Comparisons with Schwartz's ecological values confirm their semantic coherence.

(3) In most countries, Inglehart's secular-rational and self-expression-survival measures have not been found structurally equivalent at the individual level. This means that most of the country differences and trajectories in his cultural typology may not represent actual differences in national values.

(4) In contrast, the religiosity and the authoritarianism scales identified with MCA are structurally equivalent at the ecological level in a reasonable number of countries, which allows for cross-cultural comparisons. However, because these measures are Eurocentric, the alternative analysis presented in this study has a narrower coverage than what has become common in the Inglehart school.

(5) The findings obtained with the alternative indicators call into question the core Inglehart thesis of value change induced by economic growth. Rising national affluence does not systematically bring about shifts away from 'traditional sources of authority.' Such a thesis hinges on a restrictive definition of religiosity, in which the coercive elements of institutionalized religion are paramount—not on religiosity proper.

(6) In the societies that constitute the European civilization, religiosity does not 'evolve' in the direction posited by Inglehart, and per capita GDP has a stronger association with authoritarianism than it has with religiosity. Outside transitional Eastern Europe, it is difficult to identify a general movement toward secularization.

(7) What in the Inglehart typology appear to constitute more or less coherent historical clusters are less manifest when making the warranted distinction between religiosity and authoritarianism. For example, most Latin American societies are *not* authoritarian: while still religious, they are about as libertarian as several West-European societies. It is also doubtful whether 'historically Protestant' nations form a coherent cluster. Furthermore, there is no trace of 'American exceptionalism.'

(8) The value change in post-communist societies that Inglehart describes as 'a retrograde movement'—a regression to parochial worldviews (Inglehart–Baker 2000:41)—had not occurred in most of the post-communist nations for which comparable measures exist. What Inglehart measures as an 'increasing emphasis

on traditional values' (ibid.) is, in reality, an increase in religiosity. But most East-European societies had not reverted to more authoritarianism—not even those that have experienced a collapse of their economy or worse, armed conflict.

Updated endogenous growth model

(1) The culturalist reframing of endogenous growth theory does not depart from the standard neoclassical assumptions (Barro–Sala-i-Martin 2004) of utility-maximizing individuals engaged in market competition. While the universalistic definition of 'utility' and 'rationality' does not hold in the case of the updated endogenous growth model incorporating cultural variables, the two approaches are similar in their methodological individualism, whereby both neglect contextual factors. Like other substantialist inquiries, Inglehart's study of the relationship between cultural values and economic growth *'generates a series of false problems about bourgeois entrepreneurship, […] spontaneous capitalist development and stationary societies'* (B. S. Turner 1978:394). Values enter the endogenous growth model as 'isolated,' that is, without being explained, and are considered as mere emphases impacting the importance of achievement. As a result, the assumption of macro outcomes resulting from simple aggregation of atomized individuals found in neoclassical economics remains unchallenged.

(2) Against these assumptions, the historical processes reviewed in this study indicate that the economy in major industrial powers has been growing at a steady rate despite the absence of private investment in *basic* technological innovation within a market framework responding to existing consumer demand. If by „market framework" is meant a variety of bottom-up processes driven by autonomous consumer demand, then the empirical evidence provides a refutation. Forced labor (List 1885, Wallerstein 1975, Hobsbawm 2001, Polanyi 2001, Adelman 2006, Baptist 2014, Grandin 2014, Horne 2014) and large-scale cultural piracy (Lessig 2004) at the onset of industrialization; R&D dependent on *public funding* (see above)—especially military procurement—, and a patent regime designed to secure monopoly profits earned thanks to taxpayer money at later stages (Gambardella 1995, Angell 2005, Baker 2007); protectionist trade policies and militarism throughout—the sources of economic growth are hardly the kind of innovation effort implied in endogenous growth theory.

The risk taking implicated in the processes conducive to innovation in basic technologies and growth occurs mostly beyond the firm's reach. Left to its own devices, the firm cannot provide the resources required for technological breakthroughs. Rather than standing as empirical evidence of the plausibility of endogenous growth theory, the processes sustaining technological innovation are related to state capitalism, market oligopolies, and rent-seeking. In other words, the 'free market' is neither a necessary condition, nor a major driver of technological innovation and economic growth.

(3) The empirical models of growth and per capita GDP incorporating the religiosity and authoritarianism constructs as well as Schwartz's value scales lend support to the criticism of the proposed update to the endogenous growth model. In models of growth rates, the predictive power of values is progressively reduced to zero when controlling for contextual variables. With per capita GDP as dependent variable, a modest

correlation with authoritarianism/autonomy persists even after controlling for contextual factors. However, this might be an indication of the cultural change triggered by the transformation related to economic growth.

(4) Regressions, like all attempts at formalized explanation in the social sciences yield plausible inferences only when grounded in a solid historical account. The latter provides the context that substantialist reason ignores. Therefore, a specification resulting in a robust coefficient of a cultural variable (ceteris paribus) in a model of economic growth does not, in itself, indicate substantialist inquiry. On the other hand, *an interpretation attributing an autonomous effect to this or that substance* or property does. Given the absence of historical perspective, Inglehart's update to the endogenous model reproduces the latter paradigm.

Symbolic versus material forms of agency—and the field analytical perspective on values

(1) Inglehart has argued that the assumption of reciprocal causality between symbolic and material forms is somewhat paradoxical, yet correct. It follows from the preceding that such suggestions are not paradoxical at all: they stem from the substantialist postulate that self-contained substances exist and moreover constitute the focus of scientific inquiry. If economy and culture are indeed objectively delimited entities, then it is reasonable to suppose that they interact, and that these interactions occur in both directions.

Against this perspective, this study argues that the ordering of cultural ('subjective') and economic ('objective') factors in whatever sequence is empirically meaningless. Cultural and economic aspects of behavior correspond to symbolic and instrumental aspects of agency, which are inextricable. If value research is to overcome some of the major shortcomings reviewed in this study, then it should do away with the reification of abstract theoretical constructs.

(2) Bourdieu's theses on symbolic power provide the clues for a field analytical reformulation of these issues. His work on speech acts, the logic of practice, cultural consumption, and economic reason includes the most consistent sociological application of the pragmatist approach to cognition. His empirical studies demonstrate that 'cultural' is never dissociated from 'structural,' mental representation always stems from agency, and symbolic practices are always, simultaneously instrumental and physical in their origins as well as in their consequences. The materiality of symbolic acts is captured with regard to three main aspects: [a] rituals, [b] bodily hexis, and [c] denial.

[a] As rituals, symbolic practices—from speech acts to judgments of taste—are *performances*: rather than descriptions of reality, they are first and foremost attempts at constituting a state of affairs. Their performative aspect is largely unrecognized (or mis-recognized)—and this unawareness is important in order for the dominants to consolidate their power (Bourdieu 1991). [b] As part of habitus, symbolic acts are intimately tied up in bodily hexis: all manners of mostly unconscious bodily performance expressing one's relation to the world (Bourdieu 1990, 1998). [c] Finally, symbolic acts express the distance actors take from the 'physicality' of existence—a relationship that ranges from open embrace to denial (Bourdieu 1984). Higher positions in the social hierarchy correspond to increased investment in denial: euphemisms, the sophistication of forms serve the purpose of distancing oneself from the 'baseness' of the matter, transcending the temporality of existence.

(3) In sum, symbolic practices merely reflect the properties of the field relative to the specific position

occupied by the actor: mental structures and field structure are isomorphic. Accordingly, rather than conceiving of symbols, vocabularies, motives as 'external manifestations of subjective and deeper lying elements in individuals,' the field analytical perspective relates them to *'delimited social situations for which they are the appropriate vocabularies'* (Mills 1940: 913).

(4) The misreading of Weber's Protestant ethic (PE) thesis is a significant factor in the failure to recognize the embeddedness of mental representations: 'culture,' 'ideas,' 'values,' etc. in the context of agency. The substantialist perspective, which in value research has developed into a dominant practice—Inglehart's studies being a case in point—has adopted what Weber would (and, in fact, did) call a 'doctrinaire' derivative of his thesis (Weber 2005:49). The PE thesis not only did not hold an idealist view of the processes leading to modern capitalism, but defined itself *against* such an approach. What Weber set out to explain was not how whatever spirit 'gave rise' to a new economic order, but rather how specific mental dispositions formed in a given socioeconomic context turned out to be *adequate* for already existing forms of capitalist enterprise (Howe 1978, Parkin 1983, Thomas 1985, Löwy 2004, Chalcraft 2005, de Paula 2005, Runciman 2005, Treviño 2005, Carrier 2010, McKinnon 2010, Lakatos 2011). However, Weber's main argument concerning the *elective affinity* (correspondence) between symbolic and material forms of agency has been mostly disregarded because it was formulated in no less than six articles (Weber 1904, 1905, 1907, 1908, 1910a, 1910b)—only two of which are included in what posterity has come to know as Weber's Protestant Ethic, 'the book.' To sum up, Weber's PE argument is close to Bourdieu's concept of field and habitus. It can not only be 'accommodated with,' but is a sociological formulation of the emergence postulate, according to which the materiality and symbolism of agency are intertwined (Bourdieu 1990).

(5) The field theoretical perspective on values helps reformulate the problems related to structural equivalence. Since the cultural emphases that latent constructs purport to capture are relational, the researcher has to fine-tune the method of inquiry in order to account for this flexibility. Field theory suggests that even constructs whose structural invariance has been established—including the measures of religiosity and authoritarianism proposed in this study—may be of limited empirical relevance. This is because while it can be demonstrated that what they do capture has reasonably invariant meaning across the subsets (nations) studied, this invariant structure might still not account fully for the underlying phenomenon.

My indicator of authoritarianism seems to fit a traditional formulation (rejection of outgroups, oppressive gender roles, restraints on the freedom of speech, resentment of political subversion)—, but this does not mean that those who, by these standards, qualify as libertarian are indeed non-authoritarian in contexts where authoritarianism has other carriers. Bourdieu finds survey evidence that elites gradually shift to liberal or libertarian positions in matters of domestic morality that are becoming secondary or insignificant to the exercise of their power, because the levers of social control have also shifted—that is, from more 'tangible' to less visible means of coercion. However, they will retain the authoritarian outlook in matters perceived as central to the social order and will remain intolerant of what they see as challenges to their domination (1984: 432).

The same caution is in order regarding the definition of materialism. Sociologists and heterodox economists

have argued that the imperative of material accumulation has always included an expressive function (Baran–Sweezy 1968, Galbraith 1984, Polanyi 2001, Veblen 2007). Therefore, far from subsiding among the affluent sectors (or in an overall affluent society), materialism merely manifests itself in different, more sophisticated forms—to the point of being unrecognizable thanks to the energies invested in wasteful consumption and sophisticated rituals. Higher positions in the social hierarchy correspond to increased investment in wasteful consumption, and apparently futile, disinterested activities, whose function is to deny one's own and repudiate others' materialism. But this does not mean that the affluent sectors are less materialistic: subject to the actors' relative positions in the field, material interest is expressed in many different forms.

(6) Finally, and most importantly, *a sociology of values adopting the field theory perspective has to caution against attributing too much theoretical importance to values.* The more carefully the researcher goes about detecting the structure of those representations that (a) fit Schwartz's practical definition of values *('normative emphases that underlie and justify the functioning of social institutions'*) (Schwartz 2011: 314) and (b) capture all significant aspects of the specific values considered, the closer the resulting construct(s) will be not to 'the value(s)' but to the gravitational principle around which the field (including the values) is organized. This is because *'the subjective experience of values as injunctions is a cognitive simplification of what is otherwise a complex task of navigating a field'* (Martin 2003: 37, emphasis added). This reflects what Bourdieu proposes in Distinction with regard to symbolic practices: although the judgments of taste specific to different locations in the field appear incommensurable from the standpoint of the actors, they are commensurable from the analytical perspective, because they can be brought to a common benchmark by revealing the forces structuring the field. In other words: *the more latent the construct, the less it taps into the cognitive simplification (stemming from subjective experience), and the more it reveals what is being cognitively simplified—that is, the gravitational principle.* Regarding the outcomes, it is the logic of the field that matters, not the cognitive simplification.

(7) A field analysis of religiosity, authoritarianism and materialism at the level of individual behavior will relate these values to the organizing principles of the field of class relations—the broadest field structuring agency, and the subfields defined with reference to the possession of specific assets/capitals. Bourdieu's empirical accounts of symbolic power show that in addition to the amount of (economic) capital possessed, the symbolic relation to material interest—ranging from embracing to denial—are keys to this principle. Likewise, if values as cognitive simplifications are indeed secondary to the 'task of navigating the field,' then it is legitimate to suppose that religiosity, authoritarianism and materialism—and, moreover, all 'normative emphases'—can be related to the same underlying principle. After all, with reference to the epistemological tradition in which field analysis is embedded, it can be argued that *these three values all express the distance actors take from the open expression of material interest.* Materialism is the most straightforward manifestation of this opposition. In the case of religiosity, the ultimate value (the sacred, in the Durkheimian [2001] sense) is defined in opposition to worldly, that is, material concerns. Authoritarianism and its opposite value, libertarianism, relate, in the final analysis, to approval or rejection of coercion—regardless of 'format' or 'medium' but always with reference to legitimizing (un)equal access to assets. *If this perspective is correct, then the research task will be to identify the appropriate level of analysis where these euphemizations are sufficiently disparate to conceal—from the*

standpoint of the individual actor—the gravitational principle, but at the same time transsituational enough to form stable orientations.

(8) In order to reorient its inquiry on the actor-field dialectic, value research needs to abandon the variable-centered approach—including the culture-economy dichotomy—as empirically irrelevant. In the era of Big Data, this will be difficult because the substantialist temptation is almost insurmountable (Wacquant 1992: 15): there is no shortage of indicators for any research idea, no matter how well formulated. The issues with Inglehart's two theses reviewed in this thesis point to the limitations of this paradigm.

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