

UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI
FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE

Krisztina RÁCZ

**Diskurzi in prakse multikulturalizma:
madžarska mladina v Vojvodini in Prekmurju**

**Discourses and Practices of Multiculturalism:
Hungarian Youth in Vojvodina and Prekmurje**

Doktorska disertacija

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Summary: Discourses and Practices of Multiculturalism: Hungarian Youth in Vojvodina and Prekmurje

Basic research results

The research I present in this dissertation is the result of a ten-month-long fieldwork in Kishgyes, Vojvodina, Serbia and a shorter one lasting for three times several days in Lendva, Prekmurje, Slovenia. The material gathered during the fieldworks is contextualized both locally, taking into account a wider socio-historical perspective, and theoretically, applying to it theories of three major fields: work on multiculturalism, studies on ethnic identification and research on youth as a generational group. The comparison between the two regions is a hierarchical one: the focus is on Vojvodina, and the case study of Prekmurje is used as comparative material. The reasons for this comparison is that even though arising from the same political-historical situation, Vojvodina and Prekmurje are two very similar cases, because of political and demographic differences, the two environments have developed distinct institutional mechanisms of minority rights, especially those related to education. With the comparison, I was curious to see the similarities and differences of the experience of being a young Hungarian person in the two places and thereby arrive to more general conclusions about the Hungarian minority in the region, and even more broadly about the construction of discourses and practices of being a minority young person. The main research question of the dissertation is: What are the discourses and practices of Hungarian youth in Vojvodina and in Prekmurje in relation to their ethnic identities and relationships with members of other ethnic groups?

The main findings of the research include the fact that language is of crucial importance for participation in the society, but the two case studies differ in the knowledge of which language is determining: while in Prekmurje, the emphasis is on the mother tongue for the creation and maintenance of a Hungarian social space, in Vojvodina it is the knowledge of the state language that enables participation in the society. Without this knowledge, minority individuals occupy their places in the ethnic universes. The “Hungarian world”, even though offers safety and the feeling of being within one’s comfort zone, is too small to cater for all the needs of an individual who aims at participating in the mainstream society on equal footing with members of the majority ethnic group. The response to this is assimilation in Prekmurje and marginalization and self-ghettoization (Losoncz 2015) in Vojvodina, that can be viewed both as nationalist sentiment and a resistance strategy to structural oppression, self-victimization, or in Badis’s (2008) argument, negativism, isolation, seeing other ethnicities as threat or passing (Goffman 1959).

Social actors are embedded in the institutional system. Serbian national elites and institutions provide minorities certain rights, keep at bay, and their management is left to the “ethnic worlds”: Vojvodina Hungarian politics, teachers of the Hungarian streams at school, Hungarian cultural institutions, etc. There is little space for discourse outside the ethnic, and practices that transcend national categories are also scarce. Those that challenge the established authoritative ethno-national discourse are only momentous instances, “halfie” identification or

passing do not transgress national boundaries but enable more space to strategically use one or another ethnic identity or switch one for another. The conceptualization of the ethnic remains seen as assigned at birth, stable, and the model of multiculturalism is rather conservative in supporting the coexistence of groups without actual interaction among them (Kymlicka 1995). The institutions such as the school, the family, the media, the workplace, political institutions, etc. build on these taken for granted identities. They channel young people into where they belong according to their ascribed identity.

Yet, young people are not completely without agency in facing the institutional system. Their field of power lies within their local environment, where they feel safe. They have strategies to assert themselves and the dominance of their ethnic group. Some of these are passing (Goffman 1959; Badis 2008), using one's identity more strategically, given that one is in the position to do so, or orientation towards Hungary – in this way self-ghettoization is also a resistance strategy. These strategies still remain within the prescribed frame of ethnic identification. The one that challenges it is inverting minority status: minority status becomes relative (Patton 2010) when they are in the village, in their stream, in the Hungarian places for going out. They strengthen their position locally by assigning negative stereotypes to members of other ethnic groups and by constructing an environment into which Serbs, Muslims, Roma, etc. are not allowed to. This way they avoid being faced with individuals who challenge their position. Yet, it is only until a certain limit that one can stay within the "Hungarian world" and until they are faced with their marginal position. Thus the complexities of demography, politics, economy and other factors are all to be taken into account when discussing not only the public, but also the private and everyday discourses and practices of multiculturalism.

Research methodology

The method I have used is an interdisciplinary one: a combination of ethnography and discourse analysis. While with the former I explored how ethnic identity is constructed in practice, with the latter I interpreted the discursive elements of ethnic identification. The main methods of gathering material are participant observation and interview.

The more than forty interviews I have conducted were semi-structured, with loosely predetermined questions that concern the interviewees' experience of multiculturalism in their social networks (family, friends, girlfriends/boyfriends), their experience with other ethnic groups and their general views on the issues of ethnic identification and multiculturalism in Vojvodina and in Prekmurje. They were recorded and also notes were taken. Interviews were conducted in Hungarian language and parts that I have considered relevant are transcribed and translated in English. Each interlocutor is given a code that is used throughout the interview for citations. When I felt it necessary, I have also provided the information on the gender, the specific age, the place of residence of the interlocutors and the school they attend. I have considered interviews as situations being shaped by both the researcher and the interlocutors, and I treat interview transcripts as dialogical texts, being aware that by this I have changed the medium of the communication from oral to written.

Apart from interviewing and analyzing transcripts, practices of multiculturalism were also directly observed in the schools interlocutors attended (inside and outside the classroom), in places for leisure time, in the street, in public transport, etc. I see participant observation as sharing the everyday experiences with the informants and other members of the communities under study, which makes it possible to contextualize, examine and interpret the contents of everyday activities, conversations and the more formal interviews.

In analyzing material I used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) following the work of Wodak et al. (2009), adopted and combined with a more content-oriented structural approach of Schiffrin (1994). In my research I analyze discourses according to a scheme that contains three levels (Wodak/Meyer 2009); however, I take over only some of the elements of the scheme, those that are of primary interest for the construction of the cultural boundary between the ethnic groups and the everyday experience of multiculturalism: (1) Ideological cores -- products of discourse that index structures of power in a systematic and coherent way (Tsitsipis 1998).

(2) Discursive strategies – these entail the analysis of the conscious or unconscious linguistic strategies that serve a purpose of establishing, reproducing, transforming and/or deconstructing an ethnic identity. A strategy is understood to be a “more or less accurate plan adopted to achieve a certain kind of objective (political, personal, psychological, etc.)” (Wodak et al. 2009: 31-32). By identifying discursive strategies, this approach enables me to analyze how in the course of interviews informants refer to multiculturalism, whether they accept, dispose of it, transform its meaning, etc.

(3) Linguistic means of realization – in this phase of the research I point out the specific discourse fragment or utterance, by which the strategy is achieved, in order to express the content it refers to.

The original contribution of the research to the development to the relevant scientific field

The concept of multiculturalism lacks a univocal definition, but what is common to nearly all existing studies engaging with it is that most of the scholarly debate has dealt with the concept from a minority and/or human rights, a legal or a linguistic standpoint, understanding multiculturalism as a model. This view disables us, both as researchers and as people who actually experience multiculturalism in our everyday life, to see under its surface. In my research I am taking an interdisciplinary view combining methods of ethnography, linguistic anthropology and discourse analysis. Although naturally the political and cultural interpretations of multiculturalism cannot be separated (Semprini 2004), but they mutually influence each other, my main interest is how discourses and practices of multicultural are enacted on the ground: how the social actors refer to what is stated in the public discourses. Therefore rather than statistical figures, media representations or politicians’ speeches, I am looking at “words, actions and records” (Faas 2010, 18) of the social actors. Taking a bottom-up methodology in exploring the reception of multicultural policies among youth who have been growing up in these regions is an issue of great importance given that the way they understand multiculturalism offers an insight into the illusive internal mechanism of identification vis-à-vis other ethnic and generational groups.

Moreover, not only are there few studies that explore the experience of multiculturalism, but also a gap in the existing literature is the topic of sub-state national minorities. Most studies that explore multiculturalism on the ground do so with respect to immigrant groups. Acknowledging the importance of the insights that research about immigrant populations in the world have brought about, I claim that not all of the findings of these studies are applicable to the context of autochthonous minorities such as the Hungarian groups in Vojvodina or in Prekmurje, as not only the historical context and the relationships between these minorities and the majority society, but also the interests and aims of immigrant and autochthonous groups differ greatly.

Similarly, few studies exist on multiculturalism in Central and Eastern Europe; it seems that the concept is used for and criticized in Western settings mainly (see Goldberg 1994; Taylor 1992; Kymlicka 2003a, 2003b, 2007). There is a great problem of the applicability of Western models of multiculturalism, and its validity is questionable. Instead of checking the Vojvodinian and Slovenian models of multiculturalism against established and arguably more successful models, such as Canada, the USA, Australia, Sweden, Belgium, etc. (Muhić 2004), my dissertation aims at exploring how youth in Vojvodina and in Prekmurje experience multiculturalism embedded in their own social contexts. In this sense, the contribution of my research to the field of studies on multiculturalism does not only add other case studies, but I also believe that it abolishes hierarchies based on how multiculturalism in a given social environment works. This type of approach leads to the analysis of the actual experience of multiculturalism of those who negotiate its meaning. Comparing the case of Vojvodina with Prekmurje, two separated by interconnected case studies, moreover sheds light on if and how the often-cited public discourses of multiculturalism affect its everyday perceptions and places emphasis on two contexts that are similar in their geographical and historical features but different in their political structures.

Conversely, my dissertation has a focus on language, a factor of crucial importance for individuals who belong to ethnic minorities. The case study of Prekmurje points to a traditional but nonetheless important finding, that it is the mother tongue, Hungarian, that defines the community and the basic aspect of identifying as Hungarian. Given the state of the community facing language shift, maintaining the native language means keeping the community vital. I have looked at how some of these top-down attempts, most prominently bilingual education, operate on the ground, what are its successes and challenges in the public and the private sphere. In Kishegyes though, and arguable in the northern part of Vojvodina in general, it is the knowledge of the state language, Serbian, that has to be seen as the most important factor in the everyday life of young people, because it is what provides a potential for interaction with members of other ethnic groups, that determines their path in education, possibilities for employment, and place of residence.

Finally, what my dissertation aims at accounting for is to point out the processes of ethnicity construction and the reasons for its salience, instead of merely acknowledging these. Namely, as Kymlicka notes, regardless of the political community of individuals, there is also a need for a community within which people share “a culture, a language and history which defines their cultural membership” (1989:135). Similarly, the European legal framework that has largely been focused on protecting minorities in the name of a global culture in which people have individual rights irrespective of their ethnicities has led to a new ethnicization of

territories and nations where these nations themselves insist on their collective rights. Therefore without wishing either to resolve the primordialism vs. instrumentalism debate or to take sides in it, by looking at two specific case studies I hope to shed light on the question of why and how ethnicity has a considerable salience for the everyday experience of young people even in the contemporary era of globalization and fragmentation of identity politics. In exploring these, I look at both the practices and role of discourse in constructing and negotiating ethnic and other social identities. I believe that by looking at both practices and discourses is a fruitful way of exploring identification since in relation to the case studies I examine discourses and practices as two key social actions, and that this twofold perspective enables a perspective on the dialogism and heterogeneity of the communities under study in this dissertation.

Key words: Vojvodina, Prekmurje, youth, ethnic identification, multiculturalism

Povzetek: Diskurzi in prakse multikulturalizma: madžarska mladina v Vojvodini in Prekmurju

Rezultati raziskave

Raziskava, ki jo predstavljam v tej doktorski disertaciji, je rezultat desetmesečnega terenskega dela v naselju Mali Idoš v Vojvodini v Srbiji ter krajšega terenskega dela, ki je potekalo trikrat po nekaj dni v Lendavi v slovenskem Prekmurju. Gradivo, pridobljeno s pomočjo terenskega dela, je postavljeno v kontekst tako lokalno - v obzir sem vzela tako širšo družbeno-zgodovinsko perspektivo - kot tudi teoretično, pri čemer sem se nanašala na teoretsko gradivo treh glavnih področij: dela na področju multikulturalizma, študije etnične identifikacije in raziskavo o mladini kot generacijski skupini. Primerjava obeh regij je hierarhična: v večjem delu sem se osredotočila na Vojvodino, medtem ko raziskava o Prekmurju služi za primerjavo. Raziskava je nastala na podlagi mojih lastnih izkušenj medetničnih odnosov v Vojvodini, ki je velikokrat videna kot šolski primer multikulturalizma, kjer je kljub teorijam o različnih, razdrobljenih in strateških (etničnih) identifikacijah, ki jih pogosto srečamo na terenu, namreč etnična identiteta manjšine med mladimi še vedno relativno trdna in opazna (Badis 2008). Osrednje vprašanje raziskave je sledeče: Kakšni so diskurzi in prakse madžarske mladine v Vojvodini in v Prekmurju, ki so povezani z njihovo etnično identiteto in odnosi s člani drugih etničnih skupin?

Glavna ugotovitev te raziskave je ta, da je jezik ključnega pomena za vključenost v družbo, vendar pa se oba primera raziskave razlikujeta v tem, kateri jezik ima večjo vlogo pri determiniranju: medtem ko je v Prekmurju poudarek na maternem jeziku za ustvarjanje in vzdrževanje madžarskega družbenega prostora, je v Vojvodini znanje državnega jezika tisto, ki omogoča delovanje znotraj družbe. Brez tega znanja posamezniki zasedajo mesto manjšine v etnični populaciji. »Madžarski svet« je kljub temu, da ponuja varnost in cono udobja, premajhen, da bi poskrbel za vse potrebe posameznika, ki teži k sodelovanju znotraj večinske družbe na enakih temeljih, kot jih ima ta večina. Odziv na to je bila v Prekmurju asimilacija, v Vojvodini pa marginalizacija in samo-getoizacija (glej Losoncz 2015), kar lahko razumemo kot etnično čustvenost in upiranje strategiji strukturnega zatiranja, samo-viktimizacije ali, po Badisovi (2008) trditvi, negativizmu, izolaciji ter dojemanju drugih narodnosti kot grožnjo (Goffman 1959). Gábrity Molnár (2008a) označuje Vojvodino po devetdesetih kot madžarsko družbo, ki je ranljiva in nagnjena k depresiji. To so splošne strategije vedenja in diskurza, sama pa sem izpostavila nekaj specifičnih praks in jezikovnih strategij ter načinov realizacije, s katerimi moji sogovorniki in mladi prebivalci vasi gradijo svoj položaj in položaj drugih v povezavi z etnično identifikacijo.

Socialni akterji so del institucionalnega sistema. Izoblikujejo si svoj prostor in identiteto znotraj sistema, medtem ko jih ta uporablja za svoje interese, ki pa so interes družbene elite. V Vojvodini ima vladajoča politična elita moč le takrat, ko se definira na etnični osnovi, torej med njihove interese spada tudi vzdrževanje obstoječih narodnostnih delitev. To ustreza tako srbskim narodnostnim elitam kot ustanovam: manjšinam dodelijo

določene pravice, jih držijo stran od sebe, njihovo vodenje pa je prepuščeno etničnim svetovom: vojvodinski madžarski politiki, učiteljem madžarskih programov v šolah, madžarskim kulturnim ustanovam, itd. Malo je prostora za diskurz zunaj sfere etničnosti, pa tudi prakse, ki bi presegale kategorijo narodnosti, so redke. Dokler so manjšine »dobre«, se obstoječi red ne spremeni. Primeri nasprotovanja ustaljenim avtoritativnim etničnim diskurzom so kratkotrajni. Identitete »mešancev« (»halfies«) ali pojavi pretvarjanja ne presegajo državnih mej, ampak omogočajo več prostora za strateško rabo ene ali druge etnične identitete ali celo prehajanje iz ene v drugo. Konceptualizacija etničnosti ostaja razumljena kot nekaj, kar je določeno z rojstvom, model multikulturalizma pa je zelo konservativen pri podpiranju sobivanja skupin brez kakšne ključne interakcije med njimi (Kymlicka 1995). Ustanove, kot je šola, družina, mediji, delovno mesto, politične institucije, itd. gradijo na teh identitetah, ki jih jemljejo za samoumevne. Mlade ljudi usmerjajo tja, kamor spadajo glede na pripisano identiteto: spodbujajo jih, da obiskujejo madžarske šole, se družijo v skupinah madžarskih prijateljev, spodbujajo gledanje televizijskih programov v madžarščini, branje v madžarščini, plesanje madžarskih ljudskih plesov, ukvarjanje z madžarskimi aktivnostmi v prostem času, odnose z drugimi Madžari, opravljanje služb, ki ne zahtevajo znanje jezikov, vpis na univerze na Madžarskem, itd. Kraji, ki so zunaj tega sveta, pa so tisti, kjer se posamezniki srečajo z etničnimi Drugimi, pa tudi z družbeno stigmo (Goffman 1963) njihovega podrejenega položaja. Zato so njihove etnične meje (Barth 1969) in njihove etnične identitete postale še bolj poudarjene. Institucionalni sistem poudarja neenakost v moči v odnosih med manjšinami in večinami. To je tudi konstantna izkušnja položaja manjšin, ki dela etnično identiteto ključno za mladino iz Malega Idoša ter drugih krajev, kjer živijo avtohtone manjšine v podobni družbeni situaciji.

Raziskovalna metodologija

Metoda, ki sem jo uporabljala, je interdisciplinarna: gre za kombinacijo etnografije in analize diskurza. Če sem najprej raziskovala kako je etnična identiteta zgrajena v praksi, sem se zdaj osredotočila na interpretacijo diskurzivnih elementov etnične identitete. Opravila sem več kot 40 intervjujev (okoli 30 v Malem Idošu in 13 v Lendavi), ki so bili delno strukturirani, torej z okvirno določenimi vprašanji, ki so se nanašala na izkušnje intervjuvancev glede multikulturalizma v njihovih družbenih sferah (družina, prijatelji, partnerji), na njihove izkušnje z drugimi etničnimi skupinami in njihove splošne poglede na tematiko etnične identifikacije in multikulturalizma v Vojvodini ter Prekmurju. Intervjuje sem posnela in naredila zapiske. Intervjuji so potekali v madžarskem jeziku. Dele, ki so se mi zdeli relevantni, pa sem transkribirala in prevedla v angleščino. Vsakemu sogovorniku je bila dodeljena koda, ki sem jo uporabljala skozi celoten intervju za citiranje. Kadar se mi je zdelo potrebno, sem tudi podala informacije o spolu, starosti, kraju bivanja sogovornikov ter o šoli, ki so jo obiskovali. Intervju sem si zastavila kot skupen projekt raziskovalca in sogovornika. Transkripcije intervjujev sem obravnavala kot dialoška besedila, z zavedanjem, da sem spremenila medij komunikacije iz ustnega v pisnega.

Ob intervjuvanju in analiziranju transkripcij sem prakse multikulturalizma opazovala tudi direktno, torej v šolah, ki so jih moji sogovorniki obiskovali (zunaj in znotraj razreda), na mestih, kjer preživljajo prosti čas, na ulicah, na javnih prevozi, itd. Opazovanje sodelujočih razumem kot način, na katerega si z informatorji ter drugimi člani skupnosti, ki je bila

predmet raziskave, delimo vsakodnevne izkušnje, kar je omogočilo kontekstualizacijo, pregled in interpretacijo vsebine vsakodnevnih aktivnosti, pogovorov in bolj formalnih intervjujev.

Pri analiziranju gradiva sem uporabila kritično diskurzivno analizo (Critical Discourse Analysis, CDA), opirajoč se med drugim na delo Wodaka (2009). Analizo sem združila z bolj vsebinsko usmerjenim strukturnim pristopom Schiffrina (1994). V svoji raziskavi sem analizirala diskurze po shemi, ki vsebuje tri nivoje (Wodak/Meyer 2009), pri čemer sem prevzela samo nekatere elemente te sheme – tiste, ki so bili primarnega pomena za izgradnjo kulturnih povezav med etničnimi skupinami in vsakodnevno izkušnjo multikulturalizma: (1) Ideološka jedra -- produkti diskurza, ki kažejo strukture moči na sistematičen in razumljiv način (Tsitsipis 1998)

(2) Diskurzivne strategije – vključujejo analizo zavednih in nezavednih jezikovnih strategij, ki služijo kot cilj za vzpostavljanje, reproduciranje, transformiranje in/ali dekonstruiranje etnične identitete. Strategijo je treba razumeti kot »bolj ali manj točen načrt, sprejet za doseganje določenega cilja (političnega, osebnega, psihološkega, itd.)« (Wodak 2009: 31-32). Z identificiranjem diskurzivnih strategij sem lahko v poteku intervjuja analizirala, kako se informatorji navezujejo na multikulturalizem, če ga sprejemajo ali ne, če spremenijo njegov pomen, itd.

(3) Jezikovni načini realizacije – v tej fazi raziskave sem izpostavila specifične diskurzivne fragmente ali izjave, s katerimi je dosežena strategija, katere namen je izraziti določeno vsebino.

Izviren doprinos raziskave k razvoju relevantnih znanstvenih področij

Konceptu multikulturalizma manjka enotna definicija. Skoraj vsem študijam multikulturalizma je skupno to, da se večina znanstvenih debat ukvarja s konceptom manjšin in/ali človeških pravic, z legalnimi ali lingvističnimi stališči, z razumevanjem multikulturalizma kot modela. Ta pogled onemogoča tako raziskovalcem kot ljudem, ki so dejansko izkusili multikulturalizem v vsakdanjem življenju, da bi videli pod njegovo površino. V svoji raziskavi sem se ukvarjala z interdisciplinarnim pogledom, ki kombinira metode etnografije, lingvistične antropologije in analize diskurza. Čeprav politične in kulturne interpretacije multikulturalizma ne gre ločevati (Semprini 2004), saj vplivata druga na drugo, pa je bilo moje glavno zanimanje kako se diskurzi in prakse multikulturalizma izvajajo na terenu: kako se socialni akterji navezujejo na to, kar je izjavljeno v javnih diskurzih. Zato sem raje kot na statistične podatke, medijska zastopanja ali politične govore, svoje zanimanje usmerila v »besede, dejanja in zapise« (Faas 2010, 18) socialnih akterjev. Uporaba metode »od spodaj navzgor« pri raziskavi sprejemanja multikulturoloških načel med mladimi, ki so odraščali na teh področjih, je zelo pomembna točka, če upoštevamo, da način, na katerega razumejo multikulturalizem, ponuja vpogled v varljive notranje mehanizme samoidentifikacije v navezavi na druge etnične in generacijske skupine.

Ne samo, da obstaja malo študij, ki raziskujejo izkušnjo multikulturalizma, prisoten je tudi prepad v obstoječi literaturi na temo poddržavnih etničnih manjšin. Večina študij, ki raziskuje multikulturalizem na terenu, počne to s spoštovanjem do imigrantskih skupin. Zavedajoč se pomembnosti vpogledov v raziskavo o imigrantski populaciji na svetu, trdim, da

niso vse ugotovitve te študije predmetne za kontekst avtohtonih manjšin, kot je madžarska etnična skupina v Vojvodini ali v Prekmurju, saj se zelo razlikujejo ne samo zgodovinski kontekst in odnosi med manjšinami ter večinami v družbi, ampak tudi interesi in cilji imigrantov ter avtohtonih skupin.

Podobno je tudi glede raziskav o multikulturalizmu v osrednji in vzhodni Evropi. Zdi se, da se koncept uporablja in se ga kritizira v glavnem na zahodu (glej Goldberg 1994; Taylor 1992; Kymlicka 2003a, 2003b, 2007). Velik problem predstavlja aplikativnost zahodnih modelov multikulturalizma, pa tudi njegova veljavnost je vprašljiva. Namesto preverjanja vojvodinskih in slovenskih modelov multikulturalizma v navezavi na ustaljene in domnevno bolj uspešne modele, kot so v kanadski, ameriški, avstralski, švedski, belgijski, itd. (Muhić 2004), se moja disertacija osredotoča na raziskovanje, kako mladi v Vojvodini in Prekmurju doživljajo multikulturalizem, ki je zakoreninjen v njihovem lastnem družbenem kontekstu. Na ta način doprinos moje raziskave na področje študij o multikulturalizmu ne dopolnjuje kakšne druge raziskave, ampak verjamem, da odpravlja hierarhijo, ki temelji na tem, kako multikulturalizem v danem družbenem okolju deluje. Ta pristop vodi do analize dejanskih izkušenj multikulturalizma za tiste, ki se dogovarjajo o njegovem pomenu. Primerjava primerov Vojvodine in Prekmurja - dveh ločenih, a povezanih študij, pa osvetli vprašanje, če in kako pogosto citirani javni diskurzi multikulturalizma vplivajo na vsakdanje percepcije, ter poudari dva konteksta, ki sta si podobna po svojih geografskih in zgodovinskih lastnostih, a različna v svoji politični strukturi.

Nasprotno, moja disertacija je osredotočena na jezik, ki je ključnega pomena za posameznike, ki pripadajo etničnim manjšinam. Primer študije Prekmurja kaže na tradicionalne, pa zato nič manj pomembne ugotovitve, da je materni jezik, torej madžarščina, tisti, ki definira skupnost in osnovne vidike identifikacije kot Madžar/ka. Glede na to, da se skupnost sooča s jezikovnim preobratom, je vzdrževanje maternega jezika pravzaprav pogoj za ohranjanje vitalnosti same skupnosti. Obravnavala sem tudi vprašanje, kako ti pristopi »od zgoraj navzdol«, najbolj ugledna dvojezična izobrazba, delujejo na terenu, kakšni so njihovi uspehi in izzivi v javnosti in v privatni sferi. V Malem Idošu (in pogojno v severnem delu Vojvodine) je znanje državnega jezika, srbsčine, tisto, ki ga lahko razumemo kot najpomembnejši dejavnik v vsakdanjem življenju mladine, saj zagotavlja potencial za interakcijo s člani drugih etničnih skupin, to pa določa njihovo pot v izobraževanju, možnostih za zaposlitev in izbiri kraja bivanja.

Končno, cilj moje disertacije je bil izpostaviti proces, s katerim se izgrajuje etničnost in ne samo priznati njeno pomembnost, temveč tudi predstaviti razloge, zakaj je temu tako. Kot pravi Kymlicka, ne glede na politično skupnost posameznikov, obstaja potreba po skupnosti, v kateri si bodo ljudje lahko delili »kulturo, jezik in zgodovino, ki definira njihovo kulturno pripadnost« (1989:135). Podobno je bil tudi evropski pravni okvir osredotočen na zaščito manjšin v imenu globalne kulture, v kateri imajo ljudje posamezne pravice, ne glede na njihovo narodnost. To je pripeljalo to nove etnizacije prostora in narodov, ko narodi sami vztrajajo pri svojih kolektivnih pravicah. Zato upam, da sem osvetlila vprašanje zakaj in na kakšen način je etničnost bistvena v vsakdanji izkušnji mladih ljudi celo v času globalizacije in razdrobljenosti politike identitete, ne da bi želela bodisi razrešiti debato o prvobitnosti proti instrumentalizmu bodisi se postaviti na eno ali drugo stran. Med raziskovanjem sem obravnavala oboje, prakse in vlogo diskurza v izgradnji in dogovarjanju glede etničnih in

drugih identitet. Verjamem, da je upoštevanje obojega - praks in diskurzov - način raziskovanja identifikacije, ki obrodi sadove, saj sem ju v navezavi na študije raziskovala kot dva ključna družbena elementa. Verjamem tudi, da dvojna perspektiva te disertacije omogoča perspektivo na dialogizem in raznovrstnost skupnosti, ki je bila pod drobnogledom.

Ključne besede: Vojvodina, Prekmurje, mladina, etnična identifikacija, multikulturalizem

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I Theoretical and socio-political context of the research

1 Introduction

1.1 Interest for the topic and reflections on the researcher's position

What is multiculturalism? Growing up in allegedly one of the most multicultural regions of Europe, I was brought up believing that I know the answer. Multiculturalism, I thought, was the “here and now” of my experience, the situation I had been living in, my social surroundings of boringly peaceful small towns and villages in the flat lands of Vojvodina, that, at the age of nine, I was surprised to learn is constitutive of the Republic of Serbia: I had known that I live in Vojvodina, and that somewhere there on the big map the teacher sometimes hanged over the blackboard there is Serbia, but I didn't know these two geo-political terms were related. I felt a bit ashamed, not because I had not known, but because I had thought Serbia was backwards, and suddenly it turned out that I belonged there. Parents, teachers, neighbors and self-proclaimed educators were all ready to lecture us about how proud we Hungarians from Vojvodina should be to live in Yugoslavia, alongside Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Bosnians, Montenegrins, Slovaks, Romanians, Croats, even Gypsies and many other “nations and nationalities” in this beautiful country without being discriminated and play together with the other kids of who-knows-which nationality (because for some reason our parents claimed it was not important to the extent that they often did not even know, which was obviously not true because we kids always knew that those we spoke Serbian to were Serbs, those we spoke Hungarian to were Hungarians, those who spoke some of the two but have darker skin than ours were Roma, and those who spoke Serbian with an accent, but an accent different from others were from some other “nationality”) in the schoolyard and in the street.

Another thing we learned early was the differentiation between us, Hungarians from Vojvodina and “real” Hungarians, or “Hungarians from Hungary”, as we have referred to them, whom we both looked up to as our big brothers and pitied as poor cousins, but in any

case we had a feeling of kinship towards them, the citizens of our “kin state”¹, what I learned Hungary was to us. Then the nineties came, and as teenagers we were told by the same people who taught us to be proud Yugoslavs to keep a low profile and do not attract attention with speaking loudly in our mother tongue in public places (I often did, yet no incidents ever happened). We heard about or some even experienced instances when Hungarians were told to speak Serbian because this was Serbia and that Hungarians should go back to Hungary, about incidents referred to as Hungarian-bashing², but most importantly for me at the time, we learned that it is *us* versus *them*. And then I started thinking: hadn’t it always been the case that when we were snowballing with the Serbian kids after school, it was not Serbians playing *with* Hungarians but Serbians playing *against* Hungarians? Had not it always been normal that usual childish teasing was often on the account of Hungarian kids not speaking proper Serbian, and not Serbian kids not speaking Hungarian at all? Had not it been surprising when Serbian students at our high school were surprised that there was one class out of the eleven every year, ours, in which Hungarian was the language of instruction? Had not it been a little bit as if they had been surprised that we exist? And after all, why was it necessary to mark that one Hungarian class consequently with the same number (I/7, II/7, III/7, IV/7)? And then, had not I had some friends who refused to speak Serbian out of principle? And those who did not speak it because they claimed they could not? Had not I known people who had never set foot to a Serbian house? Had the fact that it was only in the 3rd grade of elementary school that I realized that I live in Serbia anything to with the fact that I was from a Hungarian family, attended school in Hungarian and had mainly Hungarian friends? So after all, was that how the multiculturalism everyone was so proud of looked like?

My later academic interest has been revolving around the above mentioned and similar issues. By no means can I said to be unbiased when it comes to the issue of ethnic relations in Vojvodina. “As it is for philosophy, so, too, is it for social science, most particularly, history and ethnography: we always tell just another story, inevitably *our* story” (Krupat 1992, 9). Naturally all work is written from somewhere and is targeting a specific audience that in turn shapes the author’s voice, but in the case of my dissertation the personal voice of the author

¹*Anyország*, literary: mother country.

²*Magyarverés*, literary: beating up Hungarians, a phrase that emerged in the Hungarian media in the 1990s in relation to physical assaults on members of the Hungarian minority not only in Serbia but also in Romania, Slovakia and the Ukraine.

and the influence of my own experience and attitudes are particularly strong. They shape how I perceive the main dilemmas of multiculturalism both in the academic debate around it and in practice, how I relate to these debates and where I stand with regard to them.

The researcher's own position affects the course and the outcome of every study, especially if the kind of the study is "anthropology at home". Growing up in Vojvodina as a Hungarian has provided me with a native familiarity with the object of my study and has largely determined my interest for topics dealt with in this research, and my personal experience has greatly influenced every single part of it from my viewpoint to the wording of my interview questions. Apart from my personal experience, two years of working as a school-teacher in Vojvodina in schools with two languages of instruction have as well made acquainted with the everyday experience of interethnic relations of young people. I am undoubtedly familiar with the locations of the research, the social contexts, and to certain extent definitely have a preconception about the outcomes of the interviews. Especially in studying discourses of interviews under the assumption that interviews are speech activities (Gumperz 2002) or communicative events (Briggs 1986), the analyst's position is to be taken seriously – the "critical" in Critical Discourse Analysis, one of the main methodologies of this research, refers to scrutinizing the researcher's position as well (Wodak/Meyer 2009). Not only is all work written from somewhere and is targeting a specific audience that in turn shapes the author's voice, but also one has to bear in mind that the interview genre is the joint work of the interviewer and the interviewed (Mishler 1986).

I believe that all people relate personally to their interests, researchers and laymen, and our preconceptions are not ideas that we can easily eliminate. Being a researcher though, I feel my training, the theorizing of the topic and the fieldwork I have carried out have shaped, refined and often even countered these preconceptions, and even if they persist, I feel able to explain them instead of simply owning them. I have tried to think about a topic as an "outsider" while being an "insider", and I believe it was a worthwhile mental experiment and a useful research tool that is capable of bringing results that are deeply rooted in the context and are scientifically grounded.

On the other hand, taking part in a PhD program in Slovenia introduced me to the general discourses of multiculturalism in Prekmurje, but in a way different from how and what I

have learned about Vojvodina. When I talked to friends and colleagues about my research in Serbia, the topic of the Hungarian minority in Prekmurje has almost always been brought up as a comparison to highlight either the similarities or the differences in the lives of the Hungarian people living in these two regions. Even though the first time in my life I went to Prekmurje was actually travelling there for my first fieldwork visit, the fact that my interlocutors and myself come from what used to be the same country and despite the differences in the two states the Vojvodina and Prekmurje belong to, in the formal standing of the two regions, in the level of my familiarity with them, the size and the “modus operandi” of the two Hungarian communities, this fact and the experience of being a Hungarian from outside Hungary³ made me feel much more at ease even during the first visit than if I was doing fieldwork in Hungary for instance. I believe that my interlocutors’ experience of me was similar: I was an “outsider” for my interlocutors regarding my age, just as I was in Vojvodina, for some with whom I came into contact who were Slovenians for my imperfect Slovenian, for lack of knowledge of the specific context, but in comparison to someone who would have been coming from Hungary to do a research on the same topic, I was an “insider” for understanding the everyday daily routines of a bilingual/bicultural person, for not being judgmental about my interlocutors “imperfect” Hungarian, or for spending several days in the same place and being seen in the school, in cafés, shops or just walking in the streets.

I agree with Fries that

the social researcher occupies a place in the social world, which is the object of study, and must therefore adopt a critical awareness of his or her own social location in relation to both the research object and process (2009, 329).

Without a continuous questioning of the researcher’s own position, the research misses one of its most important critical elements and loses the validity of the analysis (Wodak/Meyer 2009). The strategy of ongoing reflection called positionality (Alcoff 1988) is there for all social scientists where their presence has a formative effect on the research situation: the analyst needs to acknowledge that their critique is not situated outside discourse. The recognition

³*Határon túli magyarok*, literary: Hungarians from across the border.

of the researcher's influence on not only the framing of the research but its carrying it out too is thus crucial to every social enquiry. In Bourdieu and Wacquant's words,

intellectuals are, as all social agents, "spontaneous sociologists" who are particularly skilled at objectivizing others. Being professionals of discourse and explication, however, intellectuals have a much greater than average capacity to transform their spontaneous sociology, that is, their self-interested vision of the social world, into the appearance of scientific sociology (1992, 66).

Another issue to be aware of is that as a social scientist interprets the words and actions of their informants and the social environment in general, in the same fashion they are objectivized by "spontaneous sociologists" around them: "one is reminded at the every moment that the subject of the objectization himself is being objectivized" (Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992, 63). Thus the researcher's personality, appearance, behavior, origin, speech, accent, choice of words, etc. do not only make an impression on the informants and everyone participating in the field (here I mean "field" as both the research site and the field in the Bourdieuan sense, i.e. the specific social context in which individuals act and in which the struggles of over the economic and symbolic resources and meaning are taking place) but also raises expectations in the informants of how they are to answer, behave, speak, ask, etc.

Looking for instance at the interviews I have conducted, the above mentioned issues of positionality can be defined in terms of age (I am older than my informants), class (apart from the initial class position of my family, being a daughter of a teacher and a journalist, I have had more opportunities for class mobility than most of my informants), education (after two MA programs, I am seeking a doctorate), place of residence (even if coming from a small town, I still have had more opportunities than those offered in villages, and also have lived in cities and traveled extensively – a fact that has contributed to my mastery of several languages, including the standard dialect of Hungarian) and many more aspects of individual and social life. Therefore rather than ignoring or covering up the researcher's bias, what is needed is to expose it and to be constantly aware of the limitations of our knowledge.

It is therefore not easy to separate the object and subject of the research. The concept

of “halfie researchers” captures the pitfalls and the advantages of this position: “halfie researchers can be ‘natives,’ yet they can also be ‘outsiders’ on some levels” (Subedi 2006:588). Being part of the community under study for certain reasons and not being part of for another reasons at the same time often also means attempting to overturn the relationship between observer and the object of study. In other words, the researcher’s task in this case is to “make the mundane exotic and the exotic mundane, in order to render explicit what in both cases is taken for granted” (Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992, 68).

As much as has been said about self-reflexivity and being a “halfie” researcher though, there is no straightforward method how to actually engage in “reflexive sociology” (Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992) defined as a constant guard against the thesis that was for a long time and sometimes still is the main belief of social sciences, namely that in order to study a phenomenon, the researcher has to withdraw from it. As Abu-Lughod notices, no social scientists has been able to break the “(mis)understanding” of the “wholie” standing outside the object of their research and the “halfie” standing inside it (1991,141).

Even in perhaps the most famous example of positionality, in Geertz’s chapter on the Balinese cockfight in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973) the author starts from his personal involvement in the issue, providing the context at the same time, and then he goes on to interpret the cockfight on its/his own terms, but after the initial paragraphs where he “admits” his position, the language of the text changes and assumes that the reader knows all they need to know about the author’s position. As Rabinow (1977) puts in it his *Reflections of Fieldwork in Morocco*:

As graduate students we are told that “anthropology equals experience”; you are not an anthropologist until you have the experience of doing it. But when one returns from the field, the opposite immediately applies: anthropology is not the experience which made you an initiate, but only the objective data you have brought back (1977, 4).

As there has been no method worked out for engaging with self-reflexivity, throughout conducting and writing up this research I myself have been trying to avoid the tempta-

tion of using the (linguistic) skills and habit(u)s of the academia, present my point of view as an absolute, but rather to constantly question and problematize it in front of the readers' eyes. In terms of method, I have combined participant observation, which is the main method of classical ethnography, with analyzing discourse. My method with providing the readers with transcript excerpts which render a dialogue between the reader, the informant and myself hopefully makes triangulation of data and depth of analysis possible. I am with Rabinow (1977) in promoting the reflexive, critical and experimental nature of ethnographic fieldwork to be the core of the research that defines the discipline.

1.2 Research question

The number of books and articles that deal with the topic of multiculturalism in general or specific to certain countries or regions of the world is immense; the perspectives they take are various, from discussing it in the framework of political science, legislature, social linguistics (multilingualism), conflict management, etc. There have been studies that differentiate between multiculturalisms according to their political orientation, their geographical location, their models, their theoretical bases, their practical application etc. Yet, multiculturalism is as much conveyed through personal interaction and exposure as academic presentations (Blum 1996). Even though classifications and the general discussions on multiculturalism are important, using these approaches exclusively, the "social dynamic at stake is lost in the process" of analysis (Bertossi 2010, 237).

Similarly, the amount of work on ethnicity, ethnic identities and nationalism is immense. Ethnic identification has been looked at through the prism of sociology, political theory, international relations, social psychology and many other disciplines. Most of the works dealing with ethnicity and multiculturalism take a top-down path of analysis, focusing mostly on public, institutional environments in which ethnic identification and/or communication between members of different ethnic group happens. Without questioning the necessity and the validity of these approaches, I am interested in the other side of the coin: How ethnici-

ty and thereby the myth of multiculturalism is constructed from below, i.e. how it is lived, experienced in the daily lives of Hungarian young people in Serbia and in Slovenia and how it is being influenced by the public discourses on multiculturalism and interethnic relations? I understand ethnic identity as

a cultural construct of collective belonging realised and legitimated through institutional and discursive practices; and as a site for material and symbolic struggles over the definition of national inclusion and exclusion (Fox/Miller-Idriss 2008, 536).

As myth, I understand, with Velikonja,

a dynamic, internally cohesive, but continually changing system of individual myths that has some very practical functions and goals to achieve in society . . . integrative (it includes inward and excludes outward); cognitive (it explains most important past and present events and foretells future ones); and communicative (it provides specific mythic rhetoric and syntagma) (2003, 7).

I am therefore looking at the discursive and behavioral construction of a the in-group and the out-group, the modes of the construction of ethnicity and multiethnicity and the ways in which these constructions are expressed and communicated amongst Hungarian youth in a village in Vojvodina, compared to Prekmurje. The general aim of my research is therefore to

interrogate the sets of relations between the principles and practices of multicultural expression, namely, between the theoretical claims constitutive of multiculturalism and the praxis such theoretical claims evoke (Goldberg 1994, 1).

Looking at these practices from an emic perspective, I consider them to be constituted by and constitutive of the official discourses of multiculturalism.

When we speak about identity formation, especially identity formation of young people in an environment that is “understood as . . . shifting space in which two *cultures* encounter one another” (Krupat 1992, 5), we expect to find multiple, fragmented and strategic ethnic identification; yet, what we often encounter on the ground is that ethnic identification of minority young people is still relatively solid and ethnic homogeneity is salient (Badis 2008).

When exploring the reasons for this situation, Goldberg’s (1994) summary of the two major arguments for ethnic homogeneity can be of use. First, according to the naturalist argument, homogeneity is the natural condition of human existence; its proponents claim that when people have to choose company to socialize with, they trust kin over non-kin. According to the other argument he cites, members decide to keep their groups closed because that is the best way to preserve the traditions they are committed to. On the other hand, Barth (1969) claims that frequent interethnic contacts, i.e. contacts with non-kin in fact contribute to solidifying the boundary between in-group and the out-group. None of the two arguments however provide explanation as to *why* people distinguish kin and non-kin and why we perceive people of the same ethnicity as kin at all, and moreover, why we are inherently committed to certain traditions related to our ethnic group more than to others, especially in a context where several other cultural patterns are available. What I am interested in is thus the dynamics of constructing ethnic identities in an inherently multicultural social environment.

The notion of multiculturalism in Vojvodina and in Prekmurje as well is generally taken for granted and perpetuated by the majority of politicians and social policy-makers without questioning what stands beyond that signifier and/or using it for dubious political purposes. Therefore in this research, instead of considering multiculturalism either normatively as an ideal to be strived for (but never actually achievable) or descriptively as a social situation inherent to these two regions, in my research I focus on the relationship between individual experiences and the social discourses of multiculturalism. In this sense, in Geertz’s (1973) words, what I look for in my research is the system of conceptions expressed via discourse and action by which the young people I study construct their knowledge about other ethnic groups, as well as establish and reinforce their attitudes towards multiculturalism. Accepting the fact that ethnicity is constructed but interested in how it is done (Brubaker 2006), I explore the discursive strategies and everyday practices that play a role in the process of experiencing

ethnicity among young people in the two regions. My main research question is therefore: What are Hungarian youth's semi-personal discourses about multiculturalism and everyday practices towards other ethnic groups in Vojvodina and in Prekmurje?

The underlying assumption of my research is that it is the minority status that makes ethnic identity marked (Brubaker 2006) and therefore more salient than other components of personal identities. I assume that discourses about one's own and others' ethnicity among young people are mainly formed in the family, in the school and in the interaction with friends (Badis 2008), and would therefore be similar in the two regions. Yet, I also believe that the school, the media and popular culture have a great influence on the perception of multiculturalism; as these institutions have different agendas and discourses in Vojvodina and in Prekmurje, I explore the variety of ethnic identification too. I reflect on multiculturalism as taken for granted and deconstruct its descriptive and normal interpretations, in order to arrive to a critical reading of it. It is crucial to see here that I am not interested in how members of a group see members of another group and how do they act towards them but how people define themselves and identify the in-group and the out-group (Drummond 1980). I also hope that the comparative approach to the discourses and practices Hungarian young people in Vojvodina and in Prekmurje would offer me insights into the processes and factors that make ethnicity salient in multicultural settings among minority youth in general.

1.3 Contribution of the research to the scientific field

Multiculturalism lacks a univocal definition, but what is common to nearly all existing studies engaging with it is that most of the scholarly debate has dealt with the concept from a minority and/or human rights, a legal or a linguistic standpoint, understanding multiculturalism as a model. This view disables us, both as researchers and as people who actually experience multiculturalism in our everyday lives, from seeing under its surface. In my research I am taking an interdisciplinary view combining methods of ethnography, linguistic anthropology and discourse analysis. "It is not sufficient to say that models are not be taken seriously, because we deal with actors who themselves take models very seriously" (Bertossi 2010, 237) but the

ways multiculturalism works on the everyday level and for the individual social actors should be explored. Similarly to Örkény (2005) who was looking at the cognitive construction of Hungarian national identity in Hungary,

the subject of this investigation is not the nation as an imagined or historically conceived community or an intellectual narrative, but as a member of the community, the ordinary people. The goal of our approach is to reconstruct the image of the nation that is created through everyday observations, attitudes, and value judgments in the individual's mind, as well as the image that is organized into a coherent identity as a kind of collective stock of knowledge at the societal level (2005, 2).

Therefore rather than statistical figures, media representations or politicians' speeches, I am looking at "words, actions and records" (Faas 2010, 18) of the social actors. Although naturally the political and cultural interpretations of multiculturalism cannot be separated (Semprini 2004), but on the contrary, modes of national identity formulated by political elites, the media and everyday discourses are in a reciprocal relationship (Wodak et al. 2009), my main interest is how discourses and practices of multicultural are enacted on the ground: how social actors refer to what is stated in the public discourses. Vojvodina especially, but Prekmurje as well are environments where there is a constant strive of the ideological state apparatuses (Althusser 1998) to neutralize ethnic differences, sweep conflicts under the carpet and exploit them in order to maximize their (personal, political, economic etc.) interests. Taking a bottom-up methodology in exploring the reception of multicultural policies among youth who have been growing up in these regions is an issue of great importance given that the way they understand multiculturalism offers an insight into the elusive internal mechanism of identification vis-à-vis other ethnic and generational groups.

Moreover, not only are there few studies that explore the experience of multiculturalism, but also a gap in the existing literature is the topic of sub-state national minorities⁴. Most studies that explore multiculturalism on the ground do so with respect to immigrant groups.

⁴Throughout the dissertation I am using Kymlicka's (2007, 2012) distinction between immigrants, sub-state national groups (i.e. autochthonous minority groups) and indigenous peoples.

The gap is even greater when we speak about studying autochthonous minority groups in non-violent and non-federal contexts. Acknowledging the importance of the insights that research about immigrant populations in the world have brought about, I claim that not all of the findings of these studies are applicable to the context of autochthonous minorities such as the Hungarian groups in Vojvodina or in Prekmurje, as not only the historical context and the relationships between these minorities and the majority society, but also the interests and aims of immigrant and autochthonous groups differ greatly.

Similarly, few studies exist on multiculturalism in Central and Eastern Europe; it seems that the concept is used for and criticized in Western settings mainly (see Goldberg 1994; Taylor 1992; Kymlicka 2003b, 2007). There is a great problem of the applicability of Western models of multiculturalism, and its validity is questionable (see section 2.1.3.). Instead of checking the Vojvodinian and Slovenian models of multiculturalism against established and arguably more successful models, such as Canada, the USA, Australia, Sweden, Belgium, etc. (Muhić 2004), my dissertation aims at exploring how youth in Vojvodina and in Prekmurje experience multiculturalism embedded in their own social contexts. In this sense, the contribution of my research to the field of studies on multiculturalism does not only add other case studies, but it abolishes hierarchies based on how multiculturalism in a given social environment works. This type of approach leads to an analysis of the actual experience of multiculturalism of those who negotiate its meaning. Comparing the case of Vojvodina with Prekmurje, moreover, sheds light on if and how the often-cited public discourses of multiculturalism affect its everyday perceptions.

Finally, what my dissertation aims at unpacking the processes of ethnicity construction and the reasons for its salience, instead of merely acknowledging these. Namely, as Kymlicka notes, regardless of the political community of individuals, there is also a need for a community within which people share “a culture, a language and history which defines their cultural membership” (1989,135). Similarly, the European legal framework that has largely been focused on protecting minorities in the name of a global culture in which people have individual rights irrespective of their ethnicities has led to a new ethnicization of territories and nations where these nations themselves insist on their collective rights. Therefore without wishing either to resolve the primordialism vs. instrumentalism debate or taking sides in it, by looking

at two specific case studies I hope to shed light on the question of why ethnicity has a salience for the everyday experience of young people even in the contemporary era of globalization and fragmentation of identity politics. In exploring these, I look at both the practices and role of discourse in constructing and negotiating ethnic and other social identities. I believe that this is a fruitful way of exploring identification since this twofold perspective enables a grasp of the dialogism and heterogeneity of the communities studied.

2 Outline of the basic concepts of the research

2.1 Multiculturalism

2.1.1 Multiculturalism in its historical context

The term “multiculturalism” has received great attention and has become part of general discourse, not only in the academia but also in the wider public. The concept has been used greatly in various studies, research, analysis, political campaigns, with a private or a public agenda, yet, even in scholarly circles the phenomenon of multiculturalism, and the place of ethnicity within multicultural theories, especially in South East Europe have lacked methodological investigation (Bašić 2006). The many, often mutually exclusive descriptions of multiculturalism are far from being unbiased – they are often used to depict social relations in a highly distorted manner to achieve political aims of groups of people. It has become associated with political correctness, tolerance, integrationist and/or assimilations politics and heated debates about minority rights. It is obvious that cultures have coexisted much before the birth of the term “multiculturalism”, but it begins to have its application when in addition to coexistence “some acknowledgement of the ‘many-culturedness’ of a practice is sought or given” (Smith 2010, 159). In the following subchapter I am providing a brief overview of the history and the implications of the term; however, as the literature on the topic is immensely vast, I am going to focus only on those aspects of the debates on multiculturalism that are relevant to the topic of this dissertation. It is also important to note that although the term is

often used to denote the relationship between people of different types of culture, i.e. relating to majorities and minorities of different spheres of life, such as sexual, gender, subcultures based on lifestyle or music, etc., here I use “multiculturalism” only to refer to the interactions between people of different ethnic membership, i.e. as a synonym for “multiethnicity”.

The term multiculturalism has started to be used in the USA and Western Europe in the 1960s (Song 2013) in relation to three phenomena: the integration of Black people and people of Hispanic origin in the USA, immigrant cultures in the USA and in Western and Northern Europe, and colonialism, mainly in Great Britain. Multiculturalism in the USA has emerged as an answer to the need for the integration of Black people.

In the United States . . . multiculturalism had become associated with the revision of curriculum and college admissions policies to reflect the diverse experiences of more marginal groups” (Philips 2007,3).

In the US context, multiculturalism is seen as a call for equality and anti-discrimination, therefore the debate on multiculturalism there has been dominated by a racial approach, while in this dissertation I look at multiculturalism in the sense of multiethnicity, which requires a somewhat different perspective. Racial and cultural identities are constructed differently: racial identity is seen as arising from biology, while ethnicity from culture. Even though there are obvious overlaps between the two foci, to study a community based on race means to study the ways that group has been oppressed and mistreated, while by contrast, to research an ethnic community includes looking at a community’s language, religion, forms and contents of cultural expression, etc. (Blum 1996).

Regarding multiculturalism in Canada, research on multiculturalism there focuses on education, citizenship, labor, health care, justice system, language-acquisition, housing, gender, community-building, etc., mainly from policy perspectives and exploring them in relation to the integration of newcomers to the country as well as the indigenous communities (First Nations) (see Graham 2007; Dib et al. 2008; Andrew 2009; Uberoi 2009; Ghorayshi 2010; Hyman 2011; Ku 2011; Bhuyan/Smith-Carrier 2012; Modood 2014).

Silj (2010) gives a general overview of the various types of multiculturalism that are present in the countries of Western Europe that have been the most affected by immigration. According to him, what characterizes multiculturalism in Britain are policies of tolerance and non-discrimination and strategies of multicultural education. On the other hand, Hasan (2010) criticizes British multiculturalism of having covert non-intervention policies regarding the issues of minorities. The recent debates on multiculturalism in Great Britain mostly concerns the content of “Britishness” and the possibilities and limits of Muslims’ integration (see Kymlicka 2003a; Modood 2003; Uberoi 2007, 2008; Modood/Ahmad 2007; Uberoi/McLean 2007; Meer/Modood 2009; Meer et al. 2010; Uberoi/Modood 2009; 2013). Conversely, according to Silj (2010), France follows the so-called republican model of integration which assumes that assimilation is good for the republic. On a declarative level this model of multiculturalism considers political actors equal regardless of cultural, ethnic or religious specificities and cultural differences irrelevant to nation-building. Also, it is considered that because of its underlying assumption of assimilation being a common good, multiculturalism has never become a proper policy in France and therefore there is no institutional recognition of diversity. Further, in Germany, Silj differentiates two main discourses of multiculturalism. The first assumes a cultural fundamentalism of Muslim immigrants, who are constructed as the radical ‘others’ and excluded from the “imagined community of the ‘self’” (2010, 4), while the other discourse emphasizes the positive references to cultural plurality and hybridity. When looking at discourses of multiculturalism in Denmark, even though they promote equality of participation, Denmark is considered by Silj as a monocultural country, whose policies oscillate between multiculturalism and assimilationism. In the Netherlands, Silj goes on, a country with a strict immigrant policy, both the ideal of multiculturalism and the discourse of a country torn by violence and fundamentalism are myths. The prevailing policies of multiculturalism in the Netherlands consider assimilation as good for the immigrants who have to be socio-economically equal to the Dutch majority, even though their cultures are not considered equal to the Dutch culture. Lastly, Silj, critically claims that the Italian model of multiculturalism is “the lack of a model” (2010, 3), and because governments are short-lived, there is no willingness to take the political risk of introducing and implementing consequent multicultural policies.

Zooming in to the subjects of this dissertation, the regions of Vojvodina and Prekmurje

have both exchanged hands between the Habsburg monarchy and the Ottoman Empire; the regions have been populated by various ethnic groups for centuries. Hungarians are believed to have arrived to the Carpathian basin at the end of the 8th century and have a continuous presence in what are today Vojvodina and Prekmurje. Most of the Serbian population was settled in what is today Vojvodina prior to the Ottoman rule, from the 14th to the 18th century. After being defeated by the Ottomans in the battle of Marica in 1459, the last Serbian Despots settled in the Kingdom of Hungary. They built Orthodox monasteries on Fruška gora hill and in Srem, which became centers of Serbian culture. Serbian population arrived to the Kingdom with the rulers, some of them serving in the army, some being peasants and serfs, and some living in the market towns in Vojvodina (Ćirković 1994). The region has been ruled by the Ottoman Empire from the Battle of Mohács in 1526 until the treaty signed in Sremski Karlovci in 1699 when it went into the hands of the Habsburg Monarchy; Prekmurje was officially under Habsburg administration but for approximately the same period of time Vojvodina was under Ottoman rule, some of the villages in Prekmurje were also governed by the Ottomans. Under Ottoman rule ethnicity was subsumed under religion and class: the regulative practices were shaped by the differentiation of the “ruling Muslim class with its non-Muslim subjects . . . commonly referred to as the *millet* system” (Reinkowski 1997, 2). In the Balkan Peninsula, the social system was organized according to *millets* based on religious belonging. This system guaranteed the non-Muslim subjects freedom to practice their religion. “The *millets* were quasi-autonomous units which performed functions in legislative, judicial, fiscal, religious and charitable affairs and were responsible for educating their members” (ibid.:3). The millet system was thus the first one to set up a system of governing religiously, ethnically, linguistically and culturally distinctive subjects and in which each of these communities was seen as separate and distinct units.

This is the system the Habsburg Monarchy has “inherited” when taking over the Central-European and Balkan territories. In the Habsburg Monarchy, Latin was the administrative language, while German was the most common language of communication (Marác 2012; van der Plank 2012). It was a feudal system, and most of the economic and political differentiation was not based on ethnicity or language but on class. In the Kingdom of Hungary this meant serfs of various ethnicity being subordinated to the ethnically equally various nobility. With the awakening of nationalisms in the 19th century, this started to change by the Hunga-

rian nobility resisting Viennese centralization, putting Hungarian language in the center of their resistance movement. The Habsburgs saw playing ethnic groups against each other as their weapon, that led to the revolution of 1848-49 antagonizing the animosities between Hungarians and non-Hungarians. After the failed revolution and a repressive period under the direct rule of Vienna, in which the Hungarian nobility passively resisted Germanization, in 1867 Hungary and Austria received equal standing in the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy (Marác 2012). The Dual Monarchy had a common Emperor from the House of Habsburg and Hungary had a ruler with the title of a King.

[T]he Kingdom of Hungary became a sovereign state within the framework of the Dual Monarchy. Transylvania and Vojvodina were integrated into Hungary proper. The Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia enjoyed a separate status that was confirmed by the *Ausgleich* between Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia in 1868. The third equal constituting part of the Hungarian Kingdom was the free royal city of Fiume, present-day Croatian Rijeka (Marác 2012, 274).

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was a multi-ethnic and multilingual state. In the Kingdom of Hungary thirteen languages were officially recognized and used, which meant that the law recognized 14 ethnic groups determined usually by the mother tongue: Hungarian, Serbians, Slovenes, Croats, Romanian, Germans, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Czechs, Ukrainians, Polish, Turkish, Italians and Lithuanian, but only one nation, to which all individuals belonged regardless of ethnicity: Hungarian. In fact, in 1869 Hungarians were in a minority in the Kingdom of Hungary comprising 48% of the population, while in 1910 their number increased to 56%. Towns were ethnically diverse, with only a few of them having an absolute majority ethnic group. Despite this, multilingual speakers were fairly rare. The 1868 Law on the Equality of Nationalities guaranteed individual rights to ethnic minorities in the domains of education, practice of religion, language use and communal assemblies. Schools were organized in a manner that each ethnic group had their separate system. Hungarian was a compulsory subject since 1879. In the Hungarian schools, Latin and Greek were taught, but not the languages of other nationalities (Marác 2012). Marác argues that Hungary endeavored to introduce a kind of language centralism but in fact got what he calls “separate multilingualism” and “separate

multiethnicity” -- he calls this the Hungarian model (2012). The management of ethnic minorities in the Austro-Hungarian period shows resemblance to how the issues of minority rights were treated in Yugoslavia.

The issue of multiculturalism in the former Yugoslavia has arisen with the foundation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918 when a large number of national groups other than the three constitutive nations had to be managed in one state that in itself showed large varieties in terms of politics, economy, history and geography. Majority national groups, at least in the beginnings of the life in the same country, failed to see intra-group differences among minorities and treated them in an essential and homogenous fashion, as a sort of “necessary evil” (Janjetović 2005). The protection of ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities was codified after the First World War in the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1919 and transposed to the Constitution of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Dimić 1997). The relevant articles mainly dealt with language and educational rights of minorities. From the beginnings of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes until the Second World War the relationship towards minorities was mainly indifference or assimilationist policies, while after the Second World War integrationist Yugoslavism was Tito’s main approach to the various nationalities (Sekulic et al. 1994). The multicultural character of the region was a result of numerous waves of settlements (*kolonizacije*) before and after the foundation of Yugoslavia, which had different aims and modes, not rarely explicitly the change of the ethnic character of certain regions. The non-constitutive nationalities were accepting the new state gradually; political conflicts between majorities and minorities but also among different minorities were not rare. There were hopes of re-uniting with kin-states, while the new state did little to integrate the minorities (Dimić 1997; Janjetović 2005). The most numerous non-Slavic ethnic groups were Albanians, Germans and Hungarians (Janjetović 2005), and the ethnically most varied area was Vojvodina. The entrance of the national minorities into the new state was faster and less conflicting in the North of the country than in the South, which had political, historical and geographical reasons. Despite existing anti-Trianon sentiments among Hungarians on both sides of the border, there were no violent or military responses with regard to taking over the territory. Since the foundation of the first Yugoslavia declaring one’s ethnic identity to be Yugoslav was a possible and encouraged option. Due to assimilationist policies and emigration, and in the case of the German minority forced relocation, from

the mid-19th century, ethnic minorities have been shrinking in number (Janjetović 2005). At the start of the new state, the main aim of educational state officials in Vojvodina was to restructure schools in order to compensate the effects of Magyarization of the non-Hungarian population: for this purpose, Hungarian schools were changed to elementary and secondary schools which had the students' mother tongues as the language of instruction (Dimić 1997). It is thus the 1920s that parallel streams with different languages of instruction were introduced; schools were managed according to the principle of ethnic membership of the students (Janjetović 2005). School officials had the right to determine the students' ethnic belonging, most often based on their surname and the grandfather's ethnicity (the father's ethnicity was ignored as it was seen as often Hungarianized) (Dimić 1997). Instruction of the majority language and history became obligatory for minority streams, yet, it rarely brought satisfying results (Janjetović 2005), which can be interpreted as a failure of an integrative model of multiculturalism.

Minority protection and rights in Europe were codified after the Second World War. The Charter of the United Nations and The Universal Declaration of Human Rights deal with minority issues from a human rights perspective, not yet providing collective rights to ethnic, linguistic and/or religious minorities. The Fate of Minorities resolution of 1948 is the first to address the protection of minorities on a collective level, yet it has neither practical recommendations nor binding effect. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 is the first declaration with a binding effect, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe's (the Helsinki Commission) Final Act from 1975 (standards for the protection of minorities), the UN's Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities from 1992 (recommendations with no binding effect) and the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities from 1995 (obligatory) are other important documents in the field of minority rights legislation (Spiliopoulou Åkermark 1996).

2.1.2 Definitions and typologies of multiculturalism

All multiethnic states have tried to balance between the state's power, national and linguistic centralism on the one hand, and providing rights to ethnic minorities on the other hand. When it comes to the interpretation of the concept of multiculturalism, there has been a great overuse of the term, which has led to its actual loss of meaning, while the concept has been dismissed as having failed or being dead – as both German Chancellor Merkel and British Prime Minister Cameron have stated over the previous years. The debate over their respective statements proves the loaded meaning multiculturalism carries throughout regions and history. Like it is the case with every “-ism”, it is the various ideological pretexts that lead to multiculturalism being either understood uncritically, in an idealized fashion or completely being abandoned (Goldberg 1994). Thus, “[b]efore we can decide whether to celebrate or lament the fall of multiculturalism, we first need to make sure we know what multiculturalism has in fact been” (Kymlicka 2012, 9).

As a result of the global diffusion of the term, multiculturalism has become codified in many national and international legal norms (Kymlicka 2007). In this respect we can speak about minimum standards of multiculturalism, best practices, reports, conventions, declarations, etc. The aim of this dissertation is to explore, among other issues, whether and if so, how the legal discourse has penetrated the life of those who experience multiculturalism on daily basis, and what aspects of it; which discourses have influenced the everyday experience of multiculturalism and how these interdiscursive elements have contributed to the dynamics of interethnic relationships as they are practiced and as they are being referred to.

Like in its everyday interpretation or even more so, multiculturalism is ridden with ambiguities and contradictions in the scholarly arena. The two founding principles of multiculturalism being the recognition of difference and the recognition of identity (Bašić 2006), it does not come as a surprise that not only is there is no univocal definition of it. Without the aim to mention all, a few of the classifications of multiculturalism are going to be discussed briefly in the followings.

One of the most often cited typologies of multiculturalism is according to its political orientation. It is common to differentiate conservative multiculturalism from liberal multicult-

turalism. The first orientation was born out of the colonial context and thus tries to construct a common culture of different ethnic and racial groups with an aim of assimilation (McLaren 1995). On the other hand, liberal multiculturalism was a response to the belief that it is individual rights that need to be protected, not group rights, and that ethnicity and religion are private matters in which the state does not have to and cannot interfere (Levey 2010). Liberal multiculturalism has become the dominant position of literature, and it is not debatable whether or not to accept the position but rather how to refine the theory on it (Kymlicka 1995). However, when applying liberal multiculturalism to everyday dilemmas, individual rights very often cannot answer the needs of members of minority communities. Another criticism of liberal multiculturalism voiced by Bauman (2011) is that it is a different political strategy than nationalism but it shares a purpose with it: both make no room for autonomous and self-governing communities and free citizens. Bauman believes that both ideologies constrain individuals in the choice of groups where they want to belong. As an answer to some of these challenges, in his essay on recognition as a means of minority politics, Taylor (1992) extended the principle of liberal multiculturalists from equal respect to all individuals to equal respect to all cultures, just as he differentiates between equal dignity and equal respect, where the former addresses the common humanity of individuals while the latter is about particular group identities and their collective interests. Being a proponent of a liberal option of multiculturalism that focuses on groups rather than individuals, Taylor's theory "provides an important corrective to the overly atomistic, individualistic, and Cartesian picture of the self that informs (implicitly or explicitly) much popular debate" (Blum 1996:183). In his work, Taylor namely distinguished difference-blind multiculturalism from multiculturalism that recognizes difference, the first being focused on individual persons' rights and failing to see individuals as part of collectives, and the second respecting both what individuals have in common with others and what is distinctive to them. The bases of this recognition shall be that the majority sees the minority as part of "us", which in turn prevents the minority from having an inferior self-image (Blum 1996), what Goffman calls "social stigma" (1963). Therefore Taylor does not see liberal multiculturalism as neutral at all, but rather a creed that requires more than the coexistence of different cultures and an effort from all segments of a society.

It is not only types of multiculturalism that are differentiated but also theorist who engage with the concept. According to Hasan (2010) there is a difference in the conceptualiza-

tion of multiculturalism between on one hand “[w]hite liberals and progressives who oppose Western imperialism, colonialism and dominance over non-white peoples” (2010, 13), such as Kymlicka, Taylor, and on the other hand “cultural nationalists” who are themselves members of minority communities, where he mentions Parekh and Modood as the most prominent. What I believe is crucial to understand from this differentiation is that when assessing theories and their criticisms, the position of the theorist him/herself and the influence of his/her personal experience on the argument or criticism has to be reflected on.

It is also possible to typify multiculturalism according to the amount of nature of interaction among members of various ethnic groups, which is of special interest for my dissertation. In this manner the greatest difference relates to the nature of coexistence between different ethnicities. Bauman (2011) calls ”multicommunitarianism” a situation in which

[p]rofound or trifling, salient or hardly noticeable cultural differences are used as building materials in the frenzied construction of defensive walls and missile launching pads. ‘Culture’ becomes a synonym for a besieged fortress, and in fortresses under siege the inhabitants are required to manifest their unswerving loyalty daily and to abstain from any hob-nobbing with outsiders. ‘Defence of the community’ must take precedence over all other commitments. Sitting at the same table with ‘the aliens’, rubbing shoulders while visiting the same places, not to mention falling in love and marrying across the community’s borders, are signs of treachery and reasons for ostracism and banishment. Communities so constructed become expedients aimed principally at the perpetuation of division, separation, isolation and estrangement (2011, 141-142).

Maybe not as pessimistically, Maclure (2010) defines “communitarian multiculturalism” similarly to Bauman’s multicommunitarianism, as a situation where a

society is a mosaic of cultural communities that relate with one another through institutions and representatives. Citizens largely live their lives within the parameters set forth by their cultural group and have limited interaction with members of the other groups (2010, 40).

As opposed to this model, called communitarian, which is criticized for encouraging isolation and splitting up the political scene, the civic model rests on social interaction between members of various groups, and this cross-cultural interaction is guided by the norm of respect for cultural diversity (ibid.).

Social interaction and the opportunity to learn from people of different origin is what interculturalism is about, and thus “developing more plural and cosmopolitan identities” (Cantle 2014, 315). The term “interculturalism” was coined in the 1970s France, as a response to the need of integrating immigrant children (Sarmiento 2014). Focusing mainly on the domain of education (see Kostović et al. 2010), interculturalism thus claims that identities are intersectional and develop through communication.

The transformation of the discourse of multiculturalism into an intercultural discourse reinforces principles that emphasize the historical interconnectedness of cultures. Societies have never been static throughout history, as they have always adapted and changed according to the stimuli received from other cultures. (Sarmiento 2014, 612).

In Cantle’s view,

[t]he reality is . . . that city, regional, national and cosmopolitan identities now need to sit alongside each other -- they are not opposed: something that multiculturalism has never acknowledged. Interculturalism recognises that people can have more than one identity at the same time and that these are not necessarily in opposition to each other; rather, they simply represent different aspects of human relations (2014, 316).

A criticism of this model is that it focuses on an urban population and majority-minority relations that have been brought about as a result of migration (see Ghorayshi 2010). Interculturalism as theory does not deal with populations that are not typically viewed as “cosmopolitan”. For the non-Western European, non-North American and non-urban segments of socie-

ty, interculturalism “is not an alternative to MC [multiculturalism], but a valuable complement to a communitarian” multiculturalism (Modood 2014, 303), which is a critique especially relevant to the contexts of this research.

In Tylor’s understanding of interculturalism, “all citizens, of whatever identity, have a voice, and no-one’s input has a privileged status” (2012, 418). In general, interculturalism is more than mere co-existence of groups and less “groupist” (Brubaker 2004) in seeing communities as dynamic and more committed to a unity of diverse groups (Meer/Modood 2012; Modood 2014). There are however critiques, such as Levay’s (2010,) who argue that similarly to “multiculturalism”, “interculturalism” is about distinct homogenous cultures, and is therefore repeating rather than solving the problem of adequately theorizing multiethnicity. Also, multiculturalism or interculturalism, used in a general sense, lack analytical strength and gain meaning only when employed to individuals’ experience in a specific context.

The analytical problem of using the terms multiculturalism, with different, sometimes mutually exclusive meanings arises from the fact that despite widespread usage there is no consensus on their definition, thus social actors appropriate the most suitable interpretation depending on their actual social position and socio-political context. Yet, however broad meaning they have or different they are, all conceptualizations of multiculturalism can be categorized into three main types (Feischmidt 1997; Lukšić-Hacin 1999; Sardoč 2011).

(1) Descriptions of the experience of interethnic relations of two or more ethnicities that live within one state;

(2) Identity politics or policies that strive for the emancipation and/or integration of national minorities, immigrant populations or indigenous peoples (Kymlicka 1995). It is a normative understanding in which tolerance towards minority cultures and their social inclusion to the dominant society are the aims. In its orientation it can be a program whose understanding of multiculturalism is conservative, liberal or critical (Goldberg 1994).

(3) A theoretical and critical category related to the quality of the relationship between various ethnicities living in the same geographical location. In this dissertation I use “multiculturalism” in this sense, as an analytical tool through which the experiences and discourses of interethnic relations of the two communities studies are unpacked.

In relation to multiculturalism used descriptively, which is one of the most common interpretations, it is understood as a state of affairs when two or more ethnicities live within one state or territory. This is the most common conceptualization of multiculturalism in Vojvodina and in Prekmurje; however, even though the validity of this descriptive interpretation cannot be denied, as the regions are in fact areas with several ethnic communities that live within their territories, it leaves aside the problem of exploring what interethnic relations are like. This perspective is characteristic for the media and the academia as well (Kymlicka 2007). For the reasons of tackling problems only superficially, Radke (1997) calls this model “culinary-cynical” multiculturalism’. Feischmidt (1997) gives the example of *döner kebab* for how minority cultures are seen in this type of multiculturalism: elements of minority culture are present almost everywhere, yet they are something “different”, that belongs to “them” and that “we” occasionally consume as something “other” and “exotic”.

The condition of multiculturalism is of the most concern for those who cherish a normative model of it (Bertossi 2010), especially its policy-implications. When we speak about multiculturalism as a policy, two questions arise: that of power, more specifically state power, and that of representation, in other words, what should be done and by whom to improve the position of minorities. The view of liberal multiculturalists is that it is the state, i.e. the majority society whose responsibility it is to recognize and accommodate to the histories, languages and cultures of minority groups, therefore acknowledging the historical injustice that has been done to the national minorities (e.g. border changes, assimilationist and/or exclusionist policies, etc.) and offering some sort of a remedy (Kymlicka 2007). Yet, it is up to the individual to “carve out” their way among the various institutions that exercise power over them, and the fields of power are the country of residence, the kin-state, the majority ethnic group, the ethnic minority community, the kin-state’s public discourse (Badis 2008). While the issue of power relates to the majority, the issue of representation relates to who can speak in the name of the minority. Whether it is a political party or several political parties, a minority institution or non-governmental organization, etc. poses the question of who sits in them, how they have been elected, what they are doing in their mandate and what interests drive them.

Last, when we understood multiculturalism to be an analytical/theoretical concept, it provides us with a critical lens through which power relations can be analyzed (Iverson 2010). Looking at the problems of understanding majority-minority relations not only in terms of the protection of minority rights, it is possible to understand multiculturalism from an emic perspective. In this sense, multiculturalism means a commitment to the common good and a collectivity of all citizens transcending particular and individual interests (Parekh 2002). It is in this approach, also called radical multiculturalism for its call for a radical reconceptualization of power relations among various groups within a society (Lukšić-Hacin 1999), that McLaren (1995) calls attention to the constructive role language plays for social experiences and for the dominant ideology designating power. Even though probably the most vaguely defined, it is almost natural for a research such as mine to align itself with a critical definition of multiculturalism.

However, when applied to actual social contexts, critical multiculturalism can be a term equally imprecise as multiculturalism in general, and also more difficult to be separated from its normative and descriptive aspects than it would seem. Most often, “multiculturalism has been analyzed . . . as an existing or desired social reality” (Sarmiento 2014, 606). Using the term multiculturalism critically points to a certain direction which multiculturalism should take. Also, when referring to what something *should be* like, one naturally describes what something *is* like, thus adding a descriptive aspect to the critical and normative. By looking at the complicated dynamics of the three aspects of multiculturalism, what I aimed at pointing out is not only my own position regarding the usage of term but also the impossibility of separating the critical from the descriptive and the normative.

2.1.3 Critiques of multiculturalism

“[M]ulticulturalism poses as many problems as it solves” (Barry 2001:328). Thus, many typologies and categories of multiculturalism exist, but probably even more numerous are the criticisms of the concept and its usages. In the followings I am going to sketch the major

streams of critical comments that the concept has received, focusing on those that are relevant to the conceptualization of multiculturalism I am using in this dissertation.

Every type of multiculturalism that is delineated according to a political orientation can be criticized with respect to the political program that it proposes. Conservative multiculturalism can be seen to pay only lip service to equality, while it takes the majority as the invisible norm, strives for monoculturalism and thus propagates assimilation in the name of diversity. This model is less and less present throughout the world, however, its alternative, liberal multiculturalism is often accused of propagating an oppressively humanistic universalism that legitimizes the existing norms of ethnocentrism. Left-liberal multiculturalism, with its emphasis on difference, is also often claimed to exoticize otherness and essentialize differences without properly contextualizing them (McLaren 1995), which can lead to discouraging members of the minority and the majority groups from mixing (Brubaker 1996; Hasan 2010; Maclure 2010). In other words its focus on the “we” with the neglect on “them” and “us” encourages cultural segregation (Bašić 2006) or heightened intergroup conflict as a result of politicizing cultural identities (Levey 2010).

One shall not fail to see that liberal theories of multiculturalism do not have the aim of challenging the modern conception of the homogenous nation; on the contrary, they build on it. Liberal multiculturalism takes the nation state as the basic unit of social and political theory. Consequently, none of the understandings of multiculturalism tackles the assumed cultural homogeneity of the group in question, or methodological nationalism for that matter. Another one of the most often cited criticisms of liberal multiculturalism is that it “essentially views cultures as static”, has an ahistoric approach to societies and therefore is resistant to account for cultural change (Hasan 2010, 61; see also Goldberg 1994; Ivison 2010). In this fashion cultures are to be bounded, cultural sameness is left intact, while in analytical terms the members of ethnic groups lose their agency for action. As Blum phrases it,

placing too much emphasis on the self-enclosed, self-coherent, and differentness of each culture is an example of distance-promoting mode of presentation. Such a conception of cultures is intellectually deficient in not recognizing the diversity and tensions *within* each culture, a culture’s changes over time, influences from other cultures, and (in most cases) val-

ues or elements it shares with other cultures . . . Focusing on group A's oppression of group B, and group B's resistance to that oppression, can (in the absence of countervailing factors) serve to reinforce the we/they consciousness in members of group A *and* group B thus straining any sense of connection (1996, 199-200).

The discourse of multiculturalism is often totalizing, assuming that all members of a minority are subsumed within the cultural group (Hasan 2010).

Most of the definitions, categorizations and explorations of multiculturalism in different societies construct ethnicities to be majorities versus minorities, dominant versus subordinate. Of course, “[m]ajority and minority are not quantitative characteristics but refer to the relative position of the parties involved in relations of economic, political and institutional power” (Patton 2010, 68). The radical criticism of liberal multiculturalism states that it does not really accommodate diversity but is open only to those groups that are willing to abide its presumptions and (liberal) values (Levey 2010). Minorities are not expected to challenge the legitimacy of the state in which they live but to live up to the stereotypes of a “good immigrant” or a member of a national minority or indigenous population (Iverson 2010). Thus apart from the critique of multiculturalism that it promotes equality only declaratively (McLaren 1995), another one is that it re-subordinates marginal groups (Iverson 2010): even if in its policies it strives for heterogeneity, this heterogeneity presupposes tolerating the different (Goldberg 1994). And tolerance in turn presupposes paternalism, that there is a group which accepts the other group but does not perceive it as equal to itself. According to Besch (2010), this conceptualization of tolerance is instrumentalist and asymmetrical because it grants acceptance with the aim of avoiding conflict and assumes the superiority of the tolerator. In this sense, multiculturalism remains a discourse that (re-)constructs the power relations of “us” and “them” (Kymlicka 2007; Iverson 2010).

Even at first sight of the immense body of literature on multiculturalism it becomes obvious that most of it deals with multiculturalism in Western contexts, be it the USA, Canada, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, Britain, France, Sweden, etc. There has been some research done on multiculturalism in Asia, mainly in Singapore (see Ho 2009; Berthelsen/Karuppiyah 2011; Parreñas/Kim 2011; Lee 2011; McCann 2011) and also in Africa (see

Sharp 2001; Barnard 2006; de Jongh 2006; Jonker 2007; Ramsamy 2007; Brooke 2008), but literature on multiculturalism in other parts of the world is scarce. Even those few pieces of research that deal with multiculturalism in social environments other than the USA, Canada and Western Europe, do so with an implicit Western bias. These texts mainly focus on immigrant cultures rather than on national minorities and analyze how immigrants encounter “social facts” (Durkheim 1966) that are considered to be new to them and how the host society deals with the immigrants’ social facts that are in turn new to them (Hasan 2010), a logical perspective given the specific issues the number of immigrants from different cultures raise, making immigration an even greater issue in the academia. Texts that deal with national minorities (e.g. the French Canadians or the Finnish minority in Sweden) address the question of multiculturalism from a perspective that is in terms of both historical context and legal regulation very different and hardly applicable to the situation of the Hungarian minority in the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Comparing a social context with an immigrant population as a minority and one with an autochthonous community is hardly possible. Some of the reasons for this are that the relationship between minority and majority are very different in the two cases, so are the legal frameworks, also the possibility for political mobilization. Political mobilization along ethnic lines is impossible in most of the Western democracies, while permitted, even encouraged in the former republics of Yugoslavia (Muhić 2004). Speaking about immigrants evokes rights on individual level, whereas the topic of national minorities and culturally or territorially defined collective rights lead one to the slippery terrain of politics, territorial disputes and ethnic conflict. Still, I hold that it is by comparison that we can come to insights about the nature of social experience, and this is the main reason why I insist upon a comparative case of Prekmurje other than looking only at Hungarian youth in Vojvodina. However, what I argue is that comparison to a norm that is not context-specific will hardly yield any analytically fruitful insights into the debate on minorities and the salience ethnicity, and this is why I have decided to abandon the normative view of multiculturalism that has been modeled upon Western-European and American contexts. Instead of starting from a normative perspective and looking for cases that would match or fail to match existing theories on Western multiculturalisms, I am looking into the meaning of multicultural experience for the social actors themselves and connecting it to theories of ethnicity and multiculturalism.

Looking at the case studies of this dissertation, it is thus essential to explore them in their own situatedness. The strongest string of connection between the Hungarian communities in Vojvodina and in Prekmurje is the ex- and post-Yugoslav context and the Habsburg legacy, yet, exploring this environment academically is hindered by the fairly low amount of scholarship on multiethnicity in ex-Yugoslavia. The existing research on youth in multinational environments in the former Yugoslavia focuses mostly on Bosnia and Herzegovina (see Velikonja 2003; Hromadzic 2011; Majstorović/Turjačanin 2011; Hronesová 2012). Even though in case of both the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina and in Prekmurje, and also in Bosnia and Herzegovina the context is such that it is not possible to analyze multiculturalism in terms of “newcomers” and “host society”, the social environment of a post-war state is difficult to compare with either the Vojvodina or the Prekmurje region. Therefore as Hasan (2010) argues, countries with several nations and countries with immigrants cannot be theorized in the same way. All the more so since border regions inhabited by majorities and minorities around whom borders have been drawn and redrawn several times during the course of a few generations such as Vojvodina and Prekmurje are characterized by frequent changes of majority-minority relations, in the sense that same ethnic community historically has the experience of being both – a fact that will be explored in greater lengths later in the dissertation.

As already stated, another issue of multiculturalists theories is that the concepts they use are often analytically vague and politically unfeasible. They are often built on models that present ideal cases not real experiences. It follows that a profound issue with multiculturalism is the “incommensurability between empirical reality ... and public and political narratives” (Bertossi 2010, 237). Kymlicka (2003a) admits that for multiculturalism to be politically successful, and I would add, empirically analyzable, a more nuanced understanding of the historical and socio-political conditions is needed, that enables different modes of state-minority relations. This kind of understanding would involve a bottom-up approach as well, one that starts out from the actual experience of the social actors and would include social context other than Western democracies. I attempt to present my cases of multiculturalism in the light of the above-mentioned issues.

2.2 Ethnic identification

2.2.1 Theorizing ethnicity

The approach I follow in this research is ethnological, thus I look at cultures in an interpretative sense. As Parekh explains, culture is the structure that individuals inhabit;

human beings are culturally embedded in the sense that they grow up and live within a culturally structured world and organize their lives and social relations in terms of a culturally derived system of meaning and significance. This does not mean that they are determined by their culture in the sense of being unable to rise above its categories of thought and critically evaluate its values and system of meaning, but rather that they are deeply shaped by it, can overcome some but not all of its influences, and necessarily view the world from within a culture, be it the one they have inherited and uncritically accepted or reflectively revised or, in rare cases, one they have consciously adopted (1999, n.p.)

Geertz has a semiotic view of culture, for him culture is an intricate system of signs,

[n]ot a power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions or processes can be casually attributed, it is a context, something within which they [cultures] can be intelligibly – that is, thickly – described (1973, 316).

Similarly, Eriksen sees culture as context that enables the understanding of situations and actions (1991). To define the culture of the subject of this, I use conceptualizations of culture that relate it to the national and the ethnic. Studies of multiculturalism start from the premise that in order to be able to speak about national cultures, one has to differentiate between nations to whom these cultures belong. Kymlicka (1995) defines nations as historical communities that occupy a given territory and share a language and a culture. He has introduced the notion of a “societal culture” that is territorially concentrated and based on a shared language, common memories, values, institutions and practices (ibid.). Thus culture for him means an ethno-national culture that is a set of traditions, beliefs and immaterial goods that members of

a given culture claim as part of their heritage. A great deal of criticism has emerged in relation to this term, the two most important ones being that it is a challengeable equation of culture and nationhood (Barry 2001) and that it cannot account for the shifting and fluid nature of cultures (Young 2002). It is also important to see that Kymlicka's conception of culture sees shared institutions, language and territory as its main carriers, which Patton defines as a "thin" conception of culture, as opposed to the "thick" ethnographic one (Geertz 1973), that focuses on shared customs, habits and rituals (Patton 2010).

Kymlicka's conceptualization of culture is circular: national cultures are cultures that belong to nations. Therefore, for conceptualizing culture(s) in relation to multiculturalism, it is crucial to conceptualize nation, a concept that is in turn linked to ethnicity and identity. Nation is, following Smith's definition, a

human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members (1983, 39).

Nation is thus a general term: it includes ethnic, but also class, religious, legal, territorial, political, linguistic, cultural, historical (Putinja/Stref-Fenar 1997) and other membership categories, even though nations have usually been formed around ethnic cores (Smith 2004). Nationalism relies on ethnicity to fulfill its political program as ethnicity guarantees the historical continuity the feeling of "us"; yet, while nation is a political concept, ethnicity is sociological and anthropological, void of political content (Hobsbawm/Kertzer 1992). For Gellner, a nation is a group that wishes to survive as a community (1983). Often, like in the instances of the USA or France, nations are formed in order to unite ethnic groups and in fact make ethnic memberships forgotten (Putinja/Stref-Fenar 1997). Identity is at the same time grounded in the past and in the present, so it is equally important to see how it is bound to the ancestral, the traditional, as is how it is being reconstructed according to the context of current events.

Nation is thus a complex and analytically difficult to grasp, as it entails a subjective feeling of belonging together. Ethnicity is a “merely” descriptive category, that outside observers such as anthropologists can work with (Connor 1978). In an attempt to define ethnicity, Smith (1991:21) set up with the following criteria for a group:

- (1) a collective proper name,
- (2) a myth of common ancestry,
- (3) shared historical memories,
- (4) one or more differentiating elements of a common culture,
- (5) an association with a specific “homeland”,
- (6) a sense of solidarity for a significant sectors of the population.

Yet, it is important to see that none of these criteria define an ethnic group, but they become ethnic attributes only when group members use them as markers of belonging (Putinja/Stref-Fenar 1997).

The study of ethnicity has been marked by the debate between the so-called primordialist/essentialist and instrumentalist/constructivist views. The debate started with Barth's publishing of *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* in 1969, in which he explained ethnicity in terms of symbolic construction and maintenance of boundaries with other ethnic groups instead of the until then prevalent view (later referred to as “essentialist” or “primordialist”) that groups are determined by their characteristic cultural content. Speaking about nations, Anderson (1991) saw them as imagined communities for the lack of face-to-face interaction among all its members, which nevertheless does not prevent members to see the ethnic group as a horizontal comradeship. Smith's above-mentioned definition (1983) defines nations based on cultural and historical content rather than on biological ties. According to the constructivist view, cultures are not clearly separated from each other but the determining factor of the differences between cultures is the way in which cultural differences are socially organized (Feischmidt 1997). Constructivism sees cultures as dynamic, flowing, self-conflicting and inconsistent (Barth 1969). Until that point ethnicity, nation and culture were rather understood as given, stable, pre-determined, assigned at birth and dependent on the ethnic identity of one's ancestors. However, with Barth's influential text, a paradigm-shift came about,

and it brought about a possibility to study phenomena such as tribalism in Nigeria, communalism in India or linguistic conflicts in Canada in a related fashion (Putinja/Stref-Fenar 1997).

The reasons for the (re-)emergence of ethnicity in the social sciences primarily in the US and Western Europe in the 1960s and '70s are many: great waves of immigration, social problems, raising demands for the integration of Black people, etc. The same period is also marked by the cognitive turn in the social sciences in general, therefore it is by no means accidental that the interest for ethnicity was accompanied by a frame of conceptualization that focuses on the processes of ethnic identification rather than seeing it as stable. The constructivist view, which has had the monopoly of ethnicity studies since the 1970s holds that ethnic identification is a dynamic process that depends on the local context and on social interaction and that ethnicity itself is a fluid, negotiated category that is used strategically by each and every individual depending on the circumstance they find themselves in. In this sense it is the experience of the social actor that determines whether and how to express one's ethnic identity, and whether they see identity positively, as a bond, "a tie that holds members of the collective together" or negatively, rather as bondage (Goldberg 1994, 12).

In line with the above and in relation to Vojvodina Hungarians and Hungarians from Prekmurje, by defining them an ethnic group, I understand the conception that Papp used to define Vojvodina Hungarians: a specific group of people that has been formed historically, has a shared tradition, cultural features and a sense of belonging to this group and differing from other ethnic groups. At the same time, they can be viewed as specific ethnological-ethnic group if we consider Vojvodina Hungarians or Hungarians from Prekmurje as a subgroup of Hungarians who have their own conciseness of "us" and differentiate themselves from other Hungarian communities. This "us-consciousness" is present both in geographic and cultural terms and is explained by the effect of Serbian and Slovenian cultures, respectively, on the Hungarian communities (2007).

Any type of identity-construction is not a unidirectional process but involves both construction from above and from below. When speaking about top-down national identity-building, it is mainly the institutions that play a major role, the most important ones being, the school, the media, various forms of governmentality (Burchell et al. 1991) and the family. On

the other hand, the major factors that influence identity in a bottom-up direction are the horizontal interactions among the members of the group and with the other communities. Identity, thus, means differentiating oneself from what one is not (Bakhtin 1981; Taylor 1992; Wodak et al. 2009).

[I]dentity politics is always and necessarily a politics of the creation of difference. . . What is shocking about these developments, is not the inevitable dialectic of identity/difference that they display but rather the atavistic belief that identities can be maintained and secured only by eliminating difference and otherness (Benhabib 1996:3).

Identity formation is thus always already determined with how one sees the other: “my own identity crucially depends on my dialogical relations with others” (Taylor 1992, 4; see also Bakhtin 1981; Feischmidt 1997; Lindstrom 2003). Defining the difference depends on what symbolic or material factors one take into account: difference is a political, historical and cultural construct (McLaren 1995).

The understanding of the relationship between “self” and “other” has changed throughout the scholarship on identification. According to a view that draws on a poststructuralist understanding of difference, the “billiard ball” conception saw cultures as separate and bounded and difference was external, while in contemporary view otherness is internal to one’s own culture and identity (Tully 1995). Therefore according to a poststructuralist understanding of group identity, “[w]hat is proper to a culture is not to be identical to itself. Not to not have an identity, but not to be able to identify itself, to be able to say ‘me’ or ‘we’” (Derrida 1992, 9). In general, the underlying assumption to all contemporary theories of identification that in the postmodern era is that

identity formation reflects the postmodern tenets of being fluid, fragmented, and strategic in that individuals may negotiate multiple identities. Identity building, as it pertains to real or imaginary geopolitical areas, nevertheless is often based on the idea of *the other* (Petrunic 2005, 7).

In this sense, individual identification is never stable, just as cultures are unstable model entities with external and internal difference (Deleuze 1994). Theories of both ethnicity and multiculturalism aim at exploring this relationship between internal and external difference of ethnic groups, of minorities and majorities, immigrants and locals, newcomers and old settlers.

In the logic of the constructivist paradigm, ethnic identity is to be understood in terms of inclusion and exclusion in the social practices. Especially in the case of an ethnic group that is a minority, according to the constructivist view the processes of ascription and also inclusion and exclusion are double: it is determined who is considered a minority and on which grounds both by the majority and the minority society. However, this raises two important issues that I consider to be the core problems of the constructivist paradigm. I will call one the problem of the power to ascribe and the other the problem of the “right to exit” (Kymlicka 1995).

Namely it is an important to see who has the power and the means to declare a group to be a minority and on what bases. Clearly, a minority is not determined by mere census figures but also a group’s difference in one or another cultural trait important in a social context, be it religion, language, tradition, sexual preference, etc. Conversely, more often than not, this is determined not by the minority but the majority society as it has the power and the institutional support to make and to keep a group separate. Yet, as Lyman and Douglas note, knowledge of their own ethnic culture and tradition also gives power to members of minorities to mobilize it and exercise control over the members of their group (1973). It follows that, as Bauman notes,

[b]y definition, though, ascription is not a matter of choice; and indeed, such choices as mediate the reproduction of ethnic minorities as communities are the product of enforcement rather than of freedom to chose and bear little resemblance to the kind of free decision-making imputed to the liberated consumer in liberal society (2011:89).

He concludes that “‘ethnic minorities’ are first and foremost products of ‘enclosure from outside’, and only second, if at all, the outcome of self-enclosure” (2001:90).

Related to the question of power and the minority’s agency in the ascription of its own minority status is the question of not only whether or not a member of a minority group is included into the majority society, to what extent and through which institutions, but also how tied they are to the minority culture, how much “loyalty to culture” (Hasan 2010) they have and whether “those who might want to cut loose in the name of some individual goal or self-development” (Taylor 1992, 58) have the “right of exit” (Kymlicka 1995). These are especially important questions when exploring the meaning of multiculturalism and of minority status within it, because minority group membership tends to be assumed as natural, while in reality communal ties often have such dynamics that they disable or make it risky for individuals from leaving the group to which they have been ascribed. When speaking about ethnic minorities thus, the choice of assimilation into the majority is made difficult both from the inside (the minority community) and the outside (the majority). Those members of the minority group who wish to assimilate into the majority face stigmatization due to their “alien” origin on one hand, and branding as being disloyal on the other hand. Because of this,

the choice between an earnest effort to assimilate and rejecting the offer and sticking to one’s own separate communal ways come what may was a gamble for the members of the dominated minorities (Bauman 2011:93-94).

It follows that what Bauman (2011) calls “communalism”, i.e. the maintaining of relatively solid boundaries between groups defined on the bases on ethnic difference, comes as a natural choice when group members are

denied the right to assimilation. They have been denied the choice – seeking shelter in the assumed ‘fraternity’ in the native group is their only option. Voluntarism, individual freedom, self-assertion are only synonyms of the emancipation from communal ties, of the capacity to disregard the inherited ascription – and this is precisely what they have been deprived of by the non-issuing or the withdrawal

of the offer of assimilation. Members of ‘ethnic minorities’ are not ‘natural communalists’. Their ‘really existing communalism’ is power-assisted, the result of expropriation (Bauman 2011:96).

Bauman’s (2011) work points to the agency of members of minority groups in constructing their own social contexts. Even though I believe that by explaining the shortcomings of the constructivist views with regard to minority’s agency, he himself is also assigning them a passive role in the dynamics of membership (being constrained as much from within as from without), his critique is of crucial importance in understanding the process of constructing ethnic membership.

For members of an ethnic minority, even in the globalized world, ethnic membership is a more salient fact than for persons belonging for ethnic majorities and for whom their ethnicity is less marked. Minority youth, when they are outside of the family, are constantly reminded that their native language and culture are different (T. Mirnics 2001). In their case, the concepts of nationality/citizenship and ethnic community are separate, and the home country often does not have such emotional value as with members of majority ethnicity, but rather becomes merely a geographical term (Badis 2008). Instead of national, Vojvodina Hungarians rather have strong local identities (Hódi 2003; Komšić 2003). Looking at Hungarians from Vojvodina, Badis (2008) has set up a taxonomy of strategies individuals belonging to an ethnic minority use in their everyday social encounters:

(1) Negativism – confrontation with those who are perceived as a threat. In the Vojvodina Hungarian context, it mostly means what is referred to as “being a great Hungarian” or a “Hungarist”, i.e. belonging to a subculture that has an emphasized positive attitude towards their own ethnic group and a low regard for members of other ethnicities.

(2) Isolation – a passive strategy by which individuals reduce their interaction with members of other ethnic groups to a minimum. It is an escapist strategy and its aim is to avoid being refused.

(3) Passing – following Goffman (1959), it is seen as a way of upwards social mobility in a way of concealing one’s “true” identity and pretending to be a member of another, in this case

the majority, group. In practice, it means assimilation into the majority ethnic group. This strategy is the most conscious of all.

(4) Accepting threat – a strategy by which individuals accept their inferior position in the social structure ascribed to them by the majority and acts accordingly.

All these strategies are found in the discourses and practices of the youth I have interviewed in Vojvodina and in Prekmurje and will be discussed in the following chapters. Apart from the fact that they are often mixed in being conscious or subconscious, strategic or automatic to different extents, they also entail a varying degree of the individual's agency in using these strategies, i.e. how much the person chooses them or is forced to use them (by peer pressure, by the institutional setting, the social environment, etc.).

2.2.2 Problems in conceptualizing ethnicity

A common criticism of studies exploring identification is that the lens through which social scientists see the social world is overly ethnically colored (Brubaker 2004), i.e. studying identity is done almost exclusively in terms of ethnicity; difference has been conceptualized mainly in terms of ethnic difference. Yet, whether or not ethnicity has been receiving too much scholarly attention does not change the fact that accepting that ethnic identities are constructed is not enough; an analysis of an ethno-cultural community has also to explain how identities are constructed within it and against other communities.

Second, ethnic identity is often used as a static concept even though it is dynamic, situated in the flow of time: there is no community that is made up of identical subjects, and there is no subject that does not change over time -- the very notion of authenticity and authentic representatives of an ethnic group is criticized by Wodak et al. (2009). Milenković (2008) also calls attention to this in relation to Serbia, claiming that the concept of ethnic culture used in public discourses is essentialist and treats ethnic identities as natural and given. He calls for a more nuanced reading of culture and the inclusion of a multicultural perspective into anthropological theory.

Third, when speaking about ethnic membership and ethnicity in general, as Brubaker (2004) argues, it is important to distinguish between analytical and practical ethnic experience. His main argument against conflating “empirical tools” with “analytical data” (Smith 1993) or the “inclination to think the social world in substantialist manner” (Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992, 228) is that the confusion of the two leads to perceiving ethnic groups as bounded and then taking these “bounded groups as fundamental unit of analysis (and basic constituents of the social world)”, or what he calls “groupism” (Brubaker 2004), and what has often been cited as a criticism of multicultural theories (see section 2.1.3.). Yet Brubaker is not the first one to criticize the methodological fallacy of conceiving ethnic groups as homogenous and bounded. Already Barth’s theory of ethnic boundaries (1969) has been criticized for focusing exclusively on the boundaries and thus ignoring the cultural content, that, even though imagined, is seen as characteristic of the group (Prelić 2009) and for in deconstructing the concepts of culture and ethnicity the question of the meaning they have for the actors involved in interethnic relationships has been disregarded (Eriksen 1991). Problematizing the practice of social sciences in which communities are perceived as internally alike has been not only a founding arguments of postmodernism but also one of the main lines of criticism of liberal multiculturalism (see Goldberg 1994; McLaren 1995).

A fourth, related problem in conceptualizing ethnicity is its inevitable connection to nationalism. Nationalism here is understood as the project to make the political unit of the state congruent with the cultural unit, the nation (Fox/Miller-Idriss 2008). On one hand it has been very difficult if not impossible to explain ethnicity without nationalism and vice versa, on the other hand it is recognized that ethno-national ties are complex and dynamic. Acknowledging the constructed nature of ethnic identification, Geertz (1993) reminds us however that the more or less salient but for the group-members very real ethnic attachments seem to remain cultural givens. Drawing on Anderson’s conceptualization of ethnic cultures as being imaginary (1995) in the sense that members do not have a personal relationship to one another, nor is there a univocally defined common culture on whose grounds ethnic culture is built, Jenkins claims that “[j]ust because the cultural stuff is imagined, doesn’t mean that is imaginary” (1997, 123). Ethnicities and nations are not “fake or nonexistent, rather . . . their configuration is above all constructed in accordance with imaginary models” (Ilić 2014, 50). Once a nation is formed and established, it becomes very difficult, if not impossible, to eradicate it (Smith

1993; see also Walker 1972) – not only physically but also analytically, because the bonds of language and culture are very strong for most people (Kymlicka 1995). The immanent question of ethnicity studies is therefore why ethnic ties are so powerful. In the decades of scholarship on ethnic identification and nationalism, numerous answers have been proposed:

(1) Cultural membership provides meaningful options in the sense that “familiarity with a culture determines the boundaries of the imaginable” (Avishai/Raz 1990, 449). The validity of this statement is unquestionable, as social scientists from the fields of psychology to sociology have demonstrated: the need to socialize with others who have similar background seems to be a basic human necessity. Yet, this answer poses another question: When taking membership in ethnic culture as only one of the many groups in which an individual takes part in their life, why it is ethnic membership that appears to be one of the strongest, if not the strongest for some? Why is it that for many people socializing with those who take part in the same ethnic culture seems to be more important in one’s social life than for instance with those who are members of the same culture alongside the divisions of class, gender, age, lifestyle, musical taste, to name only a few? Of course, it is very difficult, if not impossible to compare the strength of ethnic identification to that of for instance musical subcultural membership as their salience varies from situation to situation, nor is comparison of various components of identity the aim of my dissertation, but what is suggested by both empirical and theoretical works is that in certain contexts in social life ethnicity becomes the most salient part of identity. My aim is to explore which are these contexts, and what motivates individuals to identify ethnically in them.

(2) Similarly, Barry (2001:259) claims that

[a]cting in ways that you have become used to has obvious advantages. Among the groups, it keeps the costs of coordinating behaviour to a minimum: each person knows what to expect from others. . . . In the absence of some compelling reason for doing things differently, we go on doing them in the same way as we have in the past because it is less trouble to do then to do anything else.

This rationalist argument proposes that it is in fact social inertia and the possibility to maximize one's interests by staying in the ethnically defined community that holds the group together. Unlike the previous, this explanation can rationalize behavior in any group, not only ethnic, and thereby explains human motivation to act in groups in general. However, what it fails to account for is the sometimes non-rational, emotional attachment people have towards their (ethnic) communities, even though they are personally unfamiliar with all its members.

(3) Anderson (1991) has demonstrated that the imaginary ties between people who have never met face-to-face can have the power of creating a community that is very real for its members because national identity enables us to transcend mortality in a way by connecting us to a culture that has existed since time immemorial and will exist until an undefined future. Identification with a culture is always phantasmatic (Patton 2010), yet, when a person sets out to select a life plan, they do not start from scratch but selects from a range of options determined by their cultural heritage (Muhić 2004). A person's (imagined) community is therefore defined, according to Barth (1969), not by the culture, but by boundaries that enclose the culture the members feel as theirs. Conversely, membership in a culture gives additional meaning to social actions, which thus become not merely acts of individual accomplishment but also parts of the continuous creative effort to make and remake culture (Yael 1993). Therefore the challenge of ethnic studies becomes explaining the nature and salience of ethnic attachments without slipping into the fallacy of taking these for granted and/or immediately associating them with nationalism.

This line of argument calls for a question similar to the previous one: why are the bonds of culture so strong and why is it ethnic culture in particular that is capable of creating meaningful ways of participating in a society? The other issue related to the salience of cultural membership is the one of cultural creativity. As Yael (*ibid.*) and others rightly argue, and what has been one of the founding principles of ethnicity studies and one of the main criticism of theories of liberal multiculturalism is that no culture, including ethnic culture, is stable and homogeneous, but provides opportunities for change. The question of my dissertation therefore arises: what are the discursive strategies by which social actors not only reproduce but also alter existing patterns of interethnic communication and therefore the accepted cultural norms?

2.2.3 Ethnic identification and discourse

A philosophy that has had a great influence of conceptualizing interethnic relations is poststructuralism. Poststructuralist theories of identity are so numerous and diverse that it is difficult to subsume them under a single category, but for analytical purposes I will use this single term for them, bearing in mind that the differences and even contradictions between works and authors labeled “poststructuralist” sometimes seriously challenge the possibility of doing so. Poststructuralist theories have not directly dealt with ethnicity, yet their work on identification has greatly influences scholars working on the topic of ethnicity. They see identity as fragmented (see Hall 1996a, 1996b; Caglar 1997; Dolby 2000; Tizard/Phoenix 2002), a “complex and multifaceted process of negotiation . . . [P]ost-structuralists see the subject as discursively constructed by the social context, such as government policies and school approaches” (Faas 2010, 8).

In the work of poststructuralist theories of identification, there is no individual “I” that interacts with the social world. Hall (1996b) argues that globalization has brought about cultural hybridization and late modern societies produce a large number of different subject positions. These theories also claim that the only way the “I” comes into existence is through the productive power of discourse (Faas 2010). Certain schools and theoreticians of social sciences see both individual and collective identity as a form of narrative.

According to critical discourse analysis, ethnic (and national) identity is . . . constructed as a narrative identity so as to give to a community a sense of meaningfulness (Ilić 2014, 48).

For this reason I consider studying how the ethnic “self” and the ethnic “other” is constructed both in practice and discursively a research that contributes to the understanding of identification in multiethnic contexts in general.

Wodak et al. (2009) see the classical smithian definition of ethnic identity (see section 3.1.1.) as primordialist, as it implies a pre-set national identity to a clearly bounded group. Speaking about an ethnic or national identity that is characteristic of an entire group is, according to her, non-existent:

individuals as well as collective groups such as nations are in many respects hybrids of identity, and thus the idea of a homogenous 'pure' identity on the individual or collective level is a deceptive fiction and illusion. (Wodak et al. 2009:16).

Instead, Wodak goes back to Anderson's (1991) conceptualization of national communities, arguing that, whether imagined or not, communities cannot be differentiated by authenticity "but by the way they are imagined" (Wodak et al. 2009:15). National communities are associated with a culture shared by its members, and

[n]ational cultures construct identities by producing meanings about 'the nation' with which we can identify; these are contained in the stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, and imagines which are constructed of it (Hall 1996b:613).

A nation can therefore not be objectively defined, thus it exists, to a certain extent, only as a discursive subject (Putinja/Stref-Fenar 1997). "[T]here are no essential meanings, and hence no group identity is real or definitive: ethnic group membership is always discursive, open and conditional" (Malešević2004). Wodak argues that national identities are malleable, fragile and, frequently ambivalent and diffuse (Wodak et al. 2009). Every individual has various national, linguistic, regional, class, gender, subcultural, etc. identities at the same time, which they experience as complementary or conflicting, depending on the situation. Yet, despite being imaginary, identity is something that is experienced on a collective level. The object of identification is thus not only an individual but also a group.

Hall sees nations as cultural representations. He believes that not only is this system of cultural representations transmitted and/or altered through discourse, but that national culture *is* discourse, “a way of constructing meanings which influences and organises both our actions and our conception of ourselves” (Hall 1996b:613). He sees the discursive strategies such as the narrative of the nation, foundational myth, invention of tradition, pure, original people and the timelessness of a nation as discursive constructs that create national unity.

What has been written above about national identity is refers to a collective level. The argumentation becomes different when we explore national identity from the perspective of the individual. A way to solve this discrepancy is by understanding national identity similarly to what Bourdieu (1984) calls habitus. According to him, ethnic and national identities reflect a set of dispositions rooted in socialization and common experience. In this perspective, the affective feeling of closeness characteristic of ethnic relationships becomes linked to the process of the symbolic construction of the similarity and difference and ingrained practice. Wodak thus argues that national identity is

a complex of similar conceptions and perceptual schemata, of similar emotional dispositions and attitudes, and of similar behavioural conventions, which bearers of . . . ‘national identity’ share collectively and which they have internalized through socialization (education, politics, the media, common past, present, future, history, territory, culture, sports or everyday practices) (Wodak et al. 2009:4).

In this way, the focus remains on discursive production, but acts that motivate, complement, change discourses or that sometimes stand in opposition to them are also shed light on. In summary,

[t]he national identity of individuals who perceive themselves as belonging to a national collectivity is manifested, inter alia, in their social practices, one of which is discursive practice. The respective national identity is shaped by state, political, institutional, media and everyday social practices, and the material and social conditions which emerge as their results, to which the individual is sub-

jected. The discursive practice as a special form of social practice plays a central part both in the formation and in the expression of national identity (Wodak et al. 2009:29-30).

2.3 Youth and (ethnic) identification: Between cosmopolitanism and the home

The social agents I analyze belong to the youth age cohort, aged between 15 and 18. Studying youth a specific social group has started in the 1950s, since Mannheim's conceptualization of youth as a generational group sharing historical experiences and having a view on life, a style, actions and answers to social and political issues distinct from those of the members of the older generation (1952). Studies with a focus on generational issues in Europe and the USA became abundant in the 1960s, after the 1968 revolutions and in the 1970s with the rise of subcultures and countercultures, especially in the UK. These works explore youth from one of the two main angles: seeing youth as political rebellion or as transition to adulthood (Tomanović 2012). While no study is a clear example of any of the two, the former focuses mainly on the public and the political spheres and was a characteristic approach to studying youth mostly in the 1970s and 1980s (see Hall/Jefferson 1975; Roszak 1978; Brake 1980; Straw 1996; Thornton 1996), while the latter on the private and the leisure time and is a more prominent angle of research since the 1990s (see Beck et al. 1994; Corijn/Klijzing 2001; Beck/Beck-Gernshaim 2002; Bendit 2006).

In both approaches however, youth has a special cultural significance, and if one understands culture to be the site where "social groups develop distinct patterns of life and give *expressive form* to their social and material life-experience" (Brake 1980, 10), the meaning of youth lays in the fact that it is the period when these patterns of life are created through socialization. Youth is the time when individuals are "programmed" so as the values of the society continue to exist (Brake 1980). Youth is the time when identities, including national identities, are shaped by the institutions of the state:

the state shapes those forms of perception, of categorisation, of interpretation, and of memory which serve as the basis for a more or less immediate orchestration of

the habitus which forms the basis for a kind of ‘national common sense’, through the school and the educational system (Wodak et al. 2009:29).

One can see from the above conceptualizations that youth is generally seen as an “empty category”, a vessel into which cultural patterns, memories and national sense are infused top-down. From this perspective, youth is seen as the transmitter of tradition, and has little agency in creating their own distinct norms, attitudes, beliefs, and identities. However, if we look at the great variety of youth cultures, be they defined in terms of taste, style, music, gender, ethnicity or other factors, we see a myriad possibilities for the expressions of identities. The ways of identity constructions have previously been studied mainly by fields other than ethnography: through popular culture, commodities, fashion items, music, etc. many of which have been known from subcultural studies or cultural studies.

New information technologies and media offer elements of multiculturalism and global interculturalism; they constantly inform young people of new cultures and lifestyles. All this results in a widening of young people’s world and liberates them from traditional conservative cultural ties and patterns. But, on the other hand, this same world is particularising and individualising their common problems and offers only substitutes and not solutions to real-life dilemmas and problems (Ule 2012).

With reference to ethnic identity therefore, youth are thus not only the safeguards of tradition, but also those who actively negotiate the existing patterns of culture, resist them and develop alternatives. In the former Yugoslavia, as worldwide, 1968 brought an interest for the topic of youth, as well as the national movements of the 1970s. Youth was seen as both a problem and a resource (Ilšin/Radin 2007) and the aim of researching youth in these decades was to find out the reasons for their dissatisfaction. As Tomanović (2012) summarizes, the angles from which youth was seen varied in time: in the 1970s it was mainly the social differentiation of young people, in the 1980s the exploration of subcultures in Yugoslavia and the reasons for youth’s withdrawal from the public to the private sphere, in the 1990s Serbia it was protest and political culture, while in 2000s there were studies that focus on political engagement but

also the everyday life of youth (see Jarić 2003, 2005, 2007).

However, classical ethnographic, anthropological studies, but also contemporary ones have focused mostly upon older and middle-aged generations. It especially holds true for the studies coming from the region of South-East Europe, where the most prominent focus of looking at youth is still ethnicity, and in a very conservative sense – fixing young people in pre-defined ethnic categories and seeing them as a homogenous group with no voice on their own. In general,

youth constituencies are a largely neglected yet all-important stratified group. Their importance is not merely in the fact that young people are the future of their respective countries. It is in their unique shared processes of socialization over the past twenty years. These socialization processes – molded by novel lifestyles, technologies, educational experiences, consumer/labor markets, gender norms, leisure opportunities, fashions, etc. – are vividly different from those of preceding age cohorts. In fact, they are arguably *as different* from those of earlier generations as pre- and post-World War II youth cohorts were from each other. Youth in Southeast Europe, therefore, are arguably the most important barometer of social change in the region. The bulk of the literature on young people in Southeast Europe fails to incorporate interview-based and ethnographic evidence from subjects themselves; it infers features about the youth from features about elder cohorts; it uses survey studies based on questionnaires modeled on older cohort attitudes; and it takes for granted assumptions about the ideological makeup of this population based on outdated Cold War armchair philosophizing (Pavasovic Trost/Mandic 2016).

Also, few studies include youth of minority ethnicity, but focus exclusively on the majority nation (see Radivojević/Vučević 2008; Tomanović 2012; Tomanović/Stanojević 2015), or do the opposite: research only minority youth, but do not contextualize them with relation to majorities (for instance the *Mozaik*, *Horizont* and *GeneZYS* researches on Hungarian diaspora youth, to be discussed in section 3.1.4.). This research looks at the ways young people actively use national myths and symbols and the ways in which they construct meanings out of them.

Studying youth, therefore is more than studying a specific generation. This age group has power both in creating new cultural patterns and reflecting the existing schemas of socie-

ty: they are “a direct consequence of political modernization . . . [and] . . . also its mirror” (Ule 2012, 29). Whether the former or the latter capacity of the young generation has come to the foreground has depended on various social factors of the given period. In analyzing the representation of Yugoslav youth, Ule (2012) argues that while in the post-Second World War period youth was glorified for their willingness to integrate into the social system, starting from the 1960s they have often been accused of passivity, which has led to young people assuming a marginal position in contemporary ex-Yugoslav states. Even though one has to take this general statement with some caution when looking at specific cases, it is undoubtedly true that given the moratorium of youth, the shift from the social significance of “youth” to that of “youthfulness” (Bovone 2003), young people have become to be seen as only one of the several age groups with their own specificities and their own problems. Actually, given the economic problems the previous decades have seen and the age structure of European and North American societies, youth is more and more becoming a problem instead of an object of a society’s pride.

The mirroring and constructing functions of youth, i.e. the possibility to look at young people, their practices and discursive acts as not only of one specific generation but as of an age-group that produces and re-produces discourses of generations behind them as well as ahead of them is captured in Bakhtin’s concept of heteroglossia (1981). He argues that discourse in general

represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between socio-ideological groups in the present, between different schools, circles and so forth (1981:291).

Therefore looking at discourses and practices of Hungarian youth related to ethnic interactions and multiculturalism means exploring them, implicitly though, in relation with these discourses from previous times (e.g. their parents’ generation in socialist Yugoslavia) and from other subjects (their Hungarian and non-Hungarian peers in Prekmurje and Vojvodina, in Hungary, in different parts of Vojvodina and Prekmurje, their parents, grandparents, teach-

ers, inhabitants of the village, the town, other towns and cities, the media, politicians, policy-makers of multiculturalism, etc.). In her work about the discourses of the elderly generation of Serbs in Szigetcsép in Hungary, Ilić (2014) also uses Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia seeing it as an implicit dialogue between generational discourses, and she draws attention to the importance of authoritative discourse in specific, a discourse that

is already acknowledged in the past by a certain authority (religious, political, moral, ancestral, generational, the word of teachers, etc.); the authoritative word is, so to speak, the word of ancestors, distanced from us, connected with the past that is felt to be hierarchically higher (2014, 34).

In relation to the interaction of discourses, Bakhtin (1981) differentiates between two types of discourse: authoritative (defined above) and internally persuasive. While the former is non-negotiable, and characteristic for figures of authority such as parents, representatives of the nation, the church, etc., the latter is negotiated. Elderly people are more typically characterized by the presence of authoritative discourse, on the other hand youth are more characterized by internally persuasive discourse, i.e. constant negotiation. Young people thus, including the subjects of my research, negotiate their voices embedded in the contexts they inhabit. In the case of multiculturalism for instance, they might neither fully oppose nor accept the existing discourses about multiethnicity that come from political figures engaged in ethnic politics, or the ones of their parents, teachers, or those presented by the media they follow. Instead, they may be "carving out" their own discourses, creating a patchwork of all or some of these, being in agreement with some or not fully subscribing to others, yet being aware of their importance and position in the existing hierarchy of discourses.

Bakhtin's theory thus raises a crucial point regarding the hierarchical nature of linguistic utterances, and specifically the high position discourses of ancestry occupy. Whether or not it is possible to negotiate authoritative discourses can be subject to argument, but the point that discourse is generationally ordered is crucial for this research, as it shows the importance of discourses, practices and identification dynamics of previous generations that are in a con-

stant dialogue with discourses, practices and identification dynamics of every subject at every point of history.

Seemingly opposing the tendency to attribute value to ancestry in ethnic identification, postmodern theories about youth emphasize the self-reflexivity and fluidity of belonging to a youth subculture, be it ethnically defined, gender- or class-related or gathered around a political ideology (see Bennett/Kahn Harris 2004; Bovone 2003; Chaney 2004; Martin 2004; Stahl 2004; Sweetman 2004). Youth groups are seen as “ad hoc and strategic associations” (Stahl 2004, 53) rather than structures with permanent membership, their identities are less an inheritance but rather a resource (Martin 2004); style and taste are more important than ideology (Bovone 2003). Images become the central category of cultural membership, and the “increasing proliferation of youth styles since the 1980s” (Bennett/Kahn Harris 2004:2) has created new and alternative forms of lifestyles, identification and youth. This view on youth is in line with the trends of globalization, meaning the assumption that

the network of dependencies is fast acquiring a worldwide scope – a process which is not being matched by a similar extension of viable institutions of political control and by the emergence of anything like a truly global culture (Bauman 2011:97).

On one hand, with the globalizing trends, the weakening of collective traditions, the individualization of family- and work-related values and the appropriation of consumer values have become characteristic of East European young people alike their Western peers. On the other hand, “community is sought as a shelter from the gathering tides of global turbulence” (Bauman 2011:142). Just as the hopes of the national society were invested in young people, so does the global world rest on the (socially) mobile, open-minded and cosmopolitan youth. Especially in post-socialist Europe thus, global culture that would enable fluid group membership and negotiated identities does not match the everyday realities of young people. At the same time the processes of individualization are becoming economically more and more difficult and insecure, which has led to a new “domestication” of youth (Ule 2012). As she explains, the process has a

twofold significance: one is the return of young people from the public sphere to the private, and the other is the obstruction of the critical and alternative tendencies of young people under the auspices of the “home” (2012, 36).

For most of the individuals thus

the suggestion that the collectivity in which they seek shelter and from which they expect protection has a more solid foundation than notoriously capricious and volatile individual choices is exactly the kind of news they want to hear (Bauman 2011:100).

Together with the duality of identity politics of modernity between tradition and globalization, i.e. the analytic dilemma “how to avoid fixation and keep the options open” (Bauman 1996:19), another trend has marked the fields of social sciences: one that focuses on the existence of racial and ethnic differences in the experience of youth worldwide (see Wenshya Lee/Hébert 2006; Costigan/Hua 2009; Chhuon 2010; Chao/Otsuki-Clutter 2011). With examples of minority youth from all over the globe, these authors point out to the relevance of ethnic categories even in the era of the postmodern proliferation of identities and a new conception of identity politics in case of minority young people. As it seems to be the case, especially for young people of minority origin, ethnicity, nationality or race are marked as different and as carrying a meaning stronger than with majority youth. Minority youth in South-East Europe are in fact facing “triple transition”: what Tomanović (2012) calls the “double transition” to adulthood as a generational experience for all youth worldwide, and the consequences of the socio-economic transition of their respective countries, such as precarity, poverty, few job opportunities, scarce housing, inadequate social security, are even heightened by the additional factor that minority status triggers and become a “triple transition”.

Therefore the main dilemma of studying minority youth and identification is strongly related to the one of studying ethnic identification: how to reconcile on one hand the fragmented and strategic nature of membership that has been taken as an analytical given and the

apparent rarity of movement between cultures (Kymlicka 1995) and the relative stability of (ethnic) membership on the other?

Accepting that youth is not a global structural monolith, I see that different (ethnic) groups of young people have distinctive lifestyles and attitudes that are not only transmitted through generations but also changed and countered. Also synchronically, members of a(n) ethnic) culture have distinctive relationships to their group and to other groups. I believe that in multiethnic societies these relations are crucial to understand both the synchronic and diachronic web of meanings interethnic relationships are built upon. I take a discursive approach to exploring identification of Hungarian youth in Vojvodina and in Prekmurje in which it is a construction that is never finished but always a process: individuals have an active role in the creation of their identities (Hall 1996b) expressed in and constructed through discourses and practices, and in this they rely on the “inherited” schemas and traditions, but also construct these, characteristic of their ethnic community, age-group and their own personal norms and values.

I chose to focus on the age group between 15 and 18 years old (high school students) because that generation is the most active in the negotiation of their ethnic identities and the underlying ideologies, the past and the future. On one hand their ethnic and social identifications are already to some point established through socialization in childhood and early adolescence, but on the other hand they are still being actively shaped during the formative years of late adolescence. This age group is able to accept but also to develop personal opinions on a range of subjects (Faas 2010). As already mentioned, the most influential settings and networks that affect the identity-building of youth are the family, the schooling and the peer group. They together contribute to a construction of discourses about the in-group, the others and the cohabitation of the two groups. Although all these factors bear great importance for identification, my main focus is the peer group, because that is the environment in which the most interaction with other cultures can be caught: situations where my interlocutors are faced with members of the other ethnic group and when they spontaneously (do not) interact with them.

3 Brief context of the research

3.1 Vojvodina/Vajdaság

3.1.1 History of Vojvodina

Vojvodina (in Hungarian *Vajdaság*), the northern province of Serbia, autonomous regarding certain economic and policy-making competences, offers an interesting case study for questions of multiculturalism and the discrepancy between its public discourses and everyday praxis. It is an autonomous province of Serbia made up of three regions: Bačka/Bácska, Banat/Bánát and Srem/Szerémség.

Map 3.1 Vojvodina with its three regions and the biggest towns. Source: <http://www.koreni.rs/srem-banat-i-backa-umesto-vojvodine/>



The name *Vojvodina* has been the Serbian name of the province since the Voivodeship of Serbia founded in 1849. The Hungarian correspondent to Vojvodina, *Vajdaság* became used in Hungarian language only after the Treaty of Trianon in 1920, first only in Yugoslavia, then in Hungary as well (Boarov 2012). Before that, the name *Délvidék* was used in Hungarian language, which means “Southern region”. The difference in the usage of the name has marked diverging interpretations of Hungarian and Serbian history: until the beginning of the 20th century, *Délvidék* was associated exclusively with the history of the Hungarian state and thus Vojvodina, or Serbian Vojvodina, was the marker of Serbian national demands from the Hungarian state and the symbol of Serbian autonomy in Hungary. The meaning of the name *Délvidék* changed again after 1920, when it denoted the territories Hungary lost in the Treaty of Trianon to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In socialist Hungary and Yugosla-

via, this term was thus seen as “irredentist” and its use was discouraged. In certain contexts, it started to be used again since the 1990s.

English-language and general historical sources on the history of Vojvodina are lacking; the various references in Serbian, Hungarian and other languages used in Vojvodina often tend to focus on events related to their own ethnic groups isolating it from the national histories of other, neighboring ethnic groups (Laihonen 2009) and disregards those that do not fit into the national paradigm. Therefore it is difficult to have a general picture of the often mutually intertwined and contradictory events that have shaped the history of the province. As already mentioned, a history of Vojvodina that is overarching national histories has not yet been written. In fact it is the national histories and the alignments and clashes of national interests that constitute the top-down narratives of the histories of the province. The national has been the main paradigm in analyzing past events, the ethnic alliances and conflicts are the prism through which the history of Vojvodina and the identities of its inhabitants have been looked at. Unfortunately, Hungarian historiography on Vojvodina can largely be characterized by what Sajti sees as the main drawbacks of traditional minority historiography: insultedness, hungaricentrism, an exclusive political and historical attitude(Šajti A. 2010).

While Serbian histories of Vojvodina usually start with the arrival of the Slavs to the region in the 6th and 7th centuries, and the settling of Serbs lead by Patriarch Arsenije Čarnojević to the southern part of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1690-1691, Hungarian histories construct the narrative of the history of Vojvodina starting from the end of the 9th century when Hungarians arrived to the Carpathian Basin. The territory today referred to as Vojvodina was part of the Kingdom of Hungary, then it was under Ottoman rule and subsequently Habsburg rule. The colonization of what is today Vojvodina started during the reign of the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus in the second half of the 15th century, but the main influx of the Serbian population took place during the Ottoman advancement to the territories of Serbia, especially in the Great Serb Migration, when Serbs settled as border militia in Vojvodina.

Up to the end of the 17th century, the territories of the Habsburg princes were populated in majority by communities speaking in a variety of German verna-

culars. However, early in the 16th century, linguistic diversification set going, starting with the annexation of the western and northern counties of the collapsed Hungarian kingdom. Consequently, Slovak and Magyar speaking communities enriched the linguistic composition (van der Plank 2012, 374).

At the end of the 18th century, under the rule of Emperor Joseph II, administration in the entire Habsburg empire was centralized, stipulating that

[o]ne ‘state language’ should be used, at least in contacts with the central administration: High German, being the language of the oldest and richest crown lands, and a scientific and commercial *lingua franca* in all of central and eastern Europe (idem).

Later, with the “establishment of Dualism in 1867, Hungary speeded up magyarization of non-Magyar instructed secondary schools” (van der Plank 2012, 378) and other institutions. In the Hungarian revolution of 1848, Serbs and Hungarians of Vojvodina were on the opposite sides of the conflict: Serbs, Croats and Romanians supported the Viennese court in its struggle against Hungarian revolutionaries. As a grant for that, the Serbs got the right to their territorial autonomy that they had long strived for, however it lasted only for ten years and included large Romanian ethnic groups as well. After the defeat of the revolution, according to the decree named after Alexander von Bach, Austrian Minister of Interior, the province was ruled directly from Vienna as the Banat of Temeschwar and Voivodeship of Serbia (Papp 2007; Boarov 2012). This lasted until the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy, when Vojvodina remained under Hungarian control. In the census of 1850, there were 1,426,221 inhabitants in the Serbian Vojvodina, and the largest ethnic groups were Hungarians, Romanians, Germans and Serbs (Boarov 2012). After the First World War, in which Vojvodina participated as part of Hungary, the Treaty of Trianon assigned this territory, alongside Prekmurje in contemporary Slovenia and Baranja and Međumurje in contemporary Croatia, to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. This brought about Vojvodina to become a “normative region”, an artificial creation consisting of parts of Bács-Bodrog, Torontál, Szerém and Csongrád Counties (Vékás 2008). Hungary thereby lost two thirds of its territory, the country

shrinking from 282,000 km² to 92,963 km² and the population diminished from 18.2 million to 7.6 million, so by 43%. The part Hungary lost to Serbia was a 20,551 km² territory with 1,509,295 inhabitants, some 30% of which were Hungarians according to the Hungarian census of 1910 (Šajti A. 2010). Already in the times prior to the Treaty of Trianon, the heterogeneous ethnic composition caused ambiguities and disputes in defining the province and its borders: Romania was expecting Banat to be part of their territory, while the communist Hungarian Soviet Republic (*Tanácsköztársaság*) threatened with a conflict over Banat and Baranja (Boarov 2012). In 1921 there were 467,658 Hungarian-speakers in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, 378,107 of them lived in Vojvodina and Baranja (Šajti A. 2010), who comprised 3,9% of the country's population (Dimić 1997). As until the Second World War though nationality was not recorded in the census of the country (Sekulic et al. 1994), the only way to infer the ethnicity of the population is deducing it from the mother tongue, which was recorded in the census figures. Between 1918 and 1924 44,903 Hungarians were expelled from the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes or they voluntarily resettled to Hungary (*optáltak*): according to Articles 61 to 66 of the Trianon Treaty an exchange of population on the base of ethnicity was encouraged in order to create ethnically homogenous states. Many countries thus signed bilateral agreements and implemented population exchange, Hungary and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were two of these. As stipulated by the relevant articles of the Treaty, in the 1920s, many Serbs opted for the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and many Hungarians moved to Hungary. It was seen as a voluntary migration but there were many pressures on people on both sides of border to migrate to their "ethnic homelands" (Đorđević 1989).

Ethnic minorities in Vojvodina in general were slow to integrate, and at the same time the state was weak and ambiguous in its policies towards them. Political participation of minorities was under-represented, education in the mother tongue was allowed but the not too covert aim of the state was to weaken national consciousness and to turn back the effects of Magyarization in Vojvodina (Dimić 1997; Janjetović 2005). By 1931, the number of Hungarian-speakers was 468,151, which was 3,36%, of the population (including Hungarian-speaking Jews) (Dimić 1997). Apart from Hungarian streams in primary and secondary schools, the Hungarian community had a party, numerous cultural associations, media, and organized cultural events with the aim of nurturing their language and culture. In general, the period of the

Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes can be characterized by state officials general feeling of mistrust and suspicion and distance towards the Hungarian community, while the Hungarian minority in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes behaved as recommended by the Hungarian politician István Bethlen: they accommodated to the existing situation, avoided conflict with state officials, cherished their national culture and a “Hungarian spirit”, learned the state language in order to get to know the majority nation’s mentality and kept up hope that this was a temporary situation only, however, all matters related to preparing for an envisaged re-drawing of the borders were left to the kin-state (Dimić 1997).

Vojvodina entered the interwar period and it fought the Second World War as part of Yugoslavia, and its ethnic composition played a large role in the 1940s. Some individuals from the Hungarian community fought on the side of the Partisans in the Petőfi Brigade composed of Hungarians from the Bácska region (Šajti A. 2010), while some placed their loyalty alongside the Kingdom of Hungary and the Axis powers. With the occupation of Yugoslavia, Vojvodina was divided into three parts: Bácska was occupied by Hungary, Banat by German forces and Srem by the Independent State of Croatia. The bloodiest event of the Hungarian occupation of Bácska was the Great Raid in Novi Sad and the execution of Serbian, Jewish and Roma civilians by the Hungarian Arrow Cross soldiers in other parts of Bácska in 1942, leading to more than 3,500 deaths (Boarov 2012; also Šajti A. 2011). As a retribution, an estimated 15,000-20,000 Hungarian civilians were killed (Szabó 2013) in the South Bácska region, fully eliminating the Hungarian inhabitants of Čurug, Žabalj and Mošorin (Matuska 1991; Šajti A. 2010). By 1944 Yugoslavia gained back the territory of Vojvodina, where the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes together made up 47,4% of the population (A. Šajti, 2011). Hungarians were in a minority for the second time (Šajti A. 2010). In 1945 Vojvodina became an autonomous province of Serbia. In the years after the Second World War, apart from recovering from the human and material losses, agrarian and industrial reforms, Vojvodina faced several major turbulences: the de-settlement of Germans, the colonization of the former German settlements, the revenge on the Hungarian population and forced collectivization. In the census of 1948, when the German population was expelled from the province, Vojvodina had 1,640,757 inhabitants, of which 827,296 were Serbs, 428,750 Hungarians, 132,893 Croats, 73,442 Slovaks, 57,999 Romanians, 29,684 Montenegrins and 22,082 Ruthenians (Boarov 2012). Real autonomy of the province was achieved only in 1974, when Vojvodina (as well as Kosovo

and Metohija) gained the status of Autonomous Provinces of the Republic of Serbia within the Social Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. The period between 1974 and 1990 can be seen as the golden years of the autonomy of Vojvodina, when the province, with its decision-making and legislative bodies, had the status of a de facto republic of Yugoslavia (Šajti A. 2010; Boarov 2012). Minorities gained considerable rights related to education, media, culture and language use. Their elites accepted the ideas of multiculturalism and the state's institutions that provided a good living standard and relative democracy (Gábrity Molnár 2008b). Minority politics were banned though in the sense that members of ethnic minorities could be representatives on all levels of the Yugoslav Communist Party, but the founding of parties based on ethnic membership was forbidden (Vékás 2008; Boarov 2012). Education was made bi- or multilingual. The majority of Vojvodina Hungarians accommodated to the ideas of Yugoslavism and had weak ties to the kin-state, which still did not mean the abandoning of national cultures and languages (Gábrity Molnár 2008b).

After the death of Josip Broz Tito in 1980 the pressure on the autonomous provinces was strengthened, and with the appearance of Slobodan Milošević on the political scene, national unity was increasingly equated with centralization and the abolishment of the autonomy of the republics and provinces. This was especially strong in Kosovo and Metohija, but also in Vojvodina, where so-called anti-bureaucratic rallies were organized in 1988 that demanded the abolishing of Vojvodina's autonomy – even though in general the population of Vojvodina still showed signs of interethnic intolerance (Gábrity Molnár 2008b). These meetings were often organized top-down by the national leadership, and many participants were in fact transported there from other parts of Serbia in an organized manner (Boarov 2012). Others who were in favor of the centralization were allegedly non-autochthonous residents of Vojvodina, mostly colonized after the Second World War and were for the anti-bureaucratic option because they were promised certain social privileges. The series of rallies in Novi Sad led to the so-called “yoghurt-revolution” by which the Vojvodinian leadership resigned.

The 1990s and the war in Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia followed. The armed conflicts, even though not directly taking place in the province, had a great influence on interethnic relations and minority rights in Vojvodina. At the time of the wars, a change of the ethnic composition of the population was taking place: around 100,000 people were leaving

Vojvodina, most of them ethnic Hungarians and/or conscript-aged men, while around 300,000 refugees arrived to the province from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (ibid.). Boarov (2012) describes the status of Vojvodina during the 1990s, already as part of Serbia and Montenegro, as Potemkin-autonomy, and the key concepts of the Milošević-era politics in the province he sees as (Serbian) nationalism and centralization. However, even the resignation of Milošević and the raise of the democratic opposition lead by Vojislav Koštunica did not bring immediate and large changes in the status of Vojvodina; regarding minority rights, Koštunica's official stance was that all collective rights are in fact individual rights, and thus it is the individual's choice not to assimilate (ibid.). In 2000 though the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina was founded (ibid.). Minority rights lawyer Antal Bozóki is highly critical of the post-Milošević Constitution ratified in 2006 that restores the autonomy of Vojvodina (2007). He claims that with 43.93% of the citizens voting for it the people of Vojvodina, regardless of their ethnicity, did not see the Constitution as serving their interests, and that especially the Hungarian community did not benefit from it. He is highly skeptical of the institution of the national councils that each ethnic minority group founded and that have competences in the areas of education, language use, information and culture. Bozóki sees the Hungarian minority as the only one in the former Yugoslavia that did not achieve any serious results in the fields of national identity, and he blames both the Serbian as well as Hungarian state politics for this (2007). However, it is important to see that his evaluation is from a period before the Hungarian law that made it possible for Vojvodina Hungarians to gain Hungarian citizenship that arguably led to a greater level of national consciousness and unity. Also, in 2009, the competences of the minority national councils have been raised (*Zakon o nacionalnim savetima nacionalnih manjina 2009*).

3.1.2 Demography of Vojvodina

Vojvodina, is still often seen as a textbook example of multiculturalism in a post-socialist state, highly heterogeneous in terms of ethnicities, with officially more than 20 national minorities living in the province alongside Serbs. The most numerous national minorities are

Hungarians, Roma, Romanians, Slovaks, Croats and Rusyns⁵(Ilić 2001; Göncz/Vörös 2005). Serbs have been in both absolute and relative majority in the province: according to the 2011 census, 67% of the inhabitants of Vojvodina claimed themselves as Serbs, while people of other ethnic identities and those who did not declare themselves ethnically make up the other 33%. Out of this, 13% are the Hungarians, who are the second largest ethnic group in the province (Đurić et al. 2014).

According to the 2011 census, that year there were 253,899 Hungarians in Serbia, out of which 251,136 lived in Vojvodina (Stanovništvo prema nacionalnoj pripadnosti i polu, po opštinama i gradovima 2012). Hungarians take up 3% of the population of Serbia and 13% of the population of Vojvodina (A Magyar Nemzeti Tanács Oktatásfejlesztési Stratégiája 2016). The size of the community has been shrinking since the times of socialist Yugoslavia. Parallel to the diminishing size of the community, other negative tendencies can be observed: even though the overall number of the inhabitants of Serbia, and within it of Vojvodina is smaller every year, and all ethnic groups are affected by lower birth rates, emigration, and in case of minorities, assimilation, the size of the Hungarian community has been shrinking in a faster pace than inhabitants of other ethnicities in Vojvodina (Gábrity Molnár 2007). The explanation for this is to be sought in various factors, including family structure, the fact that many young people of Hungarian ethnicity from Vojvodina chose to study in Hungary, which almost always means they do not return to Serbia after finishing higher education, and that since 2011 emigration to EU countries has been enabled with the possibility for ethnic Hungarians from outside Hungary to obtain Hungarian citizenship (2010 évi XLIV. törvény a magyar állampolgárságról szóló 1993. évi LV. törvény módosításáról). This amendment to the law on acquiring citizenship in Hungary makes becoming a Hungarian national possible for Hungarians from Serbia, since the law does not connect citizenship to residence any longer, but to origin and knowledge of the language, a so-called “ethnicity-based acquisition” (Harpaz 2015; see also Pogonyi 2013)⁶.The educational level of Hungarians in Vojvodina has

⁵Also called Carpatho-Rusyns, Ruthenians or Ukrainians. This mainly diasporic ethnic group originates from the Zakarpattia region in what is today the Ukraine, and lives in Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, the Czech Republic, Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (also many emigrated to the USA and Canada). They speak a dialect of the Ukrainian language.

⁶The law has been controversial in the Hungarian and international public mainly because of two reasons: first, it provides electoral rights to non-resident citizens, and second, language knowledge, one of

been lower than the national average, that Gábrity Molnár (2007) attributes to the lacking opportunities to complete secondary education in the mother tongue. In the 2011 census the overall educational level of Hungarians was also lower than the national average: on national level around 10,6% did not have any education or had less than elementary school level schooling, the ratio of these in the Hungarian community is around 16,6%; 20,8% of the population had only finished elementary school, the ratio of these among the Hungarians was 28,85%; while regarding all other levels of education Hungarians achieve more poorly than the national average: 45,19% vs. 49% for secondary school graduates, 9,22% vs. 10,6% for those with higher education (college or university) (Đurić et al. 2014; also Bozóki 2007). In 2007 it was estimated that around one third of Hungarian college and university students studied in their native language in Serbia (Bozóki 2007).

3.1.3 Vojvodina Hungarians: A shrinking community

The most prominent problems in the public discourse of Vojvodina Hungarians are emigration, assimilation (Bozóki 2007; Szabó 2013) and low birth rates (Diósi 2012; A Magyar Nemzeti Tanács Oktatásfejlesztési Stratégiája, 2016). The first and third affect other ethnic groups as well in all parts of Vojvodina, however, they are especially strong in the Hungarian community. Regarding birth rates, there is a considerable gap between values and practice: in a study done by the *Identitás műhely* from Senta it was shown that young people would like to have on average 2.2. or 2.3 children, while in reality Vojvodina Hungarian women have 1.3 children. The main reason for these, according to sociologist Badis, is the lack of social policies that would financially encourage young people to raise more children (Diósi 2012). Between 2002 and 2014 the number of Hungarians was lowered by around 28,500 individuals solely due to negative birth rates – Hungarians' birth rate is in fact the smallest of all the ethnic groups in Serbia (Đurić et al. 2014).

the two criteria for eligibility (apart from having direct ancestors who were born in pre-Trianon Hungary) is evaluated not by standardized language tests but by the subjective assessment of the administrative staff.

While in the 1980s the main wave of Hungarians from Serbia moving abroad was that of guest workers to the Western-European countries, in the 1990s it was due to the wars in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Kosovo to Western Europe, the USA, Canada and Australia. In the 1990s some 60,000-80,000 Hungarians of the young and middle-aged generation left for Hungary and the West (Szabó 2013). Since the 2000s it has been largely for economic reasons that young people of all ethnicities but Hungarians especially emigrate to Western European countries mainly. Since the 2010 amendment to the law on acquiring citizenship in Hungary, the trend has only increased. According to the *GeneZYs* research conducted in 2015, 82% of young Hungarian people (aged between 16 and 29) in Vojvodina have Hungarian citizenship too (Papp Z. 2016). According to the same research, around 65% of young Vojvodina Hungarians have considered or have specific plans to emigrate to Western Europe, Hungary or elsewhere. 74.5% of these informants would emigrate in hope of a better life (ibid.). On the other hand, internal migration from villages to towns and cities has slowed down (A Magyar Nemzeti Tanács Oktatásfejlesztési Stratégiája, 2016).

The third phenomenon perceived as a major problem of the Hungarian community in Vojvodina, assimilation into the Serbian linguistic and cultural community is more characteristic for the parts of the Hungarian community in Serbia that live in so-called “ethnic islands” in Central and South Banat and in the South and West of Bácska. Badis sees education in the native language as the main factor of preventing assimilation, and conversely: the lack of it is the main cause of the loss of Hungarian identity according to Diósi(2012). As far as minority language use is concerned, on paper, it functions reasonably well, however, in practice, mainly due to the lack of public servants who speak the minority languages, it has discrepancies with the regulations (Rácz 2012). Similar is the case in schools: there is no overt discrimination of non-Serbian students, but the possibility of education in Hungarian is linked to a minimum number of student who would attend Hungarian streams and teachers who are able to teach in the mother tongue of the students.

As Barry (2001) accurately describes,

[i]n earlier times it was perfectly feasible . . . for the towns to be linguistic enclaves surrounded by the peasantry that spoke another language. It was enough if

there were some economic intermediaries and public officials who could speak both languages. Life could go on quite satisfactorily for all concerned under those conditions so long as everybody accepted the political and economic status quo (2001:104).

As I argue in the dissertation, in certain cases modernization has not brought about many changes in this modus operandi of bi- or multilingualism. On one hand more people speak the majority language, but on the other hand for those who do not, conducting everyday business without the knowledge of Serbian became increasingly difficult. A parallel trend is noticeable in terms of multiculturalism and ethnic identification, at least in a social context such as Vojvodina: surprisingly for researchers around the world, the era of globalization is also the era of (re)rising nationalisms. Despite views that predicted globalization to bring about a universal culture influenced by world-wide economies, international politics and transnational media, what happened was that the rebuilding of identities alongside ethnic lines is a general tendency (Badis 2008). This is especially true for individuals living as an ethnic minority, because their social world is extensively built on differentiations based on ethnicity, and even more so for young people, whose identities are sensitive towards influences of the education system, the family, the media, public institutions, etc.

With assimilation affecting mainly Banat and Western Bácska, the Northern Bácska and parts of the Northern Banat region (municipalities Subotica, where Hungarians make up 35,6% of the total number of residents, Bačka Topola 57,9%, Mali Idoš 53,9%, Kanjiža 85,1%, Senta 79,1%, Ada 75%, Bečej 46,3% and Čoka 49,7% (Đurić et al. 2014)) has become an ethnic stronghold of Vojvodina Hungarians, with a constant struggle over power and resources between the provincial center Novi Sad and the de fact center of the Hungarian institutions in Serbia, Subotica. The intellectual elite of Vojvodina Hungarians is centered around these two towns, as well as between the Serbian state system and the Hungarian material support (Gábrityné 2007). With the exception of a few, such as the Department of Hungarian Language and Literature, the Forum publishing house, the Hungarian program of the Radio Television Vojvodina, the daily Magyar Szó and a Hungarian theatre in Novi Sad and the Cultural Institute of Vojvodina Hungarians in Senta, all other major institutions, such as the Hungarian National Council, the center of the Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians, media

houses, two Hungarian-language theatres, educational and cultural centers are in Subotica.

As a result of the above mentioned trends, in the past 45 years, the number of Hungarians in Serbia almost halved. While in the census of 1948 433,701 persons identified as Hungarians, in 1953 441,907, in 1961 449,587, in 1971 430,311, when it started sharply dropping: in 1981 390,486, in 1991 343,800, in 2002 293,299, and in the latest census of 2011 253,899 (Đurić et al. 2014; see also Vékás 2008). Additionally, in this census those individuals are included as well who have a permanent residence in other countries as well, which considerably skews the number upward (Diósi 2012).

Summing up census figures from the period of Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes until 201, the demographic trends of Vojvodina Hungarians look as follows:

Year	Number of Hungarians (or Hungarian-speakers) living in Vojvodina
1921	467,658 Hungarian-speakers ⁷
1931	468,151 Hungarian-speakers
1948	433,701 Hungarians
1953	441,907 Hungarians
1961	449,587 Hungarians
1971	430,311 Hungarians
1981	390,486 Hungarians
1991	343,800 Hungarians
2002	293,299 Hungarians
2011	251,136 Hungarians

⁷The census figure includes Hungarians living in the Baranja region too.

3.1.4 Education and official language use in Hungarian language in Vojvodina

According to the current Law on the bases of the education system in Serbia (Zakon o osnovama sistema obrazovanja i vaspitanja 2009), students aged 6 or 7 start elementary school after having at least one comprehensive year in kindergarten. The first four years of elementary school are the so-called lower grades, in which one teacher teaches most of the subjects. The second four years, in the upper grades, each subject is taught by a different teacher. After elementary school, students have a graduation exam, and based on their results they enter three-year-long or four-year-long secondary schools. These are either professional high schools (e.g. medical, electro-technical, veterinary, etc.), vocational schools (e.g. car-mechanic, salesperson, hairdresser, etc.) or grammar schools. After secondary school, students of professional high schools or grammar schools (with four years of secondary school education) can sit for entrance exams at the universities of their choice.

Elementary and secondary schools in Serbia have streams in one or two languages. In the schools in Vojvodina, apart from Serbian, students can attend Hungarian, Romanian, Slovak, Ruthenian and Croatian streams (Ilić/Buljanović2011). Students of separate streams have classes on their own, while during breaks and some extracurricular activities they are together with students from other streams. In the non-Serbian streams, the textbooks are translations of the Serbian textbooks to the students' native languages. In these streams, students study Serbian as a second language as a subject called Serbian as the language of the social environment (*srpski kao jezik društvene sredine*). In the 1980s and 1990s a parallel subject, but elective, was introduced in majority Hungarian settlements for Serbian students. The subject was removed from the curriculum during the Milošević regime, while since the mid-2010s there have been initiatives to reintroduce it, with varying success (ibid.).

While during the post-Trianon Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes the rights of minorities to education in their native language was interpreted and implemented arbitrarily, with the main aim of reducing minority individuals' schooling in their mother tongue, in Yugoslavia, nations and nationalities enjoyed equality at least nominally. Thus, in 1945 the opening of minority schools was allowed. Until the 1950s, it was a common practice that entire schools were set up by the language of instruction, in the years that followed, schools were

joined and separate language/streams were established. By 1960, the network and system of Hungarian education in Yugoslavia was established. Since the 1992 Constitution, which had a more lenient understanding of minority education rights (stating that individuals belonging to other nations and nationalities have the right to education in their language, “in accordance with the law”, a phrase that can be interpreted in several ways), these rights were lessened. For instance for secondary school education in Hungarian it means that Hungarian streams can be opened only if there are at least 15 students enrolled who wish to study in Hungarian (Tóth 1997).

Around 80% of students who declare themselves Hungarians study in their native language in Vojvodina (Tóth 1997; Gábrity Molnár 2008b), which is a large difference to the slightly more than 10% who studies in secondary schools in Hungarian in Yugoslavia in 1945 and around 61% at the end of the 1980s (Tóth 1997). The municipalities that have at least one Hungarian stream in the secondary school(s) are Subotica, Senta, Bačka Topola, Kanjiža, Bečej, Ada, Novi Kneževac, Zrenjanin, Novi Sad, Čoka, Sombor and Temerin (A Magyar Nemzeti Tanács Oktatásfejlesztési Stratégiája 2016). In the 2011/12 academic year 6766 students attended secondary school in Hungarian streams in Vojvodina (ibid.).

According to Gábrity Molnár (2008b), vital problems of education in Hungarian is the lack of Hungarian teachers and of adequate textbook. In schools outside the North Bačka region where the number of Hungarians is lower, some subjects are being taught in Serbian language because there is no teacher of the given subject who speaks Hungarian. Also, even though there is a wide variety of textbooks by various publishers, from which teachers can choose, because it not being profitable for publishers to translate their textbooks to minority languages, there is usually only one textbook option available in non-Serbian streams. What Tóth (1997) sees as a problem is that these textbooks often lack the content that is specific to Hungarian culture, arts or history.

In general, the number of schools with Hungarian streams as well as the number of students who enroll in them has been shrinking, due to lower birth rates, emigration, poverty (some families cannot afford to send their children to secondary schools in other towns), assimilation and the possibility to study in Hungary (Tóth 1997; Gábrity Molnár 2008b). For the above reasons, and due to the smaller number of options of streams and the inadequate lan-

guage of Serbian language, Hungarian students do not have the same choices as their Serbian peers throughout their education.

Other than education in the mother tongue, the issue of language rights, official language use and multilingualism are in the foci of the Statute of Vojvodina (Statut Autonomne pokrajine Vojvodine 2014) and all the laws and bylaws regarding language policy. Article 10 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia regulates that in the Republic of Serbia the Serbian language and the Cyrillic script are in official use, while the official use of other languages and scripts is regulated by law (Ustav Republike Srbije 2006). Article 24 of the Statute of Vojvodina thus claims that other than the Serbian language in the Cyrillic script, in certain municipalities of the province Hungarian, Slovakian, Romanian, Ruthenian and/or Croatian languages can also be used. The law states that municipal authorities are obliged to initiate the introduction of a language into official use if and when the percentage of the members of the given ethnic community in its territory reaches 15%. If the language of a national minority is not in official use in the territory of the entire municipality it will be introduced to official use in the local government (i.e. village or town) only when at least 25% of the inhabitants speak the given language (Izveštaj o ostvarivanju prava na službenu upotrebu jezika i pisama nacionalnih manjina u AP Vojvodini 2008). If a language is in official use in a municipality or local government, it means that it can be used as the language of administration. However, in practice, in many cases, the staff of the administration cannot speak the language of the minorities, and translation and interpretation are not provided either. Thus it happens that during the entire procedure the minority language is used, yet, records and other acts are kept in Serbian language (ibid.).

The Report on the exercise of rights on the official use of languages and scripts of national minorities in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina states that the issuing of public documents and of official record keeping should be available in all languages that are in official use in the territory of the municipality or local government. One issue of special relevance here are documents, forms and identity documents, such as ID cards, birth, marriage and death registers, etc. written in the language of national minorities, while another is the spelling of personal names in the mother tongue of the members of ethnic minorities. While due to the lack of staff who speaks the language of the ethnic minorities, documents are in practice

mainly issued in Serbian language, and that until a few years ago documents were regularly issued only in the Serbian language and in Cyrillic script (ibid.), the regulation of the spelling of the names is mostly successful by now and all citizens can have their documents with their names written and spelled in their native language.

The Report sees the biggest under-representation of members belonging to ethnic minorities, and the lack of knowledge of languages that are spoken in the area of duty of the authorities in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina in the secretariats of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (ibid.). Even though Article 77 of the Statute of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina stipulates an ethnically proportional employment policy, the language policy of virtually all public institutions rarely reflects the ethnic composition of the area. Yet, these problems are almost impossible to prove and remain at the level of suspicions and anecdotes.

3.1.5 Studies on the ethnic identification of young Vojvodina Hungarians

In the following, I am presenting some of the relevant results of several quantitative studies that have dealt with identity construction among Hungarian young people in Vojvodina. Unfortunately, studies have not been done systematically and due to the differences in their methodology, are rarely diachronically comparable. Also, there is no qualitative research that would interpret some of the ambiguities that come out as results of the research or explain certain trends. The various research I discuss have been done throughout the 2000s up until the last one at the end of 2015 in which I myself have taken part as an interviewer.

Researches entitled *Mozaik* were conducted in 2001 and in 2011, two studies were conducted in 2007, *Média 2007* and *Kárpát Panel*, and *GeneZYs* in 2015, all as collaborations of several institutions: the *Mozaik* researches of various Hungarian ministries, the *Media 2007* lead by the Hungarian National Council while the *Kárpát Panel* by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The *Mozaik* researches and *GeneZYs* had informants of the same age: between 15 and 29, while for *Média 2007* and *Kárpát Panel* it is not known whom the researchers defined as “young”. *Mozaik 2011* had a different methodology than the other four studies: it relied on focus group interviews while all others were done by individual structured inter-

views. All five studies were done among Hungarian youth in regions outside Hungary: Transylvania, Felvidék (Slovakia), Vojvodina, Kárpátalja (Ukraine), while the *Mozaik* researches also included Baranja (Croatia) and Burgenland (Austria).

The 2001 *Mozaik* research asked respondents about their primary and secondary identification, and most respondents' primarily identified as Hungarians from Vojvodina. This was followed by identification as Hungarian and then as Yugoslav (Gábrity Molnár/T. Mirnics 2002). As result of the *Kárpát Panel*, it also came out that identification to the Hungarian community as a category of a *Kulturnation* is strong, in which the native language, self-identification and the living space are the most important elements (Gábrity Molnár 2008a). In *Kárpát Panel* almost half of the young Hungarian respondents from Vojvodina identified themselves as Hungarians from Vojvodina. On the second place of self-identification was Vojvodinian, on the third Hungarian. The *GeneZys* research showed that most Vojvodina Hungarian youth identified as Hungarians from Serbia or Hungarian from Vojvodina (Gyurkovics 2016). According to the 2011 *Mozaik* research, young Hungarian people saw themselves being Hungarian as a fact, but not necessarily a positive one. Their identification was mainly linguistic and emotional (Szabó 2013). The 2001 *Mozaik*(Gábrity Molnár/T. Mirnics 2002)as well as the 2007 *Kárpát Panel* (Gábrityné Molnár 2008) showed that for being Hungarian the most important is self-identification, having Hungarian as one's mother tongue was also an important factor, while being born in Hungary or having Hungarian citizenship were considered the least important identification factors. The ratio of those who would like to emigrate was low in 2001 (Gábrity Molnár/T. Mirnics 2002). In 2007 one third of the respondents of the *Kárpát Panel* claimed that they would like to stay in Serbia (most of them in Vojvodina within Serbia), around 10% considered emigration to Hungary, while the rest to Western Europe and the USA. Both *Kárpát Panel* and *Média 2007* measured a strong feeling of belonging to both Vojvodina and the place of residence among Hungarian youth, while almost half of the respondents claimed not to have a sense of belonging to Serbia; however, the sense of belonging to Hungary as a kin-state was even weaker (Gábrity Molnár 2008a). The low percent of those wishing to emigrate and relatively weak ties to the kin-state can be explained with the lack of means and possibilities for moving to Hungary and elsewhere, a situation that changed greatly in 2011 when Hungary allowed Hungarian citizenship on ethnic bases. The lack of (strong) identification with Serbia and to Hungary is supported by the focus

group findings from 2011, however, this study shows also weak ties to Vojvodina (Szabó 2013). In the 2015 *GeneZYs* research, 93% informants from Vojvodina felt they belong to the Hungarian nation, and, unlike in previous research, 65% felt a belonging to the Serbian nation as well (Papp Z. 2016).

Other than questions related to ethnic identification and attitudes towards members of other ethnic groups, most questionnaires attempted to collect data about the everyday life and preferences of young Hungarian people. As far as Vojvodina is considered, the 2001 *Mozaik* research reported young Hungarian people who perceive their environment as economically challenging, which shows mostly in the high rate of unemployment and in the ratio of those living with parents. They saw their future as uncertain, the lack of money and work as the biggest problems of their generation. Similar are the findings of *GeneZYs*, in which Vojvodina Hungarian youth identified unemployment, poverty and uncertain future as the biggest problems (ibid.). Nevertheless, the generation is overall optimistic, wishes for a peaceful and family-oriented life. The 2015 research showed that the most common values of Hungarian youth from Vojvodina are love, friendship, family and peace (ibid.). Unlike the control-group of Serbian young people, the geographic region they were mostly attached to is Vojvodina (among Serbian people of the same age it has been more Serbia or Yugoslavia). As far as entertainment is considered, they preferred parties, places with music, while at home they mainly watched TV. On a scale from 1 to 5, in the *GeneZYs* research, 2.18 was the average answer as to what extent informants were interested in politics, while in terms of political orientation, the majority is moderately right-leaning (Papp Z. 2016). *GeneZYs* also shows that among other Hungarian minority communities, Vojvodina Hungarian youth are leading in the ratio of the consumption of cigarettes, alcohol and drugs, while they are in the last position according to the level of religiousness (Gyurkovics 2016).

3.1.6 Studies on multiculturalism and interethnic relationships in Vojvodina

Despite being considered and often celebrated as a peculiarity of Central-Eastern Europe, the topic of multiculturalism in Vojvodina seems almost to be ignored in political, scholarly as

well as everyday discourse. The reasons for this lack of scholarly attention may be various. First, in geographic terms, Vojvodina is considered to be on the border between what is referred to as the Central-Eastern European region and the Balkans -- part of both and none at the same time. This ambiguous position is reflected also in the low amount of scholarly attention that Vojvodina has received within political science, cultural studies, social anthropology, and the area studies of dealing with both South-East Europe and Central Europe. It is on the periphery of both language-based areas and its study as a region would require competencies in various languages, histories and cultures.

Second, even though Vojvodina with its officially two dozens of ethnic minorities has been thought of as something unique, multiculturalism is generally considered as an inherent characteristic of most of the countries in the Balkan region. Research on multiculturalism in Vojvodina though hardly ever falls out of the paradigm described by Laihonon in relation to research on the Hungarian and German communities in the Romanian Banat as the following: “[a] general goal in the minority related research has been to serve the Hungarian communities” (2009:15). Most of the fairly large corpus of research on ethnic minorities is thus methodologically ethnocentric in the sense that researcher explore one ethnic group and its autonomous social processes but do it as if the group was isolated from the broader socio-political context that entails the majority and other minorities living in the same social environment. The topics of ethnic and cultural contact and their mutual interaction are often bracketed and the reader gets the impression that each ethnic group in Vojvodina lives cut off from others. For this reason, looking at one ethnic group but exploring how its members’ identity is being constructed vis-à-vis others is of utmost importance for understanding the complexities of multicultural living.

Third, historically, while in the 1980s the main paradigm of multiculturalism in Yugoslavia was the contact hypothesis, in the 1990s attention was shifted to ethnic tensions, especially in contexts of high immigration, and in accord with the conflict hypothesis of multiculturalism, a discourse of fear has dominated the debate about minorities all over Europe (Miharčič Hladnik 2011). In a region ridden with ethnic violence such as the Balkans, it is natural therefore that multiculturalism has been interpreted in terms of ethnic violence. Much of the existing literature on ethnicity deals with the issue from the perspective related to ethno-national conflict (see Horowitz 1985). Theories that focus on ethnic clashes are though

unable to explain why ethnic groups exist outside of conflict situations (Putinja/Stref-Fenar 1997). Yet, what differentiates Vojvodina in from the rest of the Balkans the eyes of social and political scientists is the apparent lack of conflict between the ethnic groups living there, which makes studies exploring ethnic identities and multiculturalism scarce. Even though Vojvodina has seen much less explicit conflicts between ethnic groups than other parts of the former Yugoslavia, the meaning of multiculturalism in the region is far from unproblematic. Yet, the fact that it has seen little violent clashes between its majority and minority population does not only set it apart from the rest of the Balkans but makes it difficult to find a conceptual frame in which to analyze it. The cases of Vojvodina and Prekmurje actually go against the expected trends of both multiculturalism and ethnicity studies by lacking conflict where it is supposed to happen. As Kymlicka argued already in 1995:

[t]he likelihood of violence is dramatically increased when a minority is seen (or sees itself) as belonging to an adjacent ‘mother country’ which proclaims itself as the legitimate protector of the minority. The government of Hungary has declared itself the protector of ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia and Romania; leaders in Russia and Serbia have made similar declarations about ethnic Russians in the Baltic and ethnic Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia. Protecting the rights of a national minority under these circumstances can become a pretext for territorial aggression by the self-proclaimed protector state (1995, 58).

Kymlicka also expressed feared of the destabilizing power of the Trianon Treaty as it can be used to justify interference of the kin-state to Serbia’s internal politics towards the Hungarian minority (2007). In general, the interference of kin-states is often seen as having a potentially negative influence through what Anderson (1998) calls “long-distance nationalism”. Yet, even though in a few cases Hungary indeed tried to pressure the Serbian government with respect to violence over members of the Hungarian ethnic group (see Bieber/Winterhagen 2006), the prognosis of mass violence against Hungarians living in minority fortunately did not come true, and therefore the framework for analyzing multiethnicity in the region has to be something else than the conflict hypothesis of multiculturalism.

Forth, the few texts that focus on the particularity of Vojvodina in terms of its multicultural legacy do so from an angle entirely different from mine: they analyze how multicult-

tural policies are created and maintained, and even though presenting their critique, they link Vojvodina's multiculturalism to the public domain by exploring how it is represented and implemented on a policy level. There are studies exploring the applicability of multicultural models to the context of Vojvodina (see Devic 2002; Lošonc 2008), also ones that take a policy or legal perspective on the region (see Korhec 2006, 2008; Várady 2008; Varga 2008). Without the aim of questioning the validity of these top-down or issue-driven approaches, one shall be aware that

legally prescribed practices do not always coincide with the practices actually realised. The social practices, both as actions and as discursive acts, may deviate in either negative or positive ways from the laws (Wodak et al. 2009:30).

Fifth, although there are numerous qualitative studies on ethnic communities in Vojvodina, exploring ethnic identification among Vojvodina Serbs (see Marjanović 2013), Romanians (see Maran 1998; Sorescu Marinković 2007; Đurić Milovanović et al. 2011; Sikimić 2012,2014; Đurić Milovanović 2015), the Roma (see Sikimić/Sorescu Marinković 2013) the Bunjevac community (see Prelić 2007; Bošnjaković/Sikimić 2013; Černelić et al. 2014), Croats (see Žigmanov 2006; Bara/Žigmanov 2009), Germans (see Janjetović 2009; Krel 2014) and the Hungarian community as well (see Göncz 2004; Badis 2008; Hajnal/Papp 2008; Papp/Szarka 2008), there are few works that put the ethnic groups under study in the context of other ethnic communities and reflect on the nature of multiculturalism. Therefore in my research I am interested in what multiculturalism means on the ground, i.e. how it is being represented in the everyday practices and discourses of young Hungarian people in Vojvodina. The main interest of my research is how the meaning of multiculturalism is constructed through performing the interactions with members of the ethnic "other".

3.1.7 Kishegyes/Mali Idoš⁸

The village Kishegyes is situated in the central Bačka region, some 40 km south of Subotica and 50 km north of Novi Sad. It lays on the Subotica-Belgrade railway line and is connected also by buses to Vrbas, Bačka Topola, Subotica, Srbobran, Novi Sad and Belgrade. The stream Krivaja runs through the village that lays surrounded by the ramifications of the Telecska hills. Because of this geography, the landscape of the village is somewhat different from the usual flatness of the majority of towns and villages of Bačka and Banat.

Map 3.2 Kishegyes/Mali Idoš in Vojvodina. Source: <http://earl-brown.info/brightzcolorsof-vojvodina.htm>

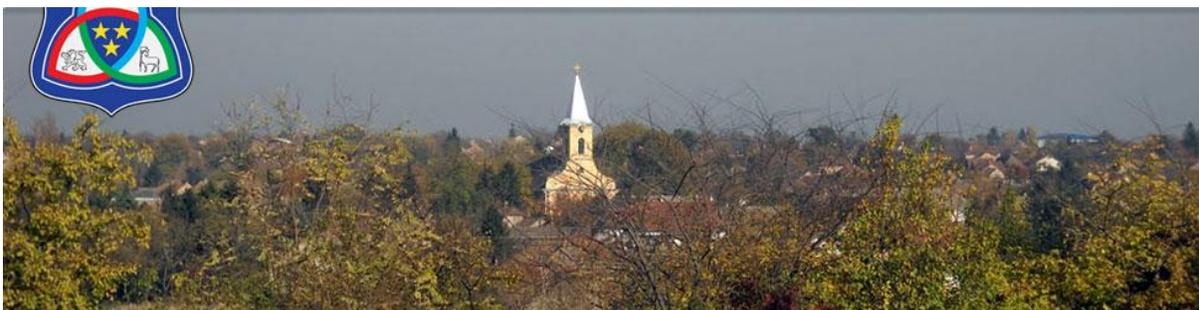


The settlement is first mentioned in 1462, when the King Matthias Corvinus granted to his mother, Erzsébet Szilágyi a plain (*puszta*) called Hegyesthorul (Maronka 2000; Virág 2002). Another written document from 1476 records the existence of two villages in Csongrád County named Nagy-Hegyés and Kis-Hegyés (Marković 1991). In the 16th century it belonged to

⁸I am using the Serbian and Hungarian names of towns and villages in Vojvodina interchangeably: Mali Idoš/Kishegyes, Feketić/Bácsfeketehegy, Bačka Topola/Topolya, Subotica/Szabadka, etc.

the Szabadka nahije and was mostly inhabited by Serbs, according to the names of the inhabitants. After the peasant uprising of György Dózsa and the rule of Jovan Nenad Crni, by the end of the Ottoman rule, the settlement was left uninhabited; therefore in 1769 the village was re-settled with Catholic Hungarians from the village Szentandrás in Békés County (Maronka 2000). In the Hungarian revolution of 1948/49 the Hungarian general Richard Gulyon had the last successful battle of the revolution next to the village against Ban Jelašić (Marković 1991). With the Treaty of Trianon, after the First World War, Kishegyes, as all of Vojvodina, became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In the Second World War, together with other parts of Bácska, it was under Hungarian rule, and while the great majority of inhabitants were Hungarians and thus had sympathies for the Hungarian army, a number of the inhabitants of the village joined the Petőfi brigade, consisting of partisans of Hungarian ethnicity, and fought under the flag of Josip Broz Tito. During socialist Yugoslavia, before the 1990s most of the residents of the village earned their living from agriculture (either working their own lands or in the cooperative), working in the local brick factory or the metal processing factory, in the industries in Bačka Topola or Vrbas (Szőke 2011). There was also a declining but still significant number of small industrialists (Marković 1991). In the 1990s and 2000s though these factories went bankrupt, therefore most of the villagers, if they do not work in the public administration, commute to work or work at some of the private industries or shops of the village. In general, there are few work opportunities in the village and even fewer of them that are lucrative. After the large wave of migration of the guest-workers to Western Europe, mainly Austria and Germany, the second wave was in the 1990s, when a great number of villagers left for Hungary, Western Europe, Canada, Australia, the USA (Szőke 2011), and the third is taking place in the 2010s. Despite the economic hardships, or as compensation for it, the village prides itself as being the birthplace of many writers, journalists and artists.

Photo 3.1 Kishegyes. Source: <http://www.maliidos.com/>



Kishegyes and the two neighboring villages Lovćenac and Feketić form a municipality (*opština / község*), the smallest one in Serbia. Kishegyes is the seat of the municipality, thus most of the administrative facilities are in this village, situated mainly within one building, the municipality hall.

Photo 3.2 The main street in Kishegyes. Source: <http://www.vajma.info/cikk/vajdasag/19223/Kishegyes-Referendumon-dontenek-a-helyi-jarulek-bevezeteserol.html>

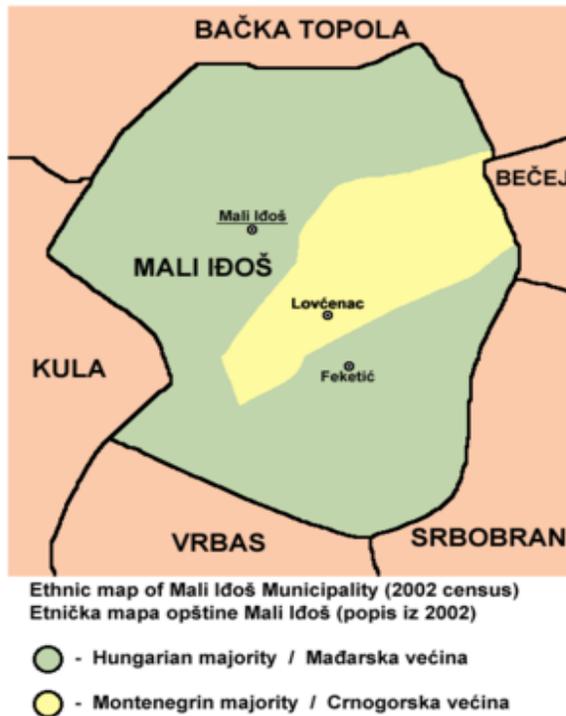


The last known data regarding the demography of Kishegyes village is from 1990. According to this, the village had 5803 inhabitants, of which 5356, i.e. 92.3% were Hungarians (Szőke

Map 3. 3 The Municipality of Kishegyes.

Source:

https://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Op%C5%A1tina_Mali_I%C4%91o%C5%A1



2011). In the census from 2011 the number of inhabitants is specified only for municipalities, not for individual settlements. According to this, the municipality of Kishegyes, composed of the villages Kishegyes, Feketić/Bácsfeketehegy and Lovćenac had 12,031 inhabitants, out of which 6,484 were Hungarians, 2,388 Serbs, 1,956 Montenegrins, 283 identified as Roma, 43 as Albanians and 33 as Muslims (Stanovništvo prema nacionalnoj pripadnosti i polu, po opštinama i gradovima 2012). As the census showed, in the municipality of Kishegyes there were 6,486 people who identified as Hungarian (ibid.), and a very similar number, 6,683 people claimed that Hungarian was their mother tongue (Stanovništvo prema maternjem jeziku 2012). In the municipality,

Kishegyes is a majority Hungarian village, Feketić has an approximately equal number of Hungarian and Serbian inhabitants, while most of the residents of Lovćenac have ancestors settled from Montenegro (the village used to be inhabited by Germans until the Second World War and it was called Sekitsch) and identify as Montenegrins or Serbs.

According to the same census, 4,478 people in the municipality identified as Catholic, 4,257 as Orthodox, 2,086 as Protestant, 232 as Muslim (Stanovništvo prema veroispovesti, po opštinama i gradovima 2012). Traditionally, Hungarians in Kishegyes are Catholics, while in Feketić Protestant. If religious, both Serbs and Montenegrins are believers of the Orthodox church, the Roma may belong to either the Catholic, the Orthodox or a Protestant church, while the vast majority of the Egyptian inhabitants who have been settling in Kishegyes in the last decade are Muslim. According to Szóke (2011), even though physically very close to each other, the three villages are culturally and ethnically not integrated, there is no common tradition and ethnically mixed marriages are rare. Her data suggests that in the 1990s there

were 87 ethnically mixed marriages, 67 women from Kishegyes married Serbian or Montenegrin men, and 19 Hungarian men from Kishegyes had Serbian or Montenegrin wives (ibid.). Even though I possess no data on the current number of ethnically mixed marriages, my knowledge of the locals context that even though probably more numerous than in the 1990s, yet they are still marked and outstanding cases. Also, I assume that it is still the case that women who enter into relationships with Serbian or Montenegrin men are more numerous than non-Hungarian men having Hungarian partners.

The village has an elementary school, a church, a health center, several shops selling food and hygiene products, clothes shops, Chinese stores selling a wide range of items, a market twice a week, pharmacies, an exchange office, pubs, ice-cream parlors, bakeries, kiosks, a hardware store, and other shops and service-providing businesses. There is a Catholic church in the village and two graveyards, and the old Jewish cemetery from which the gravestones have been transferred to the Jewish cemetery in Subotica, while a memorial plaque reminds of the community that has disappeared from the village. There is a culture center, which is home to a Hungarian folk dance ensemble and a choir, a library and several club premises: for pensioners, for chess players, hunters, pigeon raisers, etc.

The local elementary school has two parallel classes in every generation in which Hungarian is the language of instruction, and since 1995 a stream in Serbian language (in the first few years of the Serbian stream, there were only classes 1st to 4th in Serbian, but with more and more non-Hungarians, mainly refugees from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina were arriving to the village all 8 grades become covered in Serbian too) (ibid.). The Serbian stream is usually much less numerous and is attended by the newest group of inhabitants of Kishegyes, the Egyptian community, even though their mother tongue is a dialect of Romani. The closest secondary schools are in Bačka Topola, where most students from Kishegyes commute on a daily bases. Apart from the grammar school, the economic, the technical and the agricultural secondary school in Bačka Topola, students from Kishegyes also attend some of the secondary schools in Subotica. These students live there during weekdays, either renting a flat or living in the dormitory. A smaller number of students attend secondary schools in Srbobran, Novi Sad, Senta or other towns in Vojvodina.

3.2 Prekmurje: An area defined by borders

3.2.1 Brief historical overview

Until 1991, Prekmurje, the north-eastern region of the Republic of Slovenia shared a history with Vojvodina. The two regions were granted to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes with the Trianon Treaty in 1920, even though in number a much smaller community of Hungarians have existed in Prekmurje than in Vojvodina. Just like in Vojvodina, emigration and assimilation (visible in the growing number of ethnically mixed marriages, that Župančič (2009) sees as proof of good interethnic relations) affect the Hungarian community extensively: while in 1991 there were 8,500 Hungarians (ibid.), ten years later there were already 5,445 who identified so (Population by Ethnic Affiliation 2002) out of the around 9000 total inhabitants of Prekmurje (Župančič 2009).

Living in the same state for decades and the experience of the post-socialist transition after the breakup of Yugoslavia have contributed to a similar conception and discourse of multiculturalism in Vojvodina and in Prekmurje. However, with the secession of Slovenia in 1991 Hungarians in Prekmurje found themselves in a new political system and under different living conditions than Hungarians in Serbia. Slovenia's EU membership since 2004 has also changed the circumstances of the inhabitants of Slovenia, regardless of their ethnicity. The shared history of the Hungarian minority in the two states on one hand and the different political circumstances since 1991 on the other, and also the different perception of the two regions and the Hungarian community in them by other countries, especially the kin-state, offers a fruitful comparison with regards to the discourses and meaning of multiculturalism.

Until the Treaty of Trianon the two regions were largely under the same historical conditions. It is also around this time that Slovenes in what was then the new state of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes started using the geographical name *Prekmurje* (Szilágyi 2007) instead of the Hungarian *Vendvidék* and the Slovenian *Slovenska krajina* (Župančič 2009). Both the current Slovenian and the Hungarian name of the region, *Muravidék*, denote the region between the Mur River. Slavic settlements are recorded in the region from the 6th century, and Hungarians arrived to the Carpathian Basin in the 9th century. After the reign of Franks, the area belonged to Lower Pannonia. The Hungarian rule followed with-

in the Habsburg Monarchy and a period of Ottoman rule (ibid.). The Hungarian population had important historical presence in Prekmurje, especially in the town with the largest Hungarian population, Lendva/Lendava.

In the beginning of the 19th century, a greater part of the gentry and the townspeople in the Slav and Hungarian speaking territories identified themselves politically and culturally with Germanophone Austria. This, generally was the case in . . . Slovenia (van der Plank 2012, 375).

With the Treaty of Trianon in 1920 the Muraszombat (Murska Sobota) township of Vas County, the Alsólendva township and parts of the Szentgotthárd township of Zala County that used to belong to Hungary were included in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Prekmurje is divided into Goričko, Ravensko, Dolinsko and Lendavske gorice areas. The territory of the area was 940 km² and the number of inhabitants was 91,436, of which 66,790 (73%) claimed their native language to be Wendish⁹, 20,346 (22%) Hungarian and 2,093 German (Szilágyi 2007; Šajti A. 2010).

⁹Prekmurje Slovene, a regional dialect called *Prekmurščina* in Slovenian, *vend* in Hungarian and *prekmürski jezik* in the dialect. *Vend* is also the historical name for Slovenes in Hungarian language.

Map 3.4 Slovenia with the Prekmurje region and the town of Lendava marked. Source: <http://www.triona.si/Kje-Smo>



Slovenes have been in a majority in the region already at the time of the Treaty of Trianon, even in a larger proportion than Serbs in Vojvodina at the time, especially with the settlement of Slovenes from the coastal areas of Slovenia to Prekmurje. At the time of Prekmurje becoming part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Lendva was the biggest and most important town of the region, while today Murska Sobota competes with this position as the educational, business and cultural center of Prekmurje (Župančič 2009). Even though they were in minority, Hungarians had more institutional and political power, since they were the state-constituting nation. This position changed in 1920, and the 14,897 Hungarians of Prekmurje (according to the 1921 census) (Dimić 1997) lost their dominant position (Župančič 2009). Unlike the Serbs of Vojvodina, who have developed a national consciousness, Wends in the Hungarian Kingdom were in a struggle for their identity between Hungarian and Slovene nationalism: due to strong regional identification, a great part of which was the Wendish language not only morphologically but also phonologically differing from standard Slovenian, they refused to be considered part of the Slovene nation, which led to their partial assimila-

tion into the Hungarian nation (Szilágyi 2007). Only in the second half of the 19th century did a Slovenian national consciousness start to awaken in Prekmurje (Göncz 2008). Spontaneous and planned assimilation of both nations into the new state, culture and language was going on until during the 1920s and 1930s, with Hungarian being a linguistically, socially and culturally disadvantaged position for the same reason Wendish was before 1920. Yet, and despite education in Hungarian being virtually non-existent, in the 1930s in Lendva and surroundings Hungarian was still the most spoken language (ibid.). In the Second World War, in 1941 Hungarian troops occupied Prekmurje (similarly to how Bácska was occupied in the same year), which was perceived by the majority of the Hungarian population as liberation, but by some as occupation (ibid.). During this three-year-old period, there was an extensive Hungarianization of the region and the almost complete deportation of the Jewry of Prekmurje (Szilágyi 2007), who were an important population of Lendva. During socialist Yugoslavia, even though the state provided better conditions for all nationalities of the region, Prekmurje's peripheral position and closeness to the Iron Curtain lead to its slower development than other regions of Yugoslavia (Szilágyi 2007; Župančič 2009). Still, in this period legal guarantees have been made to ensure a certain level of minority rights protection: in 1974 the law of the Slovene Socialist Republic enabled the foundation of minority cultural interest communities that have competences in the fields of ethnic culture, education in the minority language, minority media and publishing and maintaining relationship with the kin-state (Király M. 2010b). It is important to see that these privileges, as well as the so-called veto right, accepted much later, in 1991 by already the independent Slovenia, that stipulates that no decision regarding the constitutional rights of minorities can be brought without being accepted by the representatives of the community, are the rights of not all minorities but only the Italian and Hungarian community, the autochthonous minorities traditionally living in Slovenia (Bokor 2009; Baluh 2010). This right, as well as some others mentioned below are only granted to these two communities, even though the number of Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks, Muslims and Roma is much larger in Slovenia, but they are not considered autochthonous (Bokor 2009).

Map 3.5 The Prekmurje region. Source:

<https://euroburo-slovenia.com/Prekmurje/Prekmurje/Prekmurje.php>



Ironically, it is the underdeveloped region of Prekmurje for which Slovenia receives EU funds and that prevents it from being a net contributor of the Union, and it is thus not fully in the state's interest to invest in the development of Prekmurje. The other effect of the region's peripheral status is that it creates and sustains a strong regional identity (Szilágyi 2007), especially among Hungarians, but also among Slovenes. Also partly due to its peripheral position, during the period of Yugoslavia, but also before and after it, Prekmurje has been an area of emigration, which led to it being a demographically disadvantaged region (Župančič 2009). It was during socialist Yugoslavia that the geographical belt in Slovenia parallel to the Hungarian border was proclaimed as ethnically mixed and bilingual administration and education was introduced.

3.2.2 Bilingual education in Prekmurje

The reason for the introduction of bilingual education in Prekmurje in 1959 was the raising tendency of Hungarian students to enroll to Slovenian streams or schools, and bilingualism was seen as the alternative to language loss. The reason for this was that Hungarian education was largely abolished starting from 1920, so that by 1930 the Hungarian education system in Slovenia was basically completely eradicated (Göncz 2008). By the time education in the native language for minorities was allowed in Slovenia, in the 1940s, the process was already irreversible: there were already neither teachers nor interest from the students and their parents, who would rather enroll to Slovenian streams to secure easier access and assumed better advancement in further education (Bokor 1999, 2009; Bence 1999). Also, Slovenian authorities were encouraging the introduction of bilingual education to set an example for the education of the Slovenian minority in Austria and Italy – unsuccessfully, as it was not introduced in these countries (Szilágyi 2007). In the terminology of social linguistics and language acquisition, introducing bilingualism into schools meant transferring from segregated to additive bilingualism (Kolláth 2009). In 1969 there were protests from Slovenian parents who did not want their children to learn Hungarian in the classroom, however, their petition was rejected by the Constitutional Court (Bokor 1999, 2009; Bence 1999). The system of bilingual education in Prekmurje is such that, officially, both groups of students learn in both languages in the same classroom, and both develop linguistic skills in both languages (Bokor 1999). Bokor calls this a utopist model of bilingualism (*ibid.*). The only differentiation between students is that there are two levels for learning Hungarian, and students chose in which group they want to be. Thus in practice, Slovenian students and quite many students from Hungarian families also opt for Hungarian 2, the easier level. There is also a differentiation between two levels of Slovenian language, but only until the 4th form of elementary school, after that all students learn Slovenian as a native language (Király Patyi 1999). This is called a “sink or swim” method (Kolláth 2009) or “weak bilingual education” (Kontra 1999). Teachers are expected to instruct in both languages interchangeably, which is very difficult to achieve because of time constrains, teachers’ lack of knowledge in Hungarian professional terminology and some students’ (usually those with Slovenian native language) inadequate level of Hungarian to be able to follow instruction in Hungarian. Textbooks from Hungary can be of help for these

problems, but their level, especially in Hungarian language and literature is often too high even for students who speak native-level Hungarian. However, one shall not fail to see that the aim of bilingual education in Prekmurje has always been integration: enabling Hungarian students with language skills in Slovenian so that they can pursue further education and/or enter the job market in Slovenian language (Bence 1999). The hierarchy of the languages used in the classroom is such that, despite the official discourse, in practice it serves less integration than assimilation (Bokor 2009). Bilingual teaching has no set methodology. For this reason, in fact, the bilingual model becomes asymmetrical (Kolláth 1999), or subtractive instead of additive, because Hungarian students lose their knowledge of Hungarian and change to Slovenian. Hungarian language and also culture have lower prestige than Slovenian, not only among Slovenian but also with Hungarian students as well, which results in self-stigmatization and identity issues (Bence 1999). The result is that young and middle-aged Hungarians in Prekmurje speak better Slovenian than Hungarian, and their Hungarian, apart from being archaic and heavily marked by a regional dialect, is lacking in professional terminology (Kolláth 1999; Bokor 2009). Most students are in fact “one-and-a-half-lingual”: their Slovenian is on a proficient or native level, while in Hungarian they are less competent (Kolláth 1999; Bernjak 2009). Identifying with a language that one does not speak perfectly is difficult. In general, Bokor (2009) argues, it has to be stated the Hungarian minority in Slovenia is moving towards language change.

In 1981 the bilingual secondary school in Lendva was opened. Today, even though many parents, especially those of Hungarian ethnic origin wish the system in Prekmurje would resemble that of the coastal areas where the Italian minority lives, and where there would be a parallel Slovenian and Hungarian educational system (similar to that in Vojvodina) with the obligatory learning of the other language as well, Komac is doubtful whether such a system would survive (2010), and so is Pozsanec in the interview she gave (Tomka 2010), who believes that without bilingual education the situation of the Hungarian minority in Slovenia would be even worse. Despite the above-mentioned criticism, today bilingual instruction is the only education option in the bilingual region in Prekmurje for students of both ethnicity (Bokor 2009).

3.2.3 Hungarians in the Prekmurje

With the independence of Slovenia in 1991, the rights of the Hungarian minority in Prekmurje were widened (Szilágyi 2007) and a positive discrimination of the Hungarian community was applied (Göncz 2008). The afore-mentioned “veto right” was included in the Constitution (Baluh 2010). There is one seat in the Slovenian Parliament reserved for the representative of the Hungarian minority, national symbols can be used and bilingual education continues to be fostered in the region (Barkaszi 2009). The legal framework of minority protection is evaluated positively by most experts, including those coming from the minority community (Bokor 2009; Komac 2010; Tomka 2010). In practice yet, minority language use and the bilingual administration are inconsistent. Walking in the streets of a town in Prekmurje or at the part of the Slovenian coast where the Italian minority lives (the surroundings of Koper, Piran and Izola), one gets the impression that the signs written in Hungarian or Italian are merely props and that minority culture is nothing more than ethnofolklorism (Komac 2010). Despite the law of 1998 that enables the double voting right for minority individuals by which they can vote for their representatives of minority self-governments, a register of minority Hungarian voters has not been set up fully (Dancs 1999), and neither are there set criteria for entry into such a register (Komac 2010). It is up to both the majority and the minority to implement a more effective minority right protection system, and it has not been fully achieved. At this, as Bokor (2009) claims, the Hungarian minority in Slovenia is unsuccessful: they cannot claim their rights to their best interest (see also Göncz 2008). There is a small elite of Prekmurje Hungarians who educate their children at universities, or already in secondary schools, in Hungary (Király Patyi 1999), however, the large majority of the members of the Hungarian community are oriented towards Slovenia (Bokor 2009), Slovenian language and Slovenian identity. The community of Hungarians in Slovenia is diasporic and is in an advanced state of language shift (Göncz 2008). Due to various factors, namely that during Yugoslavia Hungary and Hungarians have been associated with Fascism, the experience of the Iron Curtain and the connotations of the Soviet occupation of Hungary, and the insistence on Yugoslavism, young Hungarian people many times do not see their native language as valuable and prestigious, on the contrary, and Slovenians’ attitude towards it is often negative. The generation of those between 30 and 50 years of age already do not have a strong Hungarian identity as they were-

socialized in the ideology of “brotherhood and unity”. By 1975 around half of the Hungarians from Prekmurje younger than 50 years old have lived in ethnically mixed marriages, which is probably the highest ratio in the Carpathian Basin. We can observe, similarly to Vojvodina, the strong connection of ethnically mixed marriages and assimilation. It is only the oldest generation of Prekmurje Hungarians who have a strong linguistic and cultural attachment to Hungarian (Göncz 2008).

Regarding the number of Hungarians, for the aforementioned reasons (assimilation, emigration and low birthrates) has been diminishing constantly: in 1991 there were around 8500 Hungarians in some 30 ethnically mixed settlements in Prekmurje, in 2002 the number was 5,445 (Population by Ethnic Affiliation 2002). This is the last available census data that classify individuals by their ethnicity, since for the last census in Slovenia, in 2011, it was decided that the ethnic belonging of the citizens of Slovenia will not be included in the list of questions (Komac 2010). It is estimated though that the size of the Hungarian community has shrunk to its half since the territory was attached to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Bokor 2009).

3.2.4 Lendava/Lendva

The old name for the town of Lendava/Lendva was *Donja Lendava* in Slovenian and *Alsólendva* in Hungarian. The name originates from the Germanic words *Lindau* that means “linden”. The town boasts itself of being a multiethnic environment with the three largest ethnic groups being Slovenes, Hungarians and Croats. In 2013 Lendva counted 10,669 inhabitants (Just et al. 2005; Občina Lendava - Lendva község 2014). It is situated as the easternmost town of Slovenia, close to the rivers Mura and Lendava and at the foot of the Lendva hill (Občina Lendava - Lendva község 2014), with the town’s surroundings stretching in a narrow belt between the Croatian and Hungarian borders. It is of an equal, 6-7 km distance from Mursko Središče in Croatia and Rédic in Hungary. Given that both Slovenia and Hungary are Schengen countries and movement is easy, there is considerable mobility between the two countries. As Croatia is still not part of the Schengen area, there are border checks on the Slovenian-Croatian border, nevertheless, many citizens of Lendva travel regularly to Mursko

Središče , Čakovec, Varaždin or Zagreb for shopping, entertainment, etc, as well as to Lenti, Nagykanizsa, and other towns in Hungary. In terms of education and employment, the population is oriented to Maribor, which is considerably closer than the capital Ljubljana. For the Hungarian community, Maribor is also important as the university there has a Hungarian Studies program that prepares future teachers of Hungarian language and literature or translators, and the Faculty of Education has a program in Hungarian as well.

There was a settlement at the banks of the Lendava River already in the Bronze Age (Just et al. 2005). The first written record of Lendva is from 1192 when it became the property of the Hahold family, that later changed their name to Bánffy (Göncz 2005; Občina Lendava - Lendva község 2014). Belonging to this family, it played an important role in the Hungarian history around the Reformation period (Göncz 1998). Thanks to this influential family, Lendva had a printing house already in 1573. In 1603, the Ottomans were defeated in the castle built by the Bánffys on the top of the hill above the town (Göncz 2005). After the Bánffys, the town moved into the hands of the equally influential Esterházy family (Szilágyi 2007) and then the Nádasdys, another reputable Hungarian family (Juste et al. 2005). Lendva had a considerable Jewish community, that, with their shops, small industries and services played a key role in the township and in the urbanization (Občina Lendava - Lendva község 2014). Many townhouses, some of them in secession style, and the railway was built in this period (Just et al. 2005). After the First World War and the Trianon Treaty, within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the progress of the town slowed down (ibid.), due to its multiethnic character and peripheral position. During the Second World War it was once again annexed by Hungary and in 1944 the town's Jewry was deported (ibid.). Ethnic tensions and revenge was not rare in the two wars and in the interwar period: in 1942 Slovenians from Lendva and surroundings were deported by Hungarian troops, while in 1945 an approximately equal number of inhabitants of Lendva of Hungarian ethnicity were taken prisoners by Yugoslav partisans (Göncz 2005). After the Second World War, as the entire Prekmurje region, Lendva became part of Yugoslavia, and from 1991 of the independent Republic of Slovenia. Lendva has been the seat of the Lendava municipality since 1998 (Just et al. 2005). It lacks a railway connection, but is connected by buses to other parts of Slovenia. It has municipal service buildings, shops, banks, cafes, restaurants, two elementary and one secondary school – all three bilingual, also a school for students with special needs and a music school.

Photo 3.3 The bilingual secondary school in Lendva with the fortress in the background. Source: <https://slogtpnasezivljenje1sept2013.pbworks.com/w/page/68888827/DS%C5%A0%20Lendava>



The elementary schools have their daughter-schools in the villages around Lendava: Ga-berje/Gyertyános, Petišovci/Petesháza, Čentiba/Csente and Genterovci/Göntérháza. There is an oil refinery, vineyards and a spa in the vicinity of the town.

Photo 3.4 The main street in Lendva. Source: <http://www.sloveniaholidays.com/eng/lendava-lendva/photos-videos/>



Many of the buildings and edifices of the town give the impression of a remainders of “bourgeois architecture . . . but also evidence of the cosmopolitanism that touched Lendava” (Just et al. 2005, 27). Some of the most important buildings are the Catholic and the Protestant churches, the synagogue, former Korona lodging house, now the town hall, the public library, the museum, the Elizabeta hotel, the Bánffy culture center and the theatre and concert hall designed by Hungarian architect Imre Makovecz.

Photo 3.5 The theatre and concert hall in Lendva.

Source: <http://www.holidayhomeslovenia.com/localarea>



The last two are of special importance for the Hungarian community: while the theatre hosts performances in both Slovenian and Hungarian, it was built with the support of Hungary, and the Bánffy center hosts events related to Hungarian culture and literature. The seats of the institution for the culture of the Hungarian community, the *Népújság* newspaper, the editorial of the Hungarian program of the Slovenian Radio and Television and the Local Government of Prekmurje Hungarians are in Lendva as well .

4 Methodology

4.1 The comparative method

A way of analyzing the influence of public discourses of multiculturalism on the private ones, which I refer to in my dissertation as interdiscursivity, is comparing the discourses of multiculturalism in Vojvodina to those in another region – whether the same references are present or whether in a different region people use different references, characteristic ones of their own social environment. A possible comparison would have been with some of the established models of multiculturalism in a multiethnic state that has been thoroughly analyzed and discussed, such as Canada, the USA, Belgium, Switzerland, Singapore, just to name a few possibilities. Yet, I have decided to take a different path and to compare the everyday discourses of multiculturalism in Vojvodina to the ones in Prekmurje in Slovenia and by that see whether and how the two are different. Apart from the obvious fact that doing a PhD in Slovenia gave me easier access to the community of Hungarians living in Prekmurje and my curiosity towards this region, I have considered comparing the discourses and practices of multiculturalism in Vojvodina and in a country which has a socio-historically similar context, as outlined in subchapter 3.2. Therefore it became evident that the comparison between the two regions that used to be part of the same political and system for around five centuries: under the Habsburg Empire, in Austria-Hungary, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and finally socialist Yugoslavia. Thus, as already discussed in section 2.1.3 I see the context of Prekmurje much more comparable to that of Vojvodina than multiculturalism in Western Europe, North America or Asia.

The comparison of my two case studies, Hungarian youth in Kishegyes and in Lendva is not an equal comparison, it is a hierarchical one. In my study the main emphasis is on Hungarian youth from Serbia, however, researching Hungarian youth in Slovenia gives not only a control group to my study but also points to the potential differences in youth's discourses that the different legislation, administrative status, the size and status of the Hungarian communities in the two countries have brought about. I believe that the differences in the legal,

policy-making and structural competences of Vojvodina and Prekmurje, even though relevant, do not corrupt the validity of the analysis, on the contrary: they are even beneficial for certain aspects of it. Comparing two case studies can be helpful in exploring to whether and to what extent various public narratives and/or metaphors of multiculturalism and the differences in the nature and state of the community have an effect of youth's private everyday perception of ethnicity in a multiethnic setting.

One of the first things to mention upon contextualizing Vojvodina and Prekmurje is that it will be immediately obvious to the reader that the description of the social, political and historical context of the two regions, but especially the empirical analysis are done in the same methodological fashion. Even though I have been studying two communities where my mother tongue is spoken, actually this is one of few similarities regarding my own position to the research sites. Of Vojvodina I have what would be called an insider's knowledge, my personal interpretation of the socio-cultural environment that is greatly influenced by my personal history, my upbringing, family, friends, memories, etc. For instance I cannot even utter the name of the village where I conducted my research, let alone write about it without immediately triggering memories of my late father who lived there, the relationship with my step-mother who lives there, thinking of things we did there together with my brother or my friends. My position in and relationship to Prekmurje is entirely different: I visited Lendva for the first time when I went there for my first research site, I made previous contacts with the school, I formally met some of the staff, and had access to local youth only through them. Instead of renting a house for several months as I did in Kishegyes, in Lendva I rented accommodation for a few days, maximum a week, or later stayed at acquaintances place each time I went there. Naturally, my stay in Prekmurje was much shorter, and, with some exceptions, my encounters more formal, spatially and also thematically more confined to the bilingual secondary school my interlocutors attended. Yet, I believe that I was able to create trust in my interlocutors and others as well who with whom I have spoken about the topic of my research informally to go beyond the formal level of research someone visiting Lendva for a single day or someone not from a Hungarian community would suffice with and collect information that is meaningfully interpretable in a fashion similar to my data from Kishegyes.

A genuinely comparative research does not only study the same issue in two or more countries but also "compares the phenomena in different socio-cultural settings, using the

same research methods” (Faas 2010, 18). Naturally, even though the similarities are given, the differences are even stronger, and therefore balance out the comparison. Apart from the facts that the Hungarian community in Slovenia is more than ten times smaller in number than the one in Vojvodina and that Prekmurje is not a legal or political entity like Vojvodina is, the most important difference between the two regions are the statuses and histories of Serbia and Slovenia. Even though part of the same country, Yugoslavia, until 1991, in 2012 and 2013 Serbia and Slovenia occupy different places in the regional and global politics and economy. As Balla et al. (2012) summarizes the social situation in Serbia during the ‘90s:

During the 1990s, Serbia and its population experienced the bloody break-up of Yugoslavia, the authoritarian and nationalistic regime of Slobodan Milošević, the wars in neighbouring Croatia and Bosnia and associated wartime and nationalistic psychosis, as well as through the economic sanctions imposed on Serbia by the United Nations in 1992. This contributed to abysmal economic conditions and one of the worst cases of hyperinflation in history. Towards the end of the 1990s, Serbia engaged war in Kosovo which eventually resulted in the NATO bombing campaign against Serbia and ended with the fall of Milošević. Political and social turmoil in Former Yugoslavia caused massive forced and voluntary migrations of large numbers of people (2012, 123).

On the other hand, Slovenia had a “liberation war” in 1991 that lasted 10 days, but after it stabilized its political situation and moved towards the EU. Eventually, Slovenia joined EU in 2004, while Serbia has still an unbalanced relationship with the EU, largely due to the unsolved political problems on Kosovo. Even though there is a similar mythology of multiculturalism in Prekmurje than in Vojvodina, it rests on a different type of multiethnic relations especially in terms of language. While in Vojvodina the public discourse is based on an ethnocentric type of multiculturalism, in Prekmurje, or so it seemed prior to my fieldwork, the main feature of multiculturalism has been bilingualism, the most important principle of the education system and thereby of the lives of young people. As comparative studies can result in fresh insights and deeper understanding of issues that are of central concern in different countries, the aim of the research is thus to explore how these social and institutional differences shape and are shaped by the everyday experiences of relationships between ethnic selves and others.

Even though language use and linguistic rights are not in the explicit focus of the dissertation, the comparative dimension of the different conceptions of bilingualism in Prekmurje and in Vojvodina is of great relevance, taking into account the fact that what I understand by discourse, a primary focus of my analysis, are linguistic utterances. Thus exploring the use of language, its formal and informal regulations are crucial parts in the research. While in villages with a Hungarian community in Slovenia the various public institutions insist on using both the state and the minority language, what would qualify as additive bilingualism (Skutnab-Kangas 1996), in Vojvodina the majority of claims regarding language use is about the possibility of using the minority language exclusively, what can be called subtractive bilingualism (ibid.). In terms of language, especially language use and linguistic rights in education, in Vojvodina Prekmurje is sometimes cited as a positive example: a region with a system where Hungarian students learn in the same classroom as their Slovenian peers, which, according to the popular view in Vojvodina, fosters intergroup communication, friendships, and the integration of the minority community – something considered lacking there. On the other hand, in Prekmurje I often heard the view that students, parents and teacher wish for an education system where each ethnic group has the possibility to learn in separate streams in their native language and thus nurture their language and culture, as it is believed to be the case in Vojvodina.

The Hungarian community in Prekmurje actually lives concentrated in several small villages around and in the town of Lendva, therefore offering an obvious choice for fieldwork. The decision where to conduct research in Vojvodina was not so easy though. The existing research on multiethnicity in Vojvodina has mainly been conducted in cities and towns (see Žigmanov 2008; Balla et al. 2012) as they are places where several ethnic groups live together, unlike villages, which present a more mosaic-like composition: usually there is one dominant ethnic group and a small minority of others. Also, the few studies that exist about youth and youth culture in Vojvodina and the wider region have mainly been conducted with quantitative methods, and therefore I wanted to focus rather on young people from rural environments in a qualitative research to complement the body of literature on the ethnic identification and experience of youth. To parallel my study in Lendava, I chose a village in Vojvodina of a similar size, that is also the seat of the municipality and which has a substantial Hungarian minority. Although Kishegyes has a greater number of Hungarian people living in it than Lendva, I

opted for this setting because, like Lendva, it is in a way a regional center of the Hungarian people living there, surrounded by places where people of different ethnicities live. Naturally, the differences between the two places are much more numerous than the similarities, but given the fact that my study does not aim to be representative of the regions in which they are, I believe that the comparison I am making is justified and valid for interrogating whether the concept under study has the same meaning in the regions considered, what Faas (2010) names “equivalence” in research.

In any case, in the context of globalization and postmodernism, youth seems not to differ greatly from region to region. In almost all social environments, as it has been suggested in the subchapter 2.3., youth is the carrier of both the past and the future. In minority environments especially, they are considered the carriers of the minority language and culture, and in that sense are at the intersection of past and future. Due to their socialization in the family, they reflect their parents’ and grandparents’ patterns of identification. Yet, as a result of the changes in the social environment that have taken place in the previous decades, their lifestyles and discourses also carry the effects of their contemporaries, the school, popular culture, the media etc., that might or might not be different from what their parents’ experiences. For these reasons I believe that studying the discourses and practices of multiculturalism amongst young people of minority ethnicity in the two chosen locations is comparable and can contribute a new perspective to the discussions on ethnicity and on multiculturalism.

4.2 Methods of data collecting

4.2.1 Sources of data collecting and approach

The methodology of the research is specific in that it has a direct focus on the informants: it starts from them and looks at their linguistic, social and cultural strategies in expressing their relationships towards their own ethnic group, members of other ethnic community and their references to multiculturalism. The methodology I use is mixed and the approach highly in-

terdisciplinary. I use interviews, but I also take into account informal conversations, I do observations, but also analyze discourse in a fairly formal manner.

The main subject of anthropology is to study are people, the ways they create and maintain a society, how they relate to what they perceive as their culture. If the subject of a research is a group of people defined on the bases of ethnicity, anthropologists usually study how members of that group relate to each other, to non-members and how they thus construct their ethnic identity. Therefore anthropology studies what people do, and the most common methods for such inquiries are observing people doing things and talking to people about doing things. Yet, classical anthropology, or at least traditional ethnographic studies have rarely engaged in a deeper analysis of language: how people actually talk about things and why they talk about things in a certain way. The disciplines that attempts to answers these questions are often called linguistic anthropology or anthropological linguistics. According to Foley,

[a]nthropological linguistics is that sub-field of linguistics which is concerned with the place of language in its wider social and cultural context, its role in forging and sustaining cultural practices and social structures (1997, 3).

As seen above, the methodological term “linguistic anthropology” is mainly reserved for studies looking at the relationship between language and society via exploring discourse, retaining language to be the primarily lens through which society and culture are observed. Studies of linguistic anthropology often focus on discourse strands much shorter than the interviews and conversations I have conducted and with less inclusion of contextual information than I have considered in my research.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, it has become a trend to study both the subject and the manner of what people speak about: what they do, how they talk about what they do and why do they talk about it in a particular way. The advantage of such an approach that integrates perspectives is that it becomes possible to have a more complex picture of a group under study and gives the researcher access to integrate various types of material: behavior,

interaction and discourse. This is of crucial importance since these various types of data provide insight into different aspects of the construction of ethnic identification and multicultural relations. On the other hand, the disadvantages of combining anthropology with linguistics are the common downsides of any interdisciplinary study: the method can be criticized for its unconventionality and the findings are sometimes seen as being the result of unsystematic investigation.

In this research I am undertaking the venture of dealing with both ethnographic and linguistic data, believing strongly that, together with the acknowledged risks of my approach, this combined method is the only one that is able to capture the complex, ambiguous and sometimes even contradictory social realities of my research subjects. I combine the study of language with ethnographic material that is the result of a prolonged fieldwork, and because I understand language (what people say) and acts (what people do) as data of different type that is equally important for answering my research questions.

Being an interdisciplinary study that still mainly relies on anthropological methods, it is strictly qualitative, with no aim of generalizability and representatively. It is a microscopic study in the geertzian understanding of the word, looking at small-scale matters and is bound to two specific contexts.

The notion that one can find the essence of national societies, civilizations, great religions, or whatever summed up and simplified in so-called “typical” small towns and villages is palpable nonsense. What one finds in small towns and village is (alas) small-town or village life. If localized, microscopic studies were really dependent for their greater relevance upon such a premise – that they captured the great world in the little – they wouldn’t have any relevance (Geertz 1973, 319).

However, at least in the case of Vojvodina, in the epistemological sense, the research relates to a group geographically beyond the boundaries of Kishegyes: the village was chosen among other reasons for its typicality of being a majority Hungarian mainly rural settlement and the informants from there arguable have similar socializing patterns, values and attitudes than those from places of similar size and ethnic composition. This “speculative generalizability”

may go beyond the borders as well: it could be taken as a snapshot of Hungarian youth in other diaspora communities, such as the ones in Slovakia, Romania or the Ukraine. On the other hand, Hungarian youth in Lendva can be seen as being typical of young people in other places where Hungarians are not a majority locally, such as my hometown Zrenjanin, or elsewhere in diasporic communities, e.g. Croatia or Austria. In both cases, even though it is beyond the scope of research, some of the general conclusions may be true for other ethnic minorities.

In the research I particularly take into account the mobility of contemporary youth, especially since previous studies on young people have focused on them as though they were bounded strictly to one geographical space. I felt it thus adequate to choose a group of informants in Kishegyes and in Lendava and follow their movement to school and free-time activities to other towns and villages, also talk to their friends and acquaintances with a “snowball method” – observe and explore the circulation of the everyday discourses and practices of multiculturalism in its natural setting. I chose to explore the discourses and practices of young people in environments that are natural to them, thus the school (which, for reasons outlined in the previous subchapter, was more the case in Lendva, even though for the youth from Kishegyes the school was also a setting where I found some of the informants), their homes, cafes, or even in public spaces like parks, and for less formal conversation, in public transport, in bus, at events, etc. It can be argued as Faas does that “factors outside the school matter even more than what goes on inside it” (2010, 18), however, I would take a middle ground and argue that both institutional and non-institutional, or rather less institutional, settings are important when assessing how young people experience multiculturalism.

4.2.2 Interview

I have conducted 30 interviews in Kishegyes and 14 in Lendva. In Kishegyes, the interviews were conducted in the ten months I lived there between the fall of 2011 until the summer of 2012. To Lendva, I made three visits in 2012 and in 2013, the first one lasted a week, the other two for 4 days. In Kishegyes, as I knew the village before my arrival, I arrive to my interlocutors through acquaintance: asked them to recommend me young people aged 15 to 18 who

they know. In some cases, I personally knew the family members of such young people. I contacted them by email, through a Facebook message or phone. Also, when visiting schools, I talked to teachers and/or principals, and often visited classes too. I introduced myself at these classes, spoke briefly about my research and asked potential interlocutors to approach me after class if they wished to talk to me. As in Lendva I had no prior acquaintanceships, the above mentioned method of visiting classes at the school was my primary method. The interviews were conducted in a private space at the schools, in a café, or in Kishegyes I was invited on occasions to interlocutors' home or they visited me in my rented house.

The interviews I have conducted were semi-structured, with loosely predetermined questions that concern the interviewees' experience of multiculturalism in their social networks (family, friends, partners), their experience with other ethnic groups and their general views on the issues of ethnic identification and multiculturalism in Vojvodina and Prekmurje. They lasted around 45 minutes to 75 minutes each, on average one hour. The list of questions and topics in Hungarian language typically discussed during the interviews, that I mainly used as a reminder to myself, is attached as an appendix to the dissertation. The interviews were accompanied with a brief data sheet with the interviewees name, age, school affiliation and place of residence, that are kept separate from the interview notes. The interviews were recorded and also notes were taken for the event of the loss of recording (which happened on one occasion) and/or to take down some impressions or emphasis that are not contained in the recording. Interviews were conducted in Hungarian language and are transcribed and translated in English, but not in their entire length, only the parts that I have considered relevant for the research. All recordings are kept though, so other parts have and can be transcribed and translated if needed. I am aware of the loss of some of the data due to the translation – I have attempted to be as precise as possible, occasionally give explanations for untranslatable expressions, however, some of the depth of the material is inevitably lacking. I still believe that in general, the meanings the interlocutors conveyed in Hungarian was transferred to English, and speaking to an international readership, I feel this was a compromise I had to make in the dissertation. Each interlocutor is given a two- or three-letter code, and this code is used throughout the interview for citations. When I felt it necessary, I have also provided the information on the gender, the specific age, the place of residence of the interlocutors and the school they attend.

In general, I understand the interview situation as a “scenario”, as Goffman (1959) explained it. The interview has a setting, which gives both the researcher and the interlocutors on how to proceed, what “script” to follow. In this sense, the interview is a regulated social situation with normative expectations from the “actors” part (Cresswell/Hawn 2012). This setting is a “frame” (Goffman 1974) “through which people see the world and the world they see is apprehended as real even though it may be socially constituted” (ibid.:n.p.). Moreover, interviews are dialogues, not only in terms of being an interaction between the interviewer and the interlocutor that inevitable shapes what is being said in an interview and how (Polanyi 1979), but also in terms of the inherent dialogue between various voices within a single utterance (see more in subchapter 4.3).

I have considered interview transcripts as dialogical texts, being aware that by this I have changed the medium of the communication from oral to written.

When we engage in transcription, we yield to a view of discourse as language -- the way we encounter it in the form of literate products and literary interpretations. . . . In fact, however, oral actions and interactions are limited to the immediate situation of the interlocutors; this ‘narrowness of the dialogical situation’ [see Freeman . . . 2004] is transformed when we fix it in recordings and translate it into written text. What can be ‘lost in translation’ is the non-fixity, the fleetingness and negotiability of the interactive situation as a whole (Bamberg 2004b:1).

Yet, risking the loss of the content not captured in an oral medium, I believe that the textual form enables me to look for the underlying ideological power relations that lay under the surface of the texts. In the fashion of Critical Discourse Analysis (see subchapter 4.3) I acknowledge that “texts are often sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance” (Wodak/Meyer 2009, 10).

4.2.3 Participant observation

Apart from interviewing and analyzing transcripts with CDA, practices of multiculturalism were also directly observed in this research. Textual material is supplemented by visual data, non-transcribed informal conversations of how the identified ideological cores are constructed in practice, observations, etc. I recorded my observations in two full notebooks of notes, what can be called a field diary. I noted my observations, impressions, possible links to theory, and simply wrote down my thoughts not to forget them. I used these notes to contextualize, supplement and illustrate the material I gathered through interviews, but some of it stands alone, without any interview material to form an argument.

I see participant observation as sharing the everyday experiences with the culture under investigation i.e. with the interlocutors and other members of the communities under study, which makes it possible to contextualize, examine and interpret their everyday activities, conversations and the more formal interviews. This is how in fact I understand the geertzian “thick description” (Geertz 1973). The discourses and practices I examine are social facts that are of great relevance to the community, and their anthropological examination puts them into a wider socio-cultural context (Papp 2007b). It is crucial to see that I do not explore practices, actions and behavior as such, but the way in which they are experienced:

Rather than using methods to uncover an objective reality, we can approach the study of human action as an endeavor to interpret such *experiential* realities that are simply lived and obscured in their taken-for-granted quality (Cresswell/Hawn 2012, n.p.).

When visiting schools, I have spent most of the time outside the classroom: in corridors, school yards, in front of schools, even in bathrooms (see Hromadzic 2011). I have also visited the extracurricular activities (workshops, folk dance practices, sports events, youth parliament sessions, etc.) of the interlocutors and other Hungarian youth in which they had a chance to interact with members of other ethnic groups. As these activities were mainly organized by or around schools and the interactions were in a way controlled, I also took part in

their entertainment and leisure activities (visiting cafes, bars, gatherings with friends, etc.) and observed the patterns and internal dynamics of interactions between Hungarian and young people and those from other ethnic communities. Photographs depicting the research sites and other elements that may be of importance for the research accompanied these observations. Also, in my own everyday life, especially in Kishegyes but in Lendva as well, I constantly used the opportunities to be around young people, in the streets, in shops, in public transport, when visiting friends, etc., and I used many of these occasions as research sites where I was spontaneously involved in as research sites and interpretive contexts. The result of such an analysis of text and context, discourse and practice is, I hope, “an enriched understanding of the text that we are interpreting: partnering discursive performance with experience to make explicit tacitly lived activity” (Cresswell/Hawn 2012, n.p.)

4.3 Methods of Data Analysis

4.3.1 *Discourse analysis*

In ethnographic studies, the method of discourse analysis is rarely made use of as such. This is a surprising fact given that a classical ethnographical postulate claims that

[t]here are three characteristics of ethnographic description: it is interpretative, what it is interpretative of is the flow of social discourse, and the interpretive involved consists in trying to rescue the “said” of such discourse from its perishing occasions and fix it in perusable terms... (Geertz 1973, 318).

Yet, ethnography and discourse analysis are seen as two non-related methods, rarely combined or merged. I, on the other hand, see ethnography and discourse analysis as two sides of the same coin: in a very general way, ethnography is a way of analyzing what people do, and discourse analysis as a means to explore what people say or write. Thus I attempt to go beyond this strict dichotomy of methods, even more so since I believe that all researchers who

deal with verbal utterances, i.e. studies relying on interviews, in their studies do discourse analysis in the broad sense of the concept: they select parts of the written or spoken text, set up a criteria for analysis, analyze, interpret and make conclusions that point outside the text itself. Thus in my dissertation I select a trend of discourse analysis, CDA (discussed in the next section), that I find the most suitable for my work, and use it in combination with other methods and other approaches. CDA has a fairly formalized process of analysis, and I find its systematic structure helpful in thinking about discourse in general and the task of the analysis in specific. It does not mean that I follow every step of the CDA method, but this is what I rely on the most when analyzing the interviews I have conducted with young Hungarian people in Kishegyes and Prekmurje.

Discourse analysis has been one of the most widely used methods in social science research. The positive effect of this is the constant development of its methodology, its sophistication and opening up of new terrains for its use. The negative consequence is that a confusion around the term and a proliferation of its meaning exist to the extent that it can induce very different applications. It is not a “hidden methodology”: transcripts of interviews which serve for the analysis are usually exposed to the reader and the results are discussed in light of the method of analysis. Yet, there is some vagueness around the method: the link between it and the results often remains implicit; it is many times the case that the guidelines along which the analysis was carried out seem covered.

Cultural anthropologists as well as linguistic anthropologists, are increasingly interested in recording and analyzing speech as a way to document the innovation, replication, and transformation of ideas in cultural processes, but they do not necessarily know how to make decisions or justify them in the various stages of data collection, processing and analysis: what to record, what to transcribe, how to transcribe, what to translate, and then what to do with the transcriptions generated. Finished analyses in our written ethnographies often provide only indirect clues to these processes (Philips 2013, 83).

I see the reason for this methodological inconsistency as a disciplinary problem: discourse analysis roots from linguistics but has been greatly detached from it, so in recent studies re-

searchers of social sciences engaging with discourse analysis are often not feeling completely “safe” in the zone of discourse which tackle issues that are deeply embedded in linguistic analysis. As Wodak and Meyer (2009) put it, the confusion around the term “discourse” derives from the proliferation of a linguistic term into the social sciences in general. Similarly, there is confusion of the linguistic term “narrative” (that will be further discussed later in this section) which has resulted in the use of the term for any form of discourse which has a minimal thematic coherence, while in linguistics it is strictly reserved for a very specific form of discourse that refers to a sequence of events with a complicating action (see Labov 1976, 1982).

To define discourse analysis, the first methodological problem to be solved is the definition of discourse itself. There is hardly any work in the social sciences that does not build on this notion at least partly, and yet it has become increasingly difficult to come up with a single and general definition of the concept. Broadly, discourses were defined by Foucault as “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (2002, 54). Foucault’s use of the term is all-encompassing, not limited to the verbal aspect of discourse, as I use it in my research. I treat discourse and practice as interrelated but not equivalent social actions. I restrict the term “discourse” for verbal, i.e. oral or written utterances. Acknowledging the legitimacy of a broader approach but finding a limited one more suitable for the object of my research, by discourse I understand the oral and written linguistic instances, while I see practice as the non-verbal manifestation of social interaction, i.e. behavior. Seeing the two as separate I am aware of the arbitrary and ambiguous nature of such a distinction, holding that the two aspects of my object of study and that one cannot be explored without the other but are separated for analytical purposes.

Specifically, I chose the method, or rather a toolbox of theoretical practices and instruments (Wodak/Meyer 2009) CDA provides to deal analytically with discourses I explore.

In his work, Bakhtin (1981, 1986) does not explicitly define discourse. He conceives language though not as a system of abstract grammatical categories but as ideologically saturated, a world-view, an opinion, serving a communicative function, always in relation to the other speaker(s) (1981). He defined the basic unit of language, the utterance, which is an individualized embodiment of language (1981, 1986).

Any utterance-- from a short (single-word) rejoinder in everyday dialogue to the large novel or scientific treatise has, so to speak, an absolute beginning and an absolute end: its beginning is presided by the utterances of others, and its end is followed by the responsive utterances of others (or, although it may be silent, others' active response understanding, or, finally, a responsive action based on this understanding) (Bakhtin 1986, 71).

The utterance is therefore social language: it involves at least two people communicating. Thus, similarly to discourse analysts, Bakhtin's conception of language is that of a social phenomenon.

Two main concepts Bakhtin introduces to discourse theory are heteroglossia and dialogism (1981). Heteroglossia is the feature of discourse that it expresses many different voices, which are sometimes contradicting sometimes in accordance, whereby every voice is seen as expression of certain worldview or ideological standpoint. Utterances coming from the one same person are often heteroglossic, as we in them lend voices to different standpoints and within our utterances negotiate the meaning. On the other hand, dialogism is the term Bakhtin used to explain the synchronic relationship between various discourses: other than being shaped in every moment in time by discourses from another times, discourse is always already an exchange of utterances between various speakers and listeners, real or imaginary. Every linguistic utterance, regardless of grammatically and conceptually belonging to a single speaker, is a dialogue and cannot be looked at taken out of its context and away from its relationship with discourses of other speakers and listeners who are present or absent in the specific situation. Any speaker

[p]resupposes not only the existence of the language system he is using, but also the existence of preceding utterances – his own and others' – with which his given utterance enters into one kind of relation or another (builds on them, polemicalizes with them, or simply presumes that they are already known to the listener). Any utterance is a link in a very complexly organized chain of other utterances (1986, 69).

Even monologic discourses are responding to, quoting directly or indirectly, are in agreement, partial agreement or disagreement with other discourses by others at different times, places, from different perspectives, to a different audience and in a different context. For instance a statement during an interview about interethnic relationships in Prekmurje is on one hand, a statement to be interpreted not independent of context but as an utterance aimed at me as an audience in particular: as a researcher, as being someone whose mother tongue is also Hungarian, as someone from a different country, as someone who is also a minority Hungarian, me as a woman older than the informant, etc., but also me as a representative of the academic community, as a doctoral student of the University of Ljubljana – thus also a wider imagined audience. The same utterances from the interview may also contain references to discourses on multiculturalism heard at school, spoken about on TV, written in the Hungarian newspaper in Slovenia, discussed with parents who have a certain opinion about it, and with friends who may not share this opinion, etc., which is an example of dialogism.

What I am in fact interested in is the nature of discourses emerging in a given context (Petrović 2009a). In her book about the discursive construction of ethnic identities, Wodak starts with a claim that national identities “are produced and reproduced, as well as transformed and dismantled discursively” (2000, 4). In my research I hold that other than through actions and interactions, discourses are the other major tool of negotiating and constructing ethnicity and. Similarly to her (Wodak et al. 2009), I take a three-fold perspective on the construction of ethnic identity: historical, socio-political and linguistic.

4.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

The path I follow in exploring the discourses construction of ethnic identity is the one taken by Wodak, a major scholar of discourse and one of the founders of CDA, in the above-mentioned *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (Wodak et al. 2009). I combine the CDA approach used by Wodak and her colleagues (Fairclough/Wodak 1997; Wodak/Meyer 2009; Wodak et al. 2009) and the more content-oriented structural approach of Schiffrin (1994). The reason for this merge of approaches is that for the purposes of the re-

search I need a methodology that is flexible enough to enable exploring semi-public discourses both in terms of their thematic content and ideological cores but also one that makes a structured linguistic analysis possible especially in terms of discursive strategies, and linguistic means of realization.

It is very difficult, if not impossible to come up with a single clear-cut conceptualization of discourse based on the CDA approach. Rather, it is to be used on a pick-and-choose basis by various researchers in various field of study for various purposes. All CDA approaches though have a basic assumption that there is a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the contexts, the institutions and social structures which frame it (Wodak/Meyer 2009). CDA emphasizes exploring language in order to express hidden ideologies and the ways in which they reproduce power relations (ibid). It is a useful method to account for the discursive representations members of a group share with other members, such as knowledge, attitudes, values, norms, ideologies, narratives, strategies, etc. (van Dijk 2009). CDA understands ideologies to be coherent and relatively stable sets of beliefs and values that guide individuals' evaluations and actions (Wodak/Meyer 2009), i.e. organized sets of representations of and attitudes towards the social world (van Dijk 1993), while it sees power according to a Weberian definition as "the chance that an individual in a social relationship can achieve his/her will despite the resistance of others" (Wodak/Meyer 2009, 9). CDA scholars are aware of the limitations of the approach itself: as van Dijk (2009) notes, it is often impossible to "read off" ideologies from discourse. Wodak and Meyer (2009) believe that discourse is a result of collusion: the conditions of political, social and linguistic practices impose themselves "behind the back" of subjects who do not understand "the game". I believe, however, that this argument firstly underestimates the power of individual agency to transform and create discourses, and secondly it might overestimate the responsibility of a certain (elite) group for the manipulation of the members of society by the means of discourse. I believe that an individual is not lost in the labyrinth of all-encompassing ideological discourse produced by elites without power to break through it or find their way out of it. In the world of programmed ideological discursive systems there is always a chance for a discursive incident that may undermine the whole ideological construction.

CDA's main focus is on public texts, while my research explores semi-private ones; also, CDA is mainly interested in political discourse, whereas my dissertation targets the everyday and mainstream understandings of multiculturalism. These limitations of CDA's applicability to my work are complemented by "softer" approaches to discourse analysis described by Schiffrin (1994) as various schools of discourse analysis: speech act theory, interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication, pragmatics, conversation analysis and variation analysis. Without the aim of following one of these approach specifically, I still differentiate between formalist and functionalist approaches to discourse; the first one understanding it as a unit of language above the sentence level, while the other as language in use (*ibid.*). The type of discourse analysis I do in this dissertation accept the formalized nature of language but focuses on its functions. Analyzing discourse thus means analyzing the use of language, taking into account the purposes people use it for.

Thus in my research I analyze discourses according to a scheme that contains several levels (Wodak/Meyer 2009); however, I take over only some of the elements of the scheme, those that are of primary interest for the construction of the cultural boundary between the ethnic groups and the everyday experience of multiculturalism. The analytical method according to which these are explored is inspired by the one used by Ilić (2014) in her study on the older generation of Serbs in Hungary, which in turn is adapted from Wodak et al. (2009). This framework is adapted to serve the needs and aims of this study. As the study is less linguistic in its orientation than Ilić's work and less theory-focused than Wodak's, the analytical categories are designed to be more ethnography-oriented than the ones in their works. The step-by-step method of analysis is thus as follows:

(1) Starting from the general and moving towards the specific, the first level of analysis involves identifying ideological cores, which I see as what Tsitsipis calls ideological nuclei: products of discourse that index structures of power in a systematic and coherent way(1998). In the empirical part of the dissertation, each thematic unit is discussed in one section.

(2) As the second step, within the ideological cores, some of the thematic units are extracted, i.e. content that is developed around certain ideological cores.

(3) Within these thematic units, I further identify themes and analyze discursive strategies employed by interlocutors in relation to them. I identified macro-strategies that are general and overarching within a thematic unit, and narrower strategies that are employed within a theme. A strategy is understood to be a “more or less accurate plan adopted to achieve a certain kind of objective (political, personal, psychological, etc.)” (Wodak et al. 2009, 31-32). They may be conscious or unconscious, and serve a purpose of establishing, reproducing, transforming and/or deconstructing an ethnic identity. Discourses about nations and national identity rely on at least four types of discursive strategies:

- (a) constructive strategies – refer to how national identity is established, e.g. by promoting unification, solidarity or differentiation from others,
- (b) perpetuation strategies – refer to how national identity is reproduced, practiced and preserved,
- (c) transformative strategies – refer to how national identities are changed,
- (d) destructive strategies – refer to how national identities are dismantled (Wodak et al. 2009). Wodak (2009) (Wodak et al. 2009) also distinguishes among strategies based on the interlocutor’s aim that they wish to achieve. In this regard, strategies can also be:
 - (e) nomination – naming persons, things or actions,
 - (f) predication – the qualification of persons, things or actions,
 - (g) argumentation – justifying claims or actions,
 - (h) perspectivization – locating the interlocutors’ point of view,
 - (i) intensification or mitigation – modifying (strengthening or weakening) the force of the utterances.

Other frequent strategies are that of

- (j) assimilation – creating sameness or homogeneity in reference to a group.
- (k) dissimilation – creating difference or heterogeneity within or among subjects.

To illustrate the strategies employed by the interlocutors, I quote utterances (U), shorter or longer excerpts in which they employ some of the strategies listed above. I understand utterances as “units of language production (whether spoken or written) which are inherently contextualized” (Schiffrin 1994, 41). In the empirical part, I number utterances (as U1, U2, U3 etc.) throughout the dissertation. Note that some utterances are fully or partly repeated

because they are related to more than one theme or strategy -- in these cases I assign them a new number every time I cite them in order to make reading easier.

(4) In some utterances I point out the means of realization, i.e. the specific linguistic ways in which the given objective is achieved. By linguistic means I understand the use of linguistic devices such as deictics (pronouns that point to the location, protagonists, time, etc. of the story and that cannot be understood without the knowledge of the context), narratives (sequences of events with a complicating action (Labov 1976, 1982), to be discussed in more length below), direct quotes and indirect speech, ethnonyms, hedging devices (using a personal disclaimer and a clause that contradicts that, such as “I am not a nationalist, but... ”), stereotypes, comparisons, attributes, qualifiers, repetitions, adverbs, contextualization cues, etc.

Narratives are given a special place in my research, as the main means of realization through which ethnic conflict and discrimination are conceptualized, and are devoted a separate subchapter, 5.5.2. Like discourse, the concept of narratives is very broadly understood in social science. In a very simple way of putting it, narratives are stories; their composition is similar to that of a fable (Ricoeur 1992). Studying stories is important because all research that analyzes narratives take it as a basic assumption that the concept of a story exists universally in the human mind and that “telling stories is one of the significant ways individuals construct and express meaning” (Mishler 1986, 67). The main function of narratives is therefore to provide unity and coherence to human experience.

The fable composition aims to synthesise heterogeneous elements by combining heterogeneous factors in linked plots and events to form a narrative. . . The narrative configuration has to mediate between concordance and discordance in such a way that the story told can be understood as a whole by its recipients (Wodak et al. 2009, 14).

In my research I understand narratives as one of the linguistic means of realization that I put a special emphasis on, and follow a socio-linguistic definition of narratives, developed by Labov and Waletzky (2003), understanding them to be “one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is in-

ferred) actually occurred” (Labov 1999, 225). The two main features of narratives are hence their orientation towards the past and their temporal order. In their structure, narratives contain at least two temporary ordered narrative clauses that describe the complicating action (that answer the question “then what happened?” (Labov 1999, 234)). However, narratives may contain other elements too: an abstract, orientation, evaluation, a result or resolution and coda. They answer the questions “what was this about?”, “who, when, what, where?”, “so what?”, “what finally happened” respectively, while the purpose of the coda is “signaling that the narrative is finished” (Labov 1999, 229). The abstract is thus a summary of the story to be elaborated in the complicating action, the orientation identifies the time and the place, the actors and their activities in the story, the evaluation is “used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its *raison d’être*: why it was told, and what the narrator is getting at” (Labov 1999, 231) and finally the result is the marking of the termination of the series of events. A subtype of narratives Labov and Waletzky (2003) call personal experience narratives (PEN), a narrative structure the interlocutor uses to recapitulate their personal experiences.

Labov’s conceptualization of narratives as used in the course of interviews has been criticized mainly on two grounds: first, for providing a highly idealized understanding of the interview situation where the researcher does the asking and the interlocutor does the talking, not taking into account the interactive nature of this communication (Polanyi 1979; Schegloff 2003) and second, for the lack of a more thorough accounting of positionality (Bamberg 2004a, 2004b). While both critiques are grounded, I argue that the type of narratives analyzed in this dissertation is almost close to the “classic ideal type” narratives Labov defined. While the context and the position of both the interlocutors and myself the researcher naturally have an effect on the interpretation, I have attempted to interfere as little as possible with their flow. The narratives elicited for the purposes of the research do not have a pretense of natural everyday speech; they are part of a semi-private discourse an interview situation entails, they are prompted and are interpreted as such.

II Practices and discourses on multiculturalism among Hungarian youth: two case studies

5 Multiculturalism and ethnic boundaries in Mali Idoš/Kishegyes

5.1 Kishegyes: Staying or going

In the beginning of September 2012 I was arriving to Kishegyes from Budapest by car. At that point I have not visited the village for longer than two years. A friend of a friend was driving me and during the trip he told me about his family, from which it became clear that they are in a difficult material situation. Upon entering the village, my first impressions were related to poverty: the way people were dressed, the goods they were carrying from their shopping, the grey streets – it was far from the idyllic village I remembered from my childhood. On one of the first days I bought 5-6 Euros worth of household items at the market, and the seller told me “thank you for the purchase, you made my day”. Poverty and unemployment came up in all conversations and in the first few weeks I felt embarrassed by my lifestyle I otherwise considered modest. Even though most villagers knew that I had some family ties to Kishegyes, the fact that my dog Wanda was my only companion made me stand out, and, just like Ghodsee’s dog accompanying her to the Muslim village in Turkey she studied, I came to realize that Wanda “enjoyed social and economic privileges systematically denied” (Ghodsee 2006, 13) to the human inhabitants of the village. In a way though my dog contributed to making me accepted in the village since she was originally from Kishegyes and pretty soon after my arrival I started writing about village life from a dog’s perspective to *Szó-Beszéd*, the local newspaper -- this way, similarly to Ghodsee’s case, the dog and myself allowed the locals “to become the ethnographers [and] I had become the object of study” for them (ibid.)

In the micro-world of Hungarians from Vojvodina the homeland is often a more limited geographical and mental space than in the imaginarium of the majority nation (Papp Z. 2016; Radivojević/Vučević 2008). This may be due to reduced possibilities in terms of traveling and/or a lesser amount of ties to other parts of the country or even the province due to linguistic and cultural barriers. Therefore, as I learned, for many of my informants and other locals as well, Kishegyes means more than a village of birth or a place of residence but rather constitutes the “Hungarian world” as such, a term used by Brubaker et al. (2006) in their book about a Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár in Transylvania, Romania to denote a social space characterized by Hungarian language and culture that members of the Hungarian community inhabit. The opposition between the experience of being in the village and in other places outside Kishegyes is the first ideological core that I have encountered and that I discuss.

Staying in the village or moving away is one of the main common-places of life in Kishegyes for the young people – I see and analyze it as an ideological core crucial for the discourses about the self and the own ethnic groups for youth in Kishegyes. Related to the dilemma of staying in or going away from their home village are several strategies by which my interlocutors express their attitude towards it: constructing, transforming, perspectivation and predication. In some of the utterances, comparison is utilized as a means of realization. I am discussing these in the section that follows.

Lack of opportunities, both material and other, such as for entertainment, cultural events, meeting new people, etc. has been the first topic that came up in almost all interviews conducted, as the conversations would usually start with talking about life in the village. In describing Kishegyes, the most common ways to refer to it were using adjectives associated with depression and boredom by way of utterances such as “a bit too gray” (BA), “it's a dusty little village” (VE), or as another interlocutor expressed: “In the evenings the village is dead like in a horror movie.” (ZB)

During our conversations, several of the interlocutors talked about Kishegyes from the perspective of someone who has left or who will be leaving the place. This is a perspectivation discursive strategy according to Wodak et al. (2009), in which interlocutors represent Kishegyes from the perspective of someone who does not live in the village anymore and whose

orientation lays in emigrating from there. The following utterances are examples of this:

U1: It is good to come back here, I think, for a person who moves from here. (BA)

U2: People would rather leave from here. (RM)

U3: Everyone wants to study, to get a good job and leave Kishegyes. (VE)

The lack of opportunities is seen as also arising from a generational conflict. As PG put it “In Kishegyes the older people are in charge. They are narrow-minded and jealous.” The lack of opportunities, especially for entertainment, is often seen as the elderly “overtaking” the few pubs that exist in the village. Indeed, during the days no young people can be seen in places of

Photo 5.6 Objects on display in one of the interlocutors' room. Author's photo, reproduced here with the interlocutor's permission.



entertainment, and other than lack of time and money for having drinks in a café the reason that many interlocutors do not frequent them is that they do not want to see

drunk elderly men when they go out. As VE said, “there is no nightlife, just forty-year-old alcoholic men”.

For reasons discussed later, the most commonplace young people consider moving away after finishing secondary school is Hungary, even though some of them mentioned Western –European countries as places they would like to live in. Regardless of the place where they would like to live though, one of the linguistic means of realization in constructing Kishegyes as a boring village lacking opportunities is comparing (future) life elsewhere to life in Kishegyes. In the following utterance the interlocutor refers to the plans for leaving the place by using a perspectivization strategy positioning herself in relation to the village.

U4: Me also [laughing], I also don't plan to live my life here. I don't feel that I get a head start or something, it would be easier to assert myself in another place." (BA)

Another discursive strategy young people use to refer to Kishegyes is predication, by which interlocutors attribute negative characterizations to the village. An example of this strategy is:

U5: I miss that spinning, the opportunities, the places to go out to. (BA)

In other two utterances living in Kishegyes is set in opposition to progress (U6) and connected to economic problems (U7), and thereby comparison as a means of realization is employed:

U6: Everyone wants to progress, to develop, and here it isn't very possible, that's the problem. (BA)

U7: There are great economic problems, as if it was Africa. This is one of the reasons why people don't go out, they have no money, and that's why there are no places to go out to in Kishegyes. (ZB)

In constructing a self-identity with relation to one's place of, the latter is usually seen as defining the first. Even though seen as a stable category, the "home" is a feature that may be changing throughout generations. When speaking about his family, GZ tells this:

U8: My mother has five siblings, and all... not all, one of them lives in Hungary, but the other four all so to stay got stuck here. And they don't look at it like this, but they have such a philosophy that this is my homeland (*haza*), and it is hard to separate from my homeland, but I tell... I am trying to tell them that this is stupid because... still... I think I am young enough to live much longer somewhere else than what I have lived here, and... feel a different place as my

home. The fact where I was born, I think it does not seal one's destiny at all. I really don't like the view that I was born here, so I can't... I am not allowed to do anything. I know that my mother and her siblings had problems with the Serbian language all her life . . . even though they shouldn't because my mother is a teacher, her sister/brother¹⁰ works in a bank, the third sister/brother works in the municipality office, so they all communicate with Serbian people but I know that... that they are insecure with regard to Serbian, there is always something that they are not sure if they said right. This comes up already when I am asking for my mom's help in the Serbian homework, so there is always something she is insecure of. And she won't admit that... that she should also have gone abroad. (GZ)

This young man struggles between the “philosophy that this is my homeland (*haza*), and it is hard to separate from my homeland” and hopes of living “somewhere else”. Unlike his parents, he believes that “the fact where I was born, I think it does not seal one's destiny at all”. This as a transformative discursive strategy, it does alter the discourse seen as typical for the older generation, namely that one’s homeland determines their future place of residence. He deconstructs the worldviews and life choices he considers traditional such as staying in Kishegyes, and he proposes new forms such as going away and accepting a new place as his home. In this utterance the concept of home is transformed from an inherited place to place by choice. It is also interesting that the main argument for insecurity is found in the insufficient competence in Serbian language, i.e. in identification of language competence with integration, which is the topic I am going to discuss in the next section.

5.2 Serbian language as means and obstacle

There has a been a tendency in the public discourse of the Vojvodina Hungarian community to refer to so-called self-ghettoization (*öngettósodás*) (see Losoncz 2015) of the group. While the concept of ghettoization has a spatial connotation, self-ghettoization is a social strategy present among Hungarians in Vojvodina. Even though the concept also refers to a confinement of

¹⁰In Hungarian there is one word for siblings of both genders.

space, it focuses on the self-restriction of the social environment. This ideology is based on the community's inward-looking attitude, its grievances against the existing social structure dominated by the Serbian majority, the perceived threat of assimilation of the ethnic group, self-victimization and a feeling of powerlessness. It is a resistance strategy that discourages cooperation with members of other ethnic groups under the auspices of it not representing the community's interests. As one of Papp's interlocutor notes: "If we don't ghettoize, our grandchildren won't speak Hungarian. This is the catch, a tragedy, just think of it!"¹¹ (Papp 2007). Self-ghettoization is thus both motivated by and leads to not only social but also linguistic segregation. It entails practices of the community that Dimić (1997) described as characteristic for the post-Trianon times: avoiding conflict and acting within the boundaries of the ethnic group. It is a social strategy that can be seen both as expression of nationalism, in the sense of ascribing higher value to the in-group and as resistance, in the sense that the group withdrawal within its own boundaries is the response to institutional practices of the mainstream society that ascribe the group low social status. I am going to look at the result of the self-ghettoization, that is characteristic of places like Kishegyes where the minority community (note that a majority is never engaging in self-ghettoization) is big enough in its size to at least partly rely solely in its members and which has an institutional setting in which it can do so, but also a constant presence of an Other from whom they have to protect their interests.

As the reason for the lack of ethnic mixing, interlocutors often mention the lack of means of communication. Assessing one's own knowledge of Serbian was one of my questions in the interviews I conducted with young people. The topic was usually one that interlocutors spent quite some time elaborating on. As very few members of the Serbian community speak Hungarian, the only possible means of communication is Serbian. In Kishegyes, as I have known prior to my fieldwork, this presents a problem: inhabitants of Kishegyes are known for having difficulties speaking Serbian even compared to the neighboring Feketić or Bačka Topola, that both have a more balanced ethnic makeup (i.e. Hungarians are not in majority or are only slightly so). I also remember that for young people from ethnically more varied or dominantly Serbian environments like myself, to find out that someone cannot speak the state language was something incomprehensible and also something to look down on. Adding to it the

¹¹Quote translated by the author of this dissertation.

experience that members of the majority stigmatize those who lack the knowledge, the issue is by no means banal and is one of the most important factors of ethnicity construction among Hungarians in Kishegyes. As one of the teachers in a school I visited explained, the (education) system builds on the fact that Hungarian students do not speak Serbian. It often happens, she told me, that the same teachers teach in both streams and they give the students identical tests that only differ in their language. Yet, it almost never happens that students from one stream ask the test questions from the stream that has already had the test, “and that’s what the teachers count on”.

The lack of knowledge of Serbian language is thus another ideological core around which themes are centered and discursive strategies are employed. Within this ideological core, interlocutors’ discourses utilized the macro-strategy of perpetuation of the existing social system that rests on ethnic division. By this strategy, they maintain and reproduce the social, temporal and spatial division among languages and their speakers. Below, I distinguish some of themes within the ideological core. These themes are employing a comparison of their own language comprehension to performance of Serbian, describing their competence of Serbian language, the curriculum of Serbian language as a school subject, the textbooks, the teachers, knowledge of Serbian in the family, emotions associated to speaking Serbian, the comparison of Serbian language to English, Serbian language as the barrier of relationships with Serbian peers, their extra effort invested in learning Serbian and Serbian as the main barrier of higher education in Serbia. I then identify and present some of the strategies (within the macro-strategy of perpetuation) and means of realization linked to the perception of the state language among my interlocutors. The strategies are dissimulation from Serbian language and its speakers, interlocutors constructing themselves as incompetent speakers, predication, i.e. the qualification of curriculum, the textbooks and the teachers of Serbian as a school subject and aslo of Serbian language, a temporal and a spatial perspectivation, and the legitimization of their incompetence in Serbian and their higher education aspirations in Hungary. The most common means of realization are comparisons, narratives and hedging (mostly expressed as conditional structures plus “but”, e.g. “I would like to, but...”, “It would be nice, but...”).

Interlocutors would often reply very briefly to the direct question of evaluating their knowledge of Serbian, and almost always negatively related to their performance but positively

referring to their passive competence in Serbian language. The comparison of their own understanding and speaking Serbian is therefore a theme that has emerged during interviews. Within this, interlocutors many times utilize dissimilation from Serbian language and its speakers, and comparison between understanding Serbian and speaking Serbian.

U9: Well, it needs to be noted that I understand almost everything in Serbian but I can't speak. (CL)

U10: Let's say that the majority of things, most of it, I understand, but when it comes to answering... For instance the suffixes, it is a problem, and sometimes it's interesting that I know the word and it's simply like forgetting it, I can't remember it. (CE)

U11: My problem with [foreign] languages is that I can't really speak. I understand and all, but to speak, it's more difficult. (CM)

U12: I understand Serbian but I don't really speak. (LAN)

U13: I: The thing is that some things I understand, but if I have to answer, then I freeze. But if someone is speaking really fast, then I don't even understand.

R: Are you shy to speak or you really don't know?

I: I don't know, and sometimes I am shy because I freeze, and then the words don't come out of my throat. (LA)

U14: I understand but I can't always speak. (PR)

Another theme that interlocutors often referred to was describing their own language competence of Serbian. While doing so, they always constructed themselves as incompetent speakers of Serbian or speakers with limited language competence.

U15: I always say that I speak Serbian badly, but I would like to learn, so they [Serbian-speakers] know that and explain the things to me. (CE)

U16: I can speak [Serbian] on an amateur... on the level of making friends. . . . I do speak it of course, with acquaintances, former team-mates, when I meet them then I talk to them two-three words. (HA)

U17: I knew how to say who I was, where I was from, but even that pretty anxiously. . . . It was very difficult, the first month [of school in Serbian]. (VJ)

I got to learn that the phrase “I don’t speak Serbian” denotes various things: that the interlocutors’ vocabulary is poor, or their grammar incorrect, or that they do not feel confident enough to speak, or that they refuse to speak, or any combination of these. The weekly two classes of Serbian as a second language and a few occasional very brief encounters with Serbian people in a shop, some service, in the street, on the bus, in the dormitory or the school corridor, as confirmed by informal conversations and observations, are basically the only possibilities to communicate in Serbian. After referring to understanding and speaking Serbian in one way or another, interlocutors would almost always explain the reasons why they do not speak Serbian, and thereby employ justification, a sub-group of argumentation strategies, as well as a predication, i.e. disursive qualification of practices, persons or objects, to qualify the school curriculum, teaching aids or teachers of Serbian.

Regarding the school curriculum of Serbian as a second language in secondary schools, for most of my interlocutors it is effectively a foreign language. They perceived the curriculum and the methods as inadequate. Conversely, Serbian language is not a language that existed in real life for them, but a school subject. The classes were often either difficult for them to follow, or, if the teacher had lower criteria, felt to be useless. In the following I am outlining the most frequently discussed themes in referring to the reasons for interlocutors’ lack of knowledge of Serbian language. Interlocutors, in these themes use predication, but also justification to legitimize their own perceived incompetence in Serbian language. In all cases, the predication is a negative one in that the practice, person or object is seen as incapable for teaching the students Serbian. The first of these is the inadequacy of the curriculum for learning Serbian, which was considered as not serious enough, or on the contrary, too difficult for learning the state language.

U18: And at school, I couldn't have [learned Serbian] because what we did was to read a text and then just answer the questions... Of course the teacher answered, / we just wrote it down, / and then... we learned it by heart / and had a test. So we didn't learn from this. ... We should have maybe learned it more seriously, talk and so, not what you can learn by heart. (HF)

This interlocutor uses a narrative to describe her stream's typical way of learning Serbian. The clauses of the narrative are marked with a dividing slash (/) between them. The result of this learning process is the resolution of the narrative: "So we didn't learn from this."

U19: I learn Serbian at school but I'm not satisfied with the curriculum, it's weird that there are words in the textbook that even my Serbian friends don't know. I have been learning Serbian for nine years now but what I know I haven't learned at school. (KN)

Another theme was lack of modern teaching aids for learning Serbian. BA described textbooks as inadequate and un motivating as follows:

U20: a thousand years old texts that they are trying to infuse into us and because of this I lose my will for it (BA)

Teachers were also often considered incompetent for transferring the knowledge of Serbian to their students, which is another instance of predication and justification.

U21: The Serbian teacher we have, she can only speak Serbian perfectly, and she can't speak Hungarian. And she has weird things, and well... so... very different views on things and well, she's different, I don't know... (CE)

U22: And she [the teacher] speaks only Serbian, and that's good. And we learn poems, and grammar and the like. For instance we have problems with grammar because sometimes even

those who speak Serbian perfectly can't translate to us what that is that we are talking about. The teacher is trying to... she's using her hands and legs, she wants to explain what it is about, but we don't understand that word, and she tries to say similar words, and then we put it together. (CL)

U23: The truth is that those who thought me so far were not the most suitable. But this year I got a good teacher, so I think with him/her we are going to learn better. (CM)

As seen, interlocutors refer to themselves in relation to Serbian as a school subject by strategies of legitimization and predication, they also include the members of their families in their perspective on the topic. In relation to the knowledge of Serbian in the family, perspectivization is employed. Through comparison interlocutors put the learning and knowing of Serbian language into a temporal perspective of “then” and “now”, which in itself can be seen as perspectivization. The following two utterances are examples of that.

U24: And in my generation, if I hear how it was back then, then in the elementary school this Serbian education is not being taken seriously either. (BA)

U25: In my parents' time there were better teachers of Serbian at the school in Kishegyes. (PO)

As mentioned already, Serbian is perceived primarily as a school subject, and when asked about the knowledge of Serbian, most of the interlocutors' first association was their grade in Serbian at school. The arguments for not speaking the language are looked for in the school curriculum, the teaching methods and in the teachers; interlocutors attributed negative qualities to “thousand year old textbooks”, only reading “a text and then just answer the questions”, learning “by heart”, “not the most suitable” teachers, etc. Interlocutors are aware though that the environment outside the school is also equally if not even more crucial in mastering or not mastering the majority language, thus they often compare themselves to their friends and classmates who come from a family and an environment that offers them an opportunity to learn Serbian. They again use comparison to put their knowledge of Serbian into perspective in

relation to that of their family members and peers. Additionally, the interlocutor of U26 uses a conditional structure (“it should have been easier for me”) in combination with hedging (“but it isn’t”) to refer to her lack of knowledge of Serbian. In their utterances, interlocutors almost always connect language competence to ethnic membership.

U26: My father was a resident of Vrbas and he speaks Serbian perfectly and everything, actually [laughing] it should have been easier for me, but it isn’t. (BA)

U27: My father is half Bunjevac, half Hungarian . . . my Bunjevac grandmother spoke Hungarian to me too. (GZ)

U28: There are two-three kids [in the class] who know [Serbian] perfectly... either from Topolya or Feketics, mainly those who have someone Serbian in the family or among the relatives, those. (CL)

U29: In the elementary school, those who knew Serbian, one of their parents was Serbian. (LA)

Yet, the above show that family is not seen as an environment to practice language skills, but as a place from where language knowledge is either inherited or not. This essentialist approach is in line with perceiving identities, and language along with it as “either/or” – clear-cut and separated. Language knowledge is either there or it is not, just like one is either Hungarian or not. Informal discourses of ethnic identity are like the official discourse on multiculturalism: with bounded and essentialized identities that have almost no possibility to mix or to have hybrid forms.

Lacking knowledge of Serbian, as shown, is seen to have institutional reasons. However, language has not only a referential function but others as well, including the emotive one (Jakobson 1960). Verbal messages in which the emotive function is the dominant one have the addressee, i.e. the interlocutor in its center. In the following, I am presenting utterances that trigger the emotive function of language. When language was the topic of the conversations, interlocutors expressed emotions such as shame, insecurity, lack of motivation, aversion and laughter. In the following paragraphs, I am discussing these. Being ashamed when speaking

Serbian because their language skills were not good enough or for fear of being mocked at was one of the emotions that interlocutors referred to. As in Hungarian language standard Hungarian is seen as the only correct form and as the language culture is a purist one (Gal 2006; Lai-honen 2009), this language attitude influences Hungarian native speakers' attitude to learning Serbian in that they aim to master the language perfectly before speaking with confidence. In the utterances below, interlocutors refer to the emotive function of language and they employ legitimization to refer to the emotions speaking Serbian triggers in them.

U30: I am trying to [speak Serbian] but because I don't like to make mistakes I rather don't speak because I don't want to be laughed at or something. So I know it's not a big deal because they would correct me or anything, but I rather won't. (CL)

U31: It [being thought Serbian by a Serbian friend] was going on for two days, but I felt ashamed... I don't know, I was ashamed, I was afraid that I'll say it incorrectly or something, he/she will laugh at me, even if he/she said he/she won't laugh at me, but still... (CE)

U32: I had to speak Serbian to the landlords' kids when I went on holidays in Montenegro. I felt so embarrassed that I had to gesture because I really didn't know Serbian. (PO)

U33: Now I start not be ashamed to speak Serbian. I had a fear because I was often laughed at when I said something wrong. (PO)

U34: The problem is that I don't like to speak Serbian because I don't know when I make a mistake in terms of grammar, and then I start it a bit... hesitantly. (PE)

Another expressive reaction in relation to learning Serbian was that of the feeling of insecurity when speaking Serbian. Similarly to the feeling of shame, it comes from interlocutors' negative evaluation of their own language competence and their construction of themselves as incompetent speakers and their dissimulation from Serbian language.

U35: They [her mother and her colleagues] are insecure with regard to Serbian, there is always

something that they are not sure if they had said right. This comes up already when I am asking for mom's help in the Serbian homework, so there is always something she is insecure in. (GZ)

The reasons for the insufficient knowledge of Serbian are seen as either institutional and/or personal, resulting in refusal to speak the majority language. I have spoken to some people in Kishegyes who claimed that they do not even want to learn the language. It is too easy to deem these sort of statement as nationalist: even though they contain some negative sentiment towards Serbian language which is inseparable from negative sentiment towards the nation, it is necessary to explore the more complex picture of the discursive tools by which this refusal to speak or learn Serbian is expressed and constructed. Apart from shame and insecurity, interlocutors mentioned several times the lack of motivation they feel to speak Serbian. This is also a legitimization strategy, as it provides justification for their lack of knowledge of Serbian language.

U36: I don't actually [laughing] make myself to sit and finally learn it, I don't want it. (BA)

U37: a thousand years old texts that they are trying to infuse into us and because of this I lose my will for it (BA)

U38: In the elementary school this Serbian education is not being taken seriously either, so we also don't... don't take it seriously. (BA)

Another interlocutor expressed her aversion to speaking Serbian. This is a legitimization as well, while narrative is the means of realization.

U39: I: The others, I think, don't really want to learn Serbian. I have a classmate who went to study in Hungary, well, they moved there, and for instance he/she is like "Serbian – no". He/She doesn't want to, and well... I don't know... It's strange.

R: And do you want to?

I: [laughing] I don't want to. But the basics, I would like to. So that if I for instance get lost in Subotica, I can... (LA)

Interlocutors cite the education system not only to be bad for learning Serbian, but also not motivating. In effect, what I saw in Kishegyes was that most of the young people indeed did not feel comfortable speaking Serbian and were not motivated to learn it: not only did they have no opportunities to speak it, but also no stimulation to do so. In the village, everything is taking place in Hungarian, and outside of the village, they were moving in a restricted Hungarian space, with little need to communicate in Serbian. As one of the teachers I interviewed put it, “it makes one vulnerable to speak in a language they do not speak properly; it is stressful, so it takes great courage to step out of one’s comfort zone and do it.”

So far I described interlocutors referring to emotions when the theme of speaking Serbian came up. They expressed feeling uneasy about not socializing with Serbian peers, as if they felt it was contradicting what was expected from them. This ambiguous feeling may arise from their everyday experience and the official discourse of multiculturalism that prescribes equality and communication among various ethnic groups, but which does not take into account the fact that if there is no language, there is no communication. Another emotive function of language that surfaced in the interviews was laughter. However, unlike shame, insecurity, lack of motivation or aversion, laughter was not being referred to, it was performed during the interviews. Gumperz (2002) sees laughter as a contextualization cue: it signals a certain context in which the utterance is to be interpreted. This context may be irony, in which the utterance is not to be taken at face value, an experience shared by the interviewer and the interviewee, emphasizing the common background of the two (“you know what I mean”), or it may signal the boundary of discourse, an unspoken politically incorrect or embarrassing utterance.

U40: My father was a resident in Vrbas and he speaks Serbian perfectly and everything, actually [*laughing*] it should have been easier for me, but it isn’t. (BA)

U41: I don’t actually [*laughing*] make myself to sit and finally learn it [Serbian], I don’t want it. (BA)

U42: Well, generally, I don't really notice that for instance... From one class one or two people maybe [make friends with Serbian peers], but there is no real urge to make friends [*laughing*] or I don't know... (BA)

U43: I wouldn't say that there is animosity between us [Hungarians and Serbs], because there isn't, but somehow there isn't... there isn't... like I'd go there and we have a chat [*laughing*]. (BA)

U44: If I liked that [non-Hungarian] person and so, it [the relationship] would work out, and if I was good at the language [*laughing*] then I think there would be no problem with that. (BA)

U45: I don't think I can assert myself if I don't understand completely [*laughing*] what is expected and the like. (BA)

U46: R: And do you want to [speak better Serbian]?

I: [*laughing*] I don't want to. But the basic, I would like to. So that if I for instance get lost in Subotica, I can... (LA)

Knowledge of Serbian was often compared to knowledge of other languages learned at school, English and German. This is predication in which Serbian as a language is qualified and attributed low value. Comparison is the means of realization to achieve this strategy. From this comparison, foreign languages (even though in practice Serbian was also considered as a foreign, not a second language) would even come out in a better position. For instance GZ told me in the interview that he read in English, went to private English lessons, he really wanted to learn English. His German, on the other hand, he claimed, was as bad as his Serbian. He was interested in German still more than in Serbian but he thought it was too late to learn it even though he saw more future in German-speaking countries. They were considered more useful and in general valued more than Serbian on the global linguistic market. This hierarchy of languages is related to the frequency and quality of social interactions in which Serbian is used and also to the feeling of the connectedness to the state to which the language is related or, as in GZ's case, to where one imagined his/her future.

U47: I rather try to focus on English and develop it; I think it would do me more good, and that I feel it's sticking to me, so... I try to translate English songs, learn it that way, so to develop myself. (BA)

U48: I don't really make friends with Serbian people because my Serbian is lacking, but for instance I know some English people. (CM)

U49: [I would like to learn] not just Serbian, but English and German too. I miss speaking, to speak in class and then to practice the language (CE)

U50: I don't know, Serbian, I don't really want to... I would like to learn English... (LA)

One of the teachers who teaches in the Hungarian stream believes that even language is not enough: it takes curiosity to speak to the other, and this curiosity is often lacking. The knowledge of Serbian thus directly influences choices and options. Whether one continues education in Serbia or not often depends on knowing the language enough to study at university in Serbian or not determines where one is going to study and most probably also settle down as those who go to university to Hungary very rarely come back to live in Serbia afterwards. Also, whether or not one is confident enough to communicate in Serbian determines the friends and potential partners one is going to have, and also the jobs one is going to do. In general, whether or not one speaks Serbian determines the extent of participation in the mainstream society outside the "Hungarian world".

In line with the above, the language barrier was many times mentioned as the main reason that prevents young people from Kishegyes from having friends or boyfriends or girlfriends of Serbian ethnicity. To refer to this theme, interlocutors would use the strategy of legitimization for themselves for not engaging in such relationships with Serbian youth.

U51: But if I were good at the language or something, that wouldn't... wouldn't cause a problem. If I liked that person and so, it would work out, and if I was good at the language [laughing] then I think there would be no problem with that. (BA)

U52: I don't really make friends with Serbian people because my Serbian is lacking, but for instance I know some English people. (CM)

U53: When I was in 8th grade there was this boy, his name was Miki¹², he... With him I tried to talk, but I didn't know Serbian well, so we were just on greeting terms. (CL)

U54: He is the first Serbian acquaintance I have ever had in my life. Not because I had any bad feelings towards him... them, but I simply can't talk with them. But with him, because he speaks English, he speaks English perfectly, and me, so-so. We speak in English, and because we have many common interests we found a common ground / and I met him in the summer, / but since we meet regularly. (GZ)

Note that GZ constructs his experience with a Serbian friend with whom he speaks English in a narrative structure. The narrative consists of three temporary ordered clauses, and the third clause can also be seen as a resolution, a result of the events from the previous two clauses.

U55: I don't know why she is not making friends with Serbs, probably partly because of linguistic barriers. (KN)

U56: For me it would be important that I can talk about this [literature] with my partner. Well, for me Hungarian literature is more important, so the poems and such works... and that this also interests my partner, that he can... that he knows, is informed and can speak about it. And this is, well, not doable with someone of another ethnicity because Hungarian language is... especially Hungarian literature, poems, are not things that can be discussed with someone of another ethnicity because there are no such words, such colorfulness. . . . We definitely wouldn't understand each other fully. So a deeper relationship... I don't know if I could create, I don't think so... I've never tried, honestly, but I don't consider it very probable that I will try. (KN)

U57: I can't imagine a relationship with a non-Hungarian girl because I can't speak Serbian. (LAN)

¹²The name has been changed.

U58: I can imagine having a relationship with a Serb but I couldn't open as much because of the language barrier. But after a time it would be easier, I think. I have friends from here [Kishegyes] who have Serbian boyfriends, they didn't speak too well Serbian either but then they learned it, because of the relationship and also at school, at private lessons. (PO)

U59: There are more things in common, more points in common with a Hungarian boy than with... . . . The general things, history and so... But one can get used to other things too. (PO)

U60: When you can't express yourself, it can't be a relationship like that. (PG)

U61: Those who speak some Serbian they are in contact with others, with the Serbs. And those who don't [speak], they don't even look for it [relationship with Serbs]. (VE)

In all of the above examples, interlocutors construct not being fluent in Serbian language as a barrier, something that hinders their performance at school, among peers, in the present and in the future. To various degrees, they are doing extra efforts to overcome these barriers, and the amount of effort is relative to how motivated they are to stay in Serbia. For most young people who wanted to pursue higher education, going to Hungary was in fact the easier way: for someone lacking a solid knowledge in Serbian, and especially a knowledge of field-specific terminology, it was easier to prepare for and pass the entrance exam in Hungarian. There were those, however, who felt committed to stay in Serbia. They invested extra time, money and energy to learn Serbian so they have the chance to be integrated in the mainstream (education) system. They many times mention this extra effort they and their families have invested.

U62: We've [she and her sister] always, since kindergarten we've been going to private Serbian classes. (CL)

U63: I don't consider [studying in] Hungary because then I learned Serbian in vain. (VJ)

U64: We've always, since kindergarten we've been going to private Serbian classes. (CL)

U65: We tried it [speaking Serbian with a half-Serbian friend] in first grade because he/she is also commuting to school every day. So he/she said that “from tomorrow on we’d only speak Serbian”. It was going on for two days, but I felt ashamed... (CE)

U66: Well, I always do my best, when we learn these texts or something, I also write a summary at home and I learn it a bit. (CE)

U67: I write my essays in Hungarian and then with my father we translate them to Serbian and I copy it or learn it by heart. I learn some words from these translations. . . . Last year I spent a week in Leskovac at my parents' friends'... business partners' place. (KN)

U68: I didn't have a good base for Serbian language from the school in Kishegyes. I took private classes, watched Serbian TV, translated Serbian songs. It was very hard at the beginning of grammar school. (PO)

These efforts to be linguistically integrated though are often invested only in order to be included in the education system. When it comes to informal socialization, things not regulated by institutions, young people seem to be more deterministic. They see speaking Serbian and socializing with Serbian peers as an “either/or” thing: one either knows Serbian well enough to do so or does not. Those who do not, many times express regret for it, like CL does. In the following utterance, the interlocutor employs hedging in combination with a conditional structure to refer to a hypothetical situation that did not come true.

U69: I always bring it up to my mother that I am sorry she didn't enroll me to a Serbian kindergarten. There I would have at least learned. I would really love to know, but somehow... somehow it doesn't go. We went to a Hungarian kindergarten...(CL)

The conditional structures CL uses (“There I would have at least learned” and “I would really love to know...”) in combination with *but* (“but somehow... somehow it doesn't go”) express a hypothetical situation in the past of her learning Serbian already in her early childhood.

The string that connects all the above strategies is the unnaturalness of Serbian language for the young people of Kishegyes. Serbian for most of them is a school subject and a foreign language. At the same time it has little and a lot of value: it is seen as language with a lower value on the linguistic market compared to their mother tongue or to English, but many realize its crucial importance for navigating one's way outside the "Hungarian world". All the more, since, whether they are aware of it or not, the knowledge of Serbian language influences all aspects of life outside Kishegyes: the choice of friends, relationships, future work, further education and place of residence. Speaking Serbian is a passport, but not to leave but to stay, while not speaking Serbian compels one to be confined to the village or to move to Hungary (and probably to another country). This is exponentially relevant in the higher education: those who feel they do not have a sufficient knowledge of the state language either do not pursue a university degree or do it in Hungary. For speaking about this, interlocutors again employ the linguistic strategy of legitimization: they justify their choice of university in Hungary by their lack of knowledge of Serbian.

U70: R: Haven't you considered Novi Sad?

I: Because of the language I haven't. Originally I was thinking about that, Novi Sad, academy of arts, but with the language I have problems, right, and I wouldn't dare to start and I don't believe I had much chance to pass the entrance exam. (BA)

U71: Then when it comes to getting a job, well, I don't want to come back then to Serbia because I won't have learned the professional vocabulary so I can't get on. (VE)

5.2.1 Conclusion

In the above two sections I have attempted to present and discuss the main linguistic strategies, means of realization and practices that are related to the ideological cores of staying in or going from Kishegyes as experienced by my interlocutors and Hungarian young people of secondary school age in general, and the relations to Serbian language as the official language of the country. An important differentiation has to be made between the two aspects though, one that theories of multiculturalism usually fail to recognize: the huge difference between local and

national level. Namely for youth in Kishegyes, in their village, Hungarian is the *lingua franca*, Hungarian culture is the dominant culture, their experience is that of ownership over the social and geographical space and entitlement to rights, which are not minority rights in the classical sense of the concept. The attachment most interlocutors feel towards Kishegyes is strong, and even when referring to negative things about the village, none of my conversation partners were indifferent to it. Despite this, or perhaps because of the reduced size of this “safe world”, young people expressed a lot of negative views about Kishegyes. In their view, it is a place dominated by the older generation, where young people have no opportunities for entertainment at present or for careers in the future, a place where everyone has to leave from.

The picture related to language and locality becomes very different when they leave Kishegyes and go for education, entertainment or other purposes mainly to Bačka Topola or Subotica. Their sense of being at home, a social confidence they possess in the village is lost in instances when they are required to interact with non-Hungarian people. This reluctance to communicate is the most strongly centered around the thematic unit of the knowledge or lack of language of the state language. I have presented strategies interlocutors use in relation to their (or their peers’) lack of knowledge of Serbian, means of realization they use to explain it and the attitudes they have towards the system that creates this “language gap”.

The importance of the knowledge of Serbian is crucial. Being or not being able to communicate in the state language confidently determines future in many ways: the choice of where one would live, where and what one would study and/or work, whom one will choose as a partner, whom one would find friends, etc. Young people in Kishegyes are mostly oriented towards their own micro-world, which is Vojvodina, or rather its majority Hungarian northern Bačka part or out of the country, to Hungary or Western Europe. For their lack of knowledge of Serbian they place the blame primarily on the education system, but also to extent to their families – for not providing them enough chances to learn Serbian. This means that they see their own agency as very limited in the acquisition of Serbian language. The education system is such that it separates students into language-based streams, and there is hardly any contact between them. Serbian is therefore reduced to being a school subject and opportunity and motivation to use it is very low. The lack of knowledge in turn creates a feeling of shame and insecurity with many young people.

Due to low level of the knowledge of the state language, the participation of Hungarian young people in social and cultural life that is outside the village or some extracurricular activities in the towns where their secondary schools are that are not in Hungarian language is virtually non-existent. This in turn indicates the level of integration in the state structures: Hungarian students rarely or reluctantly participate in events that take place on a national level, or when they do, it is only when there is an option to take part in Hungarian language. These practices often create aversion to the state language, but also towards its speakers, and further enhance the already present social distance between ethnic groups. It is these relations between ethnic groups that I am exploring further in the following sections.

5.3 The world seen through ethnic lenses

5.3.1 Time seen through ethnicity

A way of capturing time is through looking at the calendar of a specific group. There has been many work on linking an ethnic group's calendar, especially national holidays to collective narratives of a nation (see David 2014; Fridman 2015). These important works, dealing with the Serbian context, explore national calendars "from above": their creation, their commemoration and their change. Yet in my dissertation I look at a more "banal nationalism" (Billig 1995), the way the calendar is not created but lived, constructed, seen among the young inhabitants of Kishegyes. I argue that ethnicization is an ideological core, within which the themes of ethnicized time, places and social relations are socially and discursively articulated. I see ethnicization as a social strategy, however, it influences discourses as well. Throughout this ideological core, the macro-strategy employed is construction, the main strategic principle according to which all segments of the social environment are divided according to the criterion of the ethnic. In the thematic unit of time, interlocutors discuss religious and secular holidays, the festival Dombos Fest taking place yearly in Kishegyes and birthday celebrations. Within the strategy of constructing these festivities around ethnicity, they occasionally use comparison as a means of realization. In the second thematic unit, places, interlocutors' discourses are centered around the themes of Hungarian youth from other towns and villages, ethnicized towns, villages and

places of entertainment, Serbs and Egyptians in the village and ethnic mixing. The strategies interlocutors employ for these themes are construction, legitimization, and also strategies that are transformative of the established ethnic discourses. The means of realization are comparison and hedging. For the thematic unit of social relationships with non-Hungarians, the themes discussed are the ethnic composition of the student dormitory in Subotica, extracurricular activities, ethnic mixing and unmixing, unequal power between students of the Serbian and the Hungarian streams at school, good relations with Serbian peers and linguistic reciprocity. I present discourses that fit into the established scheme of ethnic separation, but also those alternative to it. I identify and explore the following strategies related to the above named themes and within the macro-strategy of constructing spaces in terms of the ethnic: dissimilation, assimilations, mitigation, legitimization, predication and transformation. The means of realization within the thematic unit of social relations I look at are comparison, narratives, deictics, indirect speech, disclaimers, stereotypes and contextualization cues such as laughter, pauses, hesitations and hedging devices.

The articulation of time is what I deal with in this section, and in doing so, my methodology is mainly ethnographical, i.e. I engage with practices more than with discourses. When discussing religion, most of my interlocutors claimed to be religious, most of them Roman Catholic with a few exceptions of Protestant – mostly those whose parents or one of the parents come from the neighboring village Feketić where the Hungarian population is Protestant. Very few of the young people I spoke to attend church though; often-mentioned reasons for this is lack of time and the dislike of the village priest. Talking to locals of all generations, there is indeed a general antipathy towards the priest, who is said to care only about money, speak ill of the people and is boring to listen to. On my visit to the Sunday mass, there were no young people, only middle-aged and elderly, mainly women and elementary school students for whom, if they chose catechism as a subject at school, attending the Sunday mass is obligatory. Being religious therefore, for most of the youth, means believing in a higher power, occasional praying and observing the religious holidays. As the members of the Serbian and of the Egyptian community in the village are Orthodox and Muslim respectively, Catholic holidays, or as they are often referred to, “Hungarian holidays” are of special importance for delineating one group from another.

Religion and ethnicity are strongly connected for Hungarians in Vojvodina (Gábrity Molnár 2008a). The holidays all Hungarian young people observe, irrespective of religion or of being religious or not, are Christmas and Easter. Their primary importance is in the family, but it is also significant because they are school holidays: there is a long weekend off for Easter starting with Great Friday and ending with Easter Monday. Orthodox Easter on occasions falls on the same Sunday as Catholic, and if not, due to the special status of Vojvodina and its multiethnic and multiconfessional character, the school calendar is set to accommodate believers of all religions: there is either a longer spring break starting with the Good Friday of one and ending with the Easter Monday of the other confession, or if they are more than a week apart, then both long weekends are off for all students irrespective of religion. The three-week-long winter holidays normally start with Catholic Christmas Day or 24th December and end with the Orthodox New Year on 14th January.

Christmas and Easter as the most important holidays for the community. Even though the ethnic marker of the holiday is of great importance, other, much more ethnically marked holidays than Christmas and Easter, that are explicitly related to Hungarianness, especially Hungarian history and culture are not celebrated or commemorated widely. Most young people I have spoken to however are not aware why the school calendar is set in such a way and some are in fact oblivious of the date Orthodox Christmas is or the number of days the Julian calendar (which believers of the Serbian Orthodox church follow) differs from the Gregorian calendar (observed by Catholics). In their “Hungarian world”, holidays are part of tradition, and only loosely connected to religion. Looking at multiculturalism as a normative model in the context of Kishegyes, in this respect it has not fulfilled its aim: there is no mutual influence of cultures upon each other, no interculturalism, at times there is not even awareness of the “other” culture: “I know about them [not Catholic holidays], but we don’t go to friends of other religions. I mean, not because they are of other religions, but because there are no friends like that” (CM).

One of the secondary schools I have visited I was told by a teacher that the school has a custom of Hungarian students making a small reception for Catholic Christmas (usually the last day before the winter break) and inviting the parallel Serbian stream, and students from the Serbian stream reciprocating this at another occasion (Orthodox Christmas is during the winter break, so not then). I was present at the reception for Catholic Christmas, and students were

indeed busy setting the table, arranging the fingerfood and drinks they bought or brought from home. After this was done, they all set in the back of the classroom. When the Serbian stream entered lead by one of the teachers, they politely served themselves with food and drinks, and sat down next to the set tables. There were two or three people from both streams to exchange a few words with students from the other stream, the rest kept to their own group. After the Serbian stream left, the students from the Hungarian stream visibly relaxed, served themselves with what was left and cleared the tables. The event had a symbolic meaning for the school, reinforcing its discursive construction of being multicultural, but for the students, its significance was much more arbitrary and fulfilled only formally, out of obligation.

Other than Easter and Christmas, the only Serbian or Orthodox holiday almost all interlocutors mentioned they knew about was the *slava*. It is the day of the patron saint of the family, passed down from father to son. Even though a religious holiday and in some families a priest is invited for the celebration to bless the bread, it is often celebrated in a secular way with a gathering of relatives and friends for dinner, not very differently than a birthday would be celebrated. Two of the young people I have spoken to have been to a *slava*, either at some relatives place or parents' friends' home.

The topic of culture has in fact never been brought up implicitly by me during the conversations and interviews, neither was it done by my interlocutors. For the young people I talked to, culture seemed to be too abstract a term to relate to in casual conversations or in the interviews with me. Rather, if talking about culture, it was done through conversations over the themes of customs thought to be Hungarian and practiced by the informants, folklore, as the embodiment of past culture to which some informants did, others did not express a strong relation, and holidays that are considered to have been celebrated in the past and observed today as well by the interlocutors and their families. This is by no means particular to Hungarians in Kishegyes; in her book about the discursive construction of Austrian national identity, Wodak and her colleagues argue that members of any *Kulturnation* refer to culture mainly as cultural artifacts and high culture (Wodak et al. 2009).

The only case when culture means something tangible for the inhabitants of the village is culture as performance. This refers to cultural events, when culture is being displayed and enacted. Occasions for this are the annual festival Dombos Fest, cultural events on the occasion

of holidays such as Easter, Christmas, St Anna's day (the patron saint of the church, i.e. the day of the village fair (*búcsú*) when many people from Kishegyes living in other parts of the country and abroad come back to meet family and friends), the end of the academic year, i.e. the graduation of the elementary school, etc. There are also some traditional events that have recently been "invented" in the village, such as planting a May tree (*májusfa*) on May 1st (a tree decorated with colorful ribbons as a celebration of the spring) or having a lent masquerade. Also, the village prides itself on many writers originating from there, and the library is host to a number of literary events such as book presentations and public talks – these are also perceived and talked about as cultural events.

Even though there are several commemorations in the village remembering events which are related to Hungarian history, such as that of March 15th (the start of the Hungarian revolution of 1948) October 6th (the end of the 1848/49 revolution), July 11th (the battle of Hegyes, the last battle Hungarian troops won in 1849), these events are hardly ever attended by local youth, with the exception of a few young people who sing folk songs or recite poetry on these occasions. On the celebration of the day of the village (March 21st), the Csépe-day (September 23rd), which is the day remembering a poet from the village, other occasional literary or music events are also rarely attended by the younger generations. In this respect, as noted in subchapter 5.1, there is a generation gap in the village that the young people do not feel motivated to overcome. The only event reasonably well attended by local young people is the four-day-long Dombos Fest in the beginning of July. Many young people attend the festival, while others cannot afford to pay the entrance fee or are not interested to go because it does not match their musical taste.

U72: Well, in the summer there is Dombos fest, which is a good thing. (CM)

U73: I sometimes invite people from my stream to Dombos Fest, from Gunaras, Szabadka, Toplya. (PO)

U74: I was a hostess in Dombos Fest and I became friends with a ska band from Hungary. (PG)

The initiator and organizer of Dombos Fest, László Horváth, also the manager of the Budapest-based culture center Fonó Budai Zeneház, is originally from Kishegyes. According to Fonó's website, the culture center promotes the

fostering and presenting Central European folk music. Over time, the most prominent Hungarian jazz and ethno-jazz artists, and well-known performers of the European world music scene have also found a steady and cozy workshop here. Fonó has always wanted to keep prominent artists and representatives of Hungarian culture around; to provide a home to artists who create persistent and groundbreaking works in their own areas and whose artistic activities represent a progressive direction in Hungarian cultural life (Fonó n.d.: n.p.)

The website text places an emphasis on Hungarianness and a wider Central Europe, but does not mention other regions, such as the Balkans for instance, or the musical cultures beyond Europe. Its use of "culture" is in an ethnic sense, and it assumes that each culture has its representative musicians who produce music representative of the ethnic group.

In 2002 Horváth organized the first Dombos Fest in his home-village with the aim similar to the mission of the culture center he has been leading. Since then, Dombos Fest has become one of the biggest cultural festivals in Vojvodina, focusing on music, but also having a parallel literary session called *Dombosi történetek remix* organized by a different team and promoting somewhat different values. The music selection at the festival follows two trends: it is either centered around Hungarian culture or caters for a more global but traditional taste in music, so-called world music – the two genres that feature in the text on Fonó's website. A considerable amount of music in Dombos Fest that is considered traditional is Hungarian folk music performed by folk ensembles, singers and musicians. World music, which can be seen as a modernized version of folk music appealing to a more diverse audience (Čolović 2006), is also being played at the festival in a distinguishable ethnic or folksy style¹³. Apart from these, some bands play jazz, rock and pop at the festival. The large majority of the audience is Hungarian. The marketing of the festival also obviously targets people who already know about the

¹³The proliferation of world music in Hungary dates to the years when Dombos Fest started, the early 2000s.

event and who are speakers of Hungarian and consumers of Hungarian culture. Even though every year there are complaints about the declining number of visitors, Dombos Fest is still the most popular event of the year in the village; it does not only attract people to listen to music or literature but for the four days of the festival it also serves as a meeting place for Hungarian people from all Vojvodina.

An event or a holiday thus does not have to be religiously or ethnically marked to be considered “ours” or “theirs”; it can be a wedding or a birthday as well as a festival. A few young people I interviewed had experience of attending events that are considered to be Serbian. As one of my interlocutors who has attended a wedding in South Serbia noted, “it's not totally different, but there are things that are different from a Hungarian wedding” (KN). Difference does not necessarily mean a negative difference. CE shared her experience of a celebration at a Serbian relative from the neighboring Lovćenac, constructing it as a narrative. Agents are generalized and referred to with ethnics or deictics (“Serbs”, “Hungarians”, “they”, “we”). Hers is a habitual narrative as it implies that they were going many times to visits repeating the same actions. The whole evaluation is formulated in constructions with a hedging including negationssuch as „I am not saying that ... but“.

U75: I: At their place, when we go to the Serbs, it's like this: we sit down, and immediately there is *meza*, and customs are different. So if they don't have, but they have even a little, they give it and everything, it can be noticed that...

R: Do you think that Hungarians aren't like that?

I: I don't know. Now, I didn't want to say who is hospitable and who isn't, but they... I don't know, so... so... it's different when we go there, then you explicitly feel that... not that they are happy to see you but... still, he tries to... I don't know, to be, I don't know what... he tries to share what he has. Then the Hungarians, not everyone for instance, there are stingy people and... I don't know. (CE)

“Serbs” is used as a collective ethnonym the same way as “Hungarians” in CE’s narrative. Hospitality is one of the characteristics in national mythology (Georgevitch 1917; Simić 2000) Serbians pride themselves on, it is often expressed informally and in different media, and

therefore it is possible to speak of an internalized stereotype. In case of CE it is a positive attribute that differentiates Serbs from Hungarians.

5.3.2 Places as ethnic environments

Vojvodina in the minds of my interlocutors is not the geographical Vojvodina, but a small segment of it: its mainly Hungarian-speaking North-Bačka part, and especially the ethnically more homogenous villages of that region. Space seems to be delineated according to ethnicity, and there are several strategies by which they are constructed as such.

Secondary school students from Kishegyes go to school either to Bačka Topola where they commute on a daily basis or to Subotica, where they live either in a dormitory or in a rented room or apartment. Very few of them go to school to other places, like Srbobran, where it is possible to commute or Senta or Novi Sad which are further away thus students have to live there, while some go to Hungary. Almost all of the secondary school students who live in the town where they attend school return to Kishegyes every weekend, and they see this as natural. When talking to them, the southernmost point on the map they had some experience of or identification with was Novi Sad, where some of them considered studying. This is somewhat different from what Szabó (2013) found in his interviews: according to him young Hungarian people in Vojvodina are mainly confined to the space of the province and the furthest south they have some connections to was Belgrade. In the way my informants in Kishegyes constructed geographically and socially, the capital of Serbia was by no means included in this mental map – none of the people I have spoken to have mentioned it either in relation to having visited it or as a place where they might see themselves as students or working people. This way the zone where my informants move around is confined to the North Bačka region, and even Novi Sad falls almost out of it. As pointed out in the previous subchapter, they see Kishegyes as a safe home, where their friends are, while in the town where they live during the week, Subotica for the most of them, their life is about school, friends also, but life is structured very differently – it is the school schedule and if they live in a dormitory, the dorm rules that structure their days.

Photo 5.7 News board in one of the secondary schools visited. Author's photo.



Photo 5.8 Bilingual sign on classroom door. Author's photo.



Photo 5.9 Bilingual sign on classroom door. Author's photo.



The “Hungarian world” in Serbia is taken for granted and its small size and marginal position is many times not even noticed. In an informal conversation, one of the interlocutors who regularly takes part in reciting competitions proudly told me that she has won the first place in for Hungarian poem reciting in the country. She did not reflect on the fact that the competition was much smaller than in the Serbian group. It happened other times as well that students, parents or teacher would tell me about prizes won in Serbia in disciplines that were separated by the language of instruction at school: literature, grammar or national history. None of them seemed to see that for them, their children or their students it was much easier to win a good position than for someone who attended a Serbian stream at school. Similarly, in many secondary schools even if there is an equal number of streams in Serbian and in Hungarian, there is less completion at the entrance exam for the places in the Hungarian stream, because there is a smaller number of candidates. A principle of a school I visited told me about a practice that the best student of their school gets a special prize for graduation. As it can be only one student, the school gives the prize to a person from the Serbian and the Hungarian stream interchangeably, but this is not a fair practice, he complained, because sometimes there is a student with better results in the other stream who cannot get the prize because that year it is not their turn. This way, minority position and a system structured according to ethnicity does provide certain privileges to its members.

Another factor structuring everyday life outside Kishegyes is the possibility to meet people of other ethnic membership, a topic I will turn to more in the following section, while in the next paragraphs I will present how construction, justification and dissimulation are used in relation to seeing places in ethnic terms, with some characteristic means of realization, such as comparison, hedging and narrative. In the following utterances, the sub-theme is Hungarian peers from other towns and villages. Explicitly or implicitly here as well, interlocutors use comparison, especially of their knowledge of Serbian to that of their peers from places such as Topolya, Feketics and Kula.

U76: For example one of my classmates from Kula came to grammar school already speaking Serbian perfectly, because that is normal there, it’s taken for granted, so of course it was easy for him/her to learn because that’s how he/she was brought up. (BA)

U77: OK, those from Topolya know more [Serbian people], for instance from kindergarten, they went together to kindergarten, because there is a mixed group, right, so for instance they know one or two Serbian guys or girls. (CE)

U78: Here too I am in a disadvantaged position because most of my class is from Szabadka and Palics. It's true that there are a few people from Szabadka who don't know [Serbian], but most of them do. . . . There are some who know even less than me, for instance there is one from Horgos, maybe, so it's not only us in this kind of a situation. (CM)

U79: There are two-three kids who know [Serbian] perfectly... either from Topolya or Feketics, mainly those who have someone Serbian in the family or among the relatives, those. (CL)

U80: People from Feketics are the same as those from Kishegyes, only the people from Lovćenac are different. . . I was very surprised to find out that Hungarian people in Topolya are also afraid of Serbs, they wouldn't go to places where there are Serbs. (PO)

In the above quotes local young people's knowledge of Serbian language and/or having Serbian friends is compared to that of youth from other towns and villages in Vojvodina. As already discussed in chapter 5.2., here is a general feeling that the inhabitants of Kishegyes are lacking in both. In conversations of all types this topic would often come up, and it was an acknowledged fact that people from Kishegyes are known for not speaking good Serbian and not being well-acquainted with Serbian culture. For some, this was a negative thing, something they felt should (have) be(en) improved, for others it was merely a fact of life and/or a belief that they do not need a better knowledge of the language. Construction of an ethnicized space is employed also with reference to places (towns, villages in case of U81, U82, U83, U86, U87 and U89, and cafes, bars in case of U84, U85 and U88), in which interlocutors construct these as Serbian or Hungarian. In doing so, in U81 comparison is used as a means of realization, while in U85 and U86a narrative. In U86 the interlocutor expresses his feeling of being threatened in Kraljevo, that he perceives as a Serbian space.

U81: Maybe those from KH are more closed than for instance those from Feketics or... I think they are. I don't know, we are used to that, OK, anyways everyone is Hungarian so we

don't have to... After all, Serbians are in minority here and so... it's more difficult to learn [Serbian] for us. (BA)

U82: Everything happens in Hungarian here. (CE)

U83: We don't like any of them [Muslim people living in the village] [laughing]. I mean not us, the family, but rather the village. Because this is basically a Hungarian village, so this village doesn't really like the others [laughing]. But they are still here. And the problem is that there are more and more of them. (KN)

U84: This [Mladost bar in Subotica] can be called a Serbian places, so the owners are Serbian and usually the organizers are Serbs, but Hungarians go there as well as Serbs, but I hang out with the Hungarians mostly. (GZ)

U85: And it [Polid Rock Klub in Subotica] was a completely Hungarian place as far as I know, and after it closed down then for some time there were no places where concerts were held, and then this Mladost started to flourish. And here Serbs and Hungarians go together but

Photo 5.10 Concert advertisement on the door of one of the secondary schools visited. Author's photo. (GZ)

there hasn't yet been a problem because of this.



U86: My mother went to school in Zagreb, she has a friend from school in Kraljevo, the families visit each other, they baptized my brother. I have been to Kraljevo two years ago, I didn't feel very self-confident there, you never know how they accept Hungarians down there in Serbia. (HA)

U87: In Kishegyes there are very few Serbs. Now in my generation there were four Serbs, two girls and two boys, but they don't... they don't do anything. The boys play football of course, but nothing else really. And they don't really... for instance there is no piano [class] or such in Serbian. (LA)

U88: R: And who goes to this place?

I: To be honest, mainly Hungarians. . . Well, and actually the owner is Hungarian, and so mainly people who know him, those go there, and those who go there with those who know the owner [laughing]. I think a lot depends on what nationality the owner of a club or a disco is, so for instance in Topolya, I have been to several times, there is a *splav* (raft) in Topolya, Sky Bar . . . that is a totally Serbian place. Hungarians go there very rarely, one or two groups, so almost... when I go there with my girlfriends then it's only us Hungarians. (VE)

U89: I am open to everyone. But they don't open, or maybe they are afraid to open. . . It seems to me that they [the Muslims living in Kishegyes] don't really want to accept the relationship. . . . They are probably afraid of... well, they are a minority so to say here and maybe they are afraid that they won't be accepted... Or maybe the mistake is in me, I don't know. . . . The same goes for the Albanian bakers in the village. (PG)

Even though the above utterances are very different from one another, they all clearly employ construction to delineate not only social but also geographic space in ethnic terms. First, Kishegyes is seen as a Hungarian space in which Serbs, and even more so Muslims are intruders. Their presence is clearly unwelcome: during all interviews and many informal conversation the topic of their presence in the village came up and the only neutral comment was from interviewee LAN who said “as far as I am concerned, there is room for them” (*éntőlem elférnek*), while all other remarks about them were negative.

Upon my arrival to Kishegyes, the man who was driving me told me about the Muslim families in the village who identify as Egyptians. In the way he talked about them, there was a lot of emphasis on their presence being unnatural and unwanted in Kishegyes. In his and other locals' discourse there was revolt, hate speech, religious and racial intolerance. Interlocutors would use legitimization to justify their dislike for them: “I am not a racist, but...”, “I am not a nationalist, but...” They used hedging to distance themselves from statements they knew can be interpreted as racist. People on Facebook wrote about tearing down their houses and the prayer house they built in the yard of one of the families. In practice though, their pres-

ence was tolerated, and there has never been any physical or verbal confrontation between Hungarians and Egyptians as far as I know. Yet, during the months spent doing fieldwork and upon earlier times there and later returns to the village almost no positive reference was ever made to the Albanian-speaking Muslims. The main concern regarding them has been that they are more and more of them, with a final outcome foreseen has been that they are going to outnumber the Hungarians:

U90: These Muslims keep coming, and spawn, there are more and more of them. And well, all the refugees, a lot of refugees come here, and so the village is becoming a bit Serbianized. (KN)

In the above quotation all the non-Hungarians, be they ethnic Serbian refugees from Croatia or Bosnia and Herzegovina who came to Kishegyes in the early 1990s or Muslim Albanian-speaking Egyptians who moved to the village a few years ago are subsumed under the ethnonym “Serbian” (“the village is becoming a bit Serbianized”) are unified and homogenized as one group contrasted to the autochthonous Hungarians in the village. This can be considered as a very strong level of dissimilation, in which the in-group and the other group are seen extremely far from one another, to the extent that intragroup differences become invisible. Also, the fact that most of the Muslims in the village identify as Egyptians is largely ignored by the Hungarian locals. They are being referred to Gypsies, Arabs, Albanians, thus gaining an external ethnic marker rather than being referred to by the ethnicity they ascribe themselves.

A related point is that because the village is perceived as a Hungarian space, Hungarians see themselves as a majority on local level even though they are a minority on the level of the country. These “reverse demographics”¹⁴ are what none of the theories of multiculturalism take into account: the situation that a group perceives itself as the one whose language, culture and values are the dominant ones despite the fact that on a national level the members of the group see themselves as subordinate. This calls attention to the fact that minority-majority status may not be as clear-cut as it seems to be suggested by theory; a group can con-

¹⁴I thank Scheril Stroschein for coining this term and sharing at the After Empires: Mapping the State-of-art in Contemporary Vojvodina workshop in April 2016 in Palić, Serbia.

struct its identity and be seen as both, depending on the situation – “minority” and “majority” being social categories that are constructed similarly to “ethnicity”, “self”, “other”, “group”, etc.

Non-Hungarian people’s presence in the village is sometimes taken as something unusual, out of place. Hearing people speak Serbian has become usual since the 1990s. However, due to their racialized appearance, Roma people and Egyptians are often commented upon negatively. There is talking about Roma people (most of whom live in the Roma settlement at the end of the village) coming to the park to sniff glue, going into houses to steal, etc. Probably even more noted is the presence of the Egyptians who are relatively new in the life of the village and who attract attention with the way they dress, the way they talk, the way they behave. Their habit of sitting or lying on the pavement in front of their houses in large groups is talked about with contempt and ridicule, with elements of discourses that are racist. As a friend of mine, the neighbor of one of them noted: “they indeed use public space differently”.

Places of entertainment outside Kishegyes are also seen as ethnically marked. According to the ethnicity of the patrons, clubs, bars and cafes are perceived as Hungarian or Serbian places to go out to. What ethnicity places are ascribed is determined based on the ethnicity of the patrons and/or the owner and the music played. There are certain paces of ethnic mixing (Hromadzic 2011) where conflict may or may not happen, but even when it does not, it is expected (“here Serbs and Hungarians go together but there hasn’t *yet* been a problem because of this” (GZ)).

Hromadzic writes of the school toilets as one of the rare places of ethnic mixing in the Bosnia-Herzegovinian context. In the ethnically segregated grammar school of Mostar, Croatian and Bosniak students alike use the toilet for smoking during breaks. She calls it ethnic mixing, a “cultural practice of interconnectedness and intermingling among ethnic groups” (2011:268). Ethnic mixing the transgression of ethnic categories that assign a particular place in the social and in the physical world to each ethnic group. Engaging in ethnic mixing is seen as a threat to the national identity and a betrayal to the national self. Similar to Hromadzic’s case study is the case in the secondary schools I have visited during my fieldwork in Bačka Topola and in Subotica that students from Kishegyes mostly attend. I was told during informal conversations that in one of the high schools where there are two yards one is typically

used by students from the Serbian stream and the other by those from the Hungarian stream, thus Serbian and Hungarian students spend breaks in different spaces. Students of other schools also cited many examples when students of different ethnicities spend their school hours apart not only during teaching but in breaks and before and after school as well. Smoking though does seem to be an activity done in an ethnically mixed space, and one of my interlocutors mentioned it bringing together students from the different streams:

U91: In Bačka Topola in the grammar school I really know everyone regardless of whether they are Serbs or Hungarians, so some ninety percent of the grammar school I know by name who is who. So, well, in the breaks we go out to smoke, so that's where friendships are born. (VE)

One of the teachers I spoke to, a bilingual person teaching in both streams, was skeptical about the possibility of interethnic friendship in the school and in the Vojvodinian society in general. The main reason according to him was the lack of language knowledge to understand each other. Even if they speak decent Serbian, he claimed, Hungarian students do not understand Serbian slang, which would be essential for a relaxed conversation among young people. "Here, the communication revolves only around cigarettes: *Van cigid? Imaš cigaru?*" The breaks between the classes are instrumental for ethnic mixing as they are basically the only situation and the schoolyard the only space where it can happen. I directly asked an interlocutor about the existence of ethnic segregation in the school she attends, and she replied by referring to positive practices of making friendships during school breaks. Her utterance can be considered as transformative of the existing discourses that structure social space in ethnic terms.

U92: R: I have heard about the grammar school in Bačka Topola that Hungarian and Serbian students don't know each other...

I: It happens. I know them because I am out in the breaks, many of them are out too, so we make friends in the breaks, and then I get to know their friends. (VE)

5.3.3 Ethnicized social relations

Apart from the schoolyard, there are of course other places where ethnic mixing can and does happen. In this section, I continue looking at the ideological core of ethnicization, with the main social and discursive strategy employed by the young members of the Hungarian community in Kishegyes being construction. One of the places of ethnic mixing is the dormitory in Subotica in which students of all secondary schools can get a place if they are not from the town. Upon my visit, the principal of the dormitory explained that it is not the nationality of the students that determines who are going to be roommates, but upon applying for a dorm room students fill out a “wish-list” of their potential roommates, usually former classmates from elementary school (especially in case of 1st year students), friends, young people from the same village, etc. According to a survey conducted among elementary and secondary school students of various nationalities in Vojvodina, young people of all ethnicities, except Croatian, have the majority of friendship ties within their own ethnic community, and it is the Hungarian ethnic group among whom young people have the highest number of friends of the same ethnicity: almost 79 percent of the Hungarian students surveyed (Radivojević/Vučević 2008; also Gábrity Molnár 2008a). Given this, and the typical structure of villages where students come from in which usually one ethnic group is dominant, it logically follows that most of the rooms in the dormitory in Subotica are inhabited by students of the same ethnicity.

Yet naturally ethnic mixing in the dorm does occur. While sometimes it is the natural choice of the residents, on other occasions it is perceived to be dictated “from above”. For most students, the natural trend is that “they don’t mix us” (CM), and during informal conversations there have been talks that Hungarian students have transferred to rooms with Serbian students because of their inadequate behavior. Even if these are false allegations, it is noteworthy that sharing a room with Serbian students whom one does not know from before can be referred to as a form of punishment.

Photo 5.11 Graffiti on the wall of one of the secondary schools visited. Author's photo.



The practice and discourse of ethnic mixing therefore reinforces the discourse and practice and ethnic purity: the general, the ethnically homogenous, the situation when “we don’t mix” (PR) is constructed as the unmarked. In this sense, the students in the dormitory in Subotica mimic the state system with the constructed clear-cut separation between languages of instruction, language of the textbooks, the physical space of separate classrooms and sometimes even the space of activities outside the school.

This structural separation of the streams, i.e. the ethnic groups is “inherited” from the elementary school. As one of the informants notes, there is separation but there was also some mixing between the two streams:

U93: The truth is that... I think that, even though I can't speak on behalf of others... not everyone knows them [students who go to the Serbian stream of the elementary school in Kishegyes], but for instance I have seen in them in such a way that “I was going to learn Serbian from you” [laughing]. So I made friends with them and all. I know the Serbian

generation one year older than us, I know them, well they weren't a big generation, there were four students, the parallel Serbian generation with four students [laughing]. (VE)

Even though VE uses dissimilation to create a clear-cut difference between Hungarians and Serbs, her discourse uses a transformative strategy in the sense that she changes the established discourses of non-mixing between the two ethnic groups.

Extracurricular activities are another site for ethnic mixing. They are sometimes not separated by language, and instruction, if needed, is provided in both languages. A discursive strategy used a lot by interlocutors to refer to these ethnicized or non-ethnicized spaces is nomination: listing the locations of interaction one after another. For instance VE is involved in a first aid group in Bačka Topola. The lessons are bilingual: instruction is given first in one language, then in the other. The teams are either ethnically mixed or homogenous, depending on the choice of the team-members how they organize their team. Another interlocutor, CE, spoke to me about the school choir in her school:

U94: There was choir in the 1st and 2nd grade, then Serbs, Hungarians were together, right, then we met a few girls, so we know them somewhat . . . We meet with those from the choir, and then we say “hello”, and that’s all. There are no big conversations. (CE)

Going out to bars, clubs, pubs, cafes are a natural opportunity to meet and socialize with Serbian youth. As VJ’s narrative shows:

U95: I have a... not classmate, but he goes to the same school as I do, and with him I make friends... not make friends, but I talk with him, we talk about where he goes for the weekend or something. (VJ)

As VJ is one of the very few young people in Kishegyes who attends secondary school in a Serbian stream, I will spend some more time exploring the ways he constructs his own ethnic

identity. Even though not the only one of my informants who had a strong wish to master the Serbian language, VJ is the one who went the furthest in the efforts to do so. As he explained, the family chose this way for him because he has an older sister who has a college degree from technical college in Subotica where she studied in the Hungarian-language stream, and now cannot find a job because she does not speak Serbian, so they did not want him to have the same problem. In line with what Gábrity Molnár (2008a) argues, Hungarian youth in Vojvodina are often professional in either their mother tongue and have lacking knowledge of the state language, or vice versa, so full bilingualism is rare. Arising from VJ's position of attending a Serbian steam in a city considered Serbian, which is very rare among Hungarian youth in Kishegyes, most of his utterances employ transformation of the dominant discourses of ethnic identity in Kishegyes.

In the previous paragraph I have made a link between places and ethnicity, and in the case of VJ this link is all the more obvious:

U96: I knew, how to say, who I was, where I was from, but even then I was pretty anxious. . . . It was very difficult, the first month. But then everything started to get into its place. (VJ)

With the phrase "I knew . . . who I was, where I was from" VJ connects the place he is from (locality) with the identity he has (ethnicity). Also, the phrase is almost a direct reference and an interdiscursive link to the public discourse of Vojvodina Hungarian politicians and public intellectuals on having to know where we are from and where we are heading. This way "being" and "being from" refer to the same feature of identity: ethnic membership. Despite the fact that he has more contact with Serbian young people at school than other young people from Kishegyes, VJ also goes back to the village every weekend and has his group of close friends there.

U97: I: I have acquaintances [in the town where he studies] but I don't really [hang out] with them.

R: Not with classmates?

I: Not yet [laughing].

...

R: Do you have friends here in Kishegyes?

I: Of course. I only have them here. (VJ)

VJ constructs the difference between Hungarians and Serbs (or Montenegrins, as is the case with most of the inhabitants of Lovćenac, the neighboring village, who are often also referred to as Serbs by Hungarians from Kishegyes employing discursive unification) as positive for the Serbs in terms of a higher level of solidarity among peers:

U98: I: Everyone condemns them [people from Lovćenac] because they are Serbs and have a different mentality.

R: In what way do they have a different mentality?

I: I can't really say...

R: What do they do differently than the Hungarians in Kishegyes?

I: They stick together. Because in Kishegyes for instance... let's take fights as an example, differences between Kishegyes and Lovćenac. . . . It always happens that everyone stands and watches how they are beating up his best friend. Those from Kishegyes. But with those in Lovćenac there is no such thing. For instance if someone sees, let's say from Lovćenac, that anyone whom he knows... He goes there immediately and helps or they talk about the things. They stick together. . . . I am also among Serbs, those Serbs from down there are even more different, they stick together even more. (VJ)

VJ uses comparison and hypothetical narratives; he is constructing a positive value in the members of the other group, "sticking together". Gábrity (2008) found in her research that solidarity with each other is the most prominent stereotype of Hungarian youth about Serbs, while according to Papp's research, faction is the strongest negative self-stereotypes of Hungarians in Vojvodina (2007). This way, employing a dissimulation, VJ constructs the out-group as better, occupying a higher moral position than the in-group.

VJ uses “sticking together” as a positive characteristic of the people from Lovćenac. When he speaks about the negative attributes others use for them his expressions become vague (“they have different mentality”). This is true for other interlocutors as well when they speak about members of other ethnic groups. “But I don’t have many Serbian acquaintances because they are also like... ‘Hungarians what not’...” (CL). This interlocutor, like most of the others, does not point to any specific characteristics she dislikes in Serbian youth. Most people I spoke to, when they felt they were moving to a negative language, would laugh, have longer pauses and/or hesitations (marked by “...” in the transcript) to signal that they felt uncomfortable. Laughter, silences, hedging devices and hesitations are contextualization cues pointing to self-censorship in front of the researcher, i.e. negative attribution of the other ethnic group is rather implied than explicitly uttered for fear that the utterance may be understood as chauvinist or racist. In the following utterances too, laughter is a contextualization cue pointing to interlocutors’ politically incorrect register about ethnic others.

U99: If I liked that person [a potential Serbian boyfriend] and so, it would work out, and if I was good at the language [*laughing*] then I think there would be no problem with that. (BA)

U100: We don't like any of them [Muslims] [*laughing*]. I mean not us, the family, but rather the village. Because this is basically a Hungarian village, so this village doesn't really like the others [*laughing*]. But they are still here. And the problem is that there are more and more of them. (KN)

Going beyond the obvious self-censorship in the presence of the researcher, the reason for the only implicit references to negative characteristics of ethnic others is also that given the official discourse of interethnic relations in Vojvodina, which constructs the region as an idyllic place of multiculturalism and interculturalism, there is no place for expressing negative attitudes or reproducing verbally ethnic conflicts. There is a discursive limit until which speech can go, and negative attributes of the other group are not politically correct and are thus silenced and self-censored. In other words, there are no discursive frames within which one feels free to express negative construction of the other group’s characteristics – at least not in the form of an interview with an academic studying interethnic relations. Observation shows

that even in much less formal situation negative stereotypes are rarely explicitly voiced to a semi-insider. Sometimes these contextualization cues can be one of the things that binds the in-group together, something that group members share but what is kept un verbalized.

VJ is one of the very few interlocutors who spoke about the Egyptian inhabitants of the village without a negative tone but rather neutrally retelling a story he heard about the man who was the first one to move to Kishegyes with his family and who is an imam and has a healing practice as well. He used a narrative form to retell a story he heard about an Egyptian man healing a Hungarian boy.

U101: I: OK, they are Muslims. They don't hurt anyone if none hurts them.

R: And did you go to places with this friend [the imam's son]?

I: No, [we met] only at school.

R: Have you ever been to their place?

I: No. Because his father is called Gargamel in the village.

R: Why?/

I: Because a boy from Telecska got afraid of something and he couldn't stop crying. He was laughing but...

R: A shock?

I: Yes. And they have a sort of a mosque, because they are Muslims . . . / He took him to a tower or wherever and he started shouting at him. . . . They were Hungarians. / He [the father] heard about him... / He has already taken the boy to doctors, everywhere, but they couldn't do anything and he was told... or he heard, or I don't know... he heard that there is a sort of a magician here and he can help with these things. / He took him up, really, / and kept shouting at him for a whole afternoon . . . / That's what they say in the village. / And when he took him down, the boy, in his hands, he fell asleep. (VJ)

The resolution, a positive outcome of the story is that “when he took him down, the boy, in his hands, he fell asleep”. “That's what they say in the village” is the coda of the narrative.

The phrase “they don't hurt anyone if none hurts them” speaks of a deep separation of the other group, a high level of dissimilation through which Egyptians are perceived almost as pariah, who are not only different but lower in hierarchy. The pariah-like nature of the Muslim in the village is expressed in informal conversations where I was told for instance that “of course” no one would talk to the Egyptian lady waiting for her child in front of the kindergarten. Like all of my interlocutors, VJ himself has never been to their house or made friends with any of them outside school.

To present a comparison between the perspective of VJ and other interlocutors speaking about Muslims in Kishegyes, I am citing the narrative about the same Egyptian family by another interlocutor:

U102: The way they arrived to this village was something very interesting, really. / They came five or six years ago . . . / I heard the head of the family, a charlatan or God knows what, a healer, and they arrived, / they built themselves a nice house, a mosque for themselves and I don't know what next to it, and they have many cars, all of them nice, and they just came. / If someone has this much money why would they come here? This is strange in itself. . . I don't know what they want here. (ZB)

ZB's narrative starts with an abstract: “The way they arrived to this village was something very interesting, really,” then the clauses follow. His negative evaluation is that “This is strange in itself . . . I don't know what they want here”, and the second part of this is also a coda.

ZB uses deictics as the means of realization to refer to ethnic others. These are mostly general personal pronouns, in ZB's utterance the pronoun “they”, and they serve the function of unifying and homogenizing members of the other ethnic group, which is a high level of the dissimilation strategy. The cases of both ZB and VJ show how one's own personal experiences shape the way he constructs his ethnic identity vis-à-vis Serbs and Egyptians. Retelling experience them as a narrative form is a means of realization to express one's general attitude towards others. Personal narratives thus serve as legitimizing devices for generalized attitudes about ethnic others.

As presented, when speaking about Egyptians or Serbs, interlocutors often employ dissimilation. However, there are also oppositional voices that transform established discourses of ethnic separation. Apart from the above utterances of VJ about Egyptians, other interlocutors have also employed a transformative strategy in their discourses about Serbs.

U103: Well, mostly these Serbian friends of mine are such that they understand Hungarian too but they don't speak. So they talk to me in Serbian and I talk to them in Hungarian. (CL)

U104: At the moment I have a single one Serbian acquaintance, he is a singer in one of the bands, but... He makes more friends with Hungarians, and his girlfriends is Hungarian too, but he doesn't speak Hungarian at all, with him I speak English, I actually met him this summer. He is the first Serbian acquaintance I have ever had in my life. Not because I had any bad feelings towards him... them, but I simply can't talk with them. But with him, because he speaks English, he speaks English perfectly, and me, so-so. We speak in English, and because we have many common interests we found a common ground and I met him in the summer, but since we meet regularly. (GZ)

In the above utterance the interlocutor uses personal experience narrative to refer to a possibility of the friendship between Hungarians and Serbs. In the complicating action he says that: "I actually met him this summer . . . but since we meet regularly". In the orientation section the narrator finds important to let us know that his Serbian acquaintance "is a singer in one of the bands", "makes more friends with Hungarians", "his girlfriend is Hungarian", "he doesn't speak Hungarian", "with him I speak English", "he speaks English perfectly". The narrator makes two evaluative points: the first in which he explains that actually language was the barrier for not having before Serbian friends, saying about Serbs in general that he did not have "any bad feelings towards him... them, but I simply can't talk with them", and the other evaluative point is made in relation to his friend: "we have many common interests we found a common ground" which serves to justify making friends with a Serbian. English is a transnational language used for communication, which at the same time overcomes national barriers and reinforces them. That means that this type of encounters are possible but without the local

national frames: they do not communicate in Serbian or Hungarian. The interlocutor uses the assimilation to create similarities that operate not on ethnic but on global level: he depicts his Serbian friend as similar to himself only in frames of global culture, e.g. they listen to popular music, speak good English, etc.

In the following utterance the interlocutor refers to typical scenes when meeting Serbian friends. She uses indirect speech (“I am not like ‘oh, the Serbs, how much I hate them’”) to establish an interdiscursive link to the generalized utterances promoting ethnic intolerance which are part of the Vojvodina’s discursive repertoire. The interlocutor distances herself from this repertoire.

U105: I have Serbian girlfriends here from Kishegyes, not friends like... but when we meet it's “hello, how are you?” and that's all, so... I am not like “oh, the Serbs, how much I hate them”... There are one or two whom I can't stand because they are self-centered or something, but it doesn't depend on whether they are Serbs or Hungarians, well, there are people like these. (KH)

Interlocutors in U103, U104 and U105 spoke about their experience with their Serbian peers, and while in the conversation they referred to one or several people, what they said is related to their more general beliefs about the group, that form their relationships with individuals of Serbian ethnicity and that are in turn formed by their experiences with individual members of another ethnic group. As visible in KH’s discourse, while she speaks of specific persons with whom she has a friendly but not intimate relationship and some others whom she dislikes, the second part of her first sentence (“oh, the Serbs, how much I hate them”) but also the second part of her second sentence (“it doesn't depend on whether they are Serbs or Hungarians, well, there are people like these”) refers to generalizations, even though not necessarily based on her own experience. It illustrates an attempt to step out of ethnic frame, a transformation and distancing from established discursive frames, saying that it does not matter if one were Hungarian or Serb but what kind of person they were.

Another common strategy to refer to personal experience, especially negative, is by mitigating value judgments or the importance of events. In combination with mitigation, disclaimers such as “just” or “but” are often used to distance oneself from saying socially undesirable and/or potentially problematic things. It can be read as a face-saving strategy. Interlocutors employ dissimulation and claim “mentality” to be the main feature that differentiates Serbs from Hungarians.

U106: I have no problems with Serbian people or the language itself, just that mentality is not really me. (BA)

U107: I wouldn't say that there is animosity between us, because there isn't, but somehow there isn't... there isn't... like I'd go there and we have a chat [laughing]. (BA)

U108: And actually with the Serbs themselves I really have no problems and I have never judged anyone based on this, but there is... there is a critical mass of Serbs that I can't stand either. It's not that I can't stand them because they are Serbs but because they really behave like that. (GZ)

Hedging is also used in the above examples, and serve to signal that the utterance will continue with negative attitudes referring to the group as a whole (Serbian people). By using these disclaimers interlocutors mitigate the negative attitudes.

As already seen, expressing lack of motivation for making contact with Serbian peers or participating in activities together with them is often done through the emotive function of language. Apart from the previous three examples, where lack of contact is justified with an incompatibility of mentalities and ways of behavior, lack of language is often referred to as the primary reason of not communicating. Dissimulation is employed in the following utterance, with the interlocutor explicitly pointing out the separation between Serbian and Hungarian youth in the village.

U109: I: They [Serbian youth in the village] are rather separate. We haven't really spoken to any of them, because they were rather self-sufficient. I mean with Nataša¹⁵, that's one of the girls' name, I have spoken, but she speaks Hungarian, so...

R: And with the other you couldn't or you weren't interested to?

I: Well, the other girl, she is not like... I think she wouldn't even want to speak Hungarian even if she could, and everyone is saying that she's a bit, I don't know how to explain... actually I don't know her, I just heard that she is very conceited. (LA)

Another strategy to construct social relations as ethnically determined is legitimizing lack of contact with non-Hungarians with authoritative discourse. Authoritative discourse is a language of privilege, a type of discourse that exercises social control (Bakhtin 1981). In the following utterances justification is achieved by referring to the discourse of a person or institution as an authority and citing their arguments. In most cases, given the age group of my interlocutors, the figures of authority were teachers, parents and grandparents. The things to be distanced from are: staying in the country (advocating migration) were cooperation between members of various ethnicities, interethnic marriages (advocating endogamous marriages). All of the utterances achieve justification by using indirect speech.

U110: And the teacher said already that she doesn't feel like doing the whole thing [program for the day of the school], to start and do something, because for her too... it never suits her [Serbian] colleague, she never likes it. (CE)

U111: And the teachers also started to... so to say... whisper to us that... that we should go as far as we can, that "it's not nice to say to you, kids, but go as far as possible from this country", so I hear it everywhere now that nothing can be achieved here and everybody is leaving. (GZ)

U112: My mother told it was good that I didn't say anything back [after having been verbally assaulted for speaking Hungarian in the street], or that at most one can politely retort (*illedel-*

¹⁵ A pseudonym.

mesen elküldeni a fenébe) in this kind of situations so that the person knows that I speak Serbian and that he/she is not in a superior position. (PR)

U113: My grandfather from Feketics made me swear not to get married to a Serbian, just a Hungarian, “look for the greatest Hungarian”, and so. I said “enough”. (CL)

In cases referring to teachers, both speakers agree with them on the uselessness of participating in the organization of the day of the school (U110 and U111) and on persuing higher education in Serbia (U111), as things that the Hungarian community does not benefit from, while when it comes to the authority of family members, PR in U112 refers to her mother’s advice to remain passive in cases of conflict, CL in U113 rejects her grandfather’s explicit advice on endogamy that is set as a norm for the minority group members, especially female (see Ilić 2010; Hisa 2015). Her rejection of this authoritative discourse is important in light of the fact that generally, ethnically mixed marriages are seen as de facto assimilation, and women marrying men from another ethnicity, especially when it is a member of the majority ethnic group, are seen as betraying their national community by giving birth to children who will have the surname of the “other” group, speak the “other” language and keep the “other” tradition. This is not surprising given the perceived connection between female bodies and the nation: „The nation is narrated on the body of women who become an emotionally-laden symbol of the nation“ and the home, while it is men who „desire to possess it, see it, admire it, love it, protect it and die fighting for it against rivals“ (Saigol, n.d.:n.p.). The very concept of *Kulturnation* is founded on the assumption that women have a very important role in transmitting culture from generation to generation and being the symbolic guards of the community’s boundaries (Yuval-Davis 1998).

Another theme when speaking about interethnic relations is referring to unequal power between Serbian and Hungarian youth and the two ethnic groups in general. These utterances are sometimes framed as complaints, sometimes taken for granted. For youth, they are more often the former, while for teachers, principals, school psychologists, etc., adults who have a vested interest in preserving the status quo of the institutions, they are rather the latter. For instance when talking to a school principal, a person of Serbian ethnicity, about the graduation ceremony, he told me that the program is always decided after consulting representatives

of both streams. Then he went on telling me about a brass band (*trubači*), a music representing an imagined Serbian cultural tradition (Čolović 2006), being invited each year. I personally remember my own experience, and it has been confirmed in almost all conversations with teachers and educators who have contact with students from both streams, that Hungarian students are implicitly or explicitly seen as more disciplined, quieter, more diligent, more conservative, more shy, less active and less ready to participate in decision-making. Decisions are moreover, more often than not, being made based on discussions in Serbian language. In events such as graduation ceremonies, school celebrations, etc., as a teacher who is bilingual but teaches only in the Hungarian stream put it, “Hungarian students are present, and that’s all”. Another secondary school solved this kind of situation so that Serbian and Hungarian streams go for excursions separately (the Serbian stream mostly to Greece, the Hungarian to Hungary or Transylvania) and they also have separate graduation ceremonies. This way, separation based on ethnicity, at least on these occasions, becomes officially institutionalized.

Institutionalized ethnic differences came up as a theme during many interviews. Interlocutors referred to the unequal power between Serbian and Hungarian students at school, and the following utterances are examples of this.

U114: I: At the program for the day of the school, so it is already set that the teachers of Serbian organizes it, we Hungarians don’t have almost any say in that, they never like what we do, we always get a poem or something in Hungarian, and the Serbs always the play, don’t they, and the role plays and... and it’s full of Serbian folk dance and I don’t know what sort of dance that they do, and then really, there is hardly any Hungarian program.

R: And whose fault is that?

I: Well it’s definitely our fault, I mean the Hungarians’, because we should stand up and then say that yes, we should also do it, but when we go there and see... (CE)

U115: We have PE classes together, and then the Serbian PE teacher [incomprehensible] and then, I don’t know, the Serbian boys could play football more, the Hungarians weren’t allowed to play as much. And then unfortunately they always make this kind of small differences (CL).

U116: I don't know, we are used to that, OK, anyways everyone is Hungarian so we don't have to... After all, Serbians are in a minority here and so... it's more difficult to learn for us. (BA)

U117: Luckily it is still good that there are more Hungarians [than Muslims]. (ZB)

While CE and CL in U114 and U115 construct the hierarchy so that from it the Serbian group benefits only and Hungarians are in a subordinate position, CE also places responsibility on the Hungarian side as well. She also offers a solution that would contribute to a more equal system and give the Hungarian group more agency (“we should stand up”, “we should also do it”).

BA and ZB in U114 and U115, on the other hand, discursively transform the existing social hierarchy and invert the majority-minority relations. They place the Hungarian group to be the one with more rights and benefits than the other ethnic groups because it is more numerous. By looking at groups either as majority or minority, literature on multiculturalism cannot account for the case when a group that is a minority on state level does not experience being that in all situations but in certain contexts constructs itself to be the dominant group. It is important to see though that the inversion of the hierarchy works only on local level, in the village. As soon as they leave the village, Hungarians become the ones in the subordinate position. What this shows is that majority-minority status is context-dependent and strategic, more so than ethnicity itself.

As discussed earlier, using deictics, mainly personal pronouns, is a common means of realization for homogenizing an ethnic group, one's own or another. Within dissimulation, instances when personal pronouns are used to refer to members of the other ethnic group thus creating an internally unified group out of them are:

U118: *they* have to have a class with *them* (CM)

U119: I think for *them* it's also unpleasant that it's like this. (CM)

U120: Well, it's definitely *our* fault, I mean the Hungarians'. (CE)

Ethnic personal pronouns and stereotypes are prominent in constructing places, social and geographical, in terms of ethnic belonging. Even though ethnic identities are strategic and fuzzy, it is these strategies that are used to stabilize and label them, such as the above-mentioned ones are used in a stable, categorical fashion. Lakoff defines stereotypes as features that

are used in reasoning and especially in what is called 'jumping to conclusions' Stereotypes are used in certain situations to define expectations, make judgments, and draw inferences (1987:85).

Their purpose is thus to create coherence to the social environment and stability to the self, and the reason why it is ethnic categories that dominate social space depends on the situation. “[A] stereotype is an exaggerated belief associated with a category” (Allport 1979:191).

Within the strategies of dissimulation, stereotypes as linguistic and cognitive frames are another means of expressing general attitudes and thus homogenizing the group. Views on Serbs in general came up for instance when the theme love relationships were discussed. Generally, stereotypes on Serbians’ behavior match what is considered as “Balkan”, “macho” type: “short-tempered, not so peaceful and relaxed”, “just want to . . . use Hungarian girls”, etc.

U121: It's a fact that they [boys from Lovćenac] are very short-tempered, not so peaceful and relaxed. (PO)

U122: A few guys from my company of friends have said that Serbian guys just want to . . . use Hungarian girls and all, so they don't take them seriously, that for them Serbian is everything, so for instance a Serbian guy writes me that I am beautiful I shouldn't take it very seriously and all. (KH)

Stereotypes are an even more common strategy of constructing ethnic others when they refer to the Roma – a strategy typical of Serbia as well as other Eastern and Central European countries too (Ilić 2012; Pulay 2014, 2015; Ivancheva 2015; Schwab 2015). Here, in a highly interdiscursive fashion, all common stereotypes voiced in the media and in everyday life are found. The usual stereotypes used to refer to the Roma are: they profit from living on social benefits, they do not work, they steal money, they nag, etc.

U123: Others work, while they live on social benefits, and they live better than those who work. (HA)

U124: The Gypsies are here, a lot of them, and actually no-one works but the money is getting out of the village. (KN)

U125: The Gypsies... well, Roma, how to mention them... they like nagging a lot. (PE)

Unlike with the Serbs, the most common negative stereotypes of both Roma and Muslims are related to them not working and to their visibility – both in terms of the actual proportion of the community in the village (threat of invasion of space and of being outnumbered) and their use of public space. Their visibility is noted in public spaces such as the park, the street, where their mere existence is interpreted as threatening the normalcy of life in Kishegyes. As opposed to the Muslims and the Roma who are supposed to occupy a marginal space, such as the Roma neighborhood at the end of the village where their presence is normalized and seen as “natural”, local Hungarian people are seen as respectable citizens (Wacquant 2008). The categories not only reinforce the dissimilation expressed in the division of space but their discourses also serve to justify the incompatibility of the two (or more) ethnic cultures: “ours” and “theirs”. Also, while in case of Serbs dissimilation is primarily employed by means of referring to language, the Roma are separated by the perceived color of their skin, as well as the Egyptians, and additionally by their language¹⁶.

¹⁶Most Roma in Kishegyes speak Hungarian as their native language.

So far, in most of the utterances the strategy employed was dissimulation from members of other ethnic group. However, some interlocutors used transformation and assimilation as well by which similarities and positive characteristics were emphasized, which point to oppositional voices of some, and heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1981) within the community. Even though few, there are Hungarian young people I have spoken to who have Serbian friends, acquaintances and an ethnically mixed group of friends. In the following utterances, interlocutors refer explicitly to good relations with Serbian peers, or construct narratives of personal experience with them. These refer to interethnic encounters among peers in the school (U126), in the choir (U127), in Kishegyes (U128) and on the bus to school (U129).

U126: Well, with Serbian kids I am on good terms. (CL)

U127: When we started going to the choir . . . in the first and second grade there was a choir, it was elective in the grammar school, so I chose it. It was a good idea because those from the Serbian stream also attended it. And it was very good and funny because, well, we got both Hungarian lyrics and Serbian lyrics to sing. And then when, well, that brought together the company, it was then that I made friends with the Serbs very much, because the teacher equally... so she gave Hungarian lyrics too, and the Serbs also had to learn to sing, and we the Serbian ones as well. And then it was very funny that in Cyrillic and with accents and all they were writing it down for themselves how to pronounce [laughing], so we were teaching each other. It was a nice period. . . . The friendship stayed. For instance when we meet in Topolya, in Gradska [*kafana*] or when we sit in Palma and we meet them they sit with us, we talk a bit, so... whatever, basic things, so they are friendly and I have no problems, and I like them equally as the Hungarians, and I have no aversion in me, but well, because of the language... a bit... I can't flourish as with the Hungarians. (PO)

U128: We are such good friends that once a week or twice a week when I visited him they even invited me for Sunday lunch. In Kishegyes. (ZB)

U129: I have no problems with people from Lovćenac, if I sit next to a girl from Lovćenac on the bus, I exchange a few sentences with her. (PO)

All four interlocutors have spoken about their positive experience with their Serbian peers, general (U126) or individual (U127, U128 and U129). Utterances like the above are interdiscursive in that they resonate with the official discourse of multiculturalism, in which interethnic friendships and relationships are emphasized. Upon closer look though, in U126, U127 and U129 we see that these relations are actually not friendships, just acquaintanceships. In other conversations I had with local people too, there was a tendency to exaggerate the level of intimacy with non-Hungarians. So young people who attend the same school, the same choir group or who commute with the same bus are personalized, contacts with them are given importance. This is an assimilation that creates social distance to be smaller than it actually is.

Minority status is experienced as a social stigma, an attribute that is discredited and rejected in society, leaving a lasting negative effect on the identity of the stigmatized person (Goffman 1963). In response to this stigma, experiences in which minority status is not saliently felt are evaluated in a highly positive manner. In the previous paragraph, I have discussed exaggerated friendships, and I also want to spend a few sentences looking at the strategy of positively evaluating linguistic reciprocity. Other than U127 in the previous set of examples, the following three utterances also serve to give a positive predication to Serbian peers who do not see Hungarians negatively and who do not comply to the stereotypical negative view of Serbs. The will to learn Hungarian is regarded as positive and neutralizes the difference in communication: the situation in which someone willingly becomes the one who speaks a language poorly, with mistakes and lacking vocabulary, and thus is the inferior one in the given situation, is rewarded. It is one of the rare occasions the self can identify with the other, and the positions in social hierarchy are temporarily reversed. Upon my observation in schools, conversations, etc. the attempts to speak Hungarian was always seen as exceptional and was reciprocated with praise.

U130: R: Do they [girls in the parallel Serbian stream in the Kishegyes elementary school] speak Hungarian?

I: No... OK, a word or two. And one of the girls said that I should try... so that she learns a few Hungarian words, and I think this is a positive thing too that... that they would like to learn Hungarian. (KH)

U131: He [the teacher of Serbian] said that it s going to work so that he teaches us Serbian and we teach him Hungarian. So he is nice. (LA)

U132: I was surprised that she [her roommate from Lovćenac] wants to learn [Hungarian]. (PR)

These sort of reciprocity is much more common in Subotica or Bačka Topola or in other mixed environments than in Kishegyes though. On one hand, given the numbers of the non-Hungarian and Hungarians inhabitants, it is natural, on the other hand, regardless of the number of the members of the ethnic communities, it does point to the separation of the ethnic groups in the village. Other than KH in U130 who speaks about her peers in Kishegyes, all other interethnic friendships I have heard about were with Serbian young people not from Kishegyes. There seem to be more opportunities and willingness to engage in ethnic mixing outside Kishegyes, the reason for which lies in the ownership felt over the village, a sense of entitlement constructed around the space, while in other places this sense is lost and one enters an insecure space, outside of the one's comfort zone.

5.3.4 Conclusion

In general, interethnic relations in Kishegyes and in places that young Hungarian people from the village attend, are to be described with Bauman's (2011) term of multicomunitarism: ethnic cultures are experienced as fortresses under siege that young people are "interpellated" (Žižek 1989) to be loyal to and defend, while ethnic differences are expected to be maintained. Young people have various strategies and means of realization to justify or transform this mental imagery, and react in various ways to the official discourses offered to them, accepting or transforming them. In the previous section I have discussed the relations between various ethnic groups that young people from Kishegyes come in contact with. I organized these contacts somewhat arbitrarily, into interactions along the lines of time, space and social relations. In terms of time, I have focused on holidays and traditions and customs associated

with them. The holidays celebrated among Hungarians in Kishegyes are the religious ones, even though they are fairly emptied of their religious content. The family is the main area where these are celebrated. Interlocutors are often not aware of the dates or the customs marking secular or religious holidays of other ethnic groups, with the exception of the *slava*, but in that case, their knowledge is mainly second-hand and/or general.

Even though members of other ethnic groups share the public spaces of the village and physically, except the part at one the end of the village where most of Roma live in very poor conditions, space is not ethnically divided, the general attitudes towards Kishegyes among my interlocutors, but also other residents, is that of ownership over geographical and social space. Being a majority or a minority are relative experiences (Patton 2010) and strategic in nature: a set of rules and norms apply to Kishegyes, another one to dominantly Serbian places. Villages, towns, places to go out to, religious objects, etc. are seen in ethnic terms, and ownership over them by a given groups is not challenged. “Intruders”, be they Serbs, Egyptians or Roma are not welcome in this space, in the institutions, in the streets, in their neighborhood, they are often labeled with negative stereotypes that refer to, homogenize and essentialize the entire ethnic group.

Language also creates social hierarchies, which may be situational, depending on the location. In the “Hungarian world” of the village, the stream in the school, among friends it is Hungarian language and culture that are dominant, while everywhere outside this there is an intensive feeling of powerlessness, lack of agency and inferior self-image (Blum 1996). Social relations rest on the principle of social distance between various ethnicities and a mosaic model of multiculturalism (Maclure 2010) where peaceful coexistence is emphasized but not shared environments. Ethnic boundaries (Barth 1969) are strong; there is a high differentiation based on ethnicity, which is constructed primarily based on language. It is the language one speaks that determines to what ethnic group he or she belongs to. Language brings with itself a national sentiment, which is accepted and performed on everyday bases in various areas of life and transformed in others. With regard to ethnic Others, with language a certain behavioral patterns are associated. These beliefs and attitudes are legitimized in various ways: by generalizations, mitigation or introducing authoritative discourse. On the other hand, positive relations with Serbian peers and their efforts to speak Hungarian are highly valued and

seen as gestures towards equal relationships. However, actual spaces for ethnic mixing (Hromadzić 2011) are scarce and this practice is discouraged by both figures of authority and peers – those who engage in it do it on their own initiative.

5.4 Ethnic culture and identity

5.4.1 *Hungarianness*

Ethnic identification, as we know from constructivist theories, is not a matter of belonging to fixed categories but a dynamic process that depends on the actual social context. At times, for certain groups, it is more strategic, at other times and for other groups it is relatively fixed. Being Hungarian in Kishegyes it is in the most cases a fact of life, an identification that is rarely challenged and reflected on consciously. This is by no means surprising: Jenkins (1997) reminds us that the fact that ethnicity is constructed does not mean that this construction is a conscious process or a dynamics that individuals are aware of; on the contrary, having a specific ethnic identity is not seen as a choice of membership in an imagined community. Anderson (1995) argues that communities are imagined partly because their members will never be able to meet all the members face to face, but regardless they see themselves as a part of the group. In their minds the community is limited: it has boundaries that, even though flexible, set apart the members of the community from the non-members. It is not necessary to meet all Hungarians to see oneself as belonging to the community of Hungarians, it is enough to have contact with the other members of a more immediate community, which is the village and its inhabitants, family, friends, and acquaintances. It is necessary though to know who is a member and who is not to have a notion of the group's boundaries. This community functions according to the rules of the "Hungarian world": the language spoken is Hungarian, the cultural products consumed are Hungarian, the customs observed and oral history transmitted are Hungarian – this is how group identity is created and maintained. For these reasons, in this subchapter I discuss Hungarianness as an ideological core that has emerged from my observations and interviews, and that is an ideological core that connects thematic units related to ethnic culture and identification. Within it, several thematic units emerged: Hungarian lan-

guage, Hungarian history, with a special emphasis on the Treaty of Trianon, music, emphasizing the representation of Hungarian folk music and Serbian popular music, ethnic origin, with the themes of Hungarian peers opting for a Serbian ethnic identity, peers from ethnically mixed marriages and Hungarists, relations to Hungary and Hungarians from there and the feeling of liminality between Serbia and Hungary. The strategies employed vary according to the themes and between interlocutors: while some construct their identities in accordance with widely established narratives, others oppose these. The most common discursive strategies are construction, transformation, dissimilation, assimilation, predication, justification, legitimization, mitigation and gradation. The means of realization used are attribution, stereotypes, comparison, hedging, narratives, adverbs, attributes and qualifiers.

As already discussed, in the vast majority of cases the mother tongue defines the language of instruction at school, the language of communication with family and friends, the language of media that one follows, etc. In the case of Hungarians in Vojvodina thus, ethnic identification is based on native language. Hungarian language, in the environment of the village almost exclusive, and by many it is not only the only language of interaction but is attributed with an aesthetically high status as well. This is a predication of discursively qualifying Hungarian language and Hungarian culture attached to the language and attributing a superior status, uniqueness, and an emotional value to it.

U133: Hungarian language is... especially Hungarian literature, poems, not things that can be discussed with someone of another ethnicity because there are no such words, that colorfulness. . . . We definitely wouldn't understand each other fully. (KN)

U134: English is what I would like to learn, and Hungarian is my mother tongue. Hungarian is... how shall I say it... how shall I phrase it... Well, that since my childhood I am surrounded by Hungarians, and my brothers are completely (*színtiszta*) Hungarians, and they also... for instance their room... on the entire wall a Hungarian flag... It is, I don't know how to describe... (LA)

U135: I think Hungarian is one of the most beautiful languages. Unique and inimitable. (ZB)

However, identification has another crucial aspect, the constant communication with members of other groups and the comparison of oneself to them. In the everyday life of the young people in Kishegyes they are the inhabitants of the village of other ethnicities, Serbs, Roma, Egyptians, etc., and their non-Hungarian peers at school or in places they frequent outside school. The presence (or absence) of interactions with members of other ethnic groups is thus as much important for identifying as Hungarian as these interactions contribute to creating symbolic ethnic borders (Barth 1969).

On the other hand, ethnic identification is at least partly strategic for the people who are “half Serbian” or “half Hungarian”. During the interviews and casual conversations I often heard young people referring to their friends, acquaintances or boyfriends as being Serbian or half Serbian or half Hungarian. In cases when the subject of the speaking was Hungarian, their ethnicity was rarely stated, as it was taken for granted. Conversely, being Serbian, half Serbian or half Hungarian are marked categories, i.e. categories that refer to non-Hungarian or not “fully” Hungarian people are ambiguous: people with one Hungarian and one Serbian parent are referred to as Serbian, Hungarian, half Serbian or half Hungarian, depending on the context. The determining factor is most often but not necessarily the language used with the person who is identifying. Thus for instance BA refers to her friend PG as being half Serbian but she notes that they speak in Hungarian, while CL spoke about a Serbian ex-boyfriend of hers with whom she spoke Hungarian “because he knew Hungarian, his mother was Hungarian”. She also spoke about a friend with whom she speaks Serbian in order to practice the language, “he goes to a Hungarian stream but his father is Serbian”. What can be assumed is that when referring to a person from of ethnically mixed parentage what counts as the main carrier of ethnic identity is the “world” the person lives in: whether they attend a Serbian or a Hungarian stream at school, whether Serbian or Hungarian is their first language, whether they have more Serbian or Hungarian friends, what religion they are, what holidays, traditions and customs they observe.

5.4.2 *National history*

In the Hungarian-language education system in Serbia, history is learned as a subject for one, two or three classes a week for one, two, three or four years, depending on the type of secondary school (in the general stream of grammar schools for instance it is twice a week during all four years). Within the subject, all students learn Serbian history and world history, while members of ethnic communities have several chapters inserted in the textbooks and the curriculum about national history (Hungarian, Slovak, Romanian, etc.). Apart from the relevant chapters in the textbooks, teachers are allowed to but not obliged to use other material for teaching national history, such as excerpts from Hungarian textbooks, other books, etc. As the few inserted textbook chapters are relatively brief, in reality it is the teacher who determines how much focus will be put on national history. I see national history as another thematic unit and discuss it in this section.

Just like secondary school students in any other place, some of my interlocutors were interested in history, some not. For many young people in Kishegyes, just like Serbian language for instance, history is a subject at school and has no significant effect on everyday life. Especially the part of the curriculum on Serbian history, even though they learn it, as CE said, “we learn it but it doesn’t stick”. History serves not only to create and recreate the community and its shared past but also to differentiate between groups; there is an evaluation of events which is transmitted across generations. Referring to different Hungarian and Serbian customs, one of the interlocutors attributed these to the different historical development of the two ethnic groups: “These differences developed throughout history” (PR).

For some young people though history, and especially Hungarian history has a special relevance that relates to ethnicity, the past and the present of the community. In Hungarian history, especially for Hungarians from outside Hungary, the Treaty of Trianon from 1920 when Hungary lost about two thirds of its territory, including Vojvodina, is a topic of special relevance. As Volkan explains, it is a “chosen trauma” defined as

the image of a past event during which a large group suffered loss or experienced helplessness and humiliation in a conflict with a neighboring group. This term refers to the mental representation of an event that has caused a large group to face drastic losses, feel helpless and victimized by another group, and share a humiliating injury. Since a large group does not choose to be victimized or suffer humiliation, some take exception to the term “*chosen*” trauma. I believe that it reflects a group’s unconscious “*choice*” to add a past generation’s mental representation of an event to its own identity, and the fact that while groups may have experienced any number of traumas in their history, only certain ones remain alive over centuries. A chosen trauma is linked to the past generation’s inability to mourn losses after experiencing a shared traumatic event, and indicates the group’s failure to reverse narcissistic injury and humiliation inflicted by another large group, usually a neighbor (2001:79).

Indeed, not only in history curriculum but in the Hungarian official discourse of the nation, Trianon occupies a prominent place. This is an interdiscursive reference in that the everyday discourses of some of the young people reflect public discourses of Trianon as the defining trauma of the Hungarian nation, an event that deserves a special place in the collective memory of Hungarians regardless of their age or place of birth. Interlocutors used predication to attribute a special status to this historical event, and narratives and comparison as means of realization.

U136: I: On the last day [of a history camp] there was a survey about what we think of the camp and the like, and there was also a question: ‘What do you know about Trianon?’ / And then people were coming to me to ask me for help. / And they were older people too, from 18 to 15, and I was even younger. But really, they were coming and asking, because there were questions like when, and then who made the agreement, and what were its consequences... And I know these things.

R: Is this Trianon topic especially interesting for you?

I: It used to be more interesting. Now I have realized that it’s not worth to think about what happened because I can’t change it. And then it’s just useless anxiety or such.

I: I asked several people [at school], just out of curiosity, if they knew why we live in Serbia. And then, that, “because we live here”. “OK, but we are Hungarians.” “Well, right...” From what I know in Serbia it was thought for a long time that we came here, and not the other way

around.

R: And have you asked Serbs about this?

I: Not them. But I went on Wikipedia in Serbian and I typed in the history of Serbia, and well... When was this? A year or so ago... That part was still missing a lot then. I mean there was the First World War, and then immediately after already Yugoslavia and such things.

R: So which part do you think was missing?

I: Well the part about Trianon. I mean there was, but reduced to a minimum. I don't have any conspiracy theories, just... I think for them it's also unpleasant that it's like this. (CM)

CM attributes Trianon special importance: "And I know these things", "Well the part about Trianon. I mean there was, but reduced to a minimum. I don't have any conspiracy theories, just... I think for them it's also unpleasant that it's like this". He uses the narrative form to attribute a special value to the Treaty of Trianon. The orientation of the narrative is "On the last day [of a history camp] there was a survey about what we think of the camp and the like", and clauses are: "there was also a question: 'What do you know about Trianon?'" and "then people were coming to me to ask me for help". "And I know these things" is the orientation as well. He also constructs Trianon as related to the present, an event that one can create frustration and "anxiety" even in contemporary times. Further, his discourse on Trianon is related to the notion of autochtonism, i.e. who was the first ethnic group to settle in the territory: "From what I know in Serbia it was thought for a long time that we came here, and not the other way around". He believes Trianon is viewed from the side of Serbian history as an unpleasant event that is marginalized in Serbian historiography. We also learn from the second excerpt what are the interlocutor's sources of Serbian historiography. It is not peers, not school curricula, but online sources. He is curious though to compare the two interpretations of the event, but unlike Hungarian history, for him Serbian history is a distant subject that takes some effort to get access to and discover.

In others' minds too, Hungarian history and the present of the Hungarian community outside of the borders of Hungary are connected. In the official discourse the past and the present are often connected and framed as topics of summer camps and special activities organized for diaspora Hungarians in Hungary or elsewhere. In this line of thought, history be-

comes the past, which is assumed to be objectively representable and possible to recreate, and the passing on of traditions and the keeping of Hungarianness (*magyarság megőrzése*) a value.

History and tradition are closely connected. Tradition tends to be seen as transposing historical knowledge into the present, a way of making the past live in contemporary times too. They are related on the official level of discursive construction, e.g. in the collective memory, official speeches that make the awareness of history and the keeping of tradition linked, in activities framed around community and history:

U137: It [the camp] was about history and deals with the keeping of Hungarianness. (CM)

History and tradition are also linked in the idea of certain customs being kept in a certain way and thus making the community survive. The recreation of traditions are to a lesser or larger extent inventions (Anderson 1991). An example of such an “invented tradition” is the Hungarian runic script (also called Old Hungarian script) which is considered to have been used by Hungarians since the 12th century and that remained to be the script of the Sekler (*székely*) Hungarians of Transylvania even centuries after Hungarians elsewhere in the Carpathian basin changed to Latin script. The script has had a popular revival since the 1990s (in Hungary one can see signs with the names of towns and villages written in runic script) and it has a certain undertone of nationalism, right-wing politics and/or a neo-pagan (*táltos*) movement. Another dimension of the re-discovery of the runic script is that it is thought to have been preserved by Hungarians in Transylvania who, in Hungarian national mythology, occupy a special place as the “authentic” Hungarians. For most the Vojvodina Hungarians, the runic script does not have such a strong meaning as it does for Hungarians in Transylvania, but nevertheless there are a few young people, especially those who do folk dance and are susceptible to the ideas of traditionalism, who assign it a special role and have learned to write in this script. History, tradition and the community’s past are therefore seen as organically connected and as defining the community’s present. The unity of the past and present is emphasized in oral history, collective memory, political speeches, in the media, but as seen above it is also utilized on a more banal level, in the popular imagery of the ethnic group and its development.

5.4.3 Old and new folk music

For the generation of interlocutors, music plays a significant role in defining communities. In literature on popular culture, music essentially delineates subcultures (see Hall/Jefferson 1975; Brake 1980; Bennett/Kahn Harris 2004). Folk music is a crucial element of expressing and constructing ethnic identity. Dancing folk dances or singing folk songs is therefore not merely a hobby for those who do it, neither just a musical taste. Folk music has always been an important element of Hungarian culture and tradition (Sebő 2007), and especially since the dance-house movement (*táncházmozgalom*) it serves as not only presenting but clearly also constructing culture and a community. By constructing culture I mean the creation of an image and giving priority to one particular version of folk tradition and generalizing it the imagined Hungarian community as a whole. Kishegyes, like most villages populated by Hungarians in Vojvodina, has a Hungarian folk dance ensemble where young people learn and perform folk dance choreographies. It is around two dozens of young people who are involved in the folk ensemble called Rizgetős through either singing in the folk music choir or dancing, or both. Folk music is very present in the life of the village and these young people are very visible: the choir sings and the dance ensemble performs at almost every cultural event, goes to competitions, travels abroad, wins awards. To be part of this gives recognizability and a certain communal status to the dancers, and they are known in the village.

A note needs to come here: when I write folk dance, just like my interlocutors, I mean Hungarian folk dance – no one person from the group ever used the ethnic marker as if it was obvious. As a comparison, in Zrenjanin, an ethnically much more Serbian-dominated town where I grew up, the situation was the same with the Hungarian folk dancers: they would simply use the word “folk dance” and they always danced Hungarian dances. The Serbian folk dance group, on the other hand, attended what they called “folklore” and they danced not only Serbian but also Roma, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Romanian, etc. dances. It is convenient to interpret this as nationalist sentiment but one has to keep in mind that in a minority, the identity element that places one in a minority position, ethnicity in this case, is always foregrounded and emphasized. Also, one can argue that while the Serbian folk dance ensemble

has the “luxury” of presenting a more diverse palette of dances and in this way showcase the openness of the Serbian society where minority cultures can also be cherished, the Hungarian ensemble uses folk dance as a strategy to present and indeed preserve its traditions. None of my interlocutors ever made a reference to Serbian folk dance – in their discourse, the term “folk dance” was reserved for Hungarian folk dance, while Serbian music for them was exclusively popular music sang in Serbian language.

I have interviewed quite a few folk dancers from Kishegyes and also attended events where they performed and visited several of their rehearsals. In the public opinion of the village, folk dancers form a closed community, and they see themselves as such too. They employ a construction and assimilation to discursively establish unity and solidarity among group members.

U138: The essence of the folk dance is meeting people, to have fun and love it. (HA)

U139: It’s like a second family. (PE)

U140: I feel very good in this environment, and because all this has a special feeling, the dance-houses too. (PE)

Not only do folk dancers emphasize the family-like ties among themselves in the Kishegyes ensemble but they also have good relationships with other Vojvodina Hungarian folk dance ensembles and some from Hungary. They travel a lot in Vojvodina and Hungary for competitions, shows, dance-houses, they go to dance camps and sometimes have visiting choreographers from Hungary. There is a certain image of them among adults and their peers in the village, and while some emphasize the positive features of the group, such as the strong sense of community, the beauty of their performances, their keeping and cherishing of traditions (*hagyományőrzés*), others have some negative things to say about the group: that they are exclusive, that they drink too much and that they are nationalists (to be discussed in 5.4.4.) – these are criticisms that are heard most often about them.

Photo 5.12 Folk dance rehearsal. Author's photo.



Regarding the stereotype of folk dancers that they are drinking and partying a lot within their community, HA claimed:

U141: These stereotypes, well, that folk dancers party more and drink, yes, actually, well, if we project it to all folk dancers and we make an average, then yes. Because I don't say that it requires it, but in dance-houses, and also the people of the past (*régi emberek*) when there was a... in a peasant society, there as well, almost, well, not this, but they were doing almost this. And in folk house of course they drank, had fun (*mulattak*), and we also took it over, and... and... I think it was like this, we realized that it's good, and enjoyable, and... (HA)

In his discourse, by using assimilation, HA here connects the past and present, and constructs folk dancing to be the transmitter of past traditions into our times, therefore creating a linear link between the Hungarian peasant communities in the past and contemporary youth in Kishégyes. His choice of words is archaic (“people of the past”, and also the Hungarian word

“*mulatni*” which denotes having fun to the sounds of music at a celebration, a word that is used for the specific type of occasions) also refers to a linear chronology and the construction of a timeless community. His discourse corresponds to how Boym (2001:25) defines nostalgia: “nostalgia is the mourning for the impossibility of mythical return, for the loss of an enchanted world with clear borders and values.” In nostalgia discourse the past is attributed higher value than the present; within that discourse rural, past, ancestral and authentic are chained in making one ideological line and the past is looked at for moral guidance (Williams 1973). The type of nostalgia used by the speaker is restorative that is characteristic of national(ist) revivals and engages in the revival of myths and symbols in the creation of history (Boym 2001). According to Velikonja’s definition,

nostalgia is a complex, differentiated, changing, emotion-laden, personal or collective, (non)instrumentalized story which dichotomously laments and glorifies romanticized lost times, people, objects, feelings, scents, events, spaces, relationships, values, political and other systems, all of which stand in sharp contrast to the inferior present. It is a mourning for the irreversible loss of the past, a longing for it, and it frequently involves a utopian wish and even an effort to bring it back. Nostalgia . . . is characterized by two antithetic elements: pleasant memories of an idealized yesterday that is compared with a downgraded today, and pain at the thought that these pastoral *tempi felici* are irrevocably gone (2008:27).

The “people of the past” HA refers to, i.e. ancestors represent figures of authority to legitimize his stance. He also acknowledged the close-knit nature of the folk dancers’ community, which is another example of assimilation. He told me that some of the folk dancer boys from Kishegyes and Bačka Topola have founded a folk dancers’ football club, *Délvidéki Vadkokosok* and they take part in the *Mundruc* folk dance football tournament. Similarly to the words he used when referring to past times and having fun, the word “*Vadkokosok*” is a nonexistent archaic-sounding word meaning “wild roosters”, while “*Mundruc*”, as the interlocutor explained, is the name of a subject a famous folk dance choreography was recorded from.

On the other hand, as PR, one of the folk dancers explained, the youth that does folk dancing is different: “they are more sophisticated... in the dance-house the boy asks the girl

for a dance... she has to pay attention to the guy". She used dissimulation to construct folk dancers as different from the youth who go to discos in terms of the music they listen to, their behavior and dressing: they like more colorful clothes, jewelry, clothing items with folklore elements (PR). It is therefore a mixture, a social *bricolage* (Lévi Strauss 2000) the music, the choice of the songs, the lyrics, the way of singing it, the instruments, the costumes, the hairdo and the choreography that constitute a performance in which the musicians, singers and dancers are the transmitters of bygone music, culture and traditions.

A vignette that illustrates some of the above mentioned: In the summer of 2013 there was the annual celebration of the day of the village in Kishegyes. This is the day when the village celebrates its re-settlement in 1769, when it became inhabited again, mainly by families from Békésszentandrás in Hungary (Marković 1991; Virág 2000). This day is celebrated with a cultural program in the culture center (*művelődési otthon* in Hungarian; "otthon" meaning "home", thus instead of the association of the English term "center" with officiality and the public, it brings the concept of the private, the homely into the foreground), which plays an important role in the life of the village, as all cultural events except those at the Dombos Fest take place here. On 21 March 2013 the highlight of the program was the promotion of the CD by the folk band whose singers, there young women, were all from Kishegyes. One of the musicians made an introduction to every song, locating it geographically but also in socio-political terms. The introduction to one of the songs was this:

U142: The next song originates from a village in Slovakia today. When a foreigner drives through the village, they don't hear Hungarian speech any more. The villagers greet the visitor in Slovak. But among themselves their songs are still being sung in Hungarian language.

This background story of a song conveys not only where the song comes from but an entire condensed narrative of a Hungarian village in Slovakia, a village that was predominantly Hungarian but whose inhabitants have assimilated into Slovak language and culture. The folk songs they sing therefore are not only presented as remnants of a past culture and language but also acquire an almost sacred character: they are sang in a secret code, a language that serves a ritualistic function of remembering the past but only when they are „among themselves". It is also a restorative nostalgic discourse (Boym 2001) that serves to create national

homogeneity and ethnic purity by employing assimilation. It is a macro-strategy Hall (1996b) labeled as constructing the narrative of a nation – one that makes a connection between stories, history, national symbols, rituals and geographies. It expresses what Wodak calls a “national destiny” (Wodak et al. 2009). In this speech it is implied that for the people of the village in Slovakia this song is a vessel of the memory of their vanishing ethnic identity, while for the people of Kishegyes, it is a reminder that even though they do speak in their native language in public, if they do not cherish it and if they do not follow the heritage of their ancestors, they might face a destiny similar to that of the no-longer-Hungarian village in Slovakia. And once they lose their native tongue, they lose their ethnic identity, an identity that is the pillar of their selves.

In Serbia, the topic of so-called newly composed folk music (NCFM) (*novokomponovana narodna muzika*) and a musical genre called turbo-folk popular since the 1990s are loaded cultural terms. They arguably serve as identity markers, thus signifying more than musical taste or subcultural membership. They usually impose particular value judgments upon their subject (e.g. as “nationalist,” “trash,” “oriental,” “peasant,” “Serbian”) and function as exclusionary rhetorical devices (Archer 2012). Similarly, Baker sees turbo-folk (and conversely NCFM) as less a definition of a musical genre but rather “a conceptual category which aggregates connotations of banality, foreignness, violence and kitsch” used as a strategy of distancing (2007:139). Among Vojvodina Hungarians though, by employing dissimulation, musical preferences serve as delineating ethnic identities as well as cultural.

U143 employs a narrative to present the life-stories of himself and his brother as two people with diverging “ethnic careers”, and this is reflected, among others, in the music they favor. From informal conversations too, one gets the impression that for the interlocutors, music, especially folk music of different nations, in this case Serbian NCFM and “authentic” Hungarian folk music are mutually exclusive genres – one cannot listen to both. From a repertoire of various musical genres including Hungarian pop or Serbian folk music as well, interlocutors strategically chose NCFM to compare it with Hungarian folk music to emphasize the Central-Europeanness of their own ethnic group as opposed to the associations that the Balkan carries. Dissimulation works here as a social, not only discursive strategy. For Hungarians, unlike the “pure” Hungarian folk music, NCFM is a concept through which the Balkan as a geo-cultural

space, as the unfinished, imperfect, “dark” area of Europe (Todorova 1997) can be captured. For the young people from Kishegyes, listening to this music is a statement: it means accepting other cultural elements together with music as well: a certain way of dressing, behaving, using (Serbian) language, places to go out to, people to hang out with, etc. It was with this in mind that the management of one of the secondary schools I have visited decided to forbid both Serbian and Hungarian music being played on the corridors during the breaks, so it is basically only English-language music that students can listen to during school-time. Also, according to Badis (2008), changes in the social environment since the 1990s in Vojvodina have led to the situation that places for entertainment have differentiated based on the music they play: places with Serbian music only (be it Serbian pop or NCFM) are frequented by Serbs and are seen as “Serbian places”, while places with Serbian music and music in English are “mixed” places. For demographic and economic reasons Hungarian music has almost vanished from the “in” places in the towns and has been pushed to the discos of villages with a majority Hungarian population, so-called “peasant discos”. This situation has impacted the cultural hierarchies of the two music scenes, and also of the ethnic cultures, and also contributes to the widening of the rural vs. urban differentiation, pushing Hungarian language and culture further into the private and marginalized sphere with a lower status.

The urban-rural divide is in fact where the issue of ethnicity comes the closest to the issue of class in my research. Many have argued that ethnicity is also a class question, and ethnicity studies have been criticized for disregarding class from their analysis (see Kalb/Halmai 2011). I also hold that a study of ethnic identity should not stop at the level of culture and language. However, even though class position is relevant for identity, I argue that in the case of Vojvodina, language and ethnic culture are so strongly marked and insisted upon in both the public and private realm that it suppresses class experience and its articulation. Being from a village, which are usually dominated by a single ethnic group in Vojvodina or from a town, which are traditionally multiethnic (such as Subotica) or Serbian-dominated (such as Novi Sad or Zrenjanin) is a division that is closest to what is traditionally seen as the social stratification of being working class or peasant, i.e. being from a village vs. middle-class, or rather being from a town. Thus the rural-urban context is the one that affects the individuals’ relation to ethnic others rather than their class position.

The exclusivity of folk music is not total though; the community is heteroglossic and it contains alternative voices too. VJ for instance, who attends school in Serbian and does not dance in the Kishegyes folk ensemble any more, claimed that he liked all sort of music: from classical to Hungarian folk, but he also had no problems listening to Serbian NCFM. Also, HA, the most vocal critique of Serbian music is one of the folk dancers who is probably the most involved in the folk dancing culture; there are also dancers who are not so dedicated and who spend less time and energy doing it – even though the ensemble, being a fairly professional one – requires quite a big sacrifice: rehearsals that take up much of the weekends, physical fitness and being available for shows, competitions, dance-houses, etc.

5.4.4 Being (more or less) Hungarian

People strive to construct their affiliation with a group on the basis of feelings and values that are considered to be positive because otherwise the importance and meaning of affiliation with the nation becomes questionable. Although the act of being born makes this group affiliation unambiguous legally, psychologically, it is necessary to “load,” and thus strengthen, identity with emotional and cognitive content (Örkény 2015:3).

Ethnic identity is thus not only made salient in most of the aspects of life but is also expected to be unambiguous and conspicuous. The ethnic categories are constructed as either/or, depending on the family and the native language. Being Hungarian is not a question in Kishegyes – it is a stable and almost primordial category. Interlocutors many times emphasized being “purely” or “fully” Hungarian, by which, it can be assumed, they meant having a family where both parents and all grandparents are from Vojvodina (if someone’s parent or a grandparent is from Hungary, it is almost always positively marked), identify as Hungarian, speak Hungarian as their native language and follow what are perceived as Hungarian customs. Within this construction strategy, interlocutors often employed gradation as and used attributes (“pure”, “mixed”, etc.) and quantifiers (“completely”, “only”, “half”, “fully”, etc.), related to the concept of authenticity.

U147: My brothers are completely Hungarian. (LA)

U148: Actually, I am not... I am not... how shall I put it... I am not mixed actually, I am only Hungarian, there is none in the family who is not Hungarian. (ZB)

This mode of identification leaves hardly any room for liminality, in-betweenness (Turner 1969), yet there are always, like in any community, some individuals who do not fit into the “ethnically pure” scheme. These fall in one of the two categories: they are either Hungarians who for some reason “stay away” from the community and begin to identify with Serbian culture, symbols, language. Even though in Kishegyes one cannot speak of assimilation in the sense like in Lendva or in Banat for instance where young people of Hungarian origin take over Slovenian or Serbian identities because the “Hungarian world” is not strong and closed enough to keep them within the community, there are a few individuals who pass their identities (Goffman 1959) and, at least for a period of their lives, become “Serbianized” (*elszerbesedni*), as their peers refer to them. Their peers may speak of them in a condescending tone, as of individuals who betrayed their community and who need to be “corrected”. Their voluntary assimilation may be seen positively in the eyes of their Serbian peers, but it is definitely negative for other Hungarians from Kishegyes who see it as an unintelligible effort to be something that one is not. In the following utterance the fact that the interlocutor’s brother listens to Serbian music and plays football in Lovećanc is connected to the attempt to pass for a Serbian:

U149: I: My brother... the opposite [of me]. He has had Serbian girlfriends for I don't know how many years now. And he was doing folk dance too, right, but he... listens to Serbian music. So it's like... in our room there is a Hungarian flag, or there would be, of course we haven't have the time to buy it, and there is a Serbian. And we share a room . . . Now not that much, I am trying to direct him... to the Hungarian side, and now he also admits that... that he still listens to Serbian music, but not that Serbian, because in the past it was very...

R: To [Serbian] newly composed folk music?

I: Yes, those as well. This mountain music, and then...

R: And why is it so?

I: I think it's because of his environment.

R: Where does he go?

I: He used to play football too, but he started to play in Lovćenac. (HA)

The interlocutor presupposes a certain way of behaving that is typical of Serbians, and uses a narrative to refer to music, mentality as symbols that differentiate him and his brother. In U150BE also, when she was explaining to me what sort of style she does not identify with described a specific type of music but also behavior associated with it. She used hedging to justify her negative stance towards what she considers as Serbian mentality.

U150: I: I have no problems with Serbian people or the language itself, just that mentality is not really me, and...

R: What do you mean by mentality?

I: Well this, a bit loud, this... this more disco stream... it can be seen with them... (BE)

Employing dissimulation as well, others also speak about “mentality” as an intangible set of cultural and behavioral traits that range from the way of walking, dressing to the amplitude and genre of music one listens to. Other interlocutors also criticize taking over Serbian ethnic identity.

U151: I: I think it is important to... well... well, yes, I have national consciousness.

R: What is that?

I: Well, I have acquaintances who are totally Hungarians and all, so everything... in the family too, and then they pretend and believe to be Serbians, and they walk in the street like that, even though they are fully Hungarians. And for some reason they would like to be Serbs, and I can't... I can't understand why, and act like the Serbs, I also don't understand this, why they had to do this, so I think that... that if I am Hungarian then I shouldn't deny that, or it can't be denied. And I don't feel ashamed that I am Hungarian, not even in Serbia. . . . And then their

friends, who are for instance younger, then they follow their example, and then they also behave in this way, that then they... deny their own ethnicity . . . Because they went to Hungarian folk dance before [laughing], and also to Hungarian school, otherwise they spoke Hungarian, just combined some Serbian words into the sentences, but otherwise they are Hungarians and they spoke Hungarian, so I don't understand why they had to do this. (PR)

U152: There are those typical Serbian-minded Serbs, those Serbs who very much... like themselves, I don't know how I shall put it nicely. (GZ)

U153: I: Everyone condemns them [people from Lovćenac] because they are Serbs and have a different mentality.

R: In what way do they have a different mentality?

I: I can't really say...

R: What do they do differently than the Hungarians in Kishegyes?

I: They stick together. Because in Kishegyes for instance... let's take fights as an example.

Between Kishegyes and Lovćenac.

R: Why do these happen? Because of girls?

I: Because of them too but it always happens that everyone stands and watches how they are beating up his best friend. Those from KH. But with those in Lovćenac there is no such thing. For instance if someone sees, let's say from Lovćenac, that anyone who he knows... He goes there immediately and helps or they talk about the things. They stick together. . . . I am also among Serbs, but those Serbs from down there are even more different, they stick together even more. (VJ)

The referents for “mentality” vary in all means of realization. In case of U150, it is the musical genre and its amplitude, in U151 it is also the music but also the way of dressing and gesturing a sign, in U152 its nationalistic sentiment, in U153, and this is the only case of the four where the characterization has a positive tone, it is strong community ties and standing up for each other. All this to various extent resonate with what Todorova (1997) called the *homo balcanicus*: strong, hospitable and cheerful, but also rural, vulgar, savage and backward. Other people I talked to also emphasize these characteristics of Serbian people, and even more in

relation to the Egyptians in Kishegyes. The locals of Lovćenac are often brought up as a positive example of a tight community that did not let them settle down in their village. In all four instances of explaining cultural differences by way of the term “mentality”, it refers to distinctions between the in-group and the out-group in mundane everyday things and acts. Such deep-rooted differences are the core of the lack of interethnic communication and of social distance because they have an impact on not only the spheres of the media, education or other official arenas of interethnic relationship but also on the realm of the everyday. This way differences, being banalized to basic human behavior, “mentality”, gain a stronger effect than if they were placed in the public sphere only.

In all of the above utterances even physical traits are constructed as characteristic of one or another ethnic group: a way of walking, a way of behaving as a Serbian, which, together with national symbols such as the flag and as music constitute a stereotypical image of the ethnic Other. Like HA in U149, another interlocutor also mentions the Hungarian flag as an important symbol that creates emotional link to the community:

U154: Well, that since my childhood I am surrounded by Hungarians, and my brothers are completely Hungarians, and they also... for instance their room... on the entire wall a Hungarian flag... It is, I don't know how to describe... (LA)

The other type of individuals who do not fit in the schema of clearly bounded categories of ethnicity are children from mixed marriages. In both Hungarian and Serbian the term “mixed marriage” is used to designate people of ethnically diverse parents, not any other type of difference of the parents, thus pointing the primacy of the ethnic. Interlocutors would, when speaking about themselves or friends or family whose parents are of different ethnic background, construct the ethnic “impurity”, the “half” ethnicity of them by using attributes and quantifiers similar as in the case of peers who voluntarily opt for a Serbian identity.

U155: My father is half Bunjevac, half Hungarian. (GZ)

U156: This girl is half-Hungarian but she speaks Serbian to both parents. (KN)

U157: My godfather is half-Serbian, he speaks Serbian better than Hungarian so the family sometimes changes to Serbian when we are with him. (PO)

U158: I am half Montenegrin. (PG)

U159: She is half-half. (KJ)

U160: My mother is half Serbian actually but was raised by her Hungarian grandparents. (CE)

U161: I have half-Serbian friends who speak Hungarian too, so we speak in Hungarian. (CE)

Among my interlocutors, two were from mixed marriages themselves, but they have quite a different “ethnic careers”: both girls grew up with their mothers, PG’s mother is Hungarian and they communicate in Hungarian, while RM’s mother is a bilingual person from an ethnically mixed marriage herself, but speaks with her daughter in Serbian. While PG went to a Hungarian elementary school in the village and also attends secondary school in the Hungarian stream (in a school that has a Serbian stream of the same training), and even though she claims to be “open to everyone”, her best friends are mainly Hungarians, she has intensive ties with Hungary and she uses Serbian language basically only when she visits her father and his family. As RG explained, for her father’s family, who live in Montenegro she is considered an outsider, not explicitly because of her ethnicity but because the way she speaks and behaves is too conservative for them: they considered it disgraceful that a sixteen-year-old girl has a boyfriend or that a female person rides a bicycle. She uses her “half-Montenegrin” ethnic background though when in communication with people from the neighboring Lovćenac:

U162: I: For instance a kid pushed another kid's seat as he was sitting, this is what happened once, / he pushed it and then the other... / Otherwise I think he wouldn't say anything but because he was Hungarian, then he immediately started... / So they [Serbians] are trying to show off for some reason, I don't know why.

R: Do you think that he said something because the other was Hungarian?

I: It was obvious [laughing]. / And he went on about Hungarians and that the “rotten Hunga-

rians” and... / In the beginning I don't want to interfere but then they started to exceed, then... / And because I am half Montenegrin, the ones in Lovćenac think of themselves as great Montenegrins, so as soon as they hear my surname, well, they immediately accept me. Yes, it was interesting to experience. (PG)

In this narrative, PG strategically used her half-Montenegrin origin to assert the narrative herself in front of the people from Lovćenac in the bus and thus employed a transformative strategy. It can be perceived as an instance of the fluidity of the ethnic identity where one “half” of the ethnic self presides over the other “half” based on the situation. However, it shall also be seen that this negotiation of identities happens in favor of one ethnicity, namely by means of personal experience narrative PG foregrounds herself being half-Montenegrin to defend a member of the Hungarian community, thus as a narrative actor she takes a side and makes it clear where she is standing.

Unlike PG, RM transferred to Bačka Topola in the 5th grade of the elementary school, and then continued her secondary education in Serbian. Unlike PG, RM therefore uses Serbian with her father when she visits him, at school, and given that she attends a Serbian stream and that most of her friends are from there, in her group of friends she mainly communicates in Serbian. With her mother she speaks Serbian, but to her grandmother and other relatives in Hungarian, and her everyday communication in the village is in Hungarian. Also she communicates in Hungarian with her boyfriend, even though “he is also half-Serbian”. What is different in case of RM from the other interlocutors is that she is the only one I spoke to who is friends with two Egyptian girls, two sisters treated as outsiders by most of the Hungarian inhabitants of Kishegyes. She visited them in their place and knows about their life more than the usual village hearsay.

The two young woman’s “ethnic careers” in the “Hungarian world” and the Serbian-dominated mainstream society are thus almost opposite: while PG lives in the first, RM does so in the other. The fact that it seem not possible to live in both world but taking sides is to some extent mandatory makes a strong statement about the nature of ethnic identification. Being “fully Hungarian” or “half Hungarian” differ in the individuals choices: while those

who grew up with both parents being Hungarian, ethnicity is an obvious element of identity that does not need to be reflected on. For the “half Hungarians” though, their ethnic belonging is rather strategic: it is chosen, influenced by many things such as the family, language of education, the ethnicity of friends, girlfriends/boyfriends, positive or negative experience with members of the minority and the majority group, etc, and in turn influences these. It is though a choice for life or for certain longer period of life: it rarely varies from situation to situation.

Being “fully Hungarian” or “half-Hungarian” also implies a gradation, a measurable degree of a link to the community of Hungarians. There is though a degree of Hungarianness even higher than being “fully Hungarian”, and that is being a Hungarist. Even though being a Hungarian and expressing one’s identity was viewed positively, being a Hungarist meant heaving an exaggerated national consciousness. The name Hungarist (*hungaristák*) denotes the national socialist movement in Hungary before and at the beginning of Second World War, whose founder was Ferenc Szálasi, leader of the Arrow Cross Party. Even though the movement stems from Fascist ideology, for an outsider observer, in the discourses and symbolism used in the present, at least in Kishegyes, it contains no explicit connections to this ideology. The movement was banned after the Second World War. In the 2000s in Hungary and in diaspora Hungarian communities the concept and the idea resurrected, and even though in the political arena it did not gain much power, there have been several movements that claim to be Hungarists. In Hungarian everyday usage of the world though one does not need to be a member of any of these movements, but it is used to signify radical right-wing, fascist, often skinhead youth. In contemporary Hungary the word is rarely used any longer (one can argue that it is because Hungarist ideas have entered mainstream Hungarian politics, thus making it redundant to designate oneself with such an infamous word), therefore it was a surprise for me to hear at ever so often among young people in Kishegyes. I suspect that the word was transferred there from Hungary through the media, and while in Hungary it is not used any more, it somehow “stuck” in Kishegyes. Not only was it frequently used, but it was the word for denoting that someone was radically right-wing or, as it was often used as well, that someone was a “great Hungarian” (*nagymagyar*). Being a Hungarist was rarely something one would say for oneself, or even if so, it was always justified.

While PR, one of the members of the choir and the dance ensemble, admits there are Hungarists among folk dancers in general (it is not clear if she meant folk dancers in Vojvodina or

Hungarian folk dancers in general) who “feel they are very Hungarian”, the folk dancers in Kishegyes are not like that. HA, a folk dancer, is himself aware of this stereotype:

U163: It's relative what is a Hungarist. I don't know what counts as Hungarist; if I do folk dance and that's already Hungarism, than yes, I am a Hungarist. My classmates also tease me with these things, because... well, those who sit around me are... let's say neither Serbs nor Hungarians, a sort of... The problem is that I don't know either, and they are always teasing me that "Hungary, Hungary"... Look...

R: Are they half-Serbs?

I: No, well not in terms of ethnicity, I don't know, well, in terms of principles. They... they mostly don't regard themselves any of the two, let's put it this way. And... they tease me with these, of course, but just... a bit, like "Hungary, Hungary".

R: About why you like it that much?

I: Yes, well, let's say I am not for Hungary as it is today, but for the Hungarian self-consciousness itself, or that I can be a Hungarian, that is what I like, and that... And...

R: And what does that imply, how can that be seen? In what way are you different from them?

I: Well, on one hand that I do folk dance, right, and that Hungarian issues, Hungarian history, Hungarian literature interest me to some extent ... (HA)

U164: It's not that he [a guy who is considered a Hungarist] looks down on Serbs, actually I think he only respects his Hungarianness. (LA)

While in the above two utterances, being a Hungarist is constructed as something positive and justified, in the following four utterances the term has negative connotations and their interlocutors use dissimulation to distance themselves from it. It demonstrates that the community is not unified, heteroglossia works on the level of the level of the group.

U165: They [Hungarists] think they are very Hungarian. (PR)

U166: There are people here [in Kishegyes] and the Feketics [folk dance] ensemble for whom

it means a lot to be Hungarian, but not to me. (VJ)

U167: I: Not, because well, I am not very Hungarian. I mean I don't consider myself a Hugarist.

R: What is a Hungarist?

I: That only the Hungarians, and nothing else. That's how I think. (VJ)

U168: They [Hungarists] are so backward that they are still asking for Great Hungary back, that Vojvodina belongs to Hungary... talking about impossible things, and this is outrageous for me. I really dislike this kind of people. And if someone is a big nationalist and likes their country a lot then they immediately have to shave their heads and hate the Gypsies and the Serbs. I don't like them either but... but I can live next to them. This is how I see it. (ZB)

From the above, being a Hungarist is a concept that refers to others, never the self – or, as in U163, where the interlocutor, HA is “accused” of being one, he justifies what being a Hungarist is and puts the concept in a positive light. Hungarism embodies also the negative connotations of Hungarianness, it shows being Hungarian as an exaggeration, a threat to members of other ethnic groups. The dividedness of opinions on Hungarists among Hungarian youth in Kishegyes is an example of how heteroglossia works within a community.

5.4.5 The kin-state

For those young people from Kishegyes who wish to go to university, Hungary is the obvious choice. First and foremost, they justify their choice with being able to study in their native language, and the majority of my interlocutors talk about Hungary as the place for education.

U169: Everyone speaks Hungarian there [in Hungary], so I feel more confident. (CE)

U170: One reason [for going to university in Hungary] is that my knowledge of the [Serbian] language is lacking. (CM)

U171: I would like to go to university to Hungary because my Serbian is not good enough. (KH)

U172: In Hungary, well, of course it's the nicest to study in our mother tongue, and then well, in Szeged or Budapest, that's what I was thinking about. (PO)

U173: [Studying in] Hungary would be important for me only because of the language. If we look at the economic situation, it's not the best. (ZB)

Going to university in Hungary is an easy option also because there is already an “infrastructure” of how to apply, how to travel, find accommodation, etc. in Budapest, Szeged, and even other university towns in Hungary such as Pécs or Debrecen. As PO adds to what she said about the language: “most of my class would go to Hungary too because an older sibling is there and so accommodation, everything is arranged already, so not to make things more complicated.”

Not only in terms of higher education, but the state in general, in all conversations, Hungary was attributed a largely positive status by employing predication. This goes against Papp’s findings, who in his research in 2006 concluded that young Hungarians from Vojvodina were largely apathic towards events in Hungary and saw Hungary as a world that does not affect them. According to Papp, this was even more intensified after the unsuccessful referendum on Hungarian citizenship in December 2004 (2007). This contrast might be interpreted in two ways: that Hungarian youth in Vojvodina is largely uninterested in Hungarian political events, but on the level of the everyday, their activities, values, beliefs are strongly connected to Hungary. It can also be seen as a sharp change brought about by the 2010 law that makes it possible for Hungarians from outside of Hungary to receive Hungarian citizenship (2010. évi XLIV. törvény a magyar állampolgárságról szóló 1993. évi LV. törvény módosításáról). This way, their lives have become more connected to Hungary in practice: education and work in Hungary and thus permanent residence became much more accessible, an opportunity which many in fact make use of. Also, in terms of emotional identification, Hungary is brought closer to them, as the 2010 law is seen as “making up for” the 2004 “no” that many felt as an injustice and proof of the ambivalence of Hungary towards Hungarians living in minority out-

side the country's borders. The Hungarian state, even if not as developed economically as Western Europe, has the special component: the language. Growing up in an environment where outside the village people have been faced with a linguistic barrier on a daily bases, this one component is very highly regarded.

Implicitly or explicitly (e.g. in U177) interlocutors compared Hungary with Serbia, and because of being able to communicate, people in Hungary are ascribed positive attributes in general, and for the same reason the education and administrative systems and everyday life are more easily understood and navigated. In line with this, interlocutors, similarly to the attribution of Hungarian language, used predication to attribute Hungary and Hungarian people a superior status.

U174: I think opportunities are much better in Hungary. I mean I don't know if there are opportunities for [studying] history here in Novi Sad, but in Hungary there is. And it's quite good. (CM)

U175: When I went into a shop, they were certainly Hungarians, and everybody seemed friendly, so I got to like Hungary quickly, even though I have spent very little time there. (GZ)

U176: Whoever you talk to in the street [in Hungary] or approach, they are very friendly. They come, they help, they talk, elderly ladies and men smile. I don't know, for me it's a totally good atmosphere. (PO)

U177: But to my mind the Hungarian people... how to put it... they are much more direct, a bit nicer, and it's not like here in Serbia that when I ask something they tell me to go to hell, but for instance I if I ask where a certain building is then they tell me, not like there. (BA)

U178: I: This Serbia, this is... not really... Vojvodina is OK, I like Vojvodina. But... I don't know... after all it's not Hungary, just a place where there are Hungarians. I don't know, Serbian, I don't really want to... I would like to learn English...

R: And why is it important that there are Hungarians?

I: I don't know, it's... I feel at home. (LA)

U179: I don't like Novi Sad as a city; I don't know the people, they are always in a hurry, they seem not be as friendly as in Hungary, but it might be just my impression. (PO)

U180: People are more respectful in Hungary, in Serbia young people don't respect older people, their parents, adults don't respect each other. (PG)

U181: [In Hungary] If they notice that I am Hungarian then they are a bit... they have a different attitude to me. (PE)

In all of the above utterances, when the two countries are compared, Hungary gains a superior status. The arguments provided for this are various: ranging from the view that Hungarians as a people are more respectful, more direct, that one feels more at home in Hungary because they share the ethnic belonging with them to Hungarians being regarded as friendlier.

There are things about Hungary which people from Vojvodina dislike. I also have personal memories of being looked down in Hungary for not speaking, Hungarian, or not understanding "Hungarian Hungarian" slang, and Gal describes identical instances among bilingual Hungarian-German speakers in Austria (2006). During my fieldwork, I heard almost the same experiences:

U182: I don't like the way of speaking either. This "*csá!*"(hi!), "*micsi?*"(howdy?), this -- not..." (PR)

U183: I think Hungarians from Hungary look down on Hungarians from here." (RM)

Despite these, when constructing Hungary in their mental maps, in comparison with Serbia, Hungary as a country and Hungarian people are always presented in a better light. The perspective to put this in though may explain the bias towards Hungary: the linguistic constraints are so overwhelming in Serbia outside Kishegyes and the small "Hungarian world" outside the village that being able to communicate overwrites all the negative characteristics that others stereotypically associate with Hungary and Hungarians.

However, when Hungary and Vojvodina and Hungarians from Hungary and Hungarians from Vojvodina are compared, the latter are conceived as being less approachable and less friendly. This is dissimilation in which interlocutors emphasize the differences between Hungarians from Vojvodina and Hungarians from Hungary. In the discourses of several interlocutors it is Hungarians from Vojvodina who are presented in a more favorable light. The characteristics that are more positive in Vojvodina Hungarians are the attributes that are the general Balkan stereotypes: people are more relaxed, casual in Vojvodina.

U184: Well, when I go over to Hungary I feel it that... that... still, I speak differently, we have different... different customs here, and... and that mentality, a little bit more relaxed, a bit... [laughing] different attitude towards things, we don't do things so punctually, I think that's visible a bit. (BA)

U185: And well the food, the customs, right. What we have here is interesting for them [Hungarians in Hungary]. (CE)

The less favorable features of Hungarian people are, however, often discursively bracketed, the result being a generally positive characterization and the emphasize on similarities. For this, assimilation and mitigation are employed by means of hedging, in order to diminish the importance of the negative attribute (U186 and U187) or using an adverb of degree ("only") (U188).

U186: Maybe they [people from Hungary] are a bit sterner than us but I think it is possible to fool around with them the same way, have fun with them the same way. (BA)

U187: They were more moderate, they have such personalities, but we go on well despite of this, there were no problems. (BA)

U188: The only difference is how they speak. (LAN)

Similarly to discourses that give high value to standard Hungarian language and literature, Hungarians from Hungary are constructed to be more sophisticated, respectful and friendlier.

U189: I don't know, maybe their... the behavior, so that they, I don't know, they are more refined, or I don't know. So kind... or I don't know if they are more kind, I don't know... they speak very differently than we do or something. (CE)

U190: They [Hungarians from Hungary] noticed that we speak differently. But we didn't notice, or at least I didn't, that they speak differently. (HF)

U191: They put more emphasis on how they express themselves, at least it seems to me so, well, the way of speaking in Vojvodina is more relaxed, right, not so... (BA)

Even in the discourse of those who spoke positively about Hungarians from the kin-state, there are explicit or implicit references to being looked down and patronized when in Hungary.

U192: The problem is that Hungarians from Hungary, they don't really want to acknowledge us. I mean I am not saying that there aren't any who know about us, but... Again, at festivals, I have met several people, I they didn't really know about us, even if they were people of my age. (CM)

U193: For instance at lectures, we listen to many lectures [in a summer camp on Hungarian language and literature], / and then "oh, there are from Transylvania, Transylvanians are here, and [Hungarians] from the Ukraine and everybody is mentioned, and all, except for us from Vojvodina... / And then it feels bad... / I don't know, it's still strange that we are not mentioned. (CE)

U194: They asked if we have touchscreen phones [laughing] in Serbia. (HF)

One of the grievances of Hungarian people's experience in Hungary, what U193 talks about using indirect speech is that Hungarians from Vojvodina are attributed a lower status than Hungarians from Transylvania, who are often seen as "authentic" Hungarians, speaking the most beautiful dialect of Hungarian language and nurturing Hungarian culture and traditions the most. What young people also sometimes complain about other than patronizing and ignorance is in line with U194: that their peers from Hungary think they are more "backwards" or less cultured than them. This may be interpreted in terms of "nesting Orientalisms" (Bakić-Hayden/Hayden 1992): Hungarians from Vojvodina have orientalist attitudes with regard to Serbs who are conceived as being from the south, while Hungarians from Hungary do the same in relation to Vojvodina Hungarians, who are south to them. A few of my interlocutors has had such negative experience – which is however, as mentioned above, mitigated and a generally positive impression of Hungary and Hungarians from there is created.

Being mocked at for not speaking standard Hungarian is a very common discourse among Vojvodina Hungarians, less present in Kishegyes where due to Hungarian media, especially television, more frequent contact with Hungary and consumption of Hungarian cultural products (unlike regions in Vojvodina where Hungarians live in rather scattered "ethnic islands", in a smaller number and geographically further from Hungary) speak Hungarian with less Serbian influence, loan words and with a dialect that is not very different than the dialect spoken in some parts of Hungary. It is still a topic that is often brought up, and with an emphasized expressivity and emotional reactions when spoken about. Hungarians from Vojvodina, especially younger people feel that they are being looked down on and patronized in Hungary, their language is seen as less worth than standard Hungarian (or the Budapest youth slang for that matter) or that their culture and its linguistic marker are unrecognized. I have heard narratives of being corrected by strangers how to speak "proper Hungarian" in the street, at shops, by teachers at school, in camps that are organized in Hungary for Hungarians from Hungary and from the diaspora and that deal with Hungarian language and/or history. Interlocutors perceive their own dialect as inferior; according to both Gal (2006) and Laihonon (2009), Hungarian is a standard language culture, i.e. standard dialect is believed to be the only "correct" dialect, and standard language is described not in linguistic, but in ideological terms ("pure", "clear", "beautiful", "correct", etc.). The above examples show that the downgrading of the local Hungarian variety is related to the set of ideologically shaped views,

which according to my interlocutors are attributed to Vojvodina Hungarians: “backwardness”, “not interesting”, etc.

As seen from the comparison of Hungarians from Serbia and from Hungary, the general impression is that interlocutors invested considerable effort in creating a positive image of Hungarians from Hungary and the state itself, thereby legitimizing their own choices and preferences. This is understandable if one sees the large importance of Hungary and Hungarianness in the identity construction of Vojvodina Hungarians: belonging to the Hungarian nation is an integrative corner-stone of Vojvodina Hungarian identity, and it is through and related to which members of the community define their own ethnical selves, and derive their stereotypes, mental categories, values and norms from. It is also through the Hungarian nation that Vojvodina Hungarians shape and regulate their interethnic relationships and their assessment of Serbian culture and ethnical characteristics (Papp 2007).

5.4.6 “Neither here, nor there”

The experience of being marginalized in Serbia and mocked at in Hungary, explicitly expressed or not, contributes to a double stigma, a common-place of Vojvodina Hungarian identity that can be summed up in the phrase “we are not at home neither here, nor there”. I have heard people of any gender, age or socio-economic background, from the south of Banat to the very north of Bačka refer to such discourse, and my interlocutors were no exception. This is in fact a cliché of ethnic minorities and immigrants throughout the region, and has been noted and referred to in various ethnographic studies (see Petrović 2009b; Prelić 2008; Antonijević 2013). Having an ethnic minority identity can be seen as both stigmatizing and liberating, either as belonging nowhere or as having two homes. In Kishegyes, in a society where being a member of a minority group that has problems integrating into the mainstream society is more often perceived as the first. In speaking about the theme of belonging, the emotive function of language is put into service.

U195: Still, you are not fully Hungarian, you aren't Serbian either, but you live here in Vojvodina. (BA)

U196: And I don't know, even already here in Serbia, I don't know... There are these Hungarians... or in Vojvodina, I don't know, so neither here, neither there do we feel at home. (PR)

U197: We go to Hungary, then we are not Hungarians there either, and... and we aren't Hungarians here neither, or... or I don't know, we are Hungarians here but we still don't belong anywhere, or I don't know. (CE)

U198: I have never had negative experience [because of being Hungarian] but it is a fact that we will always be suspicious. I mean when we go to Hungary then we would always be Serbs there, and if we go to Novi Sad then we would always be Hungarians. So we will always be between two fronts, either Serbs or Hungarians, so... (PO)

U199: It's interesting that sometimes I feel here that people say that he/she is Hungarian and he/she is not from here, and in Hungary they say that he/she is from Serbia, and there is some discrimination on both sides. (PE)

There are also strategies that construct a positive self-image around the above discourse. These identities focus on regional belonging, on Vojvodinian identity. Yet, as BA notes, officially none of the interlocutors would declare themselves as being Vojvodinian:

U200: When I go over to Hungary I feel it that... that... still, I speak differently, we have different... different customs here, and... and that mentality, a little bit more relaxed, a bit... [laughing] different attitude towards things, we don't do things so punctually, I think that's visible a bit. But despite that I would write Hungarian [in a form], I can't write Vojvodinian. And Serbian, it would be foolish to write that. (BA)

In all aspects of social life, when distinctions are being made, they are made based on ethnic belonging. The official discourses of identification focus on the ethnic; ascribing oneself a

regional identity does not have a tradition in the region and is not seen as a valid option. Even during socialist Yugoslavia, similarly to identification as a Yugoslav, Vojvodinian identity was claimed predominantly by individuals from ethnically mixed marriages (Sekulic et. al. 1994), therefore it presupposes an ethnically ambiguous, undecided, suspicious identity.

While the sentiment of not feeling as fully belonging neither to Serbia nor to Hungary has predominantly negative labels, there is another discourse that emphasizes the positive sides of this identification. This is often expressed with the metaphor of a bridge, which, as Todorva (1997) demonstrates, is many times employed as the metaphor of the Balkans: a connection between East and West, Europe and Asia, and which is often used in public discourses of Vojvodina Hungarians: being the bridge between Serbia and Hungary, Serbs and Hungarians, Serbia and Europe, the Balkans and Central Europe. While this discourse may not have caught root in everyday discourses as much as in public ones, there are some instances where it definitely did, and one such is actually connected to Kishegyes. In 2006, a young woman from Kishegyes, Magdolna Rúzsa won a talent show *Megasztár* on a major Hungarian television channel. The inhabitants of Kishegyes, and of the entire Vojvodina, as well as Hungarian citizens from Hungary cheered for her during the months of the show. She was very present in the media and often spoke about her Vojvodina Hungarian identity. Her public appearance gave opportunity for many Hungarians from Vojvodina, and for those from Kishegyes even more so, to positively relate to where they come from. For them, but also for Hungarians from Hungary, Magdi became the embodiment of being a bridge, a “Hungarian-speaking Balkan girl”. This perception culminated when in one of the shows Magdi sang Bijelo Dugme’s song *Durđevdan*, widely known by Serbs but also Hungarians in Serbia. As one of Papp’s informants noted in his research in 2006:

We are complicated here in Délvidék. We are not Serbs, we will never be, but we recognize and sometimes like them. We are Hungarians, but different from other Hungarians: from the south, from the Balkans. We get a lot of [criticism] for this from the Serbs and from the Hungarians too, but we won’t change because of this but we answer with pride, that we are different. But a gesture, a little goodness is enough, and we immediately embrace them, of course, mostly the Hungarians, but even the Serbs, even though from them we haven’t gotten too many good things, but as it seems, neither have we from the Hungarians. Whatever, Magdi Rúzsa is a miracle, who made this good genie come out of the bottle, there is a possibility of

peace here in every direction. And the Hungarians could at least see what real Balkan girls are like¹⁷ (Papp 2007:278).

Magdi has thus become a positive reference point about Hungarians from Vojvodina, and being from Kishegyes, narratives and discourses about her have influenced the identification of the inhabitants of the village. As an interlocutor slightly older than the subjects of this research put it: “We eat both *burek* and *kürtöskalács*¹⁸... So what are we then?”

5.4.7 Conclusion

Section 5.4. explored how my interlocutors and other residents of Kishegyes imagine their own community and the communities of ethnic Others. To do this, I have looked at some of the aspects of ethnicity construction such as language and history and the meaning of being Hungarian for the interlocutors.

As emphasized, language has a crucial importance in ethnic identification of my interlocutors and in general in the “Hungarian world”. For them, language is organically connected to ethnic identity, and attributed a special status and value. Ethnically mixed emotional relationships are considered as deemed to failure not necessarily because of nationalist sentiment but because of the inability to share thoughts in one’s native language. What is more, Hungarian language is considered to have a superior status compared to other languages, similarly to how on local level Hungarian national culture is seen as the dominant one.

National history is another important aspect of constructing one’s identity. While in the school both Serbian and Hungarian national history are taught, priority is clearly given to the latter. A central node of the discussions on history is the Treaty of Trianon by which Hungary lost Vojvodina (and other territories) to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1920. It is considered a trauma for the entire nation, and youth in Kishegyes are not exception to this. The Treaty of Trianon, in fact is not seen only as a past event, but it also has relevance for the present: it serves as a reminder of the importance of staying loyal to the community

¹⁷Translated from Hungarian by the author of the dissertation.

¹⁸A sweet pastry common in Hungary and Transylvania, sometimes called “horn cake” in English.

and cherishing its prescribed values. As Bauman (2011) argues, a community is enclosed from the outside, but first and foremost determined from within. History, among other aspects, defines who belongs where and the past is seen to determine the future of the community.

Past and present are also seen as connected in terms of music, Hungarian folk music in particular. Those who sing and dance to folk music form a specific and fairly closed subculture within youth in the village. They are committed to national culture and the preserving of tradition, and they see folk songs as a means for this. There is another type of music too though that provokes strong opinions: Serbian pop and NCFM. While some interlocutors admittedly listen to it when they are in bars, cafes or discos, in general music sang in Serbian language is spoken of with despise. For many, this musical genre in fact symbolizes the aspect of Serbian culture and “mentality” they regard the least: loudness, vulgarity, kitsch, and thus it becomes the essentially Balkan music.

Being Hungarian is the fourth aspect of identification I have explored in this section. I see it as a set of cognitive and emotional schemes that build the boundaries of the ethnic community. It is not a unified concept, but there are gradations to how Hungarian someone is. First, I have looked at “halfies” (Subedi 2006), young people from ethnically mixed marriages. What they stand out for is that they are usually competent in both languages, but in terms of culture and belonging they are forced to “take a side”: to attend school in one language stream, to have friends of one ethnicity, and in general to be at home in one ethnic word more than in the other. On the other end of the spectrum are the so-called Hungarists, often but not necessarily folk dancers and almost exclusively male. They are considered to be those who are “too Hungarian”, who put too much focus on their ethnicity at the expense of others and who possibly have revisionist ideology. Being a Hungarist is an attribute most people distance themselves from, yet many admit that the ideology in itself, in a more moderate way, is legitimate. Lastly, there are those youth who are “passing” (Goffman 1959) as Serbs in their behavior, language, musical taste, use of symbols, choice of friends, etc. They are affected with negative views from their peers and their strategic use of ethnicity is rarely understood or valued positively outside their own group of friends. Also, it is crucial to see that passing does

not subvert ethnic boundaries, it actually reinforces them by changing from one side of it to the other.

Serbia as a state for most of my interlocutors is a mere geographical concept. Interlocutors do not relate to any place to the south of Novi Sad; Hungary on the other hand has a strong emotional meaning for them. It is seen as the kin-state, one that is culturally, economically, but most of all, linguistically superior to Serbia. Interlocutors feel comfortable there because they are understood and can speak freely in their mother tongue, and many plan to pursue higher education there. Many also have a network of relatives and friends who live there. Yet, there is also a feeling of discomfort due to the patronizing or ignorant attitudes of Hungarians from Hungary towards them. Even though appreciating Hungary and Hungarian culture, interlocutors claim have a combination of national and regional identity, which is linked to the North Bačka region and contains elements of both cultures. In this identity, Hungarian language and culture dominate, blended with familiarity with some elements of Serbian culture and the institutional system: constructing a Vojvodina Hungarian identity.

5.5 Ethnic conflict and discrimination

5.5.1 Discourses of discrimination

The identification with a community is not only from within; its construction is also outward-looking, defined by the ways members of the community interact with members of other communities. In the previous sections I have looked at attitudes, positive and negative, that are formed by encounters with Serbian, Egyptian and Roma peers. In this section, I will single one particular type of encounters and their discursive construction: that of conflicts with members of the majority ethnic group that are seen as ethnically grounded by my interlocutors. I single out ethnic conflict and decimation as a separate ideological core, even though it also may be seen as part of that of ethnicization (chapter 5.3.). I singled it out because when speaking of it, interlocutors very often used a special form of expression, that of personal experience narratives that follow a generalized pattern. Other means of realization they used is

indirect speech and adverbs. The most often used strategies within this ideological core are construction, predication, justification and mitigation. I argue that these strategies as well as the script-like narratives are symptomatic of the community's understanding of not only ethnic conflicts but multiculturalism in general: a construction of interethnic relations that centers around conflict and its avoidance.

Talking about such events rarely happened spontaneously; mentioning this sensitive topic was usually prompted by my question about if they have ever experienced any sort of discrimination that they see as ethnically based. Upon this question, many informants told stories about conflicts with Serbian youth, whether their own encounters or those they had heard of. In the followings, I am outlining some of the strategies with examples of their means of realization that refer to ethnic conflict. The first strategy used by a number of interlocutors is predication: assigning interethnic conflict a value of being a problem in the society.

U201: It [discrimination] is unfortunately always present at our school. (CL)

U202: OK, obviously Serbs don't hurt Serbs... or at least I think so, if they have no specific reason for it, but they hurt the Hungarians only because they are Hungarians, this... this... this is for sure. (GZ)

U203: And those young people told... told that we weren't the first case but there are such problems almost weekly, and I read in the newspapers as well, now, a week or two ago that there was a very serious Hungarian-bashing (*magyarverés*). (GZ)

U204: So in Subotica it [ethnic conflict] is a regular problem. (GZ)

U205: It was like that before too, but Serbs make problems more and more, so this is a rising problem. (GZ)

U206: This is a big problem, and I have noticed that it is very much like this in other... other schools in Topolya too. (CL)

Even when conflict has not taken place, the interlocutor of the following excerpt speaks of it

as if it was a natural thing to occur in ethnically mixed environments:

U207: And here Serbs and Hungarians go together but there hasn't *yet* been a problem because of this. (GZ)

In the above utterances, interlocutors conceive ethnic conflict to be a pervasive problem typical of the environments they go to school to and/or where they go out. None of the interlocutors mention specifically Kishegyes as the location of such conflicts – the village is seen as a safe zone where Hungarians are in majority, unlike in the ethnically mixed environments such as Subotica or Bačka Topola.

The incident the interlocutor in U201 calls *magyarverés*, which could be translated as “beating Hungarians” or “Hungarian-bashing”, is the sort of incidents that often made it to the Hungarian news headlines in Vojvodina, in Hungary and in other diaspora territories, such as Slovakia or Romania. Especially in the years prior to the fieldwork, events when a group of Serbian and a group of Hungarian young men clashed physically received considerable media and political attention among Vojvodina Hungarians. In Vojvodina, this sort of violence was actually most often reported to have happened in Temerin and in Subotica. While Temerin is the town where the extent of population change was the largest in 1990s, i.e. where the largest number of refugees settled to a place that used to be mainly Hungarian until then, in Subotica, as Szabó (2013) argues, there was an “ethnic battle” over places of entertainment, and it was won by the Serbian community, leading to the withdrawal of Hungarian(s) from the center of town to the suburbs and villages.

Ethnic conflicts interlocutors have experienced or heard of physical violence that makes these ethnically mixed places unsafe and threatening. As they are public spaces, the feeling of self-segregation of the community is created and the reduction of their social life to the private sphere. In relation to this, interlocutors emphasized and justified the expressive reactions they had in relation to the theme: the feeling of being threatened and victimization.

U208: We have been chased away from there, so we try to gather at houses, at friends' places, because it's really not safe to go out to the city [center] in Subotica. (GZ)

U209: In these conflicts the Hungarians always lose. The Serbs like to fight, the Hungarians are more submissive usually. I don't go to that square [Square of the Victims of Fascism in Subotica] anymore. (ZB)

Even though there is a lot of discourse on ethnic conflicts, they are many times referred to as a sporadic and exceptional thing. Ethnic relations are therefore normalized and mitigated, their importance is minimized or presented as not having an influence on one's life.

U210: I don't think that things are so sharpened here for the time being. (BA)

U211: ...but not all of them [Serbs getting into fight with Hungarians], just, I don't know, these are exceptions. (CL)

U212: I: We have PE classes together, and then the Serbian PE teacher [incomprehensible], and then, I don't know, the Serbian boys could play football more, the Hungarians weren't allowed to play as much. And then unfortunately they always make this kind of small differences...

R: The teachers?

I: Yes, but not all of them, just, I don't know, these are exceptions. (CL)

U213: R: And have they [Serbian kids] been nagging at you?

I: They were, but I didn't take it seriously. For instance when they were giving me mock-names or something, I wasn't paying attention. (KH)

U214: I know about fights between Serbs and Hungarians in Subotica. These fights need two parties... but I wouldn't know. (KN)

U215: They [Serbian peers] know I am Hungarian and they are sometimes nagging at me. But honestly, it doesn't bother me too much, I find my way around. (PE)

U216: I: There was never any discrimination... Well, there were but...

R: What happened?

I: I can't cite an example now but there was. . . . There was but it doesn't...

R: Don't you remember?

I: I remember but it doesn't interest me. Whatever they say about me. That's what I am like. If they want, they accept me, if they don't, then don't. (VJ)

Even if acknowledged, sometimes, as a special type of mitigation, ethnic violence is blamed for only a certain “type” of Serbs, thus individualized. Those Serbs who are seen to be prone to provoke such conflicts are the nationalistic, radical, simple-minded or new-comer Serbs. This way they are constructed to be lower in the social hierarchy than themselves:

U217: Maybe with those who are looking for trouble. Who have a bit more fanatic stance [laughing]. (BA)

U218: There are some scratchy people who hate Hungarians very very much, and on our side those who hate Serbs, so there is constantly some problem. (CL)

U219: The problem is not with the Serbs but with the immigrants, refugees. They are not affected by the fact that we are here, or they don't even know. (CM)

U220: If there was a Serbian class in our school [a grammar school for talented students], they would be normal. (CM)

U221: And here [in Mladost bar in Subotica] Serbs and Hungarians go together but there hasn't yet been a problem because of this. It is another thing that there are Serbs who make problems. (GZ)

Regarding refugees and immigrants, before and at the time of the interviews, especially the Hungarian media in Serbia often claimed that interethnic conflicts between Serbs and Hungarians originate from Serbs who were born elsewhere attacking Hungarians because they are

not used to the multicultural environment of Vojvodina and blaming them for their lack of will to integrate in the province. In my experience, in Kishegyes, Serbs who or whose parents settled in the village in the 1990s from Bosnia and Herzegovina or Croatia were not more prone to violence than local Hungarians. Yet, the stereotype has been well established in Hungarians' perception of interethnic relations.

Another type of mitigating conflicts is to deny or at least question their ethnic character but put them down to personal reasons.

U222: And of course those people have an objection to anything and nag at everything, so I don't believe they are exactly looking for someone who is Hungarian or who is Serbian [laughing]. I think they could pick at the first person who looks at them in a way they don't like it, so this is a personal problem. (BA)

U223: There were articles in *Magyar Szó* about students from my school being beaten up by Serbian youth. I don't know if it was on an ethnic bases. (PR)

U224: Of course everyone gets very drunk [in the disco], what's usual, and then someone gets annoyed and they get to each other. The primitive people are equally part of this, the clever people step aside. (ZB)

Similarly to what U213 says about not paying attention when being teased, other informants have also told me they were brought up in a way to avoid conflicts or, if they happen, to ignore them. In the narratives the indirect speech of parents serves an evaluative function and is an authoritative discourse. I myself remember my parents telling me that there will always be stupid people and there is no point in getting involved with them in any way. In one of his focus group interviews, Szabó (2013) came to the conclusion that his informants were brought up in this fashion as well. Generally, he argues, Hungarian parents teach their children that ethnic conflicts are impossible to win. The reason for this is that they feel no support from the part of the state institutions, but also none from the part of their own community. Therefore the most common strategies for dealing with such situations are normalizing, denying and self-victimization, as it will be explored in the following section.

5.5.2 Narratives of ethnic conflict

In narratives, events are recreated in such a manner that they form a coherent story that has a main topic, a sequence of events, a leading character and an aim. Narratives are thus a strategy to provide meaning to events that happened to one. As discussed in the methodological chapter and employed in the previous chapters, in the Labovian definition that I use in my dissertation, narratives are sequences of events that contain a complicating action, i.e. at least two temporary ordered clauses that describe what happened in the sequence of events (1999) and they may contain other elements too: abstract, orientation, evaluation, result or resolution and coda.

Selecting episodes from lived lives and stringing them together in a way so they appear as more than mere listings requires familiarity with this type of social practice. Selecting episodes for the purpose of commenting and reflecting back on aspects of a lived life also requires the ability to cull these stories and bracket them out of the original social settings in which they have been socially shared. This kind of practice is based on socio-cultural traditions and institutionalized practices, and the subject that is created in these socio-cultural practices is a reflective subject: one that is able to step back, choose from all those that are tellable episodes, and organize them into some form of an overarching theme that gives (more or less) coherence (Bamberg 2004b:3).

Ethnic conflicts is the ideological core with regard to which interlocutors use many interdiscursive references, mainly those from the media that construct conflict between Serbs and Hungarians as “atrocities” or “Hungarian-bashing”. These public narratives trickle down to the private realm, and the perception and interpretation of events that their acquaintances or they themselves have experienced are affected by the schema they present. In talking about conflicts, interlocutors would often use indirect speech in referring to ethnic conflicts that have happened to others or retell events that happened to them. In the following excerpts, the narrative scheme is not yet as fully developed as I will demonstrate in the longer interview fragments, but the scheme according to which such conflicts are constructed is visible.

U225: There used to be [conflicts between Serbs and Hungarians] quite often. / What I heard about is that... well, now, in my generation there were a few cases in the disco when someone didn't like that the other one is Hungarian, and the other that he/she is Serbian, / and they got into a fight. . . ./ Then... there were cases when young people from Lovćenac came over to the disco / and allegedly they started it all / and a fight broke out because of that. (PE)

U226: For example the brother of one of my classmates, he's older, but he has been beaten several times by the Serbs. / They don't know why, so they picked him out, / nagged at him, / and it happened that he almost died, / he was beaten so much, very brutally. (CE)

U227: It happened to a classmate that they said something to him in the street about being Hungarian. / They knew he was Hungarian / because he was coming out from a Hungarian school. (CM)

U228: This Hungarian veterinary stream and the Serbian vet stream are always in rivalry about something. / There are some who are on good [terms]... / I also have a few acquaintances or something, / part of the class gets on well with them, but there are some sketchy people who hate Hungarians very very much, / and on our side those who hate Serbs, / so there is constantly some problem. (CL)

In all four of the above utterances the main elements of the narratives are Serbs and Hungarians, verbal or physical insults by the Serbs for no apparent reason, and the Hungarians losing in the conflicts.

In the following I am presenting two full parts of interviews in which two male interlocutors, friends, are retelling the same story about a conflict between their circle of (Hungarian) friends and a few Serbian youth in Subotica.

U229: I: There are Serbs who make problems, / and it has happened to us in Szabadka / that we were merely sitting outside in the square / and they picked on us, / and they even took out a knife, / so there are horrible things . . . There was this case / that we were simply walking / and a Serbian guy with his girlfriend walked passed us... or overtook us, / and they were clapping, fooling around / and my friend just clapped after them once or twice, / and that one

said something very rude back to her in Serbian, / OK, we didn't give it any significance, / we sat down there in the square.

R: Was this at night?

I: No, it was during the day, in the afternoon. / And we sat at the Heroes' square, / that's where we usually sit, / and after some thirty minutes he came back, / he brought two-three friends. / They weren't very dangerously looking, / but they had a knife, / they took it out at once... / one of them took the knife out at once, / they really didn't want to let us go. /

R: Was he showing the knife? /

I: He was showing the knife, / I had a lighter in my hand, / and I also had a cigarette in my hand, / and he also commented why I had the lighter, / then his friend calmed him down that "OK, you see, he also has a cigarette, / he doesn't want to cause trouble with it", / but I was very nervous, / I didn't know what to [incomprehensible] / I was very angry / because we haven't done anything, / we didn't want any trouble, / we kept telling them that we have no problems, / [the Serbian group kept asking] "what's your problem, what's your problem?", / this is very typical. / And they didn't hurt us / because there were many people in the square, / it was daytime, / so obviously they didn't want trouble that much, / but for instance one of them kicked me / and they took my friend's cap and such things. / Well, my friend had his girlfriend there, / so as there was a girl, / they obviously didn't want to hit a girl / and they didn't want trouble that much, / so they walked away after a while, but... /

R: Just like that?

I: Well, we stopped them, / and the girls also tried to stop them [saying] that "still, we are here, don't make trouble", / and those who spoke Serbian better... / because we actually don't know Serbian either, / we were just telling them that "we have no problems, we have no problems", / but we couldn't talk to them normally. / And then we were talking in the square with the other young people, "what do you usually do in such cases?" / and they told that nothing really / because there are some among them who are policemen's kids / and they ignore it, / so... and there are some among them who are crazy, / who are pronounced guilty but they walk freely / and nothing can be done with them, so . . . / What's more, it happened that we were there / and there was a mass fight or I don't know what it's called, / but it was like the Serbs actually blasted the square / and ran into the Hungarians / and threw pebbles at them, / so it was very rough, so... / We just watched it from the far, / this was already evening, one of

the evenings. / But it's the thing here as well that the Serbs are much more in solidarity with one another / and the Hungarians rather run away in these cases / because they don't help each other, / so in these cases usually they always win. / So from that square the Hungarians have actually been chased away. (GZ)

Narratives such as the above are typical ways of relating to ethnic conflict that can be heard mainly by Hungarian young men in any town or village where there is a considerable number of members of both Serbian and Hungarian ethnicity, and about Subotica especially often. The town is specific in a way that there is an approximately equal number of Serbs, Bunjevci and Croats, on the one hand, and Hungarians, on the other,¹⁹ living in the town (the members of the Bunjevci and Croatian minority in informal public places mostly use Serbian “ekavian” variety of the former Serbo-Croatian language, and because of it they are not differentiated from Serbs in the occasions I am exploring), while for many Hungarian young people, like for those from Kishegyes, it serves as an educational and cultural center where they commute to school or reside there during the week, attend events such as theatre performances, concerts, go out to bars and cafes, etc. Also, for many who attend secondary school there, Subotica is the place where they are first confronted with a multiethnic environment, where they first need to communicate to some extent at least with members of the majority ethnic group.

There are two chained personal experience narratives told by GZ. One is about the incident he experienced while sitting with his friends, and the other is about the massive fight, or rather an attack that the local Serbs launched on the group of Hungarians, where he, the narrator, was just an eyewitness of the event. In the first, longer narrative the interlocutor is a participant, in the other one he and his friends “were there”, but they only observed the events. Both narratives contain indirect speech and interdiscursive references to established ways of relating to ethnic violence. As an orientation, the time and the place specified (in Subotica, in the Heroes’ square during the day). The complicating action to unfold after the initial abstract and orientation in which GZ briefly summarizes the event he will narrate and

¹⁹The population of the Subotica administrative area, including the city of Subotica, the town on Palić and other suburban settlements, according to the 2011 census is composed of 50,469 (35.65%) Hungarians, 38,254 (27.02%) Serbs, 14,151 (10.00%) Croats, 13,553 (9.57%) Bunjevci and 3,202 (2.26%) Yugoslavs (Stanovništvo prema nacionalnoj pripadnosti i polu, po opštinama i gradovima 2012).

introduces the protagonist (“There are Serbs who make problems,/ and it has happened to us in Szabadka / that we were merely sitting outside in the square / and they picked on us, / and they even took out a knife”) and the clause “so there are horrible things” that is both an evaluation and a coda that takes the listener back to the present. The chain of clauses starts with “We were simply walking / and a Serbian guy with his girlfriend walked passed us.”The adverb “simply” conveys evaluation and emphasizes that he and friends were not provoking violence but were peacefully minding their own business. Apart from “simply”, there are many other evaluative devices: “my friend *just* clapped”, mitigating the action that might be conceived as a provocation, “that one said something *very* rude back”, emphasizing the offensive behavior of the member of the other group, “I was *very* nervous”, “I was *very* angry”, “we haven't done *anything*”, “we didn't want *any* trouble”, “we kept telling them that we have *no* problems”, “this is *very* typical, “they didn't want trouble *that much*”, etc., that emphasize the narrator’s emotive reactions of fear, anger and frustration. The indirect speech of citing members of his group claiming that they did not want trouble serves to put the blame for the violence on the other group. Highlighting the time of the day (afternoon) serves to portray the group of Serbians as troublemakers who would have caused even bigger trouble if the place was more desolate and dark. The part of the complicating action where GZ highlights that they kept repeating that they wanted no trouble is both an orientation that tells the listener something about the protagonists, and an evaluation: the moment when the lack of language knowledge puts them in an unfavorable position and even in danger, implicitly referring to the Hungarians’ marginalized and powerless position in general. The resolution of the sequence of events which produced ethnic conflict starts with the clause “And then we were talking in the square with the other young people...”, in which the members of the Hungarian group and the other Hungarians, who were witnesses of the event, are conceived as jointly evaluating that specific conflict and ethnic conflicts in general. When referring to what members of the eyewitness group said, GZ uses indirect speech. GZ conveys a general information about interethnic relationship and about the characteristics of the ethnic groups in questions: that “the Serbs are much more in solidarity with one another / and the Hungarians rather run away in this cases / because they don't help each other, / so in these cases usually they always win.”With this, he also legitimizes avoidance of conflict as a social strategy, and implicitly criticizes Hungarian peers for not being more unified and in solidarity with each other.

GZ's second, shorter narrative starting with "What's more, it happened that we were there..." also has the same result and a same message to convey as the evaluation of the narrative, while the clause "we were there and there was a mass fight or I don't know what it's called" can be seen as both an orientation in which the actors and the time are specified and an abstract that summarizes the course of events: the time is specified to be "evening, one of the evenings", while the location is the same as in the first narrative. The actors are "Serbians" and "Hungarians", two groups of young people, which, throughout the narrative serves to unify and generalize the members of the other group by applying extreme dissimilation between the two ethnically defined groups. The way in which the narrative is put together is influenced by the meaning the interlocutor wants to convey – depending on this the clauses are ordered, certain phrases are emphasized, some are left unspoken. Conflict is constructed as an ethnic conflict, the ethnic dimension is emphasized in various points of the narrative with ethnonyms ("Serbian" and "Hungarian"): "a Serbian guy", "that one said something very rude back to her in Serbian", "those who spoke Serbian better... because we actually don't know Serbian either", "the Serbs actually blasted the square and ran into the Hungarians and threw pebbles at them", "the Serbs are much more in solidarity with one another and the Hungarians rather run away in these cases", from that square the Hungarians have actually been chased away". The ethnicity of the participants of the conflict is not only foregrounded but it is, at least in the case of Serbs, equated with language. While the participants could have theoretically been Serbs, Croats, Bunjevac, Roma, Hungarians or of any ethnic belonging, the fact that they spoke Serbian among each other and to the group of Hungarian youth in which the interlocutor was, was taken as a definite marker of their Serbian ethnicity. By using dissimilation, the interlocutor's framing the conflict as an ethnic one highlights his way of constructing the social situation he narrated and the nature of the social environment in general. Narrative agents are generalized as members of ethnic groups.

The conflicts are constructed as a clash of interests of two parties, in the first, longer narrative, the Serbs and the Hungarians happened to be in the same location, in the second, longer one, Hungarians are perceived as being in a public space that was suddenly raided by Serbs, presented in the narrative as extremely violent actors, explicitly targeting the Hungarians there. In the first narrative, the events are narrated in terms of "us vs. them", while in the second, shorter narrative, the interlocutor refers to the actors of the story in the third person

plural, as “they” or by their ethnonym: the Serbs and the Hungarians. This difference in positioning is prompted by the interlocutor’s level of participation in the narrated event: while he was an active participant of the first, “it happened that we [he and his group of friends] were there” in the second one as observers.

Regardless of whether he was an active participant or a passive observer of the course of events, the interlocutor uses the narrative, particularly the evaluative devices, to draw more general conclusions about the nature of the relationship of Hungarians and Serbs in Subotica and about the “mentality” of the two ethnic groups, the level of solidarity among the members of the two ethnic groups and their readiness to help each other in fights. Through the narrative the vocabulary used does not only differentiate between “us” and “them” but also positions them opposing each other: as a resolution of the conflicts such as the ones narrated, is that one group was “chased away” from a public space by the other, the interlocutor has witnessed an event that he perceives as such when “the Serbs actually blasted the square and ran into the Hungarians and threw pebbles at them”. The choice of words resembles clashes, violence, conflict and opposing sides clearly marked in ethnic terms. The power relations of the two parties are by no means equal, there is the party that “always win[s]” and the one that “run[s] away”. These positions are defined both as mentality and as a deep-rooted social and structural inequality of power. The group that is defined in the society as minority has less will, knowledge of language, assertiveness and means to claim a public space than the one defined as a majority.

In the quoted speech, the group of Hungarians asks another group of Hungarian youngsters "What do you usually do in such cases?". The cited answer is that “nothing can be done with them” and an explanation to why. Connecting members of the opposing group to the police, claiming some of them to be diagnosed mental patients and convicted criminals who “walk freely”, the interlocutor assigns them an “untouchable”, a powerful status. In the evaluative devices, the group of Hungarian youth are referred to as innocent and incidental victims who were “*simply* walking” by, the interlocutors “(girl)friend *just* clapped after them once or twice,” they “didn't give it *any* significance”, they “haven't done *anything*”, they “didn't want *any* trouble”, they “kept telling them that we [they] have *no* problems”, they “were *just* telling them that we have *no* problems, we have *no* problems” or, in the case of the second narrated

event, they “*just* watched it from the far”. By using adverbs that mitigate the actions and words of Hungarian actors, the interlocutor is ascribing very low level of agency to the in-group, members of which have little opportunities to assert their interests because “nothing can be done” against the other group. Thereby, majority-minority relations are constructed as imminent, unchangeable and constraining for the minority. At the same time, victimization as a social strategy of the Hungarian group is put in the service.

The same events as that GZ retells in his first narrative, are recapitulated by another male interlocutor, his friend, ZB.

U230: In spring there was another [incident], / I was there. / There were around thirty of us, / some fifty Serbs came, in the square. / There was everything. / Bricks were falling all around, / they were beating the girls, everything, / there was everything . . . / We were in a square, the Square of the Victims of Fascism, / it's there where my circle of friends from Subotica gather. / There are quite a lot of us, usually fifteen-twenty. / We were just coming out of a store, to the square, / and there was a Serbian guy behind me, in a Serbian T-shirt . . . / He had a blue-white, or blue-red, I am not sure, Serbian flag on his T-shirt... / He was coming behind us / and started clapping. / There are three of us, / we take up almost the entire sidewalk, / but he's going / and he doesn't have space next to us. / I moved away a bit so that he gets by / but he is clapping, clapping. / And he almost pushed me aside with his shoulder, / he pushed me. / So I clapped at him back, that “it's nice of you”. / In ten or fifteen minutes we got on the square, / we sat there, / waited for ten minutes, / I have already forgotten the whole thing / then the guy with the Serbian T-shirt comes with his two friends, / the girl wasn't there anymore, / and asks what I wanted. / Well, the end was very interesting... / They picked on Z. / only because he was holding a lighter in his hand, / because one can hit harder with the lighter, / there isn't such resistance and all, / eventually there was a lot of bullshit, / a pocket knife was taken out too, / and when he took off the cap from my head, / then I got really angry [incomprehensible] / He took off the cap from my head, / I already stood up, / I think I hit one of them / and the other was almost just about to stab with his pocket knife, / it was very interesting. / Then he stole my cap / and they ran away. / The other Hungarians were sitting there and watching what I was doing and... and... / They weren't actually [my] close friends, just one group of friends. / And then they said: "Does a cap mean that much to you?" (ZB)

The first narrative here refers to the event that GZ retold second, about a group of Serbs raiding the square and attacking Hungarians there. “In spring there was another incident” is the abstract of this narrative, “I was there. / There were around thirty of us” is the orientation that introduces the place and protagonists”, while the rest of the narrative is the complicating action. The repeated phrase “there was everything” serves as an evaluation to emphasize the large amount of violence and chaos caused by the Serbs.

ZB’s second, longer narrative (which is GZ’s first narrative) has no abstract that would summarize it, and starts with the orientation of the narrative (“We were in a square...”). The actors and the place are given, but the time of the event is not specified. Introducing one of the members of the opposing group as a person with a Serbian flag on his T-shirt is an orientation, but also an important detail for the interlocutor that serves to evaluate him as a Serbian nationalist. Similarly to reiterating the phrase “there was everything”, repeating that he was being pushed serves to stress who was to be blamed for the conflict. The evaluative elements of the narrative are: “Well, the end was very interesting” and “it was very interesting”, both uttered in ironic tone probably referring to the (un)expected lack of solidarity among Hungarians, “eventually there was a lot of bullshit” and “then I got really angry”, while the last part of the excerpt starting with “The other Hungarians were sitting...” is both his evaluation and the resolution of the narrative.

Even though in ZB’s narrative it is the Serbs who run away at the end, it is not a story from which the Hungarians come out as winners. The narrative is packed with expressions referring to anger, violence, conflict, bullying from the side of the Serbian group, and the last sentences of the excerpt of his narrative about other Hungarians sitting and watching and making ironic statements about the worth of his cap are actually in line with GZ’s characterization of Hungarians: “the Hungarians rather run away in these cases because they don’t help each other, so in these cases usually they [the Serbian group] always win”. The in-group is constructed by both as innocent victims who are inevitably getting into such conflicts and the fact that in ZB’s narrative they in fact made the group of Serbian youngsters leave was rather attributed to mere luck than some sort of joint action or defense of their interests.

Looking at the longer narrative by both interlocutors, compared to GZ’s, ZB’s version has slightly escalated, and some of its elements have changed. The first part of the narrative

explores the reason that brought the fight about in much more detail than GZ's story. There, clapping at the group of Serbian youngsters is mentioned, but in ZB's story the course of events is rather seen as a consequence of what was believed to be a provocation by the other group. The conflict around GZ's lighter was singled out by both interlocutors as an event that was considered a provocation by the others. In both cases, their group's intent to get into a conflict is denied: according to ZB, clapping was an ironic way of saying "it's nice of you" for pushing him, while GZ's holding a lighter in his hand was falsely interpreted as an object with which he was planning to hit. The conflict escalates in ZB's narrative with one of the members of the Serbian group taking his cap, which he took as a personal insult, and the incident at that point almost developed into a fight. Eventually, this did not happen, but unlike GZ, he claims that he probably "hit one of them" and "the other was almost just about to stab with his pocket knife". Unlike in GZ's version, there are no clear winners and losers in this narrative: he got humiliated by having his cap taken from him, but he "think[s] he hit one of them" and eventually "they [the group of Serbs] ran away". The resolution of ZB's narrative, the cited ironic statement about the worth of his cap is for him the evidence of the weakness of and lack of solidarity among Hungarian youth in such conflicts.

Similarly to GZ, ZB does not question the ethnic belonging of the opposing group, in his version actually it is not (only) the language that is foregrounded as the signifier of ethnicity but (also) the way of dressing: a T-shirt with a Serbian flag on it worn by the member of the group who initiated the conflict. His narrative is more focused on certain individuals than on the group, with more clauses containing personal pronouns in first or third person singular ("he", "I", "Serbian guy", "guy with a Serbian T-shirt" and "the other"). This way, the conflict, that GZ marks as a "very typical" course of events, is personalized – experienced and narrated to serve the individual's own interest and it is attributed a meaning that is relevant for one's own position.

"Very typical" is another story by another male interlocutor, that also took place in Subotica and was characterized as an ethnic conflict by him:

U231: We were in a cinema in Szabadka, I mean in a theatre, in Lifka, with people from Palics / and we were waiting for the bus to come. / And it was coming in half an hour or so. / So we

bought beer / and we sat on the square to drink beer. / So we were there, / and then suddenly a group of some five... immigrants showed up, / and they were dancing up and down, / and one could see that they are a bit stoned or how to put it. / And then they were there and... / The square is circular, / you know it, don't you? / And there are benches around. / And a fountain in the middle, or something like... a tap. / Whatever. / And we were sitting there, / there were three of us, on one of the benches, / and they were sitting across from us. / And then some four of them showed up, Serbians too, / and they sat there as well. / They sat already closer to us. / Then two more people came, / it was visible that they are a bit more radical... [recording lost, only notes:] / They sat closer and closer to us, / asked for a cigarette, / we didn't have, / they were visibly getting ready to attack, / they left eventually. (CM)

The clauses of this narrative follow each other chronologically. Similarly to the previous narratives, this one has no abstract either. The orientation is the first four clauses of the excerpt and the part where the interlocutor explains the layout of the square where the event took place, and they state the place and the actors of the event, while the time remains unspecified with it being inferred that the event took place in the evening. The interlocutor's evaluative devices "it was visible that they are a both more radical" and "they were visibly getting ready to attack" provide us with his perspective on the events. The clause "they left" is the resolution. In the evaluation the narrator frames this narrative as ethnic-conflict story.

The clauses can actually be grouped into describing three separate events, i.e. the group of Hungarian youth's encounter with three separate groups of Serbian youngsters. The part "suddenly a group of some five... immigrants showed up, and they were dancing up and down, and one could see that they are a bit stoned or how to put it" refers to the first group, "then some four of them showed up, Serbians too, and they sat there as well" to the second, and "two more people came . . . they sat closer and closer to us, asked for a cigarette, we didn't have, they were visibly getting ready to attack, they left eventually" to the third. However, it is the ethnic belonging of the members of all three groups that homogenizes them so that they are thought of as one. Similarly to the previous narratives thus, the "Serbianness" of the other group(s) is taken for granted, and this narrator in the evaluation frames these events

as ethnic conflict and violence, by making lexical choices and using words such as “radical” and “attack”.

Unlike the previous two interlocutors, there is a new way of naming the members of the group he is confronted with: “immigrants”, who, eventually in his narrative become “Serbians too” – the discursive homogenizing is thus even stronger. It is unclear who are the referents of the word “immigrant”, whether refugees of the 1990s from Croatia or Bosnia and Herzegovina, whether those who settled in Serbia from Kosovo or people from other towns in villages who reside in Subotica, and it is also unknown how the interlocutor determined their “immigrant” origin. The word “immigrant” might point to the differentiation used in media and in the public already mentioned that differentiates between autochthonous and new-comer Serbs. It is not only the media that distinguishes between autochthonous Serbs and Serbs who or whose parents or grandparents arrived to Vojvodina after World War II, during the wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina or during the conflicts in Kosovo -- in his quantitative study on interethnic difference, Radivojević and Vučević (2008) also differentiates Serbs based on their length of residence in Vojvodina and finds that the length of the family’s stay in Vojvodina correlates with the positive attitude towards interculturalism. Vékás (2008) and (Gábrity Molnár 2008a) also claim that enhanced re-settlement of Serbs from other parts of the country to Vojvodina lead to sharpened conflicts between Vojvodinians, especially minorities and those who “were not brought up here” Vékás (2008). Even though this kind of differentiation is deeply rooted in popular belief, there is only anecdotal evidence for its existence, and the relation between ancestors’ length of residence in Vojvodina and attitudes towards members of other ethnicities would require extensive research.

The story narrated by CM is in fact much in accordance with a scenario that the above interlocutors described. As a journalist in a newspaper report re-narrates a story told by a victim of such a conflict:

A larger group arrived to the nearby bench, girls and boys, mixed, they could have been some ten, twelve of them, then they came here, took the Coke from my hand. When I asked them not to drink it all, one of them said that everything is allowed in Serbia, then they left and they came back again. It was obvious that they wanted to provoke us. We were just thinking that unless we wanted to get

into trouble we should be leaving, when we heard them speaking about who would beat who, and then one of them asked if all of us were Hungarians, and when we said yes, one of them ran and hit a friend of mine so strong that they took me off my legs, then they started scoffing and of course fighting broke out²⁰ (Sztójánovity 2009).

The similarity between this narrative from the daily *Magyar Szó* and the ones heard from the interlocutors is striking. The internalization of these interdiscursive references that are found in the public and in the private sphere as well as in the sphere of the media, and the script-like narratives of ethnic conflicts point to the fact that such incidents do not have many discursive possibilities to be expressed. Narratives of “Hungarian-bashing”, the most common way ethnic conflicts were conceptualized in the media, is actually the only means of conceptualizing ethnic conflict, and these incidents always follow a pattern: a smaller group of Hungarian youngsters are suddenly surrounded by a bigger group of Serbian-speaking youngsters, who start provoking them for no obvious reason. There is rarely any communication between the two groups other than the Serbian group insulting the Hungarian group who in turn tries to avoid the escalation of the incident into a physical one. The conflicts usually end with the group of Serbian youngsters leaving without the verbal incidents becoming a physical one, even though those events that are reported by the media have an ending of physical violence.

One thing has not been emphasized so far in the above analysis: the scenario of these conflicts is typical though, but it is typically narrated by young men. Female characters, if present in these narratives, play a marginal role. Thus, these narratives can be viewed as belonging to the masculinity discourse corpus. Narratives about ethnic incident, if told by female interlocutors, due to them most often not participating actively in the conflicts, are mainly told in the third person plural. They are about two groups defined by their ethnicity (again, most probably inferred by the language spoken by the members of the groups) but instead of “us” vs. “them”, they are rather impersonally told from “the Serbs vs. the Hungarians” perspective. This can again be explained by the lack of active participation in the incident which allows for a more detached view. Such is the narrative by CE, who told a story of a conflict between “the Hungarians” and “the Serbs”, perceiving the conflict as a result of discriminat-

²⁰Translation from Hungarian by the author.

ing the group she herself identifies with.

U232: And just then on the bus there were the Hungarians and Serbs again... / They didn't understand each other, or I don't know what. / There was an argument in the back / and they broke the window of the bus / and the police came, / and what happened again? / The Hungarians and the Serbs got into a fight again. (CE)

The clauses of the narrative that describe the events are: “there was an argument in the back”, “they broke the window of the bus” and “the police came”. Apart from these, the narrative has an orientation about the actors (“the Hungarians and Serbs”) and the place (“on the bus”) specified, and a resolution: “And what happened again? The Hungarians and the Serbs got into a fight again.” The frequency or habitual nature of such events is marked by the adverb “again”, pointing to the fact that they are not single instances. In the narrative, the interlocutor takes up a position of looking at the events from the perspective of an outsider and summarizing her view of the events. This way she partly distances herself from both the Serbian and Hungarian actors, though her position is clear from the context.

Another narrative by a female interlocutor also tells the events in third person plural:

U233: And they had a fight over something / because they were playing football, the Serbs against the Hungarians. / Well, it turned out as a big problem again / because one was shouting at the other that “you are so clumsy”/ and the other was shouting back that “you are clumsy”/ and then they had a fight because of this, / and in the brake the two boys hit each other. (CL)

In this narrative, there clauses are ordered in temporal order. The first sentence of the excerpt introduces the actors (“the Serbs against the Hungarians”) and the activity they were doing (“playing football”). The word “against” literary constructs the two parties as one opposed to another. Yet, in this narrative the female narrator takes an impartial stance and speaks of the two groups in an equally neutral tone, even more than the previous one. Both the previous and

this narrative retell the conflicts they were witnessing in a much more detached tone than the ones by male interlocutors and they blame both parties for the incident.

The third narrative by a female interlocutor tells a story of herself and a her friends being verbally insulted for being Hungarian.

U234: I was walking in the street with Hungarian friends / and someone told them „stupid Hungarians, go to...” in Serbian. / I didn't know how to react to this atrocity. / My mother said it was good that I didn't say anything back, / or at most I can politely retort in this kind of situations / so that the person knows that I speak Serbian / and that they are not in a superior position. (PR)

PR's narrative is in fact a complicating action that consists of two clauses. Interestingly, even though she tells a story of herself and her friends walking in the street together, she sees her friends as the objects of the insult, not herself (“someone told them”). The rest of the narrative is her evaluation in which she accepts her mother's advice, perceived as a figure of authority, on how to react in such situations. She uses indirect speech to refer to her mother's words. She not only constructs herself as a passive subject in her narrative, but she assumes the position of an invisible narrator.

The forth excerpt by a female interlocutor is about a conflict her friend, another female actor, was involved in. Unlike the conflicts narrated by female interlocutors with male actors, in this one the female person who got into a conflict with a Serbian boy, has more agency than girls are portrayed having in all the previous stories.

U237: And last year it was some problem / because the girls, my classmates, were walking in the corridors / and the Serbian boys were sitting on the bench / and they stuck their legs out, / and the girls were so involved in talking about shoes and other stupid things / that they didn't pay attention and they tripped. / And this was a very quick-tempered girl / and she turned there / and was already raising her hand. / She didn't want to hit them, / she just raised her hand / and started to yell, so... / in Hungarian she swore at him, but really. / And then this guy started yelling at her/ because, well, he didn't understand what we were telling him, / and then

something came out of this... / Well, Hungarians... Serbians can only swear at the Hungarians in Hungarian, / and, well, the Hungarians can only swear in Serbian, nothing else, just this [laughing]. / We were laughing at this, / but then what happened was that the guy stood up / and hit the girl. / And then from this... The girl immediately went to the pedagogue / and then she announced that this and this had happened, / and demanded that they do something about it. / And then later I think on the bus there was... they got into a fight. (CL)

The clauses of this narrative are again ordered chronologically, with some events happening at the same time. The short part of the first sentence, “it was some problem” can be identified as the abstract of the story. The orientation is “the girls, my classmates” and it identifies the actors and the place of the events. This is also where the complicating action starts, while the resolution is the last clause: “they got into a fight”. The event is portrayed as incidental, with swearing at each other and offensive verbal exchanges between Serbs and Hungarian evaluated as normal, even amusing, which can be interpreted in the interlocutor’s mitigation: in humorous and casual tone describing a typically occurring conflict. The peculiarity of this incident, according to the interlocutor, is the occurrence of physical violence which is evaluated as unacceptable and sanctioned by reporting events to the school pedagogue asking for the punishment of the violent actors. In CL’s discourse thus, and in others’ view as well, verbal insults are normalized, while physical violence is seen as conflict in ethnic terms and is considered unacceptable.

5.5.3 Conclusion

I have discussed interethnic conflicts and the experience of discrimination with a critical discourse analytical method, relying on Labov’s definition of narratives (1976). The above narratives are seen as strategies for expressing and constructing a common content, that of conflicts perceived to happen on ethnic grounds. I have pointed out and interpreted the elements of the narratives, exploring the ways in which the experience of the event is constructed and retold. In all the narratives the identification of the conflict as ethnic as well as the ethnicity of the

members of the in-group and the out-group are seen as essentially stable and determinable based on self-identification (in case of Hungarians) and on language and outer characteristics connected to nationality (in case of Serbs).

Whether the narratives are told in first person singular or plural by one of their actors, or in third person plural by someone witnessing the conflict or providing details and interpretation of an incident referring to ethnic groups in general, they follow a similar script in which the group of Serbs is seen as perpetrators and the Hungarians as innocent victims. Bauman describes this as a metaphor of a fortress under siege in need of defense (2001). All the incidents happen in non-ethnicized spaces: in the street, on the square, in the bus, etc. Except for the last cited narratives, the interlocutors see themselves and their group as victims of a structure with limited agency.

In these narratives there is a clear gender-based differentiation: while narratives by male construct conflicts as “Hungarian-bashing” that (almost) took place, as the main discourse in which ethnic conflicts are discussed in the media and in official discourses and justify existing discourses of self-segregation and self-victimization, female narrators’ depict incidents in more neutral tone, with less emphasis on ethnicity and more as clashes between individuals for personal reasons. However, in girls’ narratives and also in more fragmented discourses about ethnic conflict as well, the above scenario, even if not as sharply, repeats itself.

6 Multiculturalism and ethnic boundaries in Lendva/Lendava

6.1 Lendva and surroundings

6.1.1 Staying in Lendva

My arrival to Lendva was much different than that to Kishhegyes. Not only was it my first time ever to the town and to the region of Prekmurje, but few things in the two situations were

alike: to Kishegyes, I was travelling in the car of a friend's' friend who was kind enough to transport a years' worth of my things and my dog from Budapest to Kishegyes; to Lendva, I was going with my supervisor to whom I cannot be grateful enough for easing the trouble of going to a new place to start a research on my own. In Kishegyes, I was awaited by my friend in whose mother's place I was to live for the ten months of my stay in the village; in Lendva, I was waited for by the principal of the bilingual secondary school with whom I had made formal arrangements in advance, and after that, I was to sleep in a bed and breakfast. In Kishegyes, I had several friends with whom I was looking forward to spend time, in Lendva I did not know anyone and was nervous to think about the days ahead of me. Yet, for someone trained in ethnography, whether I was arriving to a well-known or a completely new place, my task was the same: to meet as many people as possible, to talk to them, record and take notes of what people say, where and how, to get to know the environment, to put what is being said and done into context and to interpret what they say and do.

I have done much more research prior to my first travel to Lendva than I did before moving to Kishegyes. This was natural, as what I knew about the town and the region prior to going there was not much: I knew that it was the town that served as a center of the Hungarian community in Slovenia, that the Hungarian minority enjoyed some collective rights similar to that of Hungarians in Vojvodina but smaller in scope, as the community as such was much smaller. From my readings and conversations prior to my first trip I understood that multiculturalism and ethnic identification among Hungarians in Prekmurje is built on the notions of language and of bilingual education. For these reasons, the bilingual secondary school in Lendva was the ideal starting location for the research. Yet, there was a problem I foresaw but was not able to solve prior to my arrival to Lendva: how to identify ethnically Hungarian students, given the focus of the research? Like Serbia, Slovenia does not collect and disclose data on the ethnic membership of the students; however, in Serbia, where in multiethnic settings streams differ in the languages of instruction, it is possible to deduce the students' mother tongue from the stream they attend, in Prekmurje, where students attend bilingual schools regardless of ethnic membership, this is impossible. As a compromise, when in the field and after a few days of getting to know the town, the school, talking to the principal, several teachers and former students of the bilingual secondary school in Lendva, I decided to choose interlocutors who study Hungarian language and literature on level 1, which in most cases

meant that Hungarian was the language they were socialized in, the one they spoke in the family.

Given the reasons already outlined, the community of Hungarians in Slovenia is on the verge of language shift, minority rights are centered around language rights and the future of the community depends on the knowledge of Hungarian language, which, in turn, depends on the possibilities of education in the native language. Therefore, the social context being focused around these issues, the interviews were more oriented towards these topics than in Kishegyes. As soon as they learned about the subject of my research, or even without that, assuming my interest from the fact that I was speaking Hungarian, students I interviewed, and also teachers and other adult members of the Hungarian community would start speaking about Hungarian identity, language use and bilingual education. In Kishegyes, by contrast, these issues were considered more sensitive and it would take my prompting and more time to arrive to a conversation about them. This can be attributed for several reasons: first, in the eyes of my informants in Lendva I was clearly a foreigner, and given the fact that I was spending only a few days at once in the town, we had fewer topics for small talk than my interlocutors from Kishegyes. Second, given the same reasons, the interviews in Lendva were more formal, the setting usually being the school, not a café or my or their house, like in Kishegyes, so for the interlocutors I occupied a more authoritative role of a researcher who is interested in certain topics. Third, having an idea about my research interest and given the fact that I spoke Hungarian (before the interviews most of the interlocutors did not know that I was in fact from Serbia) and probably having experienced or heard of other researchers, mainly from Hungary, going to Lendva, they assumed, that like them, language and identity are what I wanted to know about. As a result of all the above, the interviews I have conducted in Lendva were more focused, while the practices I observed were more school-related than in Kishegyes. Yet, despite the outlined differences and the variety in the sources of data, my methodology essentially remained the same, so did the loosely defined set of questions that I used in Kishegyes (see Appendix), therefore I believe that the conclusions drawn from it are comparable – having in mind the unequal nature of the comparison discussed in chapter 5.1.

My first impressions of Lendva were of a typical Central-European small town. Most people seemed to know each other, they were frequenting the same places, and in the school and in the Hungarian community physical and social distance between people seemed espe-

cially small. Despite this, the town, or at least the center of it, had some urban grandeur that evoked memories of times when the community was larger and when the town was the center of a bigger area. Instead of busy town life that was probably characteristic of Lendva a century earlier, on the cold spring days of my first stay in the town the streets seemed clean, orderly but quite empty. It also seemed like there is probably not much to do for a teenager in the town, and I assumed that, like youth in Kishegyes, they are dreaming to go elsewhere as soon as they finish secondary school. After speaking to my first few interlocutors though, I got a different impression: the adults did not seem “stuck” in the place, but rather as individuals who have chosen to lead the lifestyle they lead in a place they wanted to be, and young people seemed more content with life in Lendva, even when admitting what the town lacked and their wishes to leave were more specific and sounded more like plans, not dreams.

6.1.2 Being in Lendva

At the beginning of the interviews, I usually asked my interlocutors to present Lendva to me, to say how it looks like to someone living there and point out some things about the town they considered relevant. Also, given that some of the interlocutors were not from Lendva but from some of the small neighboring villages, I asked to describe these villages as well. Even though these villages are separate settlements, they are organically much more connected to Lendva than for instance Kishegyes to Bačka Topola or the villages in the north of Bačka to Subotica. This is probably due to their very small size, which makes it necessary to travel to Lendva for very basic things (school, shopping, health care, religious service, etc.), to their closeness to the town that makes frequent movement to and from Lendva possible (for leisure activities, for culture events, etc.) by car (which for my interlocutors means being driven by parents or older friends), but also by bicycle and even walking, and the small size of the Hungarian community in Prekmurje in general. Therefore I identified the homeland as an ideological core in the framework of which interlocutors described the physical and social space that they inhabit. Within this ideological core, the thematic units are the social atmosphere of Lendva and its surroundings, the ethnic character of Lendva and its surroundings, transnation-

al mobility from Lendva, with mobility to Hungary as a focal theme on its own, and higher education and future life in relation to Prekmurje, for which the strategies of predication, i.e. the attribution of the negative characteristics of Lendva, the construction of Prekmurje as a livable place, the construction of Lendva and surroundings by their ethnic composition, perspectivization in terms of past and present, the construction of Hungary as a neighboring country, the dissimilation from people from Hungary based on dialect and the justification for and against studying in Hungary were employed by interlocutors. The most common means of realization were comparison of the number of inhabitants of places by ethnicity, of the past and the present, of different towns and of the ways of speaking, ethnonyms, indirect speech, adverbs used for the purpose of adding emphasis and hypothetical constructions to refer to the uncertainty of the future action.

Similarly to Kishegyes, interlocutors sometimes complained about the negative sides of Lendva, mainly the dullness and boring character of the town and/or the villages they live in. They used predication for listing the negative characteristics of the town.

U236: Lendva is usually empty. But we come for a walk from Csente. In the evening it's very empty. (HA)

U237: In Alsólakos for young people there is only the *gasilsko društvo* [firefighters' club], they have cultural events there, but not too many opportunities, no place for gathering. Young people meet at each others' places. (MM)

Yet, even though interlocutors mentioned the negative sides of Lendva and the villages around, they still constructed it as a livable place and emphasized the positive attributes of their place of birth and/or residence, more often than their peers in Kishegyes did: while the orientation of my interlocutors from Kishegyes was largely towards the past, and with regard to the future towards emigration, several of the young people I spoke to in Lendva could imagine a future life there. A number of interlocutors, especially female ones, see a possibility of returning to Lendva or the village around it where they currently live after their studies, an option that for the interlocutors from Kishegyes is constructed as a wish that is impossible to achieve though, mainly due to economic factors. A female interlocutor, GI, explained that she

was a “family type” and for her coming back to a place she knew, where her family was would be the ideal option, while another one, PV, also female, could envisage returning to the Prekmurje region and did not exclude the option of living and working in the neighboring dominantly Slovenian town, Murska Sobota. In general, with reference to Lendva and surrounding, interlocutors highlighted solidarity of the community (“like a huge family”, “people keep together”) and the richness of cultural life (“where things . . . happen”, “there is always something” and “cultural life is very developed”).

U238: It [Lendva] is a place where things happen and not happen... but mostly happen. (BE)

U239: In the evenings if there is a good program at the culture center here in Lendva, then I come, or if I happen to work [as a hostess in the theatre], then I come. (GI)

U240: In Radomos there is mostly elderly people but more and more young people move there. (GI)

U241: Csente is very small and very beautiful, people keep together, there is always something. We organize walks, parties, there is always something for the 1 May, a bonfire or something, football contests, people come from different villages. (HA)

U242: I: Everything is OK in Lendva, only that’s missing from Lendva is that on Fridays and Saturdays there are no really places to go out to for the young people. Sometimes, OK, there is a concert or something at the Irish Pub but otherwise nothing. But cultural life is very developed... for young people [incomprehensible].

R: What do you mean by a developed cultural life?

I: That there are a lot of performances in the culture center, there is a big culture center... (PV)

U243: Those who want an adventurous life, shouldn’t come to Lendva [laughing]. It is a peaceful town, a small town with not so huge a population, but it’s possible to live and there is everything one needs. I like it because it’s not too industrial but has a, how shall I put it, village-like or town-like character. (TM)

U244: It [Lendva] is so small, cute. Actually, the people are really nice even though they often speak a lot against each other. Lendva is like a huge family, everyone knows everyone, which creates a lot of conflict but I think they actually love each other. . . Even though nothing ever happens, it's like a dead town. (SL)

Upon introduction, I learned that names, important signs of ethnic belonging in Kishegyes too, are ambiguous in Lendva and surroundings, as many Hungarians have Slovenian-sounding surnames, Slovenian versions of international names and/or spell their names in Slovenian; also, for me as a non-native in Slovenian language and culture, certain Slovenian surnames could sound as Hungarian. For the generation whose members I interviewed at least, as I also learned, it was also common to have a Slovenian first name. One of my interlocutors who had such a name was quick to point out that everyone calls him by the Hungarian version of his first name. From the introduction thus, the conversation with this interlocutor lead directly to the issue of ethnic identity, and he described the village he lived in in terms of ethnic membership. Another interlocutor also mentioned the ethnic composition as one of the first things related to place. In general, Lendva and the other villages were often constructed by referring to their ethnic makeup, and ethnonyms were used to nominate the groups.

U245: I: Csente is linguistically mixed but almost everyone speaks Hungarian, only a few people are solely Slovenian. It's an average village with mainly Hungarian inhabitants, 316 people live there. In Serbia there are gigantic villages.

R: You told me that Csente is mainly Hungarian in terms of the ethnicity of the inhabitants, what about Lendva, is it half-half?

I: Now more Slovenian. There is also a Croatian minority . . . But they are, how shall I put it, really a minority, a few of them. (TM)

U246: Lendva is a small town where Hungarians live equally as Slovenes, but it is true that throughout the course of life there are less and less Hungarians. I remember, I think we are the last generation in which there are more Hungarians than Slovenes at school. (PV)

TM compares the numbers of Slovenian, Hungarian and Croatian inhabitants of Csente, and PV compares the present times when there are more Hungarians than Slovenes in the school in Lendva to the future, when there is expected that Hungarians would be outnumbered by Slovenes (note that there is no way to measure this as the school does not ask students to identify their ethnic membership nor are their streams from which ethnicity could be inferred as in the case of Vojvodina), thereby constructing space through ethnicity. Even though both interlocutors refer to the diminishing of the Hungarian community, none of them, and also none of the other interlocutors I spoke with use the term “minority” for the Hungarian community. TM uses this word to refer to the Croatian community, which is in the Slovenian legal system not an autochthonous ethnic group and has less collective rights than Hungarians or Italians. This implies that youth from Prekmurje, similarly to their peers in Kishegyes, at least locally, attribute a special status to their own ethnic group that is not seen as a minority, what it legally is referred to on national level.

While TM compared the past and the present in terms of the size of the ethnic communities, another interlocutor did the same in terms of ethnicity, employing perspectivization.

U247: Lendva is a beautiful town, it is full of historical things, for instance the fortress should really be visited. . . And we have a museum here on the main street. . . And well, it's more and more developed, and even in the past it was very developed, it used to be more developed than for instance the closest city.

R: Which city do you mean?

I: Murska Sobota. But then Slovenes moved there and now it's already a region inhabited by Slovenians, but Lendva is still not backwards either. For instance Lendva had a football team earlier than Murska Sobota, and it was in the first league earlier. And it has a school, even three of them. (HA)

U248: Now it [Murska Sobota] is already bigger than Lendva even though before it wasn't. (TM)

Through discourse, HA and TM put Lendva and Murska Sobota into opposition. TM speaks of size, while HA about development, economic and/or industrial, but she brings it in relation to ethnicity, implying that Murska Sobota, inhabited by mainly Slovenians is more developed than the multicultural Lendva because its ethnic composition. She defends Lendva by claiming that it “is not backwards either” and names sports and education that are institutions of importance in the town. The opposition between Lendva and Murska Sobota in relation to size, the level of development and ethnic composition is brought up by other interlocutors too.

In general, young people of secondary school age in Lendva and surroundings speak about the region more positively than their peers in Kishegyes. Ethnic identification and antagonisms as topics are brought up by interlocutors spontaneously in relation to discussing the spatial environment in both regions, and in Prekmurje these are discursively constructed mainly as juxtaposing the present and the past, Lendva and Murska Sobota, Hungarians and Slovenians.

6.1.3 Out of Lendva: Transnational mobility

The general impression that my interlocutors’ references to Lendva and surroundings left on me was that they do not feel the environment as constraining as their peers from Kishegyes feel the village and Vojvodina in general limits them. Young people in Lendva travel more than those from Kishegyes, which is due to greater economic affluence, the geographical closeness to neighboring towns, cities but also countries (Hungary and Croatia), the possibility to travel easily through borders and the small size of the community which makes it unsustainable especially in the spheres of leisure and past-time. An interlocutor said that she sometimes goes to Čakovec in Croatia for drinks or for pizza, another used to go there for Latin American dance rehearsals, a third and fourth also occasionally go to Croatia to the cinema, while a fifth to Nagykanizsa or Zalaegerszeg in Hungary for the same thing. Transnational mobility works the other way around as well, I heard that a waitress of a bar in Lendva commutes to work from Hungary and I have seen many people from Hungary and Croatia in the streets of Lendva, doing shopping or sitting in cafes.

This type of mobility seems to be normal for all young people in Lendva, there are no material or linguistic barriers that are common for youth in Kishegyes, out of whom only a few can afford travelling for leisure abroad, and even if they do, it happens on rarer occasions than for those in Prekmurje. Travelling in general is more common for youth from Prekmurje: many of my interlocutors have been to far-away destinations such as India, Thailand or the USA, and many have plans of visiting, studying or living abroad, and not just in the neighboring Hungary. They plan to visit Australia, India, California --- destinations in other continents in general. Due to more opportunities and a better economic situation, such dreams are possible to achieve for young people from Prekmurje, while they remain dreams for most of the youth in Vojvodina.

6.1.4 Hungary and Hungarians

One type of transnational mobility is travelling to Hungary. Even though it actually does not necessarily involve getting in contact with another nationality or language, and because of the physical closeness of Hungary and the Schengen border regime lacking a classical transborder experience, due to various cultural factors it still entails contact with a different cultural space. Everyone I have spoken to in Lendva has more or less regular travels to Hungary for various purposes: spending leisure time there, such as going to the cinema, swimming pool, library, fishing, exhibitions, concerts, parties, etc., visiting relatives, friends, shopping, family holidays to the Balaton or Budapest, school excursions, competitions, events in school in Lenti (during one of my stays teachers from the grammar school in Lenti were in the secondary school in Lendva to invite students and teachers for a sports event), camping, festivals, and one of my interlocutor's family owns a flat in a major city in Hungary and has herself lived there for some years. All of my interlocutors have thus had experience of various kinds with Hungarians from Hungary and when employing construction of Hungary as a neighboring country, and they often used perspectivization and comparison to juxtapose people in Slovenia and in Hungary.

U249: There is no big difference [between young people there and in Hungary] because they

are also the same, but they are good for me because when I need them for studying or something, I go over, they explain to me, so I understand it normally. (GI)

U250: [There is] no big difference in Hungary, people are open and friendly. I like the country, I have no bad experience. (BE)

U251: Hungarians in Hungary and in Slovenia are usually the same. (MM)

U252: I: We often made jokes about how they speak. For instance a few words, we didn't understand [laughing].

R: And other than speaking, have you felt any differences?

I: No, they are teenagers like us. (HA)

U253: To be honest, boys are much more polite in Hungary than in Slovenia. The word "gentleman" holds for them much more, maybe only because... but I think it's true because for instance they wait for you to go through the door first, give over their seat, etc., make sure you don't get lost in the city, such things. And here, well, someone is going, "good, then go", "hold the door for yourself", total impoliteness. (PV)

U254: For me the Slovene Slovenians are not so likeable for the first impression as the Hungarians. I don't judge of course based on who's Slovenian, that's bad and Hungarians are good, but their personalities are more likeable. (TM)

U255: I: But the people there are getting strange.

R: In what way?

I: The people. The way they look too. The boys look like girls more than girls look like girls [laughing] . . . They speak in a weird way (*nyekeregnek*), that bothers me. (MM)

U256: I have been thinking about going abroad, Austria or Germany, or to Hungary, not because of the language, but the conditions are getting worse in Slovenia. (MM)

U257: In Budapest there is always something happening. . . Mainly I look around [in Budapest] because I like it so much, there are so many people and everyone is doing different things. Really, I just sit somewhere and watch them, that they are just doing things. (SL)

All interlocutors in the above utterances compare people, or youth in specific, in Hungary and in Slovenia. In U249 to U252 interlocutors claim that there is equality in this comparison, and general characteristics like openness, friendliness take precedence over ethnic ones. PV in U253 uses indirect speech to report the words Slovenian peers would use, showing their inconsiderateness. In U249 the ethnic is marked through language: GI has immediate use of her friends in Lenti who explain her the curriculum in Hungarian, thereby compensating for some of the shortcomings of bilingual education. In U252 the difference in speaking is acknowledged as a difference, but its importance is relativized with laughter and the next sentence that puts generational identity above linguistic.

Utterances U253 to U257 construct a difference between Hungary and Slovenia. U253, U254 and U255 are about individuals in ethnic terms, U256 about the two countries, and U257 about the difference between life in Lendva and in Budapest. Except in U255, in all comparisons Hungarians and/or Hungary are constructed in a more favorable light than Slovenians and/or Slovenia.

The instances where differences between Hungarians from Hungary and from Prekmurje are constructed as the most prominent is when the issue of language is brought up, as already illustrated in U255. Other interlocutors also talked about it, as well as former students who remembered their university exchange in Budapest when they were faced with the difference in dialect. This is conveyed in through dissimilation, and the differences are the most often conceptualized through dialect. SL in U258 repeatedly uses the adverb “completely” to emphasize the dissimilation of the two dialects.

U258: In Lendva we speak a completely different Hungarian and I felt bad that I couldn't speak like them [former classmates in Hungary], and they didn't even understand what I said. You know, completely different, completely different. (SL)

U259: And for instance they [Hungarians from Hungary], which is strange because they are so close, but there were things when they looked in a strange way at us because they didn't understand our... our dialect. It is very characteristic of us that we mix the two languages. . . . But they weren't judgmental about this. (SR)

In the above two utterances, self-stigmatization that is often there in Kishegyes when they speak about their own dialect compared to standard Hungarian, is absent. In general, Hungarian young people in Lendva and surrounding attribute a less superior status to Hungary than those from Kishegyes do, and in their discourses construct Hungary more as a neighboring state whose language they are able to understand and speak, than a kin-state or an integrative “our” space.

6.1.5 Higher education and after

Given the proximity of Hungary, the ease of mobility between the two countries and many young people’s claims that even though their professional vocabulary is better in Slovenian, they still “think in Hungarian”, a large number of students whose mother tongue is Hungarian is expected to pursue higher education in Hungary. Indeed, there are some, but their number is not very high. The former students of the bilingual secondary school in Lendva I spoke to have all spent a semester or two at a Hungarian university, but their main university is either the University of Maribor or the University of Ljubljana. Unlike in Kishegyes, where young people who go to university gravitate almost exclusively to Novi Sad and not to Belgrade, secondary school students from Lendva and surroundings go to study to Maribor and Ljubljana equally. Higher education Hungary is less popular though: once the language knowledge is not an issue, it seems the drawbacks of studying in Hungary come to the foreground, most importantly, that in order to get a Hungarian state scholarship, most students have to spend a preparatory year in the Balassi Bálint Institute, and can apply for university only after a year spent there. This is one of the main reasons by which interlocutors justified their option of not considering Hungary as a place to go to university to – opposite of how interlocutors from Kishegyes legitimized their choice of Hungary with being able to study in one’s mother tongue.

U260: [I transferred from a monolingual grammar school in a town close by] because of the Hungarian language, because I would like to go to university in Hungary, and so that it won’t be so hard and somehow to skip Balassi Bálint. (PV)

U261: I don’t like Maribor as a town, Ljubljana much more. Maribor is very dead. Budapest is also an option but I would lose a year. (BE)

U262: I haven't considered going to university in Hungary because schools are harder there and because I would lose one year in the Balasssi. If I really wanted to, it wouldn't matter. But I would like to study forestry in Ljubljana or something related to biology or chemistry. In general... Slovenian dorms are better, more modern. (TM)

PV and BE mention "losing a year" as the main drawback of studying in Hungary, while TM uses a hypothetical construction with regard to studying in Hungary, claiming that the dormitories in Slovenia are better, and this is what deters him from studying there. Still, there are students who consider the option, but in justifying their choice of studying in Hungary, their discourse about it is more hesitant and less definite than that of young people of their age from Kishegyes who wish to study in Hungary.

U263: I would like to see the universities in Budapest too, because I am interested in that too. I would like to know what and how . . . It is also an option because I like Budapest a lot too, and as the Hungarian self-government gives money for it too, and this is also a reason... if... it depends, it all has to be checked and then I would decide. (BE)

U264: I would like to study journalism, but I am also interested in history and Hungarian language. I may study Hungarian in Maribor, I heard it's great to go to university in Maribor. I also had the idea of studying in Budapest. (SR)

U265: I consider going to university in Budapest or go to Australia . . . Ljubljana doesn't attract me, Budapest much more, even though it's very polluted. I don't like that there is no nature in Budapest. (SL)

U266: I: I want to go to a preparatory year in Budapest and then to a Hungarian university to become a librarian.

R: Why is it better than a university in Maribor or Ljubljana?

I: Well, they speak Hungarian, that's one thing [laughing].

R: And why is that important for you?

I: Well, after all that's my mother tongue this is the language I like. (GI)

For all four interlocutors studying in Budapest is an option, but only one of several. In the first four utterances a hypothetical construction is used to refer to the uncertainty of studying in Hungary. GI feels the strongest about education in Hungarian, and her discourse is the most similar to the discourse of the interlocutors' from Kishegyes, yet even for her another choice is the university of Maribor. It is true for all the above interlocutors', whether they want to pursue higher education in Slovenia, Hungary or elsewhere, that they have in general less information than youth in Kishegyes who want to go to universities about the Hungarian education system, the reason for which is to be looked in the fact they are less close to it socially, even though geographically they are closer: there is no established network of friends, relatives, siblings, Hungarian youth from Prekmurje in general who study in Hungary as it is for youth in Vojvodina.

6.2 Language use

Given the immediate environment that is much more multilingual in Lendva than Kishegyes, or other villages in Vojvodina for that matter, and requires more frequent changing of the linguistic code, the following sections look at language use and related ethnic issues in various spheres: in the home, with peers, at school and in public, all seen as separate thematic units within the ideological core of language, that takes up the most prominent place in the discourses about ethnicity and to which interlocutors referred to very often to various strategies and linguistic means. Of the strategies, they employed construction of the family as the primary site of Hungarian language use and constructing the ethnicity of the family based on language, intensification of the Hungarianness of the family, the nomination of the family members' ethnicity, justifying someone's lack of knowledge of Hungarian language, deconstructing ethnically pure identities and temporal perspectivization in relation to language use in the family, perpetuation of Hungarian identity, justification of speaking Slovenian with peers and the transformation of the official discourses of bilingualism in relation to language use with friends. For the thematic unit of language use at school, interlocutors used the strategies of justifying their language choices, dismantling the established discourses of bilingualism, and evaluating linguistic reciprocity positively as predication, while for the thematic unit of official language use they used justification of speaking Slovenian, attributing positive value to

reading in Hungarian language and dissimilation from the speakers of standard Hungarian, as well as the contextualization cue of laughter to express embarrassment. The most prominent means of realization were comparison, narrative, ethnonyms, hedging, adverbs of frequency and direct quotations.

6.2.1 Language in the family

For almost all of my interlocutors, who study Hungarian as the first language, Hungarian can be said to be their native language, even though most of them speak Slovenian on a similar scale and level. For them the home is the first and foremost sphere where they have learned and use Hungarian. In the following utterances family is represented as the place where Hungarian language use absolutely dominates. Thus, the family in Prekmurje appears to be constructed as the stronghold of language maintenance.

U267: In the family I use Hungarian. (HA)

U268: I: In the family [we use] exclusively Hungarian, Slovenian absolutely not. I mean my mother's brother when he visits, that's when we use Slovenian language because my uncle's girlfriend is Slovenian, even though she understands Hungarian, and then... then we speak Slovenian. But she is trying too, she said there is no need to speak Slovenian because she understands that much Hungarian.

R: Is she from somewhere here?

I: Yes. Her father is Croatian, mother Slovenian, so she didn't learn Hungarian. (TM)

U269: We speak only Hungarian in the family... Especially because my mother came to Slovenia when she was 30, with my father. She understands Slovenian, she has a language exam too, but she doesn't speak . . . My only relative who is not Hungarian is my Thai aunt. (PV)

All the above interlocutors point to the (extended) family as a domain where Hungarian language is used exclusively, while U268 and U269 mark some of the exceptions to this: Hunga-

rian language is not used when the uncle in case of TM or the aunt in case of PV is present. In these two utterances, language and ethnic origin are linked: the aunt in PV's discourse does not speak Hungarian because she is Thai and in TM's discourse it is justified that the uncle's girlfriend does not speak Hungarian because she is not Hungarian. In the latter case, the official discourse of multiculturalism in Prekmurje, in which both Slovenians and Hungarians learn and speak each other's languages is implicitly invoked, justifying the person's lack of knowledge of Hungarian by pointing out her ethnic membership ("her father is Croatian, mother Slovenian") and valuing her efforts of trying to learn Hungarian. The issue of appreciating a non-Hungarian person's effort to speak Hungarian is present in the discourses of young people from Lendva as well and will be discussed in the following section.

The connection between language and ethnicity is made in case of Hungarian as well. Interlocutors linked speaking Hungarian at home with the family being Hungarian. Speaking Hungarian with grandparents, parents and siblings, in their discourse meant having Hungarian origins, being Hungarian. Ethnicity is therefore, similarly to my interlocutors in Kishegyes, constructed based on language, and compared to Kishegyes, the Hungarianness of the family and speaking Hungarian as the first language is even more intensified. Ethnonyms were used in nomination when referring to the ethnicity of the family members.

U270: There are Slovenians too [in the family], but we are such... rather a Hungarian family. Mainly Hungarians. (BE)

U271: I: [The family is] Hungarian. I mean, not Hungarian by origin (*magyar származású*) but from Slovenia. My mother's parents are from Zsitkóc, that's next to [incomprehensible], my father's from Lendva and Lakos, mainly from Lakos.

R: So Hungarians from Slovenia?

I: Yes, yes. (MM)

U272: One of my great-grandfathers was Slovenian, all the rest Hungarian. On my father's side, Hungarians from here. On my mother's side though everyone was Hungarian. I mean from Hungary. Great-great fathers or something, so distant, but they moved here from Hungary. (TM)

In U271 and U272 the separation of Hungarians from Hungary and Hungarians from Prekmurje is present. MM uses the phrase “of Hungarian origin” to mean Hungarians from Hungary and for the in-group uses the term “Hungarians from Slovenia”, and TM also emphasizes the origin of one part of his family being from Hungary, the other one “Hungarians from here”, thereby constructing the border between the countries as a point of relevance. It has to be noted that MM, and other interlocutors in interviews and informal conversations use the phrase “Hungarians from Slovenia” and “Hungarians from Prekmurje” interchangeably, while in Kishegyes none of my interlocutors ever use the country designation (Serbia), only the region (“Hungarians from Vojvodina”). Given the social, historical and political context, especially the negative reputation of Serbia in the 1990s in the imagined national geographies, Slovenia has less of a negative connotation for Hungarians from Prekmurje than Serbia has for Hungarians from Vojvodina. Moreover, Slovenia and Hungary are part of the EU, while Serbia is not. These are important factors in the construction of identity, since (Central) Europeanness has always been an important part of Hungarian identity.

Even interlocutors who claim to be from Hungarian families, such as MM, often claim to use other languages as well. This is typically done so with siblings, persons of approximately the same age. Interlocutors and their siblings, i.e. the generation in their teens and twenties are the ones most affected by language shift in Prekmurje (Göncz 2008) and elsewhere too (see Gal 1979, 1987, 1995; Tsitsipis 1998, 2003; Voss 2006, 2007; Petrović 2009b; Ilić 2014), while the generation of the interlocutors’ grandparents is the one that still has a strong attachment to Hungarian language and culture (Göncz 2008). To illustrate this: I have visited the mother of one of the teachers in the bilingual secondary school in Lendva to whom she spoke Hungarian, and while she did so to her children as well, they spoke Slovenian among themselves (their father, the teacher’s ex-husband was of mixed Hungarian and Slovenian origin). The delineation of generations in relation to language use is well detectable in discourse.

U273:I: I speak Hungarian with my grandparents.

...

R: And with your brother?

I: Well, in all languages.

R: You mean in English, German...?

I: Yes, yes. When I want to say something, I sometimes ask my brother how that is said in Hungarian, or... Because many times with my parents too when I speak, because my father also speaks English and German, my mother not so much...

R: Only Hungarian?

I: Hungarian, Slovenian, yes. Well, sometimes it's hard to say because sometimes I mix them, how to say in Hungarian or Slovenian, and I say in another language.

R: Does it happen that you can't remember something in Slovenian either?

I: Yes. And then [he says it] either Hungarian, or English or German.

R: And in which languages do you think?

I: Well, English, I like that a lot, and well, Hungarian. (MM)

U274: Even at home sometimes I mix Slovenian words in the Hungarian speech when I can't remember it in Hungarian. (SR)

U275: My mother is Hungarian from Csente, my father is Slovenian. I speak to my mom in Hungarian, to my dad in Slovenian. He understands Hungarian but it's very funny if he tries to speak Hungarian, for example at the swimming pool in Lenti. I speak Slovenian with my sister... Hungarian with my grandparents in Csente, they don't even speak Slovenian really; we go there every Sunday. (SL)

In MM's discourse, when speaking about language use with his brother, neither Hungarian nor Slovenian occupy a privileged place: he claims them to be used apart from English and German. While he claims to "mix" Hungarian, Slovenian, English and German in speaking to his brother, SL compartmentalizes, i.e. relates the choice of language use to specific domains, topics or persons, between Hungarian and Slovenian languages depending more clearly on which part of her family she speaks with, referring to her own language use and ethnic identity to be "in between". In doing so, she deconstructs ethnically "pure" identities that assume the unity and singularity of a nation and a language. In her utterance, ethnic identity has been "concealed" behind linguistic identity. It was very rarely that my interlocutors spoke about their own or other's ethnicity, but would rather refer to ethnic groups through language. A

counter-example is GI's discourse in U276, who used a narrative of her family's history with an implicit reference to the Trianon Treaty to define her family's origin:

U276: My grandmother was born in Hungary... before... / than she moved to Slovenia, / and then when the border became, / then they were separated and that part remained there, and the other here, and then... / that's why some relatives remained there. (GI)

Even though not mentioning the Trianon treaty, she uses prespectivization and points at it with the phrases “before” and “when the border became” – thereby constructing her family's private history in relation to larger historical events. The complicating action of her narrative presents the temporal sequence of how her family ended up living in Slovenia, of which “that's why some relative remained there” is the resolution.

6.2.2 Language use with friends

From what I observed in the streets, at the school during breaks and classes, when surrounded with their friends, young people who have a solid knowledge of Hungarian in Prekmurje oscillate between “mixing” Hungarian and Slovenian and compartmentalization: with their friends some of them use a mixture of the two languages, mainly dominated by Hungarian with some Slovenian loan-words, while others strive to speak “pure” Hungarian to those who speak Hungarian and “pure” Slovenian to those who do not. Which language option they chose depends on individuals but also on the environment: if there are one or more non-native Hungarians speakers, the language use of all members of the groups is “pure” Slovenian, while if all members of the group are dominantly Hungarian-speaking, i.e. their knowledge of Hungarian does not come from the school or the social environment but they are active speakers of Hungarian since their childhood, they chose to speak Hungarian exclusively or a mixture of the two languages. In this latter case, whether they would speak “pure” Hungarian or not depends on individual linguistic competence, skills and habits. In the interviews, interlocutors who claimed to favor the use of Hungarian language with friends employed perpetuation to maintain and reproduce Hungarian ethno-linguistic identity against the perceived

threat of assimilation.

U277: I am used to the Hungarian [language] more, but for instance all my friends are Slovenians, so both languages I speak equally, I think. But it's easier in Hungarian because that's my mother tongue and still it's totally different. (BE)

U278: There is bilingualism so mainly everyone speaks Hungarian. Even if they don't... still... they try. Or I have a friend, she is not from Csente but from Lendva, we talk so that she speaks Slovenian and we speak back Hungarian [laughing]. (HA)

U279: My group of friends is mixed. I speak mainly Hungarian with them. (HA)

U280: In my group of friends with whom I go out, we mostly speak Hungarian, everyone speaks it. (SR)

U281: I: Of course I have Slovenian friends and Hungarian friends, and mixed, but it's interesting that in my class, there are four of us [Hungarians], and we are best friends, pretty good friends, and among each other we speak Hungarian, but if a fifth person comes who is Slovenian, we immediately switch to Slovenian and we speak Slovenian.

R: And in the breaks?

I: With the girls mainly Slovenian, because especially for two of them, their Slovenian is better. . . . With whom it is possible to speak Hungarian, I would like to speak Hungarian, me personally... Because I have a friend, he can speak Hungarian fluently but he speaks Slovenian to me and that bothers me, why he doesn't speak Hungarian to me because he can speak Hungarian. (TM)

What is common to the four interlocutors in the five utterances is that they all, to a lesser or higher extent, favor speaking Hungarian with their friends, while most of them emphasizing, and this is indeed what I noticed and what I know from the environment I myself grew up in, is that as soon as at least one person who does not speak Hungarian enters the conversation, group members switch to the majority language (as described in U281), and they do that with ease, as they are competent in both languages. This shift is marked by some (U277 and U281,

and also in U282) with hedging: using “but” in between the phrase that describe them speaking Hungarian and Slovenian. Despite this, and the difficulties she seemed to have in speaking Hungarian to me, BE claimed to attribute a special value to her mother tongue, Hungarian, and so did TM. HA and SR (in U278, U279 and U280) claimed to mostly be able to speak Hungarian with all their friends, even though in school they use Slovenian more, and in Lendva, unlike in Kishegyes, it is not possible to move around socially without the knowledge of the state language. From U281 one can infer that even though “there is bilingualism”, secondary school students still differentiate between their Slovenian and Hungarian peers, i.e. they ascribed them ethnic identity based on various criteria: the language they favor to speak, its level and the language they use in the family. In U281 TM voiced his expectation that the ethnicity is in line with the language used: he feels discontent that his friend who can speak fluent Hungarian still prefers to speak Slovenian to him.

Despite being fluent in Hungarian and having opportunities to speak it, there are instances when, for various reasons, interlocutors claimed to still prefer speaking Slovenian. Still, they felt the need for the justification of their choice to me.

U282: With my friends I mainly speak Slovenian. My closest friends from the class understand Hungarian, but one doesn't speak. When she is not there, I speak with my other two best friends in Hungarian. (PV)

U283: In the breaks [we speak] rather Slovenian too because one of my best friends doesn't speak any Hungarian, so then... with her only in Slovenian. (BE)

U284: I: I have a Slovenian boyfriend, his knowledge of Hungarian is not very good either [laughing], so with him I speak completely Slovenian.

R: Is he from around here?

I: He is from Lendva, but somehow... somehow he hasn't learned it [incomprehensible].

R: Did he attend this school?

I: Yes. (BE)

U285: With my friends [I spoke] mainly Hungarian, but now at high school more Slovenian too. (GI)

In U282, U283 and U284 interlocutors describe situations when they speak Slovenian because of other persons. In their discourse they transform the official discourse that claim all students of the school to be bilingual, as they all present examples of situations where Hungarian people switch to the dominant language because the other party of the conversation does not speak it. This is so even though these people are from the same region, and as BE's example shows explicitly, have gone through the same bilingual education system. Thus Hungarian-speaking students are the ones to compartmentalize: they use mainly Hungarian with Hungarian-speaking friends and family and Slovenian with non-Hungarian speakers. Similarly to how they justify their use of Slovenian with friends, interlocutors justify their choice of language based on the language knowledge of the person they talk with.

U286: With BE we speak Hungarian, with another good friend Slovenian... that friend otherwise speaks Prekmurski. (SL)

U287: We don't really think about how to speak, / we just start talking. / Then if it strange that we speak Slovenian, / we start talking Hungarian, / if it's strange to talk in Hungarian, / then in Slovenian. (SL)

U287 is a habitual narrative that supports the dominant discourse of bilingualism in Prekmurje according to which all students speak both languages. It shows that compartmentalization is very often unconscious and automatic. It is not clear though who is the "we" SL refers to: does it include students whose mother tongue is Slovenian or only students from Hungarian families?

6.2.3 Language use at school

Language use at school is supposed to be the sphere where language is the most compartmentalized. The ratio of instruction in Slovenian in Hungarian is set by percentages, even though, as I learned through conversations with students, former students and teachers, it is not set

how to determine those percentages. Bilingual education is one of the most controversial topics, and its theory and practice often differ greatly.

As told by interlocutors and observed during classes, most of the instruction at school is in Slovenian and most of the students chose to speak Slovenian in class. Teachers write the title of the new topics on the blackboard in Hungarian and translate key concepts and professional vocabulary to Hungarian. They also explain parts of the curriculum in Hungarian, especially at the beginning of the class, while as time goes by, explanation in Hungarian often gets forgotten. Some of the homework and presentations by students are done in Hungarian. While in theory students should choose the language in which they present and keep to it, “mixed” language is often used and is not corrected by teachers. The most common usage of Hungarian is informal: greetings, instruction, informal questions, comments, students whispering to each other in class, etc., while most of the official part of the classes take place in Slovenian. In the following, I am going to present some utterances in which my interlocutors justify their language choices at school. They often use adverbs of frequency to point out how often these instances occur.

U288: The majority answers in Slovenian, I think, because classes are also such that the instruction is in Slovenian, and somehow it’s easier to learn. (BE)

U289: R: Do the teachers teach mainly in Hungarian?

I: Most often in Slovenian, and for me it’s easier to understand, and to answer in Hungarian is easier. Because the tests are catastrophic because I start to write in Slovenian, then [incomprehensible] a bit Hungarian, then again Slovenian, and then we have a bilingual test.

R: Is that allowed?

I: It’s not allowed, but a bit... or still, if it’s just a word, I ask them to translate, to still look better. Aesthetically. (GI)

U290: Some textbooks are both in Slovenian and Hungarian... geography, the first part of physics. I start reading in Slovenian but the parts I don’t understand, I read in Hungarian. I understand Slovenian easier too even if the teacher spoke only in Hungarian. (GI)

U291: R: And the school-related things?

I: That in Slovenian. Both, but more Slovenian. In classes I tend to ask question is Hungarian because then I understand better, but I answer in Slovenian, because of the words, but in Hungarian if I have to explain something, because it's easier. (MM)

U292: I: Here at school we speak bilingually, so because of that I feel that my knowledge of the Hungarian language, well, it worsened a bit, I mean it worsened regarding, as I mentioned before, if I can't remember a word, then I don't think about it [laughing] for half an hour, how I should say it, how I shall express myself, but I rather use a Slovenian word that I remember at that moment, or... so in this respect, it's not the best.

R: Has it been always like this?

I: No, mainly here in school . . . because they [classmates] come from Slovenian villages, so the bilingualism is bigger. (SR)

U293: We learn in Slovenian at school, so the easiest to learn is in Slovenian because I have heard it in Slovenian. So I learn in Slovenian because a lot of textbooks are in Slovenian. But of course it's possible to choose. (SL)

As shown in the above utterances, most students are aware of the discrepancy between the theory and practice of bilingual education and they feel a need to explain and justify it. The most common reasons they mention for using Slovenian much more than Hungarian at school is that textbooks are in Slovenian, that they hear the lessons in Slovenians and that the teachers explain the curriculum is Slovenian because of other students who do not speak Hungarian. GI in U289 uses irony to refer to the rule of not mixing the two languages that is not kept, acknowledging the difficulties bilingualism creates for students and teachers alike. SL in U293 does not even mention Hungarian instruction: to her mind, bilingual education equals education in Slovenian language only. Among my interlocutors, one was explicit in destructing the established discourse according to which bilingual schools are the only possible solution for the education of the Hungarian community in Prekmurje:

U294: It's interesting that we would have the right to a purely Hungarian school here because

the Hungarian minority and all. We would have the right to a separate Hungarian-language school. / It's a problem that before, for instance my maternal grandmother, she was Hungarian, / and she had to go to a Slovenian school / and she didn't really understand Slovenian, or she didn't understand anything / and she had to learn it there. / Of course [incomprehensible] that bilingual, but they didn't have that, actually it could be monolingual. In terms of law, in terms of law, it could be. It's one thing, but otherwise I personally, I am OK... how shall I put it, for me it's good that it's bilingual, I don't mind. But it's one thing that we would still have the right to it, but I am nowadays, I think... well, it's true, there aren't many of us in Slovenia, and they mostly go to university in Slovenia, of course they go to Hungary as well but... (TM)

He refers to the common trauma of the Hungarian community in Prekmurje of being forced to study in Slovenian after the Treaty of Trianon, and he recalls his grandmother's case in an narrative form, who had to be educated in Slovenian even though she did not speak the language.

Other interlocutors also pointed out some of the discrepancies of the bilingual education model. These are the fact the education system is changing from bilingual to Slovenian more and more as years pass, thus effectively pushing students towards language shift, teacher's lack of fluency of Hungarian and knowledge of subject-related vocabulary, the need to cater for students whose Hungarian is not on a level sufficient to follow instruction in Hungarian, and the language of textbooks. As in U297 SR presents, and as I have personally observed, the imbalance is mostly on the side of Slovenian language. However, there are cases when it shifts to Hungarian, as shown in the following two utterances. Others also dismantle the established discourses that praise bilingual education and points out its discrepancies.

U295: In the first grade we also try to speak Hungarian, in the third and fourth not so much. It depends on the teacher which language we speak in class. Teachers who speak Hungarian fluently speak Hungarian with us too, but make sure the classmate who doesn't speak Hungarian understands it too. Even those teachers who don't speak Hungarian so well allow students to answer in Hungarian because everyone needs to understand that much. I answer de-

pending on the textbook, Hungarian and geography mostly in Hungarian, most of the other subjects in Slovenian. (SR)

U296: But now there are language-groups in a few subjects, where mostly... For instance in geography and history, instruction is mainly in Hungarian. So there are two language-groups, the Hungarian and the Slovenian . . . However, this was successful only in our generation because, well, for instance, well, the reason why is because in our generation there is a lot of Hungarian speakers. In [incomprehensible] not so much. In the next generation, who are first graders now, there are unfortunately no language-groups because there isn't such a big number... [laughing]. So we are a lucky generation . . . The teachers don't really keep the percentage, they mainly speak Hungarian because 10 students' mother tongue out of the 13 is Hungarian, out of the remaining three, one speaks well too, one understands and one is from a Slovenian village further away so she goes to a special course and she is starting to understand. (TM)

TM in U296, as well as GI in the following U297, SR in U298 and PV in U299 value highly that students who are not from the bilingual area try to learn Hungarian – even though in fact officially those students are required to learn Hungarian as much as Hungarian-speaking students are expected to learn Slovenian. Similarly to interlocutors from Kishegyes, in doing so, they employ predication. They use direct speech to refer to their non-Hungarian-speaking peers' questions about the meaning of Hungarian phrases or their stances towards Hungarian language in general.

U297: R: Does everyone understand Hungarian in your class?

I: One doesn't, but we teach him/her. By fourth grade he/she will learn. Because he/she is from a monolingual school.

R: So among each other do the students speak Hungarian?

I: Yes, and he/she goes: "Sorry, what is it about?" during classes. The stream understands better in Hungarian language because the stream is such that there are 13 of us and out of it only four will take a Slovenian graduation exam, and the rest Hungarian [laughing].

R: What about you?

I: Hungarian. (GI)

U298: I: This school here is attended by Slovenian students too, from Slovene villages. But for instance it's a very positive thing for me that they make an effort to learn the Hungarian language, they don't have that... "I won't speak Hungarian, I won't", but they take part in the conversation, and for instance I have a classmate like this, that if he/she doesn't understand something, he/she tries to understand and if he/she doesn't understand then asks "What did he/she say now? Would you translate?" [*laughing*] And if we translate, he/she tries to remember that word. This is for instance... OK, there are exceptions who are very anti-Hungarian, "only Slovene, only Slovene, only Slovene".

R: Are there such here in Lendva?

I: Yes, the older guys, in the 4th grade, there are such. But not in our generation. Rather the contrary, they really try. (SR)

U299: They [non-Hungarian speakers] learn [Hungarian]... I learn Spanish too but I still don't speak it [*laughing*]. Well, they understand something but not all. For instance those who came here in elementary school or learned Hungarian already in the elementary school as a second language and they continue to learn it here, it's OK, they understand, but there are those who come from places where they didn't learn Hungarian in the elementary school and they started this year, and that's much more difficult. (PV)

All three interlocutors use laughter as a contextualization cue pointing to issues that are difficult to verbalize. GI conveys pride in her stream giving priority to a Hungarian graduation exam, but her laughter points to embarrassment, a feeling of cheating the system in doing so. SR, even though praising her classmate's efforts to learn Hungarian, laughs at his/her ignorance. Lastly, PV is ironic about her non-Hungarian speaking classmate's efforts to master the language. All three means of realization convey the discrepancies of bilingual education and the ambiguous position Hungarian-speaking students occupy in it.

Note also that in U292 and U298 villages where non-Hungarian speaking students come from are referred to as "Slovene villages". This way, geographical space is constructed as

ethnic space, similarly to how my interlocutors from Kishegyes created ethnicized mental maps of social spaces.

6.2.4 Public and private language use

Walking the streets of Lendva, with the exception of certain Hungarian institutions such as the Bánffy center and the secondary school to some extent, seemed to me similarly to how Komac (2010) saw the practical side of multiculturalism in Prekmurje: even though most official signs are bilingual, unofficial ones are not, most public servants (in the library, the post office, the bank, etc.) were helpful but unable to speak Hungarian, and in general much more Slovenian than Hungarian word was heard in the streets, shops, cafes, etc. When asking my interlocutors about their experience of the official use of Hungarian language, they many times felt the need to justify their speaking Slovenian instead of Hungarian in public. They would also often use interdiscursive references and first cite the official legal discourse that everyone in Prekmurje speaks both languages, and then admit that in practice all conversation is at least initiated in Slovenian. The contradiction was marked by laughter, which is a contextualization cue implying the interlocutors' awareness of the discrepancy between the official discourses and reality and feeling uncomfortable to admit it to me, a Hungarian-speaking outsider to the community.

U300: I: The first thing I would mention [about Lendva] that Slovenes and Hungarians live here . . . and that here, wherever you go, it is a requirement that, well, that the employees, or in a shop, anywhere, speak both languages. So when someone comes from Hungary, it's very rare that they meet someone who doesn't speak Hungarian.

R: How do you speak when you go to a shop or bank?

I: Well, I speak Slovenian, because somehow, looking at it, we are still inside... I mean in Slovenia, and it's interesting, it's how we are used to, or I don't know [laughing]. But of course if they answer back in Hungarian or anything, then I speak Hungarian. (SR)

U301: I: If I go to shops in Lendva, I start speaking Slovenian. At the post office or such... To do administration, always in Slovenian.

R: And how do they answer?

I: In Slovenian they too. But then we realize that we speak Hungarian too, and then in Hungarian [laughing]. (GI)

With the dominance of Slovenian language in the public sphere, including the officially bilingual institutions, Hungarian language has mainly withdrawn to the private sphere, the family, especially the older generation of family members and some Hungarian-speaking friends. Another domain Hungarian is present in is reading and watching TV. When it came to the topic of media consumption, most interlocutors used the television and internet portals as the main sources of information. While among internet sites mainly Slovenian ones were popular, many claimed that at home if they watch TV, it is either in both languages (with additional English or German-language channels) or did it exclusively in Hungarian. One of the interlocutors for instance is a big fan of the Hungarian series *Éjjel-nappal Budapest* and *Barátok közt*, because “they depict the life of teenagers in a big city”, i.e. Budapest.

Many of my interlocutors claimed to give precedence to reading in Hungarian or they claim to read in both language and used predication to attribute a positive value to reading in Hungarian. In this case some emphasized that they read things unrelated to school in Hungarian. Those who read in Hungarian tend to have books at home but also borrowing them from the local library but also the library in Lenti, in Hungary.

U302: I like reading in Hungarian because I like the language much more. It's more beautifully described, the I can't remember the word in Hungarian... the vocabulary is bigger. (SL)

U303: I got used to reading in Slovenian more. I also read in Hungarian, but rather more simple topics, novels mostly. (BE)

Like SL in U302, all of my interlocutors at some point of the interview struggled to express themselves, to find the right word or phrase. I would encourage them to say the word in Slovenian if they did not know it in Hungarian, as they would do in natural speech situations. In a

language situation in which the teenage generation of Hungarians in Prekmurje is, this is considered the norm. Also, all of my interlocutors spoke a regional dialect, much stronger than the dialect my interlocutors from Kishegyes spoke, given that Hungarian language in Prekmurje has never been standardized (Kolláth 1999; Bokor 2009). Like the interlocutors from Kishegyes, they also noticed their speech to be different from what Hungarians in Hungary speak and used dissimulation to express the social distance from speakers of standard Hungarian. On occasions they also felt their own dialect to be less worthy.

U304: I still don't know many things in Hungarian, the correct words. Like now, I have many things on my tongue but I can't express myself properly. (GI)

U305: Sometimes I can't speak correctly... in dialect... I need to improve that a bit. (HA)

On the other hand, some expressed that for Slovenians outside the bilingual area who are not in frequent contact with Hungarian, the language they speak, be it standard or not, sounded exotic:

U306: They would always nag at me [in Ljubljana] to say something in Hungarian, for them it's like Chinese language. (SL)

6.3 Others and other languages

Another ideological core that came up in the conversations, observations and interviews was Slovenian language and Slovenian history. Similarly to the importance of the native language, Slovenian as the second (and for some, also the first) language are vital for the ethnic identification and the perception of interethnic relations of Hungarians in Prekmurje. So are the other thematic units, such as the perception of Slovenian history, of Prekmurci and the Prekmursi dialect, the relationship to „Balkan music“, experiences of ethnic discrimination and the „Hungarian world“ in Prekmurje. The discursive strategies employed to refer to these thematic units are constructing Slovenian language and history as school subjects, constructing a

„halfie“ linguistic identity, dissimulation from the speakers of the Prekmurski dialect, the assimilation of „Balkan music“, predicating a positive value to this musical genre, constructing ethnic conflict related to Prekmurci, mitigation of discrimination based on ethnicity, the perpetuation of the existing discourses of multiculturalism in Prekmurje, attributing negative value to people who do not speak Hungarian, assimilation of people in Prekmurje regardless of ethnicity, justification for non-Hungarian speakers’ not attending Hungarian events and predicating folk dance a positive value. The means of realization related to these strategies are repetition, adverbs of frequency, indirect speech and narrative.

6.3.1 Slovenian language

Due to the nature of the education system and other institutions, as well as demographic factors, all young people whose native language is Hungarian in Prekmurje use Slovenian language too in their everyday communication. Even though all Hungarian speakers are bilingual Hungarian-Slovenian speakers, to my surprise quite a number of my interlocutors reported having difficulties in Slovenian language. These were often hardships with grammar or pronunciation. Even though they use it on a daily basis equally or more than Hungarian, for many, when speaking about Slovenian language, it was constructed primarily as a school subject, like for young people from Kishegyes. The reason for this may be that like Hungarian and Serbian, Slovenian is also a purist language (Thomas 1997) culture in which standard variety of the language is the only variety that is seen as “correct”, “pure” or “perfect”, while other varieties and dialects are seen as “incorrect”, “faulty” and stigmatized. Thus in general,

purism may be characterized as an attempt to provide a paradigm for the codification of a language which makes assumptions about the acceptability of a given set of linguistic items on the basis of their origin. Purism seeks to close a language to elements from sources deemed unacceptable while keeping it open to acceptable elements (1997:134).

As a subtype of purism, Thomas (ibid.) explains xenophobic purism to negatively evaluate the use of loanwords and calques. This is the language ideology present in the following ut-

trances.

U307: I: With Slovenian I am afraid, at class too, because there is pronunciation... that I can't pronounce. This is still . . . Until now I don't feel at home in Slovenian.

R: How come?

I: I don't know, there are numbers, persons, and these... in Hungarian it's easy, singular and plural, and there it becomes more complex.

R: So do you sometimes make mistakes?

I: Yes. Many times. When there are presentations or tests... [incomprehensible]... Slovenian [the subject] is my death [laughing].

R: You don't like the subject?

I: It's not that I don't like it but I need a lot of motivation and strength so that, well, I become good at it. (GI)

U308: Slovenian as a language is more difficult for me. So... it's more difficult to learn the spelling rules in Slovenian, it's very difficult for me. (MM)

MM uses repetition of the word “difficult” to emphasize the problems he has with Slovenian language, while GI uses adverbs of frequency to demonstrate how often she has problems with the state language. GI's discourse is similar to that of my interlocutors' from Kishegyes in that she focuses on her difficulties in the language and in her motivation to learn it. It was also her who, like youth in Kishegyes, in U309 used language to determine ethnicity:

U309: R: Are they [the family who moved back to the village] Hungarians or Slovenians?

I: They speak Slovenian. (GI)

Another interlocutor, SL, recalls her year of living in Hungary and speaks of her knowledge of Slovenian as positive for her peers and a valuable knowledge for herself. In her view, monolingualism has been overcome, and she constructs her “halfie” linguistic and ethnic (her father is Slovenian, her mother is Hungarian) identity as an advantage:

U310: My Slovenian sounded strange in Ljubljana, it's Slovenian with Hungarian influence. In [where she lived in Hungary] they also always asked me to teach them Slovenian, I never had any bad experience, they actually always liked it and they were interested. I think nowadays everyone thinks that it's by no means a bad thing if you know another language, because the best thing is to speak many languages. I really really like that I learned both languages in my childhood and that I can say for both languages that they are my native languages. It's a big advantage. (SL)

The topic of language in most cases took the conversation to the issue of ethnicity. Unlike my interlocutors in Kishegyes, those in Lendva often mentioned having Slovenian girlfriends or boyfriends and using predication strategy to construct ethnically mixed relationships as nothing outstanding, rather the norm than the exception.

U311: It's completely normal [to have a Slovenian boyfriend] because I am fully bilingual, I speak both languages fluently so it doesn't bother me much. (GI)

U312: I can imagine having both a Slovene or a Hungarian girlfriend, also English or German... We [in the family] don't make such difference. (MM)

U313: I can imagine [having a non-Hungarian spouse] because here we are close and all, but I haven't had a boyfriend who wouldn't speak Hungarian [laughing]. . . Maybe because we knew each other from before and that's how we got together. (HA)

G evaluates to a relationship with a Slovenian person as normal, MM expands this scope to include relationship with someone "English or German", or of any ethnicity. HA, even though claiming she has no objections to a Slovenian boyfriend, admits that she has never had a relationship with a Slovenian person, because, as she justifies, the social closeness and familiarity of Hungarians makes it possible to get to know more Hungarian than Slovenian boys.

6.3.2 Slovenian history

Like for some Slovenian language, for others it is Slovenian history that is referred to as a school subject, but also an issue strongly connected to Slovenian and Hungarian historiography. When speaking about history as a school subject, interlocutors invoke their views on national histories, and make a comparison between them and compare Slovenian and Hungarian national histories.

U314: It [Slovenian history] is easier. Hungarian history, there is really a lot, not so much in Slovenian. Kings and many people... (HA)

U315: Slovenian history is funny for me. I mean it's, compared to Hungarian history, it's really funny because actually it seems when I am learning Slovenian history that there has been so much written on it, but so little happened, so I can't even say what happened other than that they tried to get out of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy, when they started having their own language, and the Slovenes gathered... I don't know, not so much happened that I should know. (SL)

U317: Hungarians had history, the Slovenians [laughing] never had, they were always under another country, Habsburgs or others. But the Hungarians had, it was nice and interesting. (TM)

All three interlocutors employ predication to (re)present Slovenian national history as inferior to Hungarian. The reasons they cite is that it encompasses a shorter period and/or there were fewer memorable events and rulers than in Hungary. HA is happy about the fact that Slovenian history is "easier" and she does not have to learn as much as in Hungarian history, while SL's discourse is more derogatory in naming Slovenian history "funny" and unworthy of learning. In his discourse, TM praises Hungarian history and masks a not politically correct statement with laughter, like many other times in interviews in both Kishegyes and Lendva.

6.3.3 *Prekmurski: The Other dialect*

Individuals of Slovenian ethnicity are generally seen in a neutral way by youth of Hungarian origin. There was hardly any discourse about the difference in culture between the two ethnic groups, the only feature to distinguish was seen by most to be the language. Yet, there is a differentiation between Slovenians (who speak standard Slovenian) and Slovenians speaking a dialect specific to part of the region: Prekmurski. This dialect is spoken mainly in Goričko, and not so much in and around Lendva, in the Pomurje region. Most of my interlocutors said they understand it and can even reproduce it, but “only as a joke” (SL). When speaking about this dialect interlocutors attempted to distance themselves from it, even though they never said anything derogatory about it.

The reason for this ambiguous view became more clear when with some interlocutors we started speaking about going out and music, and later when the issue of ethnic discrimination came up. When asked about places they go out to, almost all interlocutors mentioned a disco in a village Nedelica. This village was described as both geographically and culturally far from Lendva and dissimulation was used to express this.

U317: Rarely I go to Murska Sobota, but rather to Nedelica to a disco, but rarely. In that region everyone speaks Prekmurski. People from Goričko go there more than people from around Lendava. (BE)

U318: Mainly Slovenians go there [laughing] so... and people from there who don't even know Hungarian and who... they speak Slovenian with this very strong dialect... and those who go there are not really... my types, or how to put it. (TM)

TM's utterance, especially its last part is almost equal to what some youngsters from Kishegyes claimed about certain ways of behavior, dressing, musical preferences of Serbian peers: that they are not their “type” of people. His laughter also echoes the laughter my Kishegyes informants used to substitute phrases that are not politically correct. In her statement, BE geographically marks the area from where people go to Nedelica, that being Murska Sobota and

the Goričko area, and she distinguishes them from the people from around Lendva, who are socialized in the bilingual area, and are culturally closer to her. In his discourse, TM actually goes on to claim explicitly what BE has suggested and in his following utterance, U319 uses assimilation to convey his feeling of homogeneity with Hungarian-speakers.

U319: Well, let me put it this way, for me, how shall I put it... Slovene Slovenians are of course OK too, and all right, certainly... there are certainly good too, but for me, I feel better when I speak Hungarian too. (TM)

6.3.4. Other music

However, while people who speak the Prekmurski dialect are distanced from Hungarians and “local Slovenes”, interlocutors still attend the disco that is frequented by them too, and they have no stigmatizing discourse about the music played there, which is mostly pop, but also NCFM from Slovenia, Serbia and Croatia. They use assimilation in which they unify musicians and the music of all Slavic or ex-Yugoslav music.

U320: Balkan singers come there on Saturday. Mainly Slovenians go there but some Hungarians too. I go there with classmates or former classmates . . . I listen to that kind of music at home too. (GI)

U321: I: There is a party place in Nedelica . . . There is a big stage and some more famous musicians coming there.

R: Slovenian?

I: No, Croatian. But there are Slovenians too. (MM)

U322: Stars have concerts there. (SR)

In GI refers to ex-Yugoslav music performers as “Balkan singers”, and the interlocutor also admits listening to that kind of music at home too without any value judgment or stigmatization. MM’s is also a neutral statement; also, while most singers performing there are Serbian,

she terms them Croatian. SR's is the most general statements, that names all musicians performing in the disco as "stars". In general, rather positive attributes were predicated related to music in the interviews; in this respect the view of "Balkan music" is very different among youth in Prekmurje and in Kishegyes. This can be explained with the geographical and physical distance: while for young people in Kishegyes this genre of music is something they are exposed to often and sometimes without wanting to, for young people in Slovenia, regardless of ethnicity, it is something distant, exotic, a music they listen to if they want to.

6.3.5 Ethnic discrimination

In terms of entertainment, there seemed to be no conflict between Hungarian and Slovenian youth in Prekmurje, unlike in Kishegyes, where going out, discos and bars are frequent sites of ethnic conflict. There were ethnic grievances constructed in the interviews though, and they are related to people who speak Prekmurski or who are from the Goričko area of Prekmurje.

U323: There, in Prekmurje²¹, they hate us. They hate Hungarians. For instance those from Murska Sobota and those real Prekmurec people, who think of themselves as such, they don't even know that in the past they also belonged under Hungary... More these football fans. They even express it in sentences. For instance here, at a game . . . Sometimes our people (*ameink*) relate to this and tell them that "we belong here too"... Not in the game, but on other occasions. But in the game they also use more rude words. (MM)

U324: I: I have seen on Facebook that there are comments for the Hungarians.

R: Really?

I: Well, not in a very bad way but there is a word that they call us, those Prekmurec people, which is not really nice but, well, I don't know... I am not really interested in that.

R: What word?

I: I can't remember... *Vgrini* or something... Not really positive. But otherwise I am not really interested. . . . On Facebook this is more in the form of a joke, but it can also be in a not

²¹While the entire region is called Prekmurje in Slovenian (Muravidék in Hungarian), the interlocutor here used the word to mean the Goričko area of Prekmurje.

very good form. (BE)

U325: I: There are [in Prekmurje] some Croats too, some Bosniaks and Arabs... Albanians, I mean the ice-cream vendors, bakers and such, and kebab [vendors]. Approximately these nationalities. But it is good that they live next to each other because when I look at it, in the other towns in Prekmurje... not Prekmurje... like in Ljutomer, they are really bothered when someone speaks Hungarian. Because they don't understand, they, well, think I am saying bad things about them. Here on the other hand, even when someone doesn't understand Hungarian, they don't say anything because there is... simply they are used to living in this environment.

R: And have you had any bad experience for speaking Hungarian in Ljutomer?

I: Of course there were but I didn't take it personally, because it's exactly because they don't understand, and that's why. It often happened that they said something (*beszóltak*), that "Hungarian" but I know well that they were just joking with me.

R: Classmates?

I: Yes, yes, and friends and all. That "you Hungarian" and all that.

R: And aren't there such things here?

I: No, here... I mean, here there are so many of us Hungarians that they can't say anything. (PV)

In his discourse MM differentiates sharply between "us", Hungarians and "them", Prekmurec people. He speaks about football teams and verbal insults during football games, but the two teams are ethnically defined. Issues going beyond sport arise in the conflict experienced by him: that of belonging ("we belong here too"), which is a quoting by indirect speech, and national history ("they also belonged under Hungary"). For BE, even though she also speaks about people from Prekmurje (meaning people who speak the Prekmursi dialect), verbal insults remain in the virtual realm. She is not so outspoken about these as MM is: similarly to many young people from Kishegyes, she uses mitigation to claim that she is not affected by this sort of insults. PV also mitigates the conflict by claiming that it was only a joke, even though she admits the incident bothered her. She also believes the origin of these problems to be language-related: that Prekmurec people do not understand Hungarian and think something

bad is being said about them. She uses indirect speech to refer to how she is being insulted. This is why she claims she values the multicultural environment around Lendva, where Hungarian is spoken and understood. In this, she echoes the official discourses about interethnic relations in the region. When speaking about Lendva and surroundings, she, similarly to some young people from Kishegyes, inverts majority-minority relations by claiming that there are so many Hungarians in the surroundings of Lendva that Slovenian people cannot make insults like that. In her discourse too, the “us” and “them” differentiation is clear and it homogenizes the two ethnic groups: Hungarians and Slovenians.

There are other interlocutors too who refer to the multicultural character of their environment similarly to the official one, as unproblematic. They perpetuate the existing public discourses in doing so.

U326: I never felt any problems for speaking Hungarian here or elsewhere in Slovenia. (SL)

U327: I think nowadays it's already completely normal, natural that there are no people here who are like, “oh, who are these, what are they doing, why do they speak Hungarian?”, so we are used to it, I don't find it strange. Those who don't accept it, they also don't deserve to live in this country [laughing]. Anyways, there are other nationalities living in this country, so it's not a problem. (HA)

While SL merely states the lack of problems as a fact, HA explains it with contrasting past and present, claiming that ethnic discrimination is outdated, that “nowadays” people think more globally. Her discourse is more in line with the postmodern views of ethnic identification, where ethnic difference is no longer something exotic or stable and essential, yet, she still differentiates between ethnic groups, and does so by means of language.

6.3.6 Hungarian culture and the “Hungarian world”

In Lendva, unlike in Kishegyes, there is no monolingual space with the exclusivity of Hungarian language and culture. The school, the public institutions, the places of entertainment, etc. are all Slovenian or bilingual. The Bánffy center serves as a gathering place of Hungarians,

other than cultural programs it has a café that is open every day, still, on my visits there, I never saw young people spending time there on occasions other than certain cultural events, and even then not in large numbers. The Bánffy center thus may serve as a Hungarian space in Lendva but does not speak to the teenage generation.

A place where Hungarian is heard exclusively are the Sunday masses in Catholic church in Lendva. Similarly to young people from Kishegyes, most of my interlocutors in Lendva claimed to be religious to some extent. In their case, it meant being baptized as Catholic (they often used the word “Christian”), keeping traditions for holidays such as Easter and Christmas, and going to church occasionally. Their church-attendance was in general higher than that of youth in Kishegyes, a few of them mentioned attending mass regularly with their parents and/or grandparents. Like in Kishegyes, the priest in Lendva was an ambiguous character mentioned often. The reason for that was language-related, and some interlocutors, like GI, employed predication to attribute negative value to his imperfect Hungarian.

U328: The priest in Lendava is Slovenian but he struggles to speak Hungarian, but his Hungarian is very bad. He is not from nearby. The readings and the requests (*kérések*) are in Hungarian. Both Slovenes and Hungarians attend the mass. And if I can, I fight for it that it is in Hungarian . . . I don’t know Slovenian perfectly, but he knows Hungarian worse than I speak Slovenian. (GI)

There were other interlocutors though who spoke appreciatively of the priest’s efforts to learn Hungarian. Whether positive or negative, a Slovenian person from outside the “bilingual area” around Lendva learning Hungarian was a situation that provoked some dispute and which made language use, and thus ethnicity, salient.

Other than in the Bánffy center, Hungarian programs can be seen and heard in the culture center in Lendva. Even though the hall was designed by a famous Hungarian architect Imre Makovecz, and its building funded with money from the Hungarian state as well, there are “Slovenian and Hungarian performances equally” (GI) in it. For events that have a large audience, such as theater performances or concerts, this hall is used, regardless of the lan-

guage of the performance. In speaking about this, interlocutors would use assimilation to create the group of audience from Prekmurje regardless of their ethnicity.

U329: R: Do Hungarians attend Slovenian performances and Slovenians Hungarian ones too?

I: Well, most of the Hungarians here speak Slovenian and therefore if you speak well enough Slovenian it's the same thing whether you go to a Slovenian or a Hungarian performance. On the other hand there are many who don't speak Hungarian, even though they live here and they are Slovenians, and well, for them, it's totally useless to go to a Hungarian play because they don't understand anything anyways. (PV)

PV constructs Hungarians as privileged, in that they can attend both Hungarian and Slovenian programs, while in her justification of why non-Hungarians do not attend Hungarian cultural events, there is an implicit condemnation of Slovenians "who don't speak Hungarian, even though they live here" and therefore cannot attend Hungarian events. Therefore for her, bilingualism is seen as a value and as a norm.

One past-time activity that is possible to do solely in Hungarian language is acting. There is a Hungarian theatre group called Egy & Más Vándorszínház in Lendva that, even though an amateur group, has played many successful plays all over Slovenia, Hungary, Serbia and other countries. The two consequent directors are both from Vojvodina, a fact explained probably with the Yugoslav legacy of cooperation between the two regions. Even though one of my interlocutors used to be part of the theatre group, its actors are mainly not among the secondary school students, but rather slightly older young people who are from Lendva and surroundings and attend universities in Ljubljana or Maribor.

Another Hungarian extracurricular activity that targets more the generation of secondary school students and that is happening in Hungarian language is Hungarian folk dance. Lendva has a folk ensemble called Muravidék, and some of my interlocutors are active in it. The ensemble leader is local, while the choreographer is from Hungary and travels to Lendva occasionally. In the following excerpt I present and then discuss how SR, a member of the folk dance ensemble attributes folk dance a positive value in relation to ethnic identification and uses indirect speech to present her argument.

U330: I was like, why folk dance, there are so many other types of dance? [laughing] My mother was doing folk dance. She was hoping that I would like it. Well, I liked it so much that I have been dancing since the 2nd grade. . . My classmates and friends, they... this has been for a long time... towards folk dance... something... well... they don't understand how I could dance. A young person today. For them it's old-fashioned. This gives me even more motivation because I am trying to prove them in any cost that folk dancing is not some old-fashioned thing, and I think they have started to understand [laughing]. . . I like folk music, everything related to dancing. . . I have always been interested in these things. Because Hungarianness, this consciousness, this is in me, and that those who are now elderly people, how they used to live in the past, what did they do, and for instance folk dancing is also related to the fact that in the past people only met in dance-houses, so I find it very important . . . Last time we performed in Ljubljana, people find it very unique to dance Hungarian dances, people really watched and clapped. We also perform in Hungary, it's not a big deal there, for them on the other hand it's interesting that we are from Prekmurje, that we come from Slovenia and there is Hungarian folk dance here in Prekmurje too. (SR)

In the beginning of the excerpt, SR explains her reasons for joining the dance ensemble. The first reason is similar to what many of my interlocutors from Kishegyes who do folk dance said: that she joined the ensemble because her mother recommended her; interlocutors from Kishegyes also had parents or older siblings whose examples they followed. She continues to explain her choice by justifying the viability of folk dance in contemporary times, and she does it by invoking tradition and national consciousness, claiming that folk dance is the continuation of tradition and a connection to Hungarianness, connecting the past to the present, just like HA from Kishegyes did. In the second part of her discourse she compared performing in Slovenia, outside the Prekmurje region and in Hungary. She claimed that in the former their dances are special because it is something people there rarely see, while in Hungary the dances themselves may not be unique but the fact that there is community of Hungarians in Prekmurje who dance them is.

6.5 Conclusion

As it was made clear in the introduction and in section 4.1, the analysis of the discourses and practices of young people of Hungarian ethnicity from Prekmurje, more precisely from Lendva and its surroundings makes sense only in relation to the main case study of this dissertation: young Hungarian people from Kishegyes in Serbia. The reasons for choosing these two regions have been explained before, here I am going to mention only that in analyzing ethnic identification, the two regions are on one hand, in terms of history and the cultural legacy of the older generations the closest possible to each other in the wider region, connected by a shared history, the same language and culture, on the other hand, in terms of demography, political and institutional system, they are quite apart. The aim of the chapter on Prekmurje was to find discursive patterns that are significantly similar or different from those from Kishegyes and make arguments based on the comparison.

When it comes to ethnic identification of self and other, in both regions it was language and the family that primarily determined identity. Being Hungarian, Serbian, Slovenian or Prekmurec was based on speaking a particular language or dialect. In case of Prekmurje though, due to the bilingual education system and the bilingual environment in general (unlike Kishegyes which, despite the non-Hungarians living in the village can still be described largely as a “Hungarian world”), this identification is “softer” and ethnic boundaries are more porous. Ethnic identity in Prekmurje is not so obvious and taken for granted; language and names are not as secure markers of ethnicity as in Kishegyes. As all Hungarians are fluent in Slovenian, and some Slovenians are also speakers of Hungarian, it is not possible to determine ethnicity solely on language; also a Slovenian-sounding surname or name may belong to a Hungarian person. Even more than in Vojvodina though, ethnicity in Prekmurje is determined based on language proficiency, but in the case of Hungarians it is complicated by fluency in both languages. In their case, Hungarianness, other than language, is connected to family origin. Being “from a Hungarian family” may and mostly does mean being a native-like Slovenian speaker too, but is the only a fairly salient indicator of Hungarian ethnic identification in Prekmurje.

As language use with peers is almost fully bilingual, because in nearly every situation when a group of young people is together, there is at least one person who does not speak Hungarian, and for them, the entire group switches to Slovenian. In public institutions, even though in theory both languages could be equally used, social inertia and the inadequate knowledge of Hungarian leads to Slovenian being the *lingua franca*. The bilingual school system, with its favoring of Slovenian, has pushed Hungarian to the private sphere. Bilingual education is applied and its proclaimed aim is integration and preparing students for future studies or the labor market (Bence 1999), while there is less ideological emphasis on cherishing Hungarian language, culture and tradition – that are present in the secondary school streams youth from Kishegyes attend. As language-based streams are not separated, the education system lacks the element of physically distancing the two ethnic groups, which automatically reduces their social distance as well. All these create a system of a bilingualism and bi-culturalism, in which, yet, Slovenian is the dominant language and culture: Slovenian language is not only more frequently heard and spoken, but the institutions and individuals are more embedded in the Slovenian state system (through media consumption, socializing, entertainment and past-time activities, as well as above all, language competency) than in the “Hungarian world”.

The social hierarchy favoring Slovenian is more taken for granted and normalized in and around Lendva than in a hierarchy between Serbs and Hungarians in Kishegyes. Stigmatization of ethnic Others is more rare, and is almost exclusively reserved for people who speak the Prekmurski dialect. Even in those cases, it is rather ethnic grievances than conflict: discourses are largely in terms of the “them” hating “us” than vice versa. While in Kishegyes, majority-minority relations are inverted locally, in Prekmurje, with the use of Hungarian language being reduced to a few situations and fewer opportunities to be in an environment that emphasizes national identity, the social hierarchy in Prekmurje is rarely inverted. Yet, Hungarians are never referred to as a minority, instead, discourses of a multicultural Prekmurje are perpetuated.

Another important point when exploring discourses and practices of ethnic identification and multiculturalism among Hungarian youth in Prekmurje is related to the prevailing positive attitudes to Slovenian citizens, regardless of ethnic membership, of Slovenia. In the

past quarter of a century, since the country's independence and especially since its membership in the European Union, but even before, when it was part of Yugoslavia, Slovenia had a positive image in the European political and economic context. On the other hand, especially in the 1990s, Serbia was severely stigmatized, and the economic and social situation was much worse than in Slovenia, and it is not an EU member state.

In general, it can be said that official discourses and the lived experiences of multiculturalism are closer to one another in Prekmurje than in Vojvodina. There is less differentiation between “us” and “them” in the discourses, and even though present, less internalization of the trauma of ethnic conflict. This situation is brought about by the small size of the community, but also by a more uncritical acceptance of official discourses of integration and multiculturalism. Despite interlocutors' criticism of the bilingual system and the community being on the verge of language change, people I have spoken to in Prekmurje are in general more satisfied with the education system and with the way the Slovenian state treats the Hungarian autochthonous minority and they express more optimism in relation to their position in the Slovenian society. This is so regardless of ethnicity; ethnicity in general does not play such an important part in the way the past, present and the future are seen. This leads to a more integrated ethnic group but one whose ethnic markers such as language use, cultural traditions, symbols and customs are formed, provided and experienced as individual rights.

7 Conclusions

7.1 Summary of the research

The research I have presented in this dissertation is the result of a ten-month-long fieldwork in Kishegyes, Vojvodina, Serbia and a shorter one lasting for three times several days in Lendva, Prekmurje, Slovenia. The material gathered during the fieldworks is contextualized both locally, taking into account a wider socio-historical perspective, and theoretically, applying to it theories of three major fields: work on multiculturalism, studies on ethnic identifica-

tion and research on youth as a generational group. The comparison between the two regions is a hierarchical one: the main focus is on Vojvodina, and the case study of Prekmurje is used as comparative material. The reasons for this comparison is that even though arising from the same political-historical situation, Vojvodina and Prekmurje are two very similar cases, due to political and demographic differences, the two environments have developed distinct institutional mechanisms of minority rights. With the comparison, I was curious to see the similarities and differences of the experience of being a young Hungarian person in the two places and thereby arrive to more general conclusions about the Hungarian minority in the region, and even more generally about the construction of discourses and practices of being a minority. The method I used is a combination of ethnography and discourse analysis: while with the former I explored how ethnic identity is constructed in practice, with the latter I interpreted the discursive elements of ethnic identification.

The first, introductory chapter was about the motivations for conducting this research in the first place. Being a Hungarian from Vojvodina myself, it engages with some aspects of reflexivity: being and insider in coming from the same community, but an outsider due to my age, status, education and coming from a different region of Vojvodina. In the same chapter I set up the main question of the research: What are the discourses and practices of Hungarian youth in Vojvodina and in Prekmurje in relation to their ethnic identities and relationships with members of other ethnic groups? I started the research with the assumption that, at least when speaking about Vojvodina, there is a salience of ethnic identity among young Hungarian individuals, and this is brought about by the minority experience they are in and that the institutions of the school, the family, the peer group, the media, etc. construct this position for them, and conversely, the institutional setup reflects the existing social positions. The research, I argued, contributes to scientific debates on ethnic identification and multiculturalism by looking at the self-identification and interethnic relationships from below, on both a discourses and practical level, among a sub-state minority (Kymlicka 2007, 2011) in Central-Eastern Europe.

The second chapter explored theories that can be useful in interpreting the material from the fields. In the first subchapter, the history of the concept of multiculturalism was explored and its theories. The most used works were those by Kymlicka (1995, 2001, 2003,

2007) and Bauman (2011). This subchapter also looked at some of the models of multiculturalism and possible directions of criticism: multicultural policies may in fact encourage segregation, essentialize and homogenize ethnic cultures, take the concept of majority and minority for granted and work on the topic apply almost exclusively Western models of multiculturalism. The second subchapter explored theories of ethnicity. It went through Hobsbawm (2009), Anderson (1991) and Barth's (1969) theories of nationalism and ethnicity, among others, and then discussed the problems these theories may bring about in conceptualizing ethnicity: work on ethnicity often puts too much emphasis on this form of investigation, tend to see ethnic groups as homogenous and bounded (Brubaker 2004) and disregards the fact that even though analytically it is, in terms of the actual experience of ethnicity, it is not imagined (Jenkins 1997). The subchapter looked at possible answers to the questions why ethnicity is salient despite the global world where it is expected that other features of identity repress the ethnic one. Possible answers include that familiarity with a culture defines the boundaries of one's world (Avishai/Raz 1990), that coordinated behavior within a group means security for social actors (Barry 2001) and that ethnic belonging provides an added meaning to life: to be a member of a larger community and thus part of a continuation of the past into the present (Anderson 1991). Then I explored the relationship of ethnicity and discourse, and argued that the community is imagined, among others, through discourse (Wodak et al. 2009). I drew on Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia, according to which every discourse is always already in communication to other discourses, present and past, and dialogism, in which Bakhtin argued that each discourse always speaks to an audience, real or imagined (1981). In the third subchapter I dealt with youth and identification, exploring the paradox that while postmodern theories of ethnicity see contemporary youth as cosmopolitan and global, using their ethnic identities strategically, in the South-East European region it seems that youth are in a "double transition" (Tomanović 2012), which makes ethnic identity salient for them – especially if they are in an ethnic minority position.

In the third chapter I explored the social context of the two case studies: the history, demography, the situation of Hungarians in Vojvodina and of Hungarian youth in Vojvodina in particular, presented the fieldwork site of the research in Vojvodina, Kishegyes. The history, demography of Prekmurje, the position of the Hungarian minority in Prekemurje, a discussion of the bilingual education system in Prekmurje and the presentation of Lendva, the other

research site, followed. The fourth chapter is a methodological chapter, and it discussed the bases of the comparison between the two regions, the choice of the approach and of the settings of the research, the sources and the methods of gathering material: participant observation and interview, and the methods of analysis: discourse analysis in general and Critical Discourse Analysis as applied in the research, following the work of Wodak et al. (2009).

The fifth and sixth chapters dealt with the two empirical case studies. They both identified and interpreted some relevant contents related to ethnic identification and multiculturalism, and explored the practical and linguistic strategies as well as the concrete means of realizing them. Chapter 5 looked at multiculturalism in Kishegyes. In it, I explored the relationship between the village and the outside world and the importance of the state language in integration, as well as the attitudes towards and the obstacles of learning it. The following section discussed the experience of the world as seen through the prism of ethnicity. This section is divided into three subsections, focusing on the construction of time, place and social relations. They enclose a characteristic “Hungarian world” (Brubaker 2006), and through this concept I discussed the varying power relations between majority and minorities. The next subsection looked at ethnic culture by interpreting discourses and practices related to the meaning of being Hungarian as a distinct set of emotional dispositions, linguistic and behavioral patterns, on national history, with an emphasis on interlocutors’ perception of the Treaty of Trianon as a chosen trauma (Volkan 2001) of the Hungarian nation, music, the differentiation between Hungarian folk music and Serbian pop and turbo-folk in particular, as well as the gradation of being Hungarian: “halfie” identities (Subedi 2006), passing (Goffman 1959) and Hungarism. In the last subsection of this chapter, I explored the topic of ethnic discrimination and conflict through the prism of narratives. I argued that experience of discrimination and ethnic clashes is constructed in a narrative scheme, with a strong element of the self-victimization of the group and a difference in the construction of the experience by male and female interlocutors.

Chapter 6 looked at multiculturalism and the experience of ethnicity in Lendva and its surroundings, comparing it to that in Kishegyes. First, I discussed my and my interlocutors’ of the town and the social environment outside it, as well as the transnational experiences my interlocutors have. A special case of transnationalism is contact with Hungary, where same-

ness and difference were explored. The next section looked at language use in the family, with peers and at school, i.e. its private and public use, arguing that it was the former where language is being pushed to by various institutions, the bilingual education system being one of them. Then I looked at interlocutors' perception of Slovenians and Slovenian language, Prekmurci and the Prekmurski dialect. Lastly, I discussed the "Hungarian world" of Prekmurje: the folk dance group, the theatre group and religion among others.

7.2 Main findings of the dissertation

If there is one concept in the research that is the most overarching, that is by all means language. Even though I was naturally aware of its importance, through my own personal experience and the experience I have had interacting with people in Vojvodina, but also elsewhere, it was yet only in the course of the research that I realized the weight of the fact that language is the basis of the functioning of all social interactions and institutional mechanisms. Theories of language and verbal communication are tremendously numerous, and there is a large body of work on the importance of language for minorities, sub-state or immigrant. Most of these emphasize the importance of the mother tongue, the right to use it and means of its preservation. Indeed, this is valid issue for Prekmurje, where members of the Hungarian community, especially the generation I have conducted my research about, are facing language shift (Göncz 2008). The mere existence of this community depends on whether Hungarian language will survive and whether there will be a need for its use. With the prevalence of liberal multiculturalism that fosters minority rights on a collective level (Kymlicka 1995) and since the introduction of bilingual education system with the aim of preserving Hungarian language but also to integrate Hungarian students into the education system, the labor market and political structures, their native language, in its local dialect form, remained to be used in the private sphere. It remains to be seen if and how long it will survive being used in only one sphere of life. Without the aim of predicting, my impressions suggest that with the proliferation of Slovenian language in school, among friends, in the media, etc., the generation I conducted interviews with was one of the last ones to use Hungarian language and that the community will in a few generations be like the Hungarian community in Burgerland, Austria,

who are already past the language shift phase. Yet, there can be other outcomes as well. A community's future depends on too many things yet unknown that make it not possible to foresee it.

However, the case of the Hungarian community in the North Bačka region of Vojvodina is quite the opposite of the above. What threatens this part of the community is not (linguistic) assimilation but rather low birth rates and emigration. Thus for them, the importance of language is also huge, and for them the main problem is not the knowledge of the mother tongue, but that of Serbian, the state language. I argue that for them, not knowing Serbian is what prevents integration and participation in the society outside the "Hungarian world". The lack of fluency and/or the confidence to speak the state language, I believe, confines one to this limited geographical and social space. This space, even though offers safety and the feeling of being within one's comfort zone, is yet small enough to cater for all the needs of an individual who aims at participating in the mainstream society on equal footing with members of the majority ethnic group. As a result of this, I argue, a vicious circle is created: lack of language knowledge prevents participation in the society, and because of the lack of participation, no opportunities are provided for the acquisition of the state language. What a young person from an ethnic minority is therefore faced with is marginalization, and their strategies of dealing with it are self-ghettoization (Losoncz 2015), self-victimization, or in Badis's (2008) argument, negativism, isolation, seeing other ethnicities as threat or passing (Goffman 1959). Gábrity Molnár (2008a) also characterizes the post-1990s Vojvodina Hungarian society as one prone to vulnerability and depression. These are general strategies of behavior and discourse, while I have pointed out a few specific practices and linguistic strategies and means of realization by which my interlocutors and young residents of the village construct their and others' position in relation to ethnic identification.

Social actors are embedded in the institutional system. They "carve out" their own space and identity within it, while the institutional system also mobilizes them for its interests, which is the interest of the social elite. In Vojvodina, the ruling political elite is in power only if it defines itself on ethnic bases, therefore its interests are to sustain the existing ethnic divisions. This suits the Serbian national elites and institutions as well: minorities are provided certain rights, kept at bay, and their management is left to the ethnic worlds: Vojvodina Hun-

garian politics, teachers of the Hungarian streams at school, Hungarian cultural institutions, etc. There is little space for discourse outside the ethnic, and practices that transcend national categories are also scarce. As long as they are the “good minorities”, the existing order is not changed. Those that challenge the established authoritative ethno-national discourse are only momentous instances, “halfie” identification or passing do not transgress national boundaries but enable more space to strategically use one or another ethnic identity or switch one for another. The conceptualization of the ethnic remains seen as assigned at birth, stable, and the model of multiculturalism is rather conservative in supporting the coexistence of groups without actual interaction among them (Kymlicka 1995). The institutions such as the school, the family, the media, the workplace, political institutions, etc. build on these taken for granted identities. They channel young people into where they belong according to their ascribed identity: to the Hungarian stream at school, to a group of Hungarian friends, to watching TV in Hungarian, to reading in Hungarian, to dance Hungarian folk dances, to Hungarian past-time activities, into relationships with other Hungarians, into jobs that do not require language skills, to universities in Hungary, etc. The places outside this world are where individuals are faced with ethnic Others, but also with the stigma of their own inferior position; therefore the ethnic boundaries (1969) and their ethnic identities become even more emphasized. The institutional system emphasizes the unequal power relationships between majority and minority, and it is the constant experience of the minority position that makes ethnic identity salient for youth in Kishegyes and in other places where autochthonous minorities are in a similar social situation.

Yet, young people are not completely without agency in facing the institutional system. Their field of power lies within their local environment, where they feel safe. They have strategies to assert themselves and the dominance of their ethnic group. Some of these are passing (Goffman 1959; Badis 2008), using one’s identity more strategically, given that one is in the position to do so, or orientation towards Hungary – in this way self-ghettoization is also a resistance strategy. These strategies still remain within the prescribed frame of ethnic identification. The one that challenges it is inverting minority status: minority status becomes relative (Patton 2010) when they are in the village, in their stream, in the Hungarian places for going out. They strengthen their position locally by assigning negative stereotypes to members of other ethnic groups and by constructing an environment into which Serbs, Muslims,

Roma, etc. are not allowed to. This way they avoid being faced with individuals who challenge their position. Yet, it is only until a certain limit that one can stay within the “Hungarian world” and until they are faced with their marginal position. Thus the complexities of demography, politics, economy and other factors are all to be taken into account when discussing not only the public, but also the private and everyday discourses and practices of multiculturalism.

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Appendix

Interview questions and topics

Introduction

Introducing Kishegyes/Lendva

Possibilities for entertainment, extracurricular activities in the village/town for young people

What kind of music do you like?

Where do you meet, what do you do with your friends?

Where do you know your friends from? Where do you meet? What language do you use with your friends?

Members of which other ethnic group live/come to the village/town?

Are you religious? What religion? Holidays? Do you know/celebrate any holidays of other religious/ethnic groups? Do any members of another religious/ethnic groups visit you for holidays?

Are there people of other ethnicities in your family? Circle of friends? Have you had or can you imagine a relationship with a member of another ethnic group?

If yes: Where do you meet? In which language do you communicate?

Future: Would you like to go to university? Where? Why there?

What would you like to work? Why that? Where would you like to work as a/an... ? Why there?

Do you declare yourself ethnically? As what? Do you usually fill in the “ethnicity” box in official forms?

How important is being Hungarian to you? In what aspects of life?

What does it mean to be Hungarian?

Do you like history? Are you interested in Hungarian history? Serbian/Slovenian history? How would you assess your knowledge of Serbian/Slovenian history?

How would you rate your knowledge of Serbian/Slovenian? On what occasions do you use it?

What do you read and in what language?

What media (TV, websites, radio,...) do you follow and in what language?

Have you ever been discriminated based on your ethnicity? Were you ever in a conflict because of that?

Do you go to Hungary? How often? For what reasons? What do you think about Hungarians from Hungary? How do you think they relate to you?

Do you follow politics? On state level? On the level of Vojvodina/Premurje? Vojvodina/Prekmurje Hungarian? Local?

What does multiculturalism mean for you?

Povzetek v slovenskem jeziku

Ozadje raziskave

Raziskava, ki jo predstavljam v tej doktorski disertaciji, je rezultat desetmesečnega terenskega dela v naselju Mali Idoš v Vojvodini v Srbiji ter krajšega terenskega dela, ki je potekalo trikrat po nekaj dni v Lendavi v slovenskem Prekmurju. Gradivo, pridobljeno s pomočjo terenskega dela, je postavljeno v kontekst tako lokalno - v obzir sem vzela tako širšo družbeno-zgodovinsko perspektivo - kot tudi teoretično, pri čemer sem se nanašala na teoretsko gradivo treh glavnih področij: dela na področju multikulturalizma, študije etnične identifikacije in raziskavo o mladini kot generacijski skupini. Primerjava obeh regij je hierarhična: v večjem delu sem se osredotočila na Vojvodino, medtem ko raziskava o Prekmurju služi za primerjavo. Raziskava je nastala na podlagi mojih lastnih izkušenj medetničnih odnosov v Vojvodini, ki je velikokrat videnakot šolski primer multikulturalizma, kjer je kljub teorijam o različnih, razdrobljenih in strateških (etničnih) identifikacijah, ki jih pogosto srečamo na terenu, namreč etnična identiteta manjšine med mladimi še vedno relativno trdna in opazna (Badis 2008). Osrednje vprašanje raziskave je sledeče: Kakšni so diskurzi in prakse madžarske mladine v Vojvodini in v Prekmurju, ki so povezani z njihovo etnično identiteto in odnosi s člani drugih etničnih skupin?

Uvodno poglavje predstavi razloge, ki so pripeljali do pričujoče raziskave. Kot Madžarka iz Vojvodine sem hkrati predstavnica te družbe in outsider - zaradi svoje starosti, statusa, izobrazbe ter dejstva, da prihajam iz drugega predela Vojvodine. Zato so v raziskavi prisotni določeni vidiki refleksivnosti. V tem poglavju sem zastavila tudi glavno vprašanje raziskave. Raziskavo sem začela s predpostavko, da je, vsaj ko govorimo o Vojvodini, za mlade Madžare etnična identiteta zelo pomembna, k čemur pripomore tako izkušnja pripadnosti manjšini, kot tudi izobraževalne institucije, družina, vrstniki, mediji, itd., ki ustvarijo toizkušnjo zanje - in obratno, institucionalna ureditev odseva obstoječ socialni položaj.

V drugem delu sem raziskovala teorije, ki so koristne pri interpretaciji gradiva s terena. V prvem podpoglavju sem se ukvarjala z multikulturalizmom; obravnavala sem zgodovinski razvoj samega termina s poudarkom na njegovih regionalnih različicah in pomenih, klasifika-

cijo glede na ideološko orientacijo (konservativni in liberalni multikulturalizem) in njegov cilj (opisni, normativni in kritični multikulturalizem). V glavnem sem se opirala na dela Kymlicke (1995, 2001, 2003, 2007) in Baumana (2011). Poglavje obravnava tudi nekatere morebitne smeri kritike: multikulturalna politika lahko pravzaprav spodbuja segregacijo, vrednoti in poe-noti etnične kulture, jemlje koncept manjšine in večine kot samoumevnega ter se ukvarja s temami, ki se nanašajo skoraj v celoti na zahodne modele multikulturalizma.

Drugo podpoglavje se posveča teorijam etničnosti. Med drugim sem preučila teorije Hobsbawma (2009), Andersona (1991) in Bartha (1969) o nacionalizmu in etničnosti ter nato obravnavala probleme, ki jih lahko porajajo te teorije v konceptualizaciji etničnosti: dela o etničnosti velikokrat dajejo preveč poudarka na to obliko raziskave in težijo k temu, da obravnavajo etnične skupine kot homogene in omejene (Brubaker 2004) ter ne upoštevajo dejstva, da čeprav je analitično gledano skupnost zamišljena, v realni izkušnji etničnosti to ni tako. (Jenkins 1997). Pričujoče podpoglavje predstavi tudi možne odgovore na vprašanje, zakaj je etničnost ključnega pomena, čeprav se v globalnem svetu pričakuje, da bodo druge značilnosti identitete zadušile etnično. Eden možnih odgovorov je, da poznavanje kulture definira meje posameznikovega sveta (Avishai/Raz 1990), da koordinirano vedenje znotraj skupine pomeni varnost za socialne akterje (Barry 2001) in da etnična pripadnost zagotavlja dodano vrednost življenju: biti član večje družbe in torej del toka iz preteklosti v sedanjost (Anderson 1991). Še več, raziskala sem odnos med etničnostjo in jezikom ter postavila trditev, da je družba zamišljena tudi skozi diskurz (Wodak et al. 2009). Črpala sem iz Bakhtinovega koncepta heteroglosije, po katerem je vsak diskurz vedno v komunikaciji z drugimi diskurzi, sedanjimi ali preteklimi, ter koncepta dialogizma, v katerem je Bakhtin trdil, da vsak diskurz vedno nagovarja občinstvo, realno ali namišljeno (1981).

V tretjem podpoglavju sem se ukvarjala z mladino in njihovo identifikacijo ter raziskovala paradoks, ko postmoderne teorije o etničnosti vidijo sodobno mladino kot razgledano in globalno, ki uporablja svojo etnično identiteto strateško, a se zdi, da se je v jugovzhodnih evropskih regijah mladina znašla v »dvojni tranziciji« (Tomanović 2012), ki dela njihovo etnično identiteto zanje poglavitno – še zlasti, če pripadajo etnični manjšini. Prav tako sem se posvetila socialnemu in kulturnemu pomenu mladine ter dinamiki med mlajšimi in starejšimi generacijami v sodobnem času.

V tretjem poglavju sem raziskovala socialni kontekst dveh primerov študije. Ukvarjala sem se z zgodovino, demografijo, položajem Madžarov v Vojvodini in še posebej madžarske mladine ter predstavila področje terenskega dela v Vojvodini, v Malem Idošu. Sledi zgodovina, demografija Prekmurja, položaj tamkajšnje madžarske manjšine, razprava o dvojezičnem izobraževalnem sistemu ter predstavitev Lendave kot drugega raziskovalnega področja.

Četrto poglavje je metodološko in obravnava osnovo primerjave med obema regijama (sociološko-politične podobnosti in jugoslovanska dediščina), izbiro pristopa (z željo zapolniti praznino v literaturi o izvoru mladine iz majhnih mest ali vasi, kjer so manjšine poddržavnih narodnosti, v osrednji in vzhodni Evropi), vire (mladi med 15. in 18. letom starosti, čigar materni jezik je madžarščina) ter metode zbiranja materiala (opazovanje z udeležbo in intervju). Metode analize so predstavljene podrobno v Raziskavi metodologije v odstavku spodaj.

Peto in šesto poglavje se ukvarjata z dvema empiričnima primeroma študije. Oba sta identificirala in interpretirala nekaj relevantnih vsebin, povezanih z etnično identifikacijo in multikulturalizmom ter raziskala tako praktične in lingvistične strategije kot tudi konkretne načine njihove realizacije. Poglavje 5 se posveča multikulturalizmu v Malem Idošu. V njem sem raziskovala odnos med vasjo in zunanjim svetom ter pomembnost državnega jezika pri integraciji, odnos do njega in ovire pri učenju. V prvem delu sem obravnavala izkustvo sveta kot ga opazujemo skozi prizmo etničnosti. Ta del sem razdelila na tri podpoglavja, osredotočajoč se na zgradbo časa, prostora in družbenih odnosov. Podpoglavja obsegajo značilnosti »madžarskega sveta« (Brubaker 2006) in v okviru tega koncepta sem obravnavala spremenljive odnose moči med manjšinami in večinami. Naslednje podpoglavje preuči etnično kulturo s pomočjo interpretacije diskurzov in praks, navezujoč se na to, kaj pomeni biti Madžar, kot značilen nabor emocionalnih dispozicij, jezikovnih in vedenjskih vzorcev v nacionalni zgodovini s poudarkom na sogovornikovi percepciji Trianonske mirovne pogodbe kot svojevrstne travme (Volkan 2001) madžarskega naroda, na dožemanje glasbe, diferenciacije zlasti v madžarski ljudski glasbi in srbski pop ter turbofolk glasbi, kot tudi na stopnje tega, kako »madžarski« je posameznik: identitete »mešancev« (»halfie« identities) (Subedi 2006), pretvarjanje (Goffman 1959) in hungarizem. V zadnjem podpoglavju sem raziskovala tematiko etnične diskriminacije in konflikt skozi prizmo pripovedovanja.

Poglavje 6 se posveča multikulturalizmu in izkušnji etničnosti v Lendavi in okolici ter ju primerja z Malim Idošem. Najprej sem predstavila svoje poglede in poglede mojih sogovornikov na samo mesto ter družbeno okolje zunaj njega, nato pa tudi transnacionalno izkušnjo mojih sogovornikov. Poseben primer transnacionalnosti je stik z Madžarsko, kjer sem raziskovala enakosti in drugačnosti. Naslednji razdelek obravnava jezikovno rabo znotraj družine, med vrstniki in v šoli, torej privatno in javno rabo jezika. Zanimalo me je tudi, kako Slovence in slovenski jezik ter Prekmurce in njihov dialekt dojemajo sogovorniki. Nazadnje pa sem obravnavala tudi »madžarski svet« Prekmurja: ljudsko plesno skupino, gledališko skupino in vero, itd.

Raziskovalna metodologija

Metoda, ki sem jo uporabljala, je interdisciplinarna: gre za kombinacijo etnografije in analize diskurza. Če sem najprej raziskovala kako je etnična identiteta zgrajena v praksi, sem se zdaj osredotočila na interpretacijo diskurzivnih elementov etnične identitete. Opravila sem več kot 40 intervjujev (okoli 30 v Malem Idošu in 13 v Lendavi), ki so bili delno strukturirani, torej z okvirno določenimi vprašanji, ki so se nanašala na izkušnje intervjuvancev glede multikulturalizma v njihovih družbenih sferah (družina, prijatelji, partnerji), na njihove izkušnje z drugimi etničnimi skupinami in njihove splošne poglede na tematiko etnične identifikacije in multikulturalizma v Vojvodini ter Prekmurju. Intervjuje sem posnela in naredila zapiske. Intervjuji so potekali v madžarskem jeziku. Dele, ki so se mi zdeli relevantni, pa sem transkribirala in prevedla v angleščino. Vsakemu sogovorniku je bila dodeljena koda, ki sem jo uporabljala skozi celoten intervju za citiranje. Kadar se mi je zdelo potrebno, sem tudi podala informacije o spolu, starosti, kraju bivanja sogovornikov ter o šoli, ki so jo obiskovali. Intervju sem si zastavila kot skupen projekt raziskovalca in sogovornika. Transkripcije intervjujev sem obravnavala kot dialoška besedila, z zavedanjem, da sem spremenila medij komunikacije iz ustnega v pisnega.

Ob intervjuvanju in analiziranju transkripcij sem prakse multikulturalizma opazovala tudi direktno, torej v šolah, ki so jih moji sogovorniki obiskovali (zunaj in znotraj razreda), na mestih, kjer preživljajo prosti čas, na ulicah, na javnih prevozih, itd. Opazovanje sodelujočih razumem kot način, na katerega si z informatorji ter drugimi člani skupnosti, ki je bila pred-

met raziskave, delimo vsakodnevne izkušnje, kar je omogočilo kontekstualizacijo, pregled in interpretacijo vsebine vsakodnevnih aktivnosti, pogovorov in bolj formalnih intervjujev.

Pri analiziranju gradiva sem uporabila kritično diskurzivno analizo (Critical Discourse Analysis, CDA), opirajoč se med drugim na delo Wodaka (2009). Analizo sem združila z bolj vsebinsko usmerjenim strukturnim pristopom Schiffrina (1994). V svoji raziskavi sem analizirala diskurze po shemi, ki vsebuje tri nivoje (Wodak/Meyer 2009), pri čemer sem prevzela samo nekatere elemente te sheme – tiste, ki so bili primarnega pomena za izgradnjo kulturnih povezav med etničnimi skupinami in vsakodnevno izkušnjo multikulturalizma: (1) Ideološka jedra -- produkti diskurza, ki kažejo strukture moči na sistematičen in razumljiv način (Tsitsipis 1998) (2) Diskurzivne strategije – vključujejo analizo zavednih in nezavednih jezikovnih strategij, ki služijo kot cilj za vzpostavljanje, reproduciranje, transformiranje in/ali dekonstruiranje etnične identitete. Strategijo je treba razumeti kot »bolj ali manj točen načrt, sprejet za doseganje določenega cilja (političnega, osebnega, psihološkega, itd.)« (Wodak 2009: 31-32). Z identificiranjem diskurzivnih strategij sem lahko v poteku intervjuja analizirala, kako se informatorji navezujejo na multikulturalizem, če ga sprejemajo ali ne, če spremenijo njegov pomen, itd. (3) Jezikovni načini realizacije – v tej fazi raziskave sem izpostavila specifične diskurzivne fragmente ali izjave, s katerimi je dosežena strategija, katere namen je izraziti določeno vsebino.

Rezultati raziskave

Ostati v vasi ali se preseliti - to je za mladino b Malem Idošu eno glavnih vprašanj vsakdanjega življenja. Sama to razumem in analiziram kot ideološko jedro, ključno zanjihov diskurz o sebi in svoji etnični skupini. V navezavi nadilemo ostajanja ali selitve iz njihove domače vasi obstaja več strategij, s katerimi moji sogovorniki izražajo svoj odnos do problematike: grajenje, transformiranje, perspektivizacija in predikacija. V nekaterih izjavah je primerjava uporabljena kot način realizacije. Na pomanjkanje priložnosti lahko gledamo tudi kot na posledici-

co generacijskega konflikta. V ustvarjanju samoidentitete je prostor običajno razumljen kot tisti dejavnik, ki samoidentiteto definira.

V javnem diskurzu vojvodinske madžarske skupnosti se je pojavila tendenca po t.i. samo-getoizaciji (*öngettósodás*) skupine (glej Losoncz 2015). Medtem ko ima koncept getoizacije prostorsko konotacijo, je samo-getoizacija socialna strategija, prisotna med Madžari v Vojvodini. Čeprav se ta koncept nanaša tudi na prostorsko omejitve, se vendarle osredotoča na samoomejevanje družbenega okolja. Ta ideologija temelji na vase zazrtem odnosu skupnosti, na njenih zamerah do obstoječe družbene strukture, ki dominira zaradi srbske večine, na vidni grožnji asimilacije etnične skupine, samo-viktimizaciji ter na občutku nemoči. Gre za strategijo upiranja, ki zavira sodelovanje s člani drugih etničnih skupin pod vodstvom, ki ne predstavlja interesov skupnosti. Samo-getoizacija zato ne vodi samo do družbene, ampak tudi jezikovne segregacije, ki pa stahkrati njena motivacija. To vključuje prakse skupnosti, ki jih Dimić (1997) opiše kot značilnost post-trianonskega časa: izogibanje konfliktom in delovanje znotraj meja etnične skupine. Gre za socialno strategijo, ki jo lahko razumemo kot izraz nacionalizma, v smislu pripisovanja večjegapomena klikam, ali kot upor, v smislu, da se skupina umakne znotraj svojih lastnih mejav odgovor na institucionalne prakse prevladujoče družbe, ki jim pripisuje nizek socialni status.

Kot razlog za to, da ne pride do etničnega mešanja, sogovorniki velikokrat omenjajo pomanjkanje sredstev za komunikacijo. Neznanje srbsčine je zato še eno ideološko jedro, okoli katerega osredotočajo teme ter uporabljajo diskurzivne strategije. V okviru tega ideološkega jedra izkoriščajo diskurzi sogovornikov makrostrategijo za ohranjanje obstoječega socialnega sistema, ki temelji na etničnem ločevanju. S to strategijo vzdržujejo in reproducirajo družbene, časovne in prostorske ločitve med jeziki in njihovimi govorci. Teme znotraj ideološkega jedra uporabljajo primerjavo njihovega lastnega jezikovnega razumevanja z uporabo srbsčine preko opisovanja njihovih kompetenc za srbski jezik, učnega načrta za srbski jezik kot šolski predmet, učbenikov, učiteljev, znanja srbsčine v družini, čustev, povezanih z govorjenjem srbskega jezika, primerjanja srbsčine in angleščine, srbskega jezika kot ovire v odnosih z srbskimi vrstniki, njihovega truda, ki ga dodatno vložijo v učenje srbskega jezika ter srbsčine kot glavne ovire višjega izobraževanja v Srbiji. Nekatere strategije (znotraj makrostrategije ohranjanja) in načini realizacije, ki so povezani s percepcijo državnega jezika

med mojimi sogovorniki, so disimilacija od srbskega jezika in njegovih govorcev, sogovornikova izgradnja samega sebe kot nekompetentnega govorca, predikacija, tj. kvalifikacija učnega načrta, učbenikov in učiteljev srbsčine kot šolski predmet ter tudi srbskega jezika, časovne in prostorske perspektivizacije, legitimizacija njihovih nekompetenc v srbsčini in njihovih težnjah glede višje izobrazbe na Madžarskem. Najpogostejši način realizacije so primerjava, naracija in jezikovna sredstva za distanciranje in omejevanje (večinoma izraženo kot pogojne strukture ter »ampak«).

Še en pomemben vidik, ki ga teorije multikulturalizma običajno ne obravnavajo, je velika razlika med pomenom jezika na lokalni in državni ravni. Prav za mladino v Malem Idošu, v njihovi vasi, je madžarščina *lingua franca*, madžarska kultura je dominantna kultura, njihova izkušnja pa je izkušnja lastništva nad socialnim in geografskim prostorom ter upravičenosti do pravic, ki pa niso pravice manjšine v tradicionalnem smislu koncepta. Večina sogovornikov čuti do Malega Idoša močno navezanost in čeprav so povedali o vasi negativne stvari, ni bil nihče do nje indiferenten. Kljub zmanjšani velikosti tega »varnega sveta« ali pa mogoče prav zaradi tega, so mladi izrazili veliko negativnih pogledov na Mali Idoš. Z njihove perspektive je to kraj, kjer prevladuje starejša generacija, kjer mladi ljudje nimajo priložnosti za razvedrilo danes ali za kariero v prihodnosti, torej kraj, od koder mora vsak oditi.

Sogovornikom se podoba, povezana z jezikom in okolico, spremeni, ko zapustijo Mali Idoš in gredo zaradi izobrazbe, razvedrila in drugih stvari večinoma v Bračko Topolo ali Subotico. Domačnost in družbena samozavest, ki jo imajo v vasi, je izgubljena v trenutku, ko se od njih zahteva interakcija z ljudmi, ki niso Madžari. Ta odpor do komunikacije je najmočnejši, ko gre za obvladavanje ali neobvladavanje državnega jezika. Znanje srbsčine je ključno. Spodobnost (ali nesposobnost) komuniciranja v državnem jeziku zagotovo determinira njihovo prihodnost na več načinov; vpliva na izbiro kraja, kjer bodo živeli, kje in kaj bodo študirali in/ali delali, koga si bodo izbrali za partnerja ali prijatelja, itd. Mladina v Malem Idošu je večinoma orientirana na lasten mikrosvet, v tem primeru Vojvodino, ali pa, kot večina, proti madžarskemu severnemu delu Bačke. Mnogi se spogledujejo tudi s svetom zunaj države, z Madžarsko in zahodno Evropo. Za svoje pomanjkljivo znanje srbsčine krivijo v prvi vrsti izobraževalni sistem, krivdo pa polagajo tudi na družino, ki jim ni zagotovila dovolj možnosti, da bi se jezika naučili. To pomeni, da so mnenja, da sami ne morejo bistveno vpli-

vati na pridobivanje znanja iz srbskega jezika. Izobraževalni sistem namreč ločuje študente glede na jezik, zato so stiki med njimi skoraj neobstoječi. Srbski jezik je omejen le na predmet v šoli, zato so možnosti in motivacija za njegovo uporabo zelo nizki. Posledica pomanjkanja znanja pa je občutek sramu in negotovosti pri mnogih mladih posameznikih.

Zaradi nizke ravni znanja državnega jezika je udeleženos madžarske mladine v družbenem in kulturnem življenju zunaj njihove vasi ali v kakšnih zunajšolskih aktivnostih v mestih, kjer srednje šole niso v madžarskem jeziku, praktično neobstoječa. To se kaže tudi na nivoju integracije v državne organizacije: madžarski študenti redko ali s težavo sodelujejo v dogodkih, ki potekajo na državniravni. Ko pa vendarle sodelujejo, se udeležijo le tistih dogodkov, ki potekajo v madžarskem jeziku. Te prakse pogosto ustvarijo odpor do državnega jezika, pa tudi do njegovih govorcev ter tako še dodatno povečajo že obstoječ družbeni prepad med etničnimi skupinami.

V svoji raziskavi sem obravnavala bolj »banalni nacionalizem« (Billig 1995), način, na katerega se koledar ne ustvarja, ampak živi, se ga izgrajuje in kot ga vidijo mladi prebivalci Malega Idoša. Postavila sem trditev, da je etnizacija ideološko jedro, ki vključuje temo etniziranega časa in kraja, kjer so družbeni odnosi socialno in diskurzivno artikulirani. Etnizacijo vidim kot družbeno strategijo, ki vpliva tudi na diskurze. V tem ideološkem jedru je uporabljena makrostrategija konstrukt, glavno strateško načelo, s katerim razdelimo vse segmente družbenega okolja glede na kriterij etničnosti. V tematskem delu o času, sogovorniki govorijo o verskih in posvetnih praznikih, kot je recimo festival Dombos Fest, ki poteka vsako leto v Malem Idošu ali pa o rojstnodnevnih praznovanjih. Znotraj strategije za ustvarjanje prazničnosti v povezavi etničnostjo, občasno uporabljajo primerjavo kot način realizacije. V drugem tematskem delu – prostorskem – se diskurzi sogovornikov v glavnem vrtijo okoli teme madžarske mladine iz drugih mest in vasi, etniziranih mest, vasi, prostorov, namenjenih razvedrilu, Srbom in Egipčanom v vasi ter etničnemu mešanju. Strategije, ki jih sogovorniki uporabljajo za te teme, so grajenje, legitimacija, pa tudi strategije, ki preobrazijo ustaljene etnične diskurze. Med načine realizacije sodita tudi primerjava in jezikovna sredstva za distanciranje in omejevanje (hedging). Za tematsko enoto družbenih odnosov z ljudmi, ki niso Madžari, so teme diskusije sledeče: etnična kompozicija študentskih domov in Subotica, občolske dejavnosti, »etnično mešanje« (Hromadzic 2011) in ne-mešanje, neenakovredne

moči med študenti srbskih in madžarskih zahtevnostnih nivojev v šoli, dobri odnosi s srbskimi vrstniki in jezikovna vzajemnost. Obstajajo diskurzi, ki ustrezajo ustaljenim shemam etnične separacije, pa tudi taki, ki služijo kot njena alternativa. Strategije, ki se navezujejo na zgoraj omenjene teme in so znotraj makrostrategije konstruiranja prostora in kraja etničnosti, so disimilacija, asimilacija, mitigacija, legitimizacija, predikacija in transformacija. Načini realizacije v okviru tematske enote družbenih odnosov so primerjava, pripoved, deiktičnost, indirektni govor, zanikanja, stereotipi in kontekstualizacija znakov, kot so smeh, pavze, kolebanja in jezikovna sredstva za distanciranje in omejevanje.

Na splošno lahko mednarodne odnose v Malem Idošu in v krajih, kjer se zbirajo mladi Madžari v vasi, opišemo z Baumanovim (2011) terminom multikomunitarizma: etnične kulture so izkušnja, ki jo lahko primerjamo z obleganjem trdnjave, za katero so mladi ljudje »interpelirani« (Žižek 1989), da so ji zvesti in da jo bodo branili, ko gre za vzdrževanje etničnih razlik. Mladi imajo različne strategije in načine realizacije, s katerimi upravičijo ali preobrazijo miselne podobe in da na različne načine reagirajo na uradne diskurze, ki so jim ponujeni, torej da jih sprejmejo ali spremenijo.

Prazniki, ki jih Madžari praznujejo v Malem Idošu, so verski (božič in velika noč), čeprav so skoraj povsem izgubili svojo religiozno vsebino. Družina je glavno področje, kjer se praznujejo. Sogovorniki se pogosto ne zavedajo datumov ali navad, povezanih s posvetnimi ali verskimi prazniki etnične skupine, z izjemo *slave*, pa še v tem primeru je njihova informiranost v glavnem iz druge roke in/ali zgolj splošna.

Čeprav se v vasi javni prostori delijo tudi s člani drugih etničnih skupin in prostor ni fizično razdeljen glede na narodnost (z izjemo določenega dela vasi, kjer v zelo slabih pogojih živi večina Romov) je v splošnem odnosu mojih sogovornikov, pa tudi drugih prebivalcev, do Malega Idoša moč čutiti lastništvo nad geografskim in družbenim prostorom. Biti del večine ali manjšine je relativna izkušnja (Patton 2010) in je po naravi strateška: skupek pravil in norm se nanaša na Mali Idoš, druga so v glavnem del srbskega prostora. Vasi, mesta, kraji, kamor se lahko zahaja, verski objekti itd. so videni kot del etničnosti in se ne dvomi v lastništvo, ki ga imajo nad njimi nekatere skupine. »Vsiljivci«, naj bodo to Srbi, Egipčani ali Romi, niso dobrodošli v teh prostorih, v institucijah, na ulicah, v njihovem okolišu in so po-

gosto označeni z negativnimi stereotipi, ki se nanašajo na njihovo celotno etnično skupino, jo homogenizirajo in ovrednotijo.

Jezik ustvari tudi družbeno hierarhijo, ki je lahko tudi situacijska, odvisno od lokacije. V »madžarskem svetu« obravnavane vasi, v šoli in v krogu prijateljev, sta dominantna madžarski jezik in madžarska kultura, medtem ko je zunaj tega okolja prisoten močan občutek nemoči, niudejstvovanja in vzpostavlja se inferiorna samopodoba (Blum 1996). Družbeni odnosi se gradijo na socialnem prepadu med različnimi narodnostmi in mozaičnem modelu multikulturalizma (Maclure 2010), po kateremse poudarja mirno sobivanje, ampak ne v skupnih okoljih. Etnične vezi (Barth 1969) so močne; diferenciacija temelji na etničnosti, ki je zgrajena v prvi vrsti na osnovi jezika. Jezikdoloča, kateri etnični skupini posameznik pripada. Jezik s sabo prinaša občutja nacionalnosti, ki so prisotna vsakodnevno na različnih področjih življenja in se prenašajo tudi drugam. Glede etničnih Drugih lahko rečemo, da se z jezikom povezujejo določeni vedenjski vzorci. Ta prepričanja in odnosi so legitimizirani na več načinov: preko posploševanja, mitigacije ali vpeljevanja avtoritativnega diskurza. Vendar pa so dejanski prostori, kjer je etnično mešanje mogoče (Hromadžić 2011) redki in jih v praksi preprečujejo tako avtoritete kot tudi vrstniki. Tisti, ki so del te prakse to počnejo po lastni iniciativi.

Skupnost deluje po pravilih »madžarskega sveta«: jezik, ki se ga govori, je madžarski, kulturni produkti so madžarski, navade in ustna zgodovina, ki se prenaša, je madžarska – na ta način se ustvari in vzdržuje identiteta skupine. Zaradi tega razumem dejstvo, da je posameznik madžarskega rodu, kot ideološko jedro, ki je nastalo iz mojih opazovanj in intervjujev. Znotraj tega so se pojavile nekatere tematske enote: madžarski jezik, madžarska zgodovina, s posebnim poudarkom na Trianonski mirovni pogodbi, pa tudi glasba, s poudarkom na reprezentaciji madžarske ljudske glasbe in popularne srbske glasbe, etnični izvor, s temo madžarskih vrstnikov, ki so se odločili za srbsko etnično identiteto, vrstnikov iz etnično mešanih zakonov, t.i. hungaristi (*hungaristák*), odnosi do Madžarske in tamkajšnjih Madžarov ter občutek mejnosti med Srbijo in Madžarsko. Uporabljene strategije se razlikujejo glede na teme in med sogovorniki: medtem ko so nekateri gradili svoje identitete v skladu s širše uveljavljenimi opisi, so drugi temu nasprotovali. Najpogostejše diskurzivne strategije so izgradnja, transformacija, disimilacija, asimilacija, predikcija, utemeljevanje, legitimizacija, mitigaci-

ja in gradacija. Načini realizacije, ki so uporabljeni, so atribucija, stereotipi, primerjava, jezikovna sredstva za distanciranje in omejevanje, pripovedi, prislovi, prilastki in prislovna določila.

Jezik je ključnega pomena za etnično identifikacijo mojih sogovornikov ter tudi v »madžarskem svetu« na sploh. Za njih je jezik neločljivo povezan z etnično identiteto in se mu pripisuje poseben status ter vrednost. Menijo, da so etnično mešani čustveni odnosi obsojeni na propad, pa ne nujno zaradi čustev, povezanih z narodnostjo, temveč zaradi nezmožnosti, da bi si delili misli v maternem jeziku. Madžarski jezik je zanje superioren v primerjavi z ostalimi, podobno kot na lokalni ravni madžarska nacionalna kultura šteje za dominantno.

Državna zgodovina je še en pomemben vidik za gradnjo posameznikove identitete. Čeprav se v šolah poučujeta obe državni zgodovini, srbska in madžarska, se prioriteta očitno daje slednji. Osrednja točka razprave o zgodovini je Trianonska mirovna pogodba, s katero je Madžarska izgubila Vojvodino (in druga ozemlja) proti Kraljevini Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev leta 1920. Dogodek smatrajo kot »travmo« za celoten narod in mladina v Malem Idošu ni nobena izjema. Trianonska mirovna pogodba zanje ni le del preteklosti, ampak vpliva tudi na sedanjost: opominja, kako pomembna je zvestoba do skupnosti, in slavi ustaljene vrednote. Kot trdi Bauman (2011), je skupnost od zunaj ograjena, determinirana pa od znotraj. Zgodovina je eden tistih faktorjev, ki definira, kdo spada kam, medtem ko naj bi preteklost determinirala prihodnost neke skupnosti.

Sedanjost in preteklost sta povezani tudi z glasbo, še zlasti z madžarsko ljudsko glasbo. Tisti, ki pojejo in plešejo na ljudsko glasbo, tvorijo posebno in dokaj zaprto subkulturo med mladimi v vasi. Predani so nacionalni kulturi in s pomočjo ljudskih pesmi ohranjajo tradicijo. Obstaja pa tudi druga zvrst glasbe, ki izzove številna močna mnenja: gre za srbsko pop in novodobno ljudsko glasbo (*narodnjaci*). Čeprav ji številni sogovorniki v barih, kavarnah ali diskotekah takoj prisluhnejo, večinoma z odporom govorijo o vsakršni glasbi, odpeti v srbskem jeziku. Za mnoge ta zvrst glasbe simbolizira del srbske kulture in mentalitete, ki ji niso naklonjeni: zaznamuje jo glasnost, vulgarnost, kič, torej postajaprava balkanska glasba.

Biti Madžar je četrti vidik identifikacije, ki sem ga raziskovala v tem poglavju. Menim, da gre za skupek kognitivnih in emotivnih shem, ki gradijo meje etnične skupnosti. Ne gre za skupen koncept, obstaja pa lestvica, po kateri se določa, kako »madžarski« je posameznik. Najprej sem se posvetila »mešancem« (»halfies«) (Subedi 2006), torej mladim iz etnično mešanih zakonov. Ti izstopajo po tem, da običajno obvladajo oba jezika, ampak so v smislu kulture in pripadnosti prisiljeni izbirati med enim ali drugim: obiskovati šolo v enem jeziku, imeti prijatelje ene narodnosti ter biti na sploh doma bolj v enem etničnem svetu kot v drugem. Na drugi strani spektra pa so hungaristi, ki so pogosto, ampak ne zmeraj, ljudski plesalci ter so večinoma moškega spola. Za marsikoga so »preveč madžarski«, se preveč posvečajo svoji etničnosti na račun drugih in imajo morda tudi revizionistično ideologijo. Biti hungarist je velikokrat nekaj, do česar večina ljudi drži distanco, čeprav so mnogi mnenja, da je ta ideologija v sebi povsem legitimna, v kolikor je zmerna. Nazadnje, obstajajo pa tudi tisti mladi, ki se pretvarjajo, da so Srbi (Goffman 1959) - po vedenju, jeziku, glasbenem okusu, uporabi simbolov, izbiri prijateljev, itd. Nanje vplivajo negativni pogledi vrstnikov, njihova strateška uporaba etničnosti pa je redko razumljena ali cenjena zunaj njihove skupine prijateljev. Ključno je tudi to, da vse to ne zruši etničnih meja, ampak jih kvečjemu utrdi, saj smo priča prehajanju iz ene strani na drugo.

Srbija je kot država večine mojih sogovornikov zgolj geografski koncept. Sogovorniki se sami ne povezujejo z nobenim predelom, ki je južno od Novega Sada, vendar pa ima Madžarska po drugi strani zanje močan sentimentalni pomen. Zanje je Madžarska država, ki jo povezujejo s sorodstvom in družino in ki je kulturno, ekonomsko ter predvsem jezikovno superiorna v primerjavi s Srbijo. Sogovorniki se tam dobro počutijo, saj so razumljeni in lahko svobodno govorijo v njihovem maternem jeziku. Mnogi nameravajo tam pridobiti višjo izobrazbo. Mnogi imajo tam tudi mrežo sorodnikov in prijateljev. Seveda pa je prisoten tudi občutek nelagodja, saj so tarča pokroviteljskega ali ignorantskega odnosa Madžarov z Madžarske. Čeprav spoštujejo Madžarsko in njeno kulturo, sogovorniki trdijo, da imajo kombinacijo nacionalne in lokalne identitete, ki je povezana s področjem severne Bačke in ki vsebuje elemente obeh kultur. Pri tej identiteti madžarski jezik in kultura prevladujeta, sta pa pomešana s sorodnimi elementi srbske kulture in institucionalnega sistema: tvori se vojvodinsko-madžarska identiteta.

Identifikacija s skupnostjo ni samo notranja, ampak je usmerjena tudi navzven in je definirana z načini, na katere člani skupnosti tvorijo interakcijo s člani drugih skupnosti. Ukvarjala sem se z odnosi, pozitivnimi in negativnimi, ki nastanejo pri stiku s srbskimi, egipčanskimi in romskimi vrstniki. Izpostavila sem poseben tip stika in njegovo diskurzivno strukturo kot ideološko jedro: gre za konflikt s člani večine znotraj etnične skupine, ki jih mogoče sogovorniki vidijo kot etnično osnovane. Ko sogovorniki o tem govorijo, uporabljajo posebno obliko izraza, pripoved z osebno izkušnjo, ki sledi vzorcu posploševanja. Druga načina realizacije, ki jih uporabljajo, sta indirektni govor in prislovi. Najpogosteje uporabljene strategije znotraj tega ideološkega jedra so izgradnja, predikacija, utemeljevanje in mitigacija. Postavila sem trditev, da so te strategije, skupaj s pripovedmi, podobnimi scenarijem, značilne za družbeno razumevanje etničnih konfliktov, pa tudi multikulturalizma na sploh: izgradnja mednarodnih odnosov se vrti okoli konfliktov in izogibanju le tem.

Raziskovala sem mednarodne konflikte in izkušnje diskriminacije. Pri tem sem se opirala na Labovovo definicijo o naraciji (1976). Pripovedi in zgodbe so razumljene kot strategije za izražanje in izgradnjo skupne vsebine o konfliktih, ki bi se naj zgodili na osnovi etničnosti. Izpostavila in interpretirala sem elemente pripovedovanja, kot so dejanje, ki povzroči zaplet, povzetek, vrednotenje, usmerjenost, rezultat in koda, pri čemer sem raziskovala tudi načine, na katere se izkušnja nekega dogodka zgradi in pove naprej. V vseh pripovedih je identifikacija konflikta povezana z narodnostjo, pa tudi etničnost članov svoje in zunanje skupine je razumljena kot pomembno stabilna in določljiva. Ta temelji na samoidentifikaciji (v primeru Madžarov) in na jeziku ter na drugih lastnostih, povezanih z narodnostjo (v primeru Srbov).

Ne glede na to, če pripovedi pripoveduje udeleženec v prvi osebi ednine ali množine ali v tretji osebi množine nekdo, ki je le opazoval konflikt ali posredoval podrobnosti in interpretacije incidenta v povezavi z etničnimi skupinami na sploh, vsi sledijo podobnemu scenariju, v katerem je skupina Srbov videna kot storilci, Madžari pa nedolžne žrtve. Bauman opiše to kot metaforo obleganja trdnjave, ki potrebuje obrambo (2001). Vsi incidenti se zgodijo v ne-etniciranih prostorih in v večini primerov sogovorniki vidijo sami sebe in njihovo skupino kot žrtve strukture z omejenimi možnostmi aktivnosti.

V teh pripovedih je jasna razlika med spoloma: pripovedi moških rišejo podobo konfliktov, ki so se (skoraj) zgodili, s kritičnostjo do Madžarov kot glavni diskurz, s katerim se razpravlja o etničnih konfliktih v medijih in v uradnih diskurzih. Upravičujejo tudi obstoječe diskurze samo-segregacije in samo-viktimizacije. Ženske pripovedi slikajo incidente v bolj nevtralnem tonu, z manj poudarka na etničnosti in več konflikti med posamezniki iz osebnih razlogov. V pripovedi deklet ter v bolj raztrganih diskurzih o etničnih konfliktih, se zgornji scenarij, čeprav v morda milejši obliki, ponovi.

Analiza diskurzov in praks mladih ljudi madžarske narodnosti iz Prekmurja, bolj natančno iz Lendave in okolice, dobi svoj smisel samo v navezavi na glavni predmet proučevanja moje disertacije: madžarske mladine iz Malega Idoša v Srbiji. Analiza etnične identifikacije je pokazala, da sta si obe regiji po eni strani blizu, v smislu zgodovine in družbene ter kulturne dediščine starejše generacije, saj sta povezani s skupno zgodovino, istim jezikom in kulturo, vendar pa je med njima, po drugi strani, v smislu demografije, političnega in institucionalnega sistema, zlasti tega, ki je povezan z varovanjem manjšine, jezika in izobrazbe, velik razkorak. Cilj tega poglavja o Prekmurju je bil najti diskurzivne vzorce, ki so pomembno podobni ali različni tem iz Malega Idoša, in s pomočjo primerjave priti do bolj splošnih zaključkov o madžarski manjšini v regiji in, gledano širše, izgradnji diskurzov in praks mladih ljudi znotraj te manjšine.

Kar zadeva etnično identifikacijo samega sebe ali drugih, sta le to v obeh regijah v glavnem določevala jezik in družina. Jezik ali dialekt določata, če je posameznik Madžar, Srb, Slovenec ali Prekmurec. V primeru Prekmurja pa je zaradi dvojezičnega izobraževalnega sistema in dvojezičnega okolja na sploh (za razliko od Malega Idoša, ki je kljub ne-madžarskih prebivalcem vasi še vedno večinoma opisan kot »madžarski svet«), ta identifikacija mehkejša, etnične meje pa so bolj propustne. V Prekmurju etnična identiteta ni tako očitna in samoumevna; jezik in imena niso gotovi pokazatelji etničnosti, tako kot v Malem Idošu. Ker vsi Madžari tekoče govorijo slovensko in so tudi nekateri Slovenci govorci madžarskega jezika, ni mogoče določiti etničnosti zgolj na podlagi jezika. Tudi slovensko zvoneči priimki in imena lahko pripadajo posamezniku madžarskega rodu. Še bolj kot v Vojvodini, je v Prekmurju etničnost določena glede na to, kako posameznik obvlada jezik. V primeru Madžarov pa se, ko gre za tekoče znanje obeh jezikov, stvari zapletejo. V tem primeru je »madžarskost« poleg

jezika povezana z družinskimi koreninami. Biti »del madžarske družine« lahko in večinoma tudi pomeni biti tudi dober govorec slovenščine, ampak je to tudi edini pomemben indikator madžarske etnične identifikacije v Prekmurju.

Kar zadeva uporabe jezika med vrstniki, imamo opraviti skoraj vedno z dvojezičnostjo, saj je v večini situacij, ko so mladi skupaj, prisoten vsaj eden, ki ne govori madžarščine, zato zaradi njega vsi govorijo slovensko. V javnih ustanovah pa socialna okostenelost in nezadostno znanje madžarščine vodita do prevlade slovenskega jezika, čeprav se v teoriji dovoljuje enakovredna uporaba obeh jezikov. Dvojezični šolski sistem favorizira slovenščino in potiska madžarščino v privatne sfere. Dvojezična izobrazba je omogočena s ciljem integracije in priprave učencev na študij v prihodnosti ali pa na delovni trg (Bence 1999), medtem ko je ideološkega povičevanja madžarskega jezika, kulture in tradicije manj, v primerjavi s srednjimi šolami, ki jih obiskuje mladina iz Malega Idoša. Ker šolski programi niso ločeni glede na jezik, izobraževalni sistem ne vzpostavlja fizične distance med dvema etničnima skupinama, kar posledično zmanjša tudi njihovo družbeno distanco. Vse to ustvarja sistem dvojezičnosti in dvokulturnosti, v katerem pa sta vendarle slovenski jezik in kultura dominantna; slovenščino se sliši in govori pogosteje, pa tudi ustanove in posamezniki so bolj vpeti v slovenski državni sistem (z uporabo medijev, socializacije, zabave in prostega časa, zlasti pa jezikovnih kompetentnosti) kot v »madžarski svet«.

Družbena hierarhija, ki favorizira slovenščino, je bolj samoumevna in normalizirana v Lendavi in okolici kot hierarhija med Srbi in Madžari v Malem Idošu. Stigmatizacija drugih narodnosti je redkejša in v glavnem usmerjena na tiste, ki govorijo prekmurski dialekt. Tudi v teh primerih gre prej za pritožbe nad etničnostjo kot dejanske konflikte: diskurz se giblje v izrazih, kot na primer »oni« sovražijo »nas«, ne pa tudi obratno. V Malem Idošu se koncept večina-manjšina menja lokalno, v Prekmurju pa je družbena hierarhija z rabo madžarščine, ki je zreducirana na redke situacije in je zato manj možnosti, da bi se preko nje poudarila madžarska nacionalna identiteta, redko obrnjena. Vendar Madžari niso nikoli imenovani za manjšino. Namesto tega se v Prekmurju ohranjajo diskurzi multikulturalizma.

Še ena pomembna točka, ko gre za raziskovanje diskurzov in praks etnične identifikacije in multikulturalizma med madžarsko mladino v Prekmurju, je prevladujoč pozitiven odnos slovenskih državljanov, ne glede na etnično pripadnost. Razlaga za to bi lahko bilo dejs-

tvo, da je v preteklem četrto stoletju, odkar je država samostojna in še zlasti odkar je članica Evropske Unije (pa tudi že prej, ko je bila še del Jugoslavije), Slovenija imela pozitivno podobo v evropskem političnem in ekonomskem kontekstu. Po drugi strani pa je bila Srbija, še posebej v devetdesetih letih, hudo stigmatizirana, njena ekonomska in socialna situacija pa je bila mnogo hujša kot v Sloveniji. Srbija tudi ni članica Evropske Unije.

Na sploh lahko rečemo, da so uradni diskurzi in življenjske izkušnje multikulturalizma bližje en drugemu v Prekmurju kot v Vojvodini. V diskurzih je manj razlikovanja med »nami« in »njimi« in, čeprav je le ta prisotna, je internalizacija travme etničnega konflikta manjša. Ta situacija je nastala zaradi majhnosti skupnosti, pa tudi zaradi nekritičnega sprejemanja uradnih diskurzov integracije in multikulturalizma. Moji sogovorniki so kritični do dvojezičnega sistema, vendar pa so ljudje v Prekmurju (tisti, s katerimi sem govorila) bolj zadovoljni s šolskim sistemom in s tem, kako Slovenija obravnava madžarsko avtohtono manjšino, kljub temu, da se je skupnost znašla na robu jezikovnih sprememb. Bolj optimistični so tudi glede svojega položaja v slovenski družbi. To so mnenja ne glede na etničnost; le ta načeloma ne igra nobene pomembne vloge pri tem, kako ljudje vidijo preteklost, sedanjost in prihodnost. Vse skupaj vodi do bolj integrirane etnične skupine, v kateri pa so etnični znaki, kot so jezikovna raba, kulturne tradicije, simboli in navade, ustvarjeni, zagotovljeni in doživeti kot posameznikove pravice in ne kot pravice na kolektivni ravni.

Ena glavnih ugotovitev te raziskave je ta, da je jezik ključnega pomena za vključenost v družbo, vendar pa se oba primera raziskave razlikujeta v tem, kateri jezik ima večjo vlogo pri determiniranju: medtem ko je v Prekmurju poudarek na maternem jeziku za ustvarjanje in vzdrževanje madžarskega družbenega prostora, je v Vojvodini znanje državnega jezika tisto, ki omogoča delovanje znotraj družbe. Brez tega znanja posamezniki zasedajo mesto manjšine v etnični populaciji. »Madžarski svet« je kljub temu, da ponuja varnost in cono udobja, premajhen, da bi poskrbel za vse potrebe posameznika, ki teži k sodelovanju znotraj večinske družbe na enakih temeljih, kot jih ima ta večina. Odziv na to je bila v Prekmurju asimilacija, v Vojvodini pa marginalizacija in samo-getoizacija (glej Losoncz 2015), kar lahko razumemo kot etnično čustvenost in upiranje strategiji strukturnega zatiranja, samo-viktimizacije ali, po Badisovi (2008) trditvi, negativizmu, izolaciji ter dožemanju drugih narodnosti kot grožnja (Goffman 1959). Gábrity Molnár (2008a) označuje Vojvodino po devetdesetih kot madžarsko

družbo, ki je ranljiva in nagnjena k depresiji. To so splošne strategije vedenja in diskurza, sama pa sem izpostavila nekaj specifičnih praks in jezikovnih strategij ter načinov realizacije, s katerimi moji sogovorniki in mladi prebivalci vasi gradijo svoj položaj in položaj drugih v povezavi z etnično identifikacijo.

Socialni akterji so del institucionalnega sistema. Izoblikujejo si svoj prostor in identiteto znotraj sistema, medtem ko jih ta uporablja za svoje interese, ki pa so interes družbene elite. V Vojvodini ima vladajoča politična elita moč le takrat, ko se definira na etnični osnovi, torej med njihove interese spada tudi vzdrževanje obstoječih narodnostnih delitev. To ustreza tako srbskim narodnostnim elitam kot ustanovam: manjšinam dodelijo določene pravice, jih držijo stran od sebe, njihovo vodenje pa je prepuščeno etničnim svetovom: vojvodinski madžarski politiki, učiteljem madžarskih programov v šolah, madžarskim kulturnim ustanovam, itd. Malo je prostora za diskurz zunaj sfere etničnosti, pa tudi prakse, ki bi presegale kategorijo narodnosti, so redke. Dokler so manjšine »dobre«, se obstoječi red ne spremeni. Primeri nasprotovanja ustaljenim avtoritativnim etničnim diskurzom so kratkotrajni. Identitete »mešancev« (»halfies«) ali pojavi pretvarjanja ne presegajo državnih mej, ampak omogočajo več prostora za strateško rabo ene ali druge etnične identitete ali celo prehajanje iz ene v drugo. Konceptualizacija etničnosti ostaja razumljena kot nekaj, kar je določeno z rojstvom, model multikulturalizma pa je zelo konservativen pri podpiranju sobivanja skupin brez kakšne ključne interakcije med njimi (Kymlicka 1995). Ustanove, kot je šola, družina, mediji, delovno mesto, politične institucije, itd. gradijo na teh identitetah, ki jih jemljejo za samoumevne. Mlade ljudi usmerjajo tja, kamor spadajo glede na pripisano identiteto: spodbujajo jih, da obiskujejo madžarske šole, se družijo v skupinah madžarskih prijateljev, spodbujajo gledanje televizijskih programov v madžarščini, branje v madžarščini, plesanje madžarskih ljudskih plesov, ukvarjanje z madžarskimi aktivnostmi v prostem času, odnose z drugimi Madžari, opravljanje služb, ki ne zahtevajo znanje jezikov, vpis na univerze na Madžarskem, itd. Kraji, ki so zunaj tega sveta, pa so tisti, kjer se posamezniki srečajo z etničnimi Drugimi, pa tudi z družbeno stigmo (Goffman 1963) njihovega podrejenega položaja. Zato so njihove etnične meje (Barth 1969) in njihove etnične identitete postale še bolj poudarjene. Institucionalni sistem poudarja neenakost v moči v odnosih med manjšinami in večinami. To je tudi konstantna izkušnja položaja manjšin, ki dela etnično identiteto ključno za mladino iz Malega Idoša ter drugih krajev, kjer živijo avtohtone manjšine v podobni družbeni situaciji.

Vendar pa mladi ljudje niso povsem brez vpliva pri soočanju z ustavnim sistemom. Njihova moč je znotraj njihovega lokalnega okolja, kjer se počutijo varno. Imajo strategije, da se uveljavijo in ustvarijo prevlado v svoji etnični skupini. Nekateri od njih se pretvarjajo (Goffman 1959; Badis 2008) in uporabljajo identiteto nekoga bolj strateško, pod pogojem, da so v položaju, ko to lahko storijo, ali pa imamo opraviti z usmerjenostjo proti Madžarski – na ta način je samo-getoizacija razumljena tudi kot strategija upora. Te strategije so še vedno znotraj predpisanega okvira etnične identifikacije. Strategija, ki pa temu nasprotuje, pa je zamenjava statusa manjšine: status postane relativen (Patton 2010), ko so v vasi, v svojem okolju, v madžarskih prostorih, torej v situaciji »obrnjene demografije«²². Lokalno okrepijo svoj položaj s pripisovanjem negativnih stereotipov članom drugih etničnih skupin in z ustvarjanjem okolja, v katerega Srbi, muslimani, Romi, itd. nimajo vstopa. Na ta način se izognejo soočanju s posamezniki, ki nasprotujejo njihovem dominantnemu družbenemu položaju. Vendar je to tako le do določene meje, ko lahko posameznik ostane znotraj »madžarskega sveta« in dokler so soočeni z njihovimi stranskimi položaji. Zato je ključno, da uvidimo, da je to demografsko, politično in ekonomsko zapletenost potrebno upoštevati v razpravah – ne samo v javnosti, ampak tudi v privatnih in vsakdanjih diskurzih in praksah multikulturalizma.

Izviren doprinos raziskave k razvoju relevantnih znanstvenih področij

Konceptu multikulturalizma manjka enotna definicija. Skoraj vsem študijam multikulturalizma je skupno to, da se večina znanstvenih debat ukvarja s konceptom manjšin in/ali človeških pravic, z legalnimi ali lingvističnimi stališči, z razumevanjem multikulturalizma kot modela. Ta pogled onemogoča tako raziskovalcem kot ljudem, ki so dejansko izkusili multikulturalizem v vsakdanjem življenju, da bi videli pod njegovo površino. V svoji raziskavi sem se ukvarjala z interdisciplinarnim pogledom, ki kombinira metode etnografije, lingvistične antropologije in analize diskurza. Čeprav politične in kulturne interpretacije multikulturalizma ne gre ločevati (Semprini 2004), saj vplivata druga na drugo, pa je bilo moje glavno zanimanje kako se diskurzi in prakse multikulturalizma izvajajo na terenu: kako se socialni akterji navezujejo na to, kar je izjavljeno v javnih diskurzih. Zato sem raje kot na statistične podatke, medijska zastopanja ali politične govore, svoje zanimanje usmerila v »besede, dejanja in zapise« (Faas

²² Zahvaljujem se Sherill Strochein za ta termin.

2010, 18) socialnih akterjev. Uporaba metode »od spodaj navzgor« pri raziskavi sprejemanja multikulturoloških načel med mladimi, ki so odraščali na teh področjih, je zelo pomembna točka, če upoštevamo, da način, na katerega razumejo multikulturalizem, ponuja vpogled v varljive notranje mehanizme samoidentifikacije v navezavi na druge etnične in generacijske skupine.

Ne samo, da obstaja malo študij, ki raziskujejo izkušnjo multikulturalizma, prisoten je tudi prepad v obstoječi literaturi na temo poddržavnih etničnih manjšin. Večina študij, ki raziskuje multikulturalizem na terenu, počne to s spoštovanjem do imigrantskih skupin. Zavedajoč se pomembnosti vpogledov v raziskavo o imigrantski populaciji na svetu, trdim, da niso vse ugotovitve te študije predmetne za kontekst avtohtonih manjšin, kot je madžarska etnična skupina v Vojvodini ali v Prekmurju, saj se zelo razlikujejo ne samo zgodovinski kontekst in odnosi med manjšinami ter večinami v družbi, ampak tudi interesi in cilji imigrantov ter avtohtonih skupin.

Podobno je tudi glede raziskav o multikulturalizmu v osrednji in vzhodni Evropi. Zdi se, da se koncept uporablja in se ga kritizira v glavnem na zahodu (glej Goldberg 1994; Taylor 1992; Kymlicka 2003a, 2003b, 2007). Velik problem predstavlja aplikativnost zahodnih modelov multikulturalizma, pa tudi njegova veljavnost je vprašljiva. Namesto preverjanja vojvodinskih in slovenskih modelov multikulturalizma v navezavi na ustaljene in domnevno bolj uspešne modele, kot so v kanadski, ameriški, avstralski, švedski, belgijski, itd. (Muhić 2004), se moja disertacija osredotoča na raziskovanje, kako mladi v Vojvodini in Prekmurju doživljajo multikulturalizem, ki je zakoreninjen v njihovem lastnem družbenem kontekstu. Na ta način doprinos moje raziskave na področje študij o multikulturalizmu ne dopolnjuje kakšne druge raziskave, ampak verjamem, da odpravlja hierarhijo, ki temelji na tem, kako multikulturalizem v danem družbenem okolju deluje. Ta pristop vodi do analize dejanskih izkušenj multikulturalizma za tiste, ki se dogovarjajo o njegovem pomenu. Primerjava primerov Vojvodine in Prekmurja - dveh ločenih, a povezanih študij, pa osvetli vprašanje, če in kako pogosto citirani javni diskurzi multikulturalizma vplivajo na vsakdanje percepcije, ter poudari dva konteksta, ki sta si podobna po svojih geografskih in zgodovinskih lastnostih, a različna v svoji politični strukturi.

Nasprotno, moja disertacija je osredotočena na jezik, ki je ključnega pomena za posameznike, ki pripadajo etničnim manjšinam. Primer študije Prekmurja kaže na tradicionalne, pa zato nič manj pomembne ugotovitve, da je materni jezik, torej madžarščina, tisti, ki definira skupnost in osnovne vidike identifikacije kot Madžar/ka. Glede na to, da se skupnost sooča s jezikovnim preobratom, je vzdrževanje maternega jezika pravzaprav pogoj za ohranjanje vitalnosti same skupnosti. Obravnavala sem tudi vprašanje, kako ti pristopi »od zgoraj navzdol«, najbolj ugledna dvojezična izobrazba, delujejo na terenu, kakšni so njihovi uspehi in izzivi v javnosti in v privatni sferi. V Malem Idošu (in pogojno v severnem delu Vojvodine) je znanje državnega jezika, srbsčine, tisto, ki ga lahko razumemo kot najpomembnejši dejavnik v vsakdanjem življenju mladine, saj zagotavlja potencial za interakcijo s člani drugih etničnih skupin, to pa določa njihovo pot v izobraževanju, možnostih za zaposlitev in izbiri kraja bivanja.

Končno, cilj moje disertacije je bil izpostaviti proces, s katerim se izgrajuje etničnost in ne samo priznati njeno pomembnost, temveč tudi predstaviti razloge, zakaj je temu tako. Kot pravi Kymlicka, ne glede na politično skupnost posameznikov, obstaja potreba po skupnosti, v kateri si bodo ljudje lahko delili »kulturo, jezik in zgodovino, ki definira njihovo kulturno pripadnost« (1989:135). Podobno je bil tudi evropski pravni okvir osredotočen na zaščito manjšin v imenu globalne kulture, v kateri imajo ljudje posamezne pravice, ne glede na njihovo narodnost. To je pripeljalo to nove etnizacije prostora in narodov, ko narodi sami vztrajajo pri svojih kolektivnih pravicah. Zato upam, da sem osvetlila vprašanje zakaj in na kakšen način je etničnost bistvena v vsakdanji izkušnji mladih ljudi celo v času globalizacije in razdrobljenosti politike identitete, ne da bi želela bodisi razrešiti debato o prvobitnosti proti instrumentalizmu bodisi se postaviti na eno ali drugo stran. Med raziskovanjem sem obravnavala oboje, prakse in vlogo diskurza v izgradnji in dogovarjanju glede etničnih in drugih identitet. Verjamem, da je upoštevanje obojega - praks in diskurzov - način raziskovanja identifikacije, ki obrodi sadove, saj sem ju v navezavi na študije raziskovala kot dva ključna družbena elementa. Verjamem tudi, da dvojna perspektiva te disertacije omogoča perspektivo na dialogizem in raznovrstnost skupnosti, ki je bila pod drobnogledom.