

**THESES OF DOCTORAL (PHD) DISSERTATION**

**PARALLEL SOCIETIES – SEGREGATION AND  
INTEGRATION PROCESSES IN HAJDÚBÖSZÖRMÉNY**

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## 1. Aim of the research

Social inequalities have been present practically all through the history of human kind, as the incomes, educational etc. characteristics of the individuals, families or groups and their possibilities related to these characteristics (employment, living and working conditions etc.) show big differences in our society. Inequalities thus do not only determine the present positions but also chances – i.e. they may determine local social structure in the long run and easily recreate unfavourable processes (*Andorka, 2006*).

Segregation is a phenomenon built on the significant social disparities, during which groups with stronger status restrict the rights/opportunities of the free choice of the weaker ones and thereby infringe the legal equality of the latter, in an extreme case pushing them into complete marginalisation. This process may involve active and passive elements as well: in case of an active intention there is a conscious exclusion, while in the passive case the ones involved “want to be excluded”, or the social processes (not accidentally) work in a way that they get into this state without an identifiable external intention (*Ferge, 1991, 2003*).

Segregation can of course be felt not only in societal but also spatial aspects, and it appears in a much more striking way, as demonstrated by the example of the vine gardens of Hajdúböszörmény. The strong separation of the residences of different ethnic groups and/or social layers within a settlement usually (but not automatically) coincides with the considerable disparities of incomes and infrastructure provision. This in itself bears the possibility of the birth of physically run down city parts (slums) inhabited by the poorer social layers (*Andorka, 2006*).

After the systemic change both social disparities and segregation processes reinforced in Hungary and also in Hajdúböszörmény to a large extent, so a basic objective of the dissertation is to map the segregated parts of Hajdúböszörmény (one of the most typical, spatially extended country boroughs in the Great Hungarian Plain), i.e. those, mainly outer city parts in which the proportion of the population with low social status exceeds 40%.

Considering the lack of data in such a breakdown in the periods between the censuses, details of the demographic, employment etc. trends are not known, they can only be examined by using empirical methods. With the assistance of the number of interviews and field trips we tried to explore the problems of the vine gardens in the first place. The target group of the research is the handicapped layers of the city, especially the Gipsy population in unfavourable social and economic position. Besides the overview of relevant literature and the processing of

demographic statistics, examinations are primarily based on the collection of primary data.

In addition to the exploration of the social and spatial segregation processes working within the settlement and of the long-term processes, we also paid attention to mapping those directions of the migrations of the population which contribute to the increase of the population in the garden areas. Although this was only partially realisable, due to many limiting factors, the dissertation still makes contributions to the knowledge of the typical demographic processes. Much more tangible results were achieved by the survey of the features of the local real estate market, with special regard to those factors that contribute to the concentration of the population with low social status.

The differences of the stock of buildings, including residential homes (a distinction not by chance) within the city, and the rather varied – but for the focus group of the examination still more or less homogeneous – possibilities to acquire a home result in well visible changes in the settlement structure, evidently correlated to segregation processes.

On the basis of the objectives above, the long-term goal of the research is, in addition to the exploration of the basic problems of the Gipsy population (who are urban citizens and still rural dwellers at the same time), to give recommendations that experts of the practical life can utilise in handling social problems, in the improvement of the environmental conditions of the run down city parts.

On the basis of the problems and issues raised in connection with the research objectives, our hypotheses are as follows:

- The settlement structural characteristics of Hajdúböszörmény are especially favourable for segregation processes, which has been reinforced by the socio-economic changes of the last decades.
- Migration into the garden areas has come almost exclusively from outside the city, significantly increasing the number of population of the quasi outskirts parts of the city.
- The primary motivation for moving in was not better opportunities offered by the urban lifestyle (e.g. employment) but evidently the access to the cheapest available buildings.
- Migration into the garden area is thus the migration of those groups in deep poverty for whom farther (international) migration is not a real alternative anymore.
- The living conditions, far below human needs, will generate negative social processes not only in the garden areas but will also affect the whole of the city within a foreseeable time.

- With view to the failure of the previous interventions to bring the results, despite the significant financial resources spent, segregation processes are more strengthening than weakening, which has more and more implications for the whole of the city.
- Last but not least the analysis of the issue seeks, among other things, the answer to the serious socio-economic dilemma whether the anti-segregation programme of the municipality of Hajdúböszörmény will be able, by the catching up of the inhabitants of the garden areas around the city, i.e. by their integration to the traditional urban community, to eliminate the foundations of the present dual social existence – or the presence of the so-called parallel society will exert its harmful effects for a long time and the dynamism of catching up will be slowed down by further isolation and segregation.

The hypotheses above raise a number of rather complicated issues – the essay cannot answer all of them, for limitation of scope and other reasons; instead, it is the start or the continuation of the exploration of the reasons for certain phenomena. The dissertation approached the segregation processes of Hajdúböszörmény from a new aspects, the side of the real estate market and the state of the residential environment, but the author was only able to make the initial steps in this respect, opening the gate for further detailed researches.

## **2. Preliminaries of the researches**

The vine gardens of Hajdúböszörmény have more and more grabbed the attention of researchers of urban studies by the dynamic increase of the number of their population and the intensification of the social problems, although high quality essays had already previously been published on their formation and characteristics. The intensification of social problems necessitated the increased activity of the municipal government, which is proved not only by their appearance in development concepts (especially the Integrated Urban Development Strategy paying a special attention to the segregated city parts and supplemented by an anti-segregation plan), but also by the practical measures done for the handling of the problems of the vine gardens (*Bencsik, 1975, Szendrey, 1973, Tóth, 1996*).

Three researches can be specified as the direct preliminaries of our survey; although none of them are concentrated specifically on the vine gardens, they have a lot of useful information on the background of the social processes of the recent past and these days. The first of these researches was a health sociology survey

done in 2001, in which, in addition to the examination of the health conditions of the population and the characteristics of the use of health care services, a separate block was dedicated to the issue of the social situation of the households. Although the demonstration of the spatial characteristics was not a direct goal of this research, it still allowed the separation of the segregated areas appearing in the city (*Czibere – Fónai – Pataki – Zolnai, 2002*).

The questionnaire used in this research contained a set of questions relating to the households and the social situation of the households. The findings of these are suitable for the *description of the socially handicapped groups of the city and for their socio-demographical designation*. The samples created during the research were as follows: a representative block of 503 respondents (units of the sampling were households, one person in each) and a block of 1,850 people using the health supply system, broken down into sub-samples by type of service used.

In this study a few typical characteristics of *handicapped situation* were analysed; the typical indices were

- finished and unfinished primary school education of the head of the household,
- inactive status of the head of the household,
- unemployed status of the head of the household ,
- size of household,
- income of the household below the poverty threshold.

As a “continuation” of this work started we can consider the research done by Mihály Fónai, Éva Balogh and György Juhász, elaborated for the health care development plan of Hajdúböszörmény. In this study a selected attention was paid to the socio-geographical analysis of the living conditions of the Gipsy population living in the city, which was done with the same methodology as in the survey of 2001, i.e. the questionnaire survey of the inhabitant was done by households (based on the responses of the “heads of the households”) (*Fónai – Balogh – Juhász, 2004*).

This research can be seen as the direct preliminary of our survey, for several reasons. First, the focus of this research was specifically the living conditions of the handicapped social layers, and in the opinion of the authors they managed to involve almost the total of the Gipsy community, those members of the local society who live in the worst conditions. On the other hand, this research, as opposed to the previous ones, definitely tried to designate the segregated parts of Hajdúböszörmény, and as an important element in this attempt, they separated the city part called Bodaszőlő and the vine gardens, referring to their socio-demographic processes.

The rapid and also selective in-migration that was typical in the last third of the 1990s, and the related problems are also emphasised by Antal Tóth in his doctoral dissertation, which, although focused on the spatial aspects of crime in the whole of Hajdú-Bihar county, contains a detailed criminological examination of Hajdúböszörmény as an important and long part of the thesis (Tóth, 2007).

The author emphasises that the in-migrating population (from Debrecen and other, underdeveloped regions of Hungary, e.g. the Cserehát), trying to find a better living here – the majority of whom became marginalised and lived on social benefits mostly, or had a Gipsy origin – evidently worsened the situation of public safety in the vine gardens and indirectly in the whole of the city, as proved by statistical figures. The analyses revealed a drastic increase in the frequency of crimes committed in the vine gardens, and the number of crimes detected within one year is relatively high in proportion of the population living here, compared to the whole of the city – i.e. this is undoubtedly a territory “infected” by crime.

Among the crimes, the vine gardens show special features as regards the type of crime: they are significantly overrepresented in thefts (the most frequent crime), and also in burglaries and mayhems. The lack of permanent police presence (which is practically impossible) is, however, only one of the factors; the forms of crime are much more determined by the social relations and living conditions (e.g. uninhabited houses, derelict farm buildings, conflicts and “forms of crime of poverty”, coming from deep impoverishment etc.) – and this is of special importance for our research as well.

### **3. Research methods**

As spatial and social segregation is closely linked to the Gipsy ethnic minority, *empirical surveys were conducted* in the city for the more accurate recognition of the location of the Gipsy ethnicity within the settlement and their inner social stratification. The basis of the work was an *interview session made with prominent persons*. The *many dozens of interviewees* were selected in a way that we got a precise picture of each segregated part of the settlement, from social, educational and real estate market aspects. Accordingly, in addition to receiving information from *experts of educational or social issues, dealing on daily basis with some element of the issues related to the Gipsy ethnic minority*, we also wanted to have the *opinions of the local government representatives of the city parts* struck by segregation.

The descriptions well illustrating real estate market conditions of the segregated parts were *complemented by the processing of background materials provided by the municipal self-government*. These were made even more complete by the in-depth real estate survey built on walking the city parts called Nagy-Bocskai Kert (Great Bocskai Garden) and Lorántffy Kert (Lorántffy Garden), in the latter case involving all gardens, in the former case all sites in four respective streets. The survey (primarily due to regulations relating to personality rights and the “ownerless” sites) was restricted to the description of the look, but, complemented with ownership figures, this may give us useful pieces of information on the housing conditions and thereby the living conditions of the respective areas.

In addition to primary data collection we of course processed secondary data as well during our work. From among the sources used for the collection of demographic, economic and other data, we have to mention the databases of the system called TeIR (Országos Területfejlesztési és Területrendezési Információs Rendszer, National Spatial Development and Planning Information System) and the so-called T-Star databases of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office, also different data sources and documents provided by the city of Hajdúböszörmény (data of population registers, Integrated Urban Development Strategy, specific municipal reports, documents and other materials from the city archives etc.).

In accordance with the objectives of the research, we also applied during the implementation of our own surveys methods very frequently used in social science researches: individual deep interviews, semi-structured interviews and focus group talks. The reason for the application of these methods is that they allow an access to information behind the social processes revealed by the statistical data available on the city and the vine gardens, show the subjective experiences of people living these phenomena, and they also allow the representation of the public opinion to some extent and the gathering of information non-available elsewhere.

The major part of the approximately fifty interviewees were selected accordingly: we talked to persons with a wide range of activities but, coming from their functions, well aware of the former and present conditions of the vine gardens. Besides the municipal representatives responsible for the respective fields (social care, education, real estate management etc.), the sample also included field watchman, nurse, pedagogue, businessman interested in real estate services, leaders of different non-governmental organisations, clerical representatives or private persons with real estate in the vine gardens.

We tried to improve social representation also by using some local forums, organised just because of the bad condition in the vine gardens, for making focus group interviews. The talks (in some cases more like quarrels, following the issue of the forums) held three times had participants ranging from 50 to 80; the large number is just because of the high level of involvement in the issue.

The most effective method to get information on the real estate market and the residential homes themselves was the examination of the condition of the real estates in the vine gardens, although, as we have already mentioned, this was limited to the registration of the look of the real estates, giving no information on the inner space of the homes. The survey was done during a personal field trip (with the help of a field watchman), in several phases from May to August 2008.

The total of the Lorántffy Garden and four streets of the Nagy-Bocskai Garden (streets 1-4) were involved in the examinations, including a total of 1,147 sites. Before looking at the physical state of the respective sites, we examined the ownerships of the respective sites from the databases of the land registry office and the municipality, including the right of use. During the subsequent direct watch we looked at whether there was a building on the site suitable for human residence, if so, whether that was inhabited or not, and with the consideration of several aspects we decided if the site was well-kept or untidy. The definition of the level of tidiness included, among other things, easily identifiable traits like the presence or absence of communal waste, construction waste or ragweed, and the presence (or rather the non-existence) of fence. The basic objective thus was to assess the current condition of the sites and the buildings on them, and the application of the aspects above helped us decide if a site could be taken as well-kept in the respective environment or not.

The *secondary analyses* were done after the processing of the available statistical and other data, on the one hand, and the evaluating and thematically structured summary of the information coming from empirical examinations, on the other hand. The interviews made are not fully published here, partly for limitation of scope and partly because several interviewees demanded that they remained anonymous and non-identifiable. This made us even more focus on publishing the most important consequences, only, during the processing.

In our opinion the value of the analysis is not decreased by this, as those junctions that are the main concerns for the inhabitants of the city remain easily identifiable. In the analysis chapters the information gathered from the interviews are not integrated in accordance with the respective (groups of) questions but centred around three larger blocks (designation of the segregated areas; social



conflicts and separation; and the living conditions of the handicapped population – largely Gipsy or thought to be Gipsy), and they are also featured among the expected tendencies and the recommendation and conclusions. Accordingly, the main purpose of the analysis chapters is not giving back quotations word by word, much more the summary of the conversations, following certain aspects.

During the analysis of the characteristics of the real estate market, due the peculiarities of the “sampling” (see above) we were only able to do very basic statistical analyses, nevertheless the information received was an excellent foundation for space informatics processing. The thematic maps of the research area were thus drawn for each street separately, but for limitation of scope, only the summary charts are featured in the dissertation.

In order to make the findings more comprehensible and more graphic, we also published them in the form of tables, and figures and/or maps, wherever it was possible. The findings then served to verify or refute our starting hypotheses listed in the beginning of the study. During the attempts and analyses to justify our base hypotheses we frequently came across correlations that we had not expected before; their understanding and explanation was greatly assisted by the personal experiences and background information.

The data received during the survey were processed by the Microsoft Office Excel 2003 software and the diagrams were also edited with this, as the relatively small number of elements and the few variables did not require more complicated solutions. For space informatics purposes we used the GIS software called Mapinfo Professional 6.5, while in the finalisation of the maps we could use the graphic programme called Gimp for Windows 2.8.2.

#### **4. Main findings of the thesis**

During the research we clearly proved that the special spatial structural position and settlement morphology of Hajdúböszörmény greatly promote the start and stabilisation of segregation processes, which have been reinforced by the unfavourable socio-economic transitions of the recent years, detrimental especially for the most impoverished layers.

As regards migration and segregation within the settlement, a significant role is played, in addition to the inner structure of the city (especially the location of the housing estates), by the inhabited sites of the inner areas and ever more so by the garden areas on the outskirts. As in-migration to these areas is usually done

by underclass layers with multiple handicaps, the destinations of migration are also areas where social problems are concentrated, giving a challenge unmatched in Hungary to the municipality and its specialised institutions.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that the Gipsy community of the city appears, according to the survey, relatively segregated, although mixed in space with the non-Gipsies. This means that a residential zone is home to both Gipsies and non-Gipsies with similar social status, among whom the uncertainty of ethnic self-classification is frequent, due to the mixed marriages and the co-existence. The experiences of the experts of public administration, social and health care suggest that the Gipsy community of the city is concentrated in three, partly well designable and partly segregated zones or residential areas.

In the southeast part of Hajdúböszörmény we find the part called “Déli Lucernás”, i.e. “South Alfalfa Fields”, the traditional residential area of the *Gipsy population* of the city, where they live relatively less segregated from the non-Gipsy population and in one block. This district is home to the “Gipsy kindergarten” and “Gipsy school” of the city, where the dominant proportion of the pupils belong to the ethnic minority. In the last third of the 1990s a rapid migration occurred to the part called Bodaszőlő within the administrative boundaries of the city, and to the vine gardens, a district between the city and the Bocskai Garden.

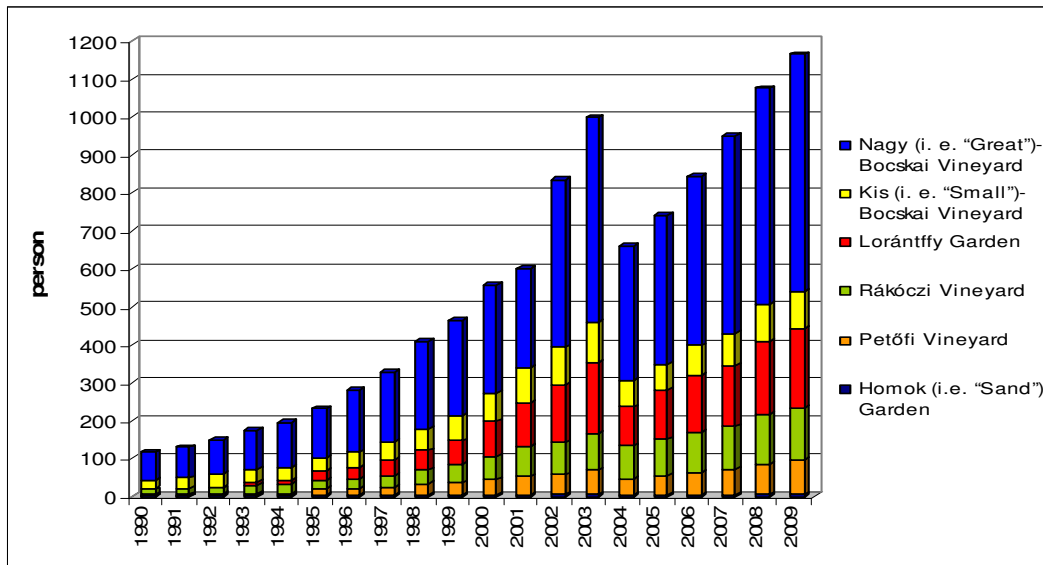
Serious problems are suggested for today and even more so for the future by the statically proven fact that housing conditions are very closely correlated to the migration processes. The buildings of the vine gardens, a special focus of our examination, were only home to just over one hundred people at the time of the systemic change, but their number has increased almost tenfold in two decades, with an almost continuous growth. The most drastic increase of population started in the middle of the 1990s, and has been unbroken since then – apart from a slight decrease in 2004, which is due to the change of statistical data collection, on the one hand, and of the regulatory background, on the other hand (*Figure 1*).

A growing share of the poorer social layers have been forced by the austerity measures – going on for years, almost decades – to abandon their inner district homes becoming unaffordable for them and move to the buildings of the garden areas that are much cheaper (and also offering lower living costs, because of the low level of amenities), but less suitable for residence. Migration to these areas was more or less irrespective of the ethnic belonging in the 1990s, driven by economic/living problems, but the ever sharpening social tensions and the rapidly

decreasing prestige of these city parts paved the way to the in-migration of Gipsy families in search of the cheapest possible homes.

Figure 1

*Change of the population of the vine gardens, 1990–2011*



Source: Edited by the author, based on data from the Document Office of the Municipality of Hajdúböszörmény

The new wave of in-migration started around the new millennium, with Gipsy families arriving from Hungarian regions farther away (Kazincbarcika, Ózd), and also in large numbers from Hajdúhadház and especially Debrecen. The basic reasons for this were as follows: getting into the trap of “loan sharks”, moral and criminal infeasibility, closedown of workplaces, and also indebtedness – in other words those involved saw no chance for making a living in their original residential environment.

The “spontaneous” process of in-migration was reinforced, by the creation of the organised framework, by those real estate agencies that specialised themselves on the mediation of real estates in the vine gardens (we came across searches for this type for real estates in the vine gardens at the time of the examination as well). The target group of the real estates mediated is definitely the population of Gipsy origin or of low social status. Also, there are local residents who possess several real estates on the outskirts and let these primarily to Gipsies in the form of “courtesy use of home”, evading taxation this way.

It is interesting to see, on the other hand, that there is practically no movement of population among the segregated inner parts in the Déli-Lucernás area, because the conditions of living are absent, there are no available houses or free sites. The

municipal government does not want to increase the size of the segregated areas, either, because thereby it would exacerbate the problem, giving a chance for further in-migration. The empty sites available for extension in the neighbourhood of the Déli-Lucernás area are taken by the TESCO and LIDL stores, which forecasts the building out of a retail zone. New inhabitants only locate in the area by “mixed” marriages (marriages made by members of separate Gipsy groups).

The housing conditions much more unfavourable than the average, and the demographic processes described above bore the danger of concentration of the gradually increasing social tensions. The number of people in the Gipsy households is more than one and a half times more than the city average, i.e. a very high density of population is typical among the Gipsies, which, taking the possibilities of living into consideration, results in social problems very difficult to handle by local level family policy, child protection policy and housing policy.

The findings of the interviews give a rather diverse picture in the eyes of the local society about the integration and segregation processes concerning the Gipsies, especially as regard their reasons and the possible solutions. It was clear that interviewees often were of rather extremist opinions, often not free from prejudices – but it was also palpable that it was not personal human conflicts in the background, much rather the sense of helplessness.

In most cases we could feel the still alive, in fact, in certain sense intensifying “Gipsy–peasant” opposition that has practically a century of tradition. The hidden or open conflict is created by the different spatial uses coming from the different lifestyles, as the “peasants” are upset by the Gipsies not caring about the management of their residential environment and “running down” their direct living place. While this can be taken as natural for the Gipsies (coming and inherited from the previous or even present migratory way of life), as they have no emotional tie to the “homeland”, it is nothing but a barbarian destruction and meaningless demolition in the eyes of the non-Gipsy society.

Despite the intensive segregation processes, both the opinion of the respondents and our experiences suggest that spatial separation is not typical within the segregated city parts designated by given criteria in the Integrated Urban Development Strategy. It is streets or parts of streets inhabited by a family or former tribe that can be separated, on this ground we can talk about smaller groupings.

As regards the possibilities of successful integration, most respondents mentioned education, “meaningful” employment possibly in workplaces and not in public works, and also the appearance and activity of important community actors. Many said that in

addition to these, it is Gipsy culture through which they could be approached to each other and the majority society, it can be a breakout point (formerly e.g. the Duna Television channel made a film about local dances).

It was stated as a response to several questions that in Gipsy families women could be key actors in the elimination of the basic problems by their child raising function, while males are dominant in issues related to employment and work. It was also said by many that solutions must be tailor made, designed individually for each segregated part.

Summarising briefly the findings of the personal field trips and interview sessions involving a total of 1,147 sites in the streets of the Lorántffy Garden and the Great Bocskai Garden, we can say that the housing conditions experienced in the respective streets and basically influencing the living conditions did not come as surprise on the whole, they met the preliminary expectations. It became evident that parallel to the intensifying in-migration of the social groups living in deep poverty there is a decline in the look of the environment, and the number and proportion of unmanaged, untidy sites exceeds the proportion of such sites in the central areas of the city. Within the garden areas, however, in most cases no correlations can be detected, no regularities can be shown.

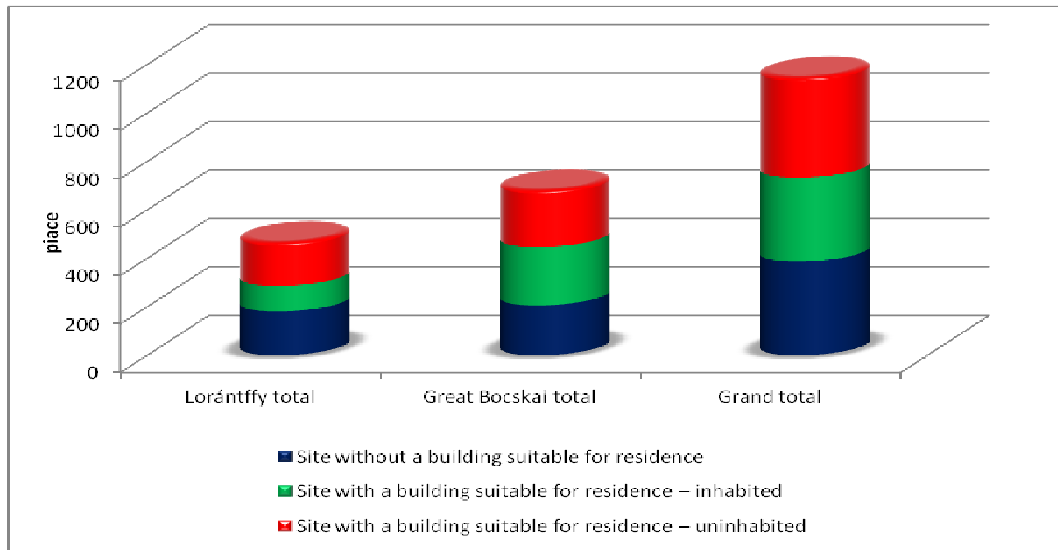
Prior to looking at the physical state of the respective sites, we examined the ownerships of these sites from the databases of the land registry office and the municipality, including the right of use. The findings show that the overwhelming majority of sites both in the Lorántffy Garden and the Nagy-Bocskai Garden are the properties of people living there. According to our survey and official data, of the total of 1,147 sites included in the survey, 760 (66.3%) had a building suitable to some extent for living, in 61.2% of the sites in the Lorántffy Garden (285 sites) and 69.8% of them in the Nagy-Bocskai Garden (475 sites).

From these, the proportion of actually inhabited buildings did not reach 46% on the whole, which is due basically to the more sparse population in the Lorántffy Garden, as the figure of 37.2% in this area is well below the figure of 50.7% in the Nagy-Bocskai Garden. This means that the proportion of sites that are derelict, uninhabited or unsuitable for living is the highest in the Lorántffy Garden, the figure of 78.3% exceeds by far the average value of 69.7% and the figure typical of the Nagy-Bocskai Garden, 64.6%. The data clearly show that the Lorántffy Garden, located farther from the central area of Hajdúböszörmény (and also Hajdúhadház) and with a smaller territory is less attractive for in-migrants, and it also became evident that the vine gardens still have a high number and proportion of sites that are not used for the time being. This may further generate

in-migration into this area, but it is also true that presently uninhabited real estates “of good location” are deteriorating at an accelerating pace – and not primarily because of the forces of nature (*Figure 2*).

Figure 2

*Breakdown of sites and houses in the streets examined, by the level of utilisation*



Source: edited by the author, on the basis of field trip and data of official registers.

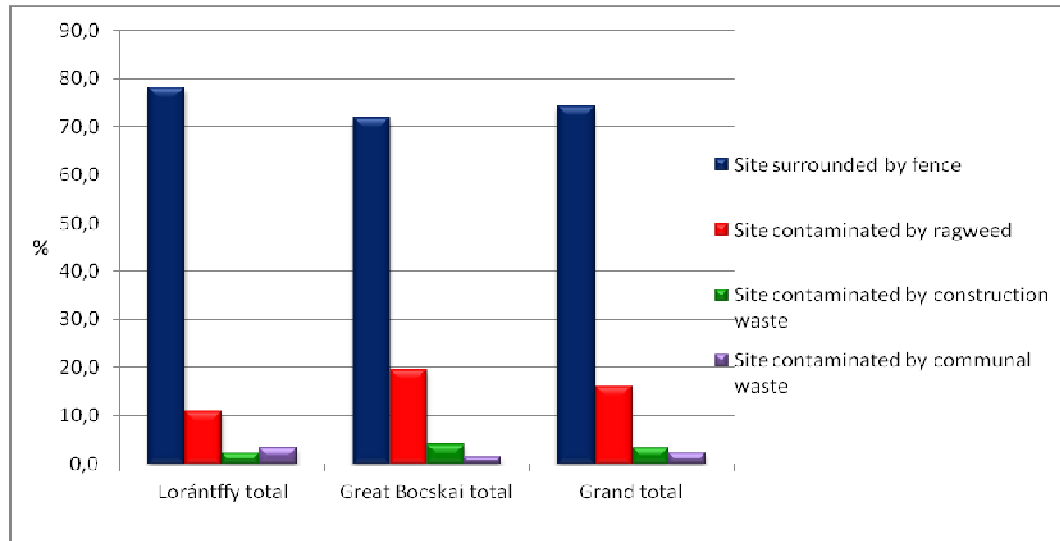
It is striking in itself that despite the definitely bad public safety (see Tóth, 2007) most sites are no longer surrounded by fences. It is true, on the other hand, that fences could not defend significant values, because of the deep poverty (although some fenced sites are still in quasi original condition, their owners are not members of the underclass layer), crime statistics would still justify at least the very basic protection. During the field trip we saw that just three-quarters of the sites are protected by fence in the streets examined, 72% in the Nagy-Bocskai Garden but above 78% in the Lorántffy Garden. The proportion are much higher if we concentrate on sites with inhabited houses: in this case the proportion of fenced sites reaches 95% on the average, and 98% in the Lorántffy Garden (*Figure 3*).

The degree of contamination with ragweed can be taken as an “official index” of the tidiness of the sites and real estates, because, in addition to aesthetic problems, those not keeping their property tidy may have to pay large amounts of fine, on the basis of the legal regulation in effect. Considering the large number and high proportion of empty sites it is not surprising that ragweed proliferates especially in the Nagy-Bocskai Garden: we saw ragweed in every fifth site of the streets that we walked. The approximately 11% figure for the Lorántffy Garden

is much better, but is also far from being low, especially if we consider that large fields of ragweed, as opposed to our previous hypothesis, are not only typical of the derelict sites, they can be found in large numbers around the inhabited houses as well (one of the most contaminated sites is in this category). Contamination, though being rather extended, is thus of varied intensity of course.

Figure 3

*Breakdown of sites and houses in the streets examined, by the level of contamination*



Source: edited by the author, on the basis of field trip.

The proportion of sites contaminated by construction waste to some extent does not seem to be high at first glance, as it is only 4.1% in the Nagy-Bocskai Garden and even less, 2.4% in the Lorántffy Garden. We have to take into consideration, however, that construction waste did not remain on the sites after the enlargement of renovation of the already inhabited real estates, much more typically as remains from breaking down the derelict buildings. Especially in colder months, the wooden parts of these buildings get lost, first roofs, and also doors and windows are taken, followed by other parts thought to be usable. The result in the long run is that only waste remains in the stead of the former building, and the destiny of the finally non-utilised part will be the same, on another site.

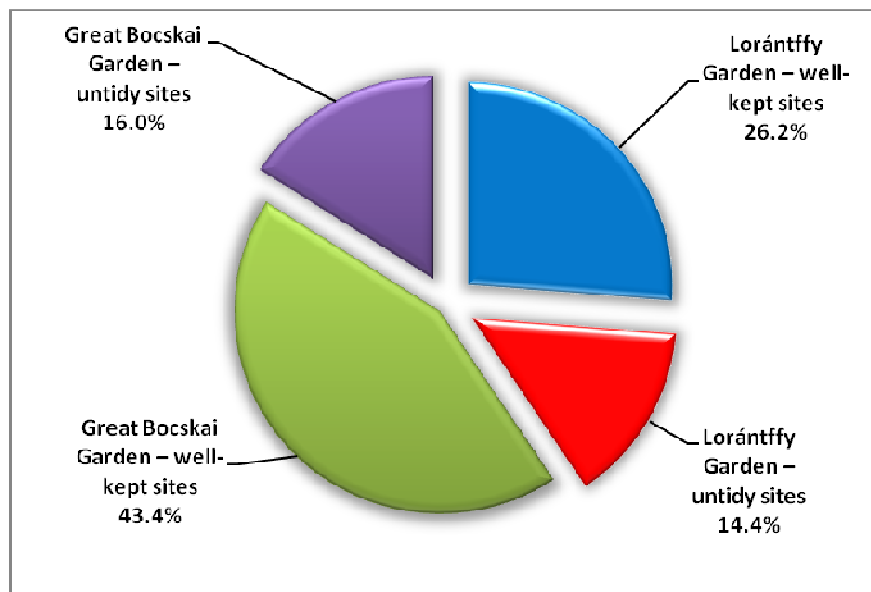
The number and proportion of sites contaminated by visible communal waste, fortunately, is even lower, but it is more of a problem in the Lorántffy Garden, as opposed to the previously discussed problems. Here, 3.4% of the sites is concerned, while not more than 1.5% of the sites in the Nagy-Bocskai Garden are contaminated by some communal waste. The amount of pollutants of household origin was

estimated to be 1 cubic metre or 2 in most cases, but in three – adjacent! – sites of the Lorántffy Garden their amount exceeded ten cubic metres, the most contaminated site having approximately 25 cubic metres. This reveals that the inhabitants of the garden area have practically established their own local waste deposits.

The sources of pollution show up in many cases not in themselves, isolated from each other but in different combinations. Ragweed and construction waste together can be seen on twenty sites (Nagy-Bocskai Garden: 15, Lorántffy Garden 5), the combination of ragweed and communal waste is visible on ten sites (Nagy-Bocskai: 5, Lorántffy: 5), while the number of sites contaminated both by construction waste and communal waste is three (Nagy-Bocskai: 2, Lorántffy: 1). There are sites showing all sources of pollution: four in the Nagy-Bocskai Garden and two in the Lorántffy Garden – the maps in the appendix inform reader also about their spatial location.

Figure 4

*Breakdown of sites in the streets examined, by the level of tidiness*



Source: edited by the author, on the basis of field trip.

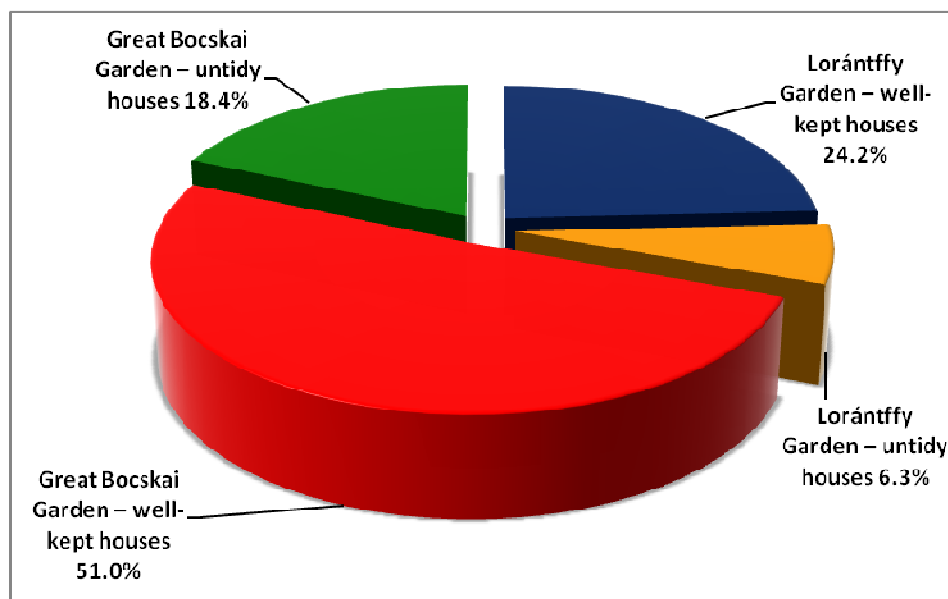
Taking the proportions above and other subjective aspects of the observation into consideration, sites in the streets examined can be divided into two groups: well-kept and untidy sites. On the basis of which, 69.7% of all sites can be taken as well-kept, their proportion is higher – as the number of sites is larger anyway – in the Nagy-Bocskai Garden. While the proportion of well-kept sites does not reach 65% in the Lorántffy Garden, in the Nagy-Bocskai Garden it exceeds 73% (Figure 4).



We also made the same grouping on the basis of the outfit of the inhabited houses on the sites, and the overall picture was somewhat better in this case – but, interestingly, the spatial structure was just the opposite of the previous case. Although this is not indicated by the diagram showing the data of all real estates examined, as the larger number of sites in the Nagy-Bocskai Garden leads to the dominance of this area in this case too, more than half of all buildings are homes in the Nagy-Bocskai Garden that are qualified as well-kept. As regard the proportion of well-kept houses within the total of the homes, however, the Lorántffy Garden has higher values, i.e. 79.2%, as opposed to the 73.4% figure of the Nagy-Bocskai Garden (*Figure 5*).

Figure 5

*Breakdown of inhabited houses in the streets examined, by the level of tidiness*



Source: edited by the author, on the basis of field trip.

On the whole we can say then that the conditions of living and getting ahead do correlate strongly with the location of the respective city parts and the conditions of living provided by them. The social structure of the vine gardens shows many unfavourable features and determines the re-generation of the problems and the intensifying of the tensions. The signs of spatial and social segregation have been clearly visible for a longer time and the present conditions forecast their further worsening.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Amidst the transforming socio-economic conditions of the recent decades several negative tendencies have appeared in the circle of the urban Gipsy population, because of which many believe that the issue of successful integration is more and more hopeless. Despite the painstaking work of those active in education and social care, results come slowly, but we find positive examples in each field (education, residential environment etc.) that may be set as examples to be followed for the generations to come. The slowing down or the occasional halt of the processes started may result in the rapid loss of the result achieved by hard work so far, and experiences suggest that without an external assistance the most pessimistic scenarios are the most likely to come true.

The *large differences among the Gipsy communities* living in Hajdúböszörmény, spatially separated from each other and also different in their ways of life and mentality, are primarily determined by when they arrived at the city. The time spent in the city considerably affects the scale of the social integration of Gipsy groups (which of course is not necessarily true at the level of individuals or families). A basically different approach is required by the different groups also on the basis of *how much they actually want to be integrated*, to accept the expectations natural for the majority society.

Groups at lower level of the integration process are the sources of more problems for the majority society (and often also for the other members of the minority), but it is much more difficult to have achievements in their case. On the other hand, those at higher levels of integration are usually less often sources of conflicts, in their case a better return on the work done is expected. The situation of the *Gipsy communities at different levels of social integration, sharply segregated from each other*, can be improved by *targeted programmes* matching their expectations and possibilities. Accordingly, *different solutions can bring results* in the vine gardens, in the two areas of the Déli-Lucernás (called Area 200 and Area 300), and for the Roma families living scattered in the other city districts, at higher level of integration.

Because of the nomadic way of life of the Gipsy population, it has been a problem many times in history – especially induced by the forced “settling down”

of the Gipsies – which settlement/settlement district their place of residence is linked to. It was typical in those times that Gipsy families migrated from settlement to settlement, because they were not welcome at any place. A similar problem is seen today on the outskirts of Hajdúböszörmény, where within a short time (a decade and a half, actually) groups have appeared in large numbers that had been incapable of integration in other towns or villages, or had even been deprived of the possibility of integration for some reason. These people have absolutely no ties to Hajdúböszörmény, many of them do not want to integrate at all, also, they live in houses that are practically unsuitable for human residence. The newly appearing families bearing the chance of social conflicts are a huge burden both for the city and the municipality of that. The city itself became thus a victim of unfavourable processes taking place in the circle of unprivileged social classes. This phenomenon raises the issue of how much a city government can be left to their own devices in handling the problem originating from an extended area but concentrating locally. The situation that has evolved by today definitely requires the *tailor-made assistance coming from higher (mainly governmental) level*.

Several attempts have been made (similarly to other cities) for the assimilation/integration of segregated Roma communities in the recent decades, but the attempts aiming at the solution of this extremely complicated issue have failed. The main reason for that was the *lack of resources*, and in general it can be said that the problem of the spatial concentration of low status population and the solution of this problem, the complete and rapid elimination of the segregated parts at local level exceeds the capacity of the settlements in the present Hungarian social and economic circumstances. Despite the size and the urgency of the problem, it is not reasonable to plan large scale programmes from own resources of the municipalities; *smaller steps perfectly matching the local conditions may lead to slower but also more sustainable results*.

A fundamental problem is that the Romas are reluctant to accept requirements defined “from outside”, so those mediating persons whom they listen to and who are able to dynamise the Gipsy community are indispensable. Previously the Voivod had this role, today the Gipsy intelligentsia should have it, the necessary

frameworks of which could be given by the self-organising civil initiatives and a Gipsy minority self-government working more efficiently than the present one.

As regards the intellectuals of Gipsy origin it is a problem also in this city that the larger part of them have been assimilated by the majority society to the extent that they no longer keep in touch with the Gipsy groups in deep poverty, living a way of life already unacceptable for the Gipsy intelligentsia, and the underclass Gipsies do not see them their sort any longer, either. For this reason it must be a goal of special importance to find persons accepted by the local Gipsies, with a will and capacity to help them, or to train and employ assistants of definitely Roma origin.

It is a typical phenomenon when eliminating a segregated part that the moving out of the Gipsy families causing social/environmental conflicts solves the problem at the given location of the city, but if their lifestyle is not changed, a *new segregation may appear or expand in another part of the city*. For the moving out of the inhabitants it is recommended in each case to make a mobilisation programme with the inclusion of those involved, with the goal of the prevention of the birth of a new segregated part. This complex programme involves the prevention of the spatial concentration of the inhabitants of low social status; the low level of the maintenance costs of the new homes; the freedom of choice (at least two alternatives); the social ties of the family and the individual must be taken into consideration; and an indispensable part must be the programme assisting employment and the school socialisation of the children.

In order to eliminate the segregated city parts, the first step in districts having no free residence should be the decrease of the density of residential population, i.e. the assistance of the placement of the inhabitants in a new environment. This may take place by allowing them to use the existing tenements or flats purchased on the real estate market by the municipality, or newly built flats. The decrease of the density of residential population of groups with multiple handicaps, their scattering across the different city parts is a necessary step of the integration, but it also means that more local residents will directly encounter the problem in the longer run – in the better cases only short run –, which requires a great deal of tolerance of them. For this reason, of outstanding importance is having the culture of the Gipsy minority

acknowledged and accepted, in which a key role may be played by events introducing to the wider public the Gipsy traditions, and their valuable music culture.

The vine garden areas with their loose settlement structure have a special position as segregated areas, in which areas it is not the high density of residential population but the buildings unsuitable for human residence that are the major problem. The only acceptable solution to this problem may be to stop the use of the agricultural buildings, tool-sheds and stables as human residences.

For the Gipsy population, irrespective of their age, the *world of school and work* may be the key factor in starting the integration process, but it can only be successful if there is a medium from which behaviour patterns necessary from integration can be adapted. From this aspect those special school classes are doomed to failure where the majority of the pupils are from the same socially handicapped layer. The same is true for the “Gipsy brigades” of the public work programmes. A basic factor should be to have the larger part of the community from the members of the majority society, and in employment also that the work should not be the least prestigious activities.

A dominant feature of the birth of segregated areas is the *well above average proportion of the inhabitants with low income*. The everyday struggle for living makes many apply for credits, and as they are coming more and more indebted and insolvent, many are likely to turn to loan sharks. In order to prevent deep poverty from further spreading it would be important to avoid deep spirals of the individuals, a tool of which may be the provision of different allowances in kind, instead of cash. This could eliminate other misuses of the social benefits as well.

The specific analyses evidently proved the preliminary hypothesis that the consistent implementation of the anti-segregation programme of Hajdúböszörmény, and the catching up of the inhabitants living in the garden areas surrounding the city, their integration into the traditional urban community may be suitable for the elimination of the foundations of the present dual social existence. In the absence of such initiatives, on the other hand, we have to calculate in the long run with the harmful consequences of the so-called parallel society, and the dynamism of catching up may be slowed down by further isolation and segregation. The handling

of the problems, however, requires further, more and more complicated and sophisticated, complex and integrated action programmes involving ever wider layers, but that is already far beyond the financial means of a given settlement.

## **6. New or innovative scientific findings of the dissertation**

1. On the basis of in-depth literature survey and broad empirical examinations, a *detailed, duplicable analysis of the segregation process of the outskirts of Hajdúböszörmény was made for the first time*, which draws, also considering the historical traditions and the special settlement structure of the city and based on data of the recently started and now strengthening migration, conclusions of general value concerning the new kinds of mobility processes related to the condition of the residential environment, deep poverty, and exclusion/segregation.
2. *For the first time, the condition of the sites and real estates in the most densely inhabited streets of the so-called vine garden areas, segregated parts on the edges of the city, was assessed and classified by their main characteristics, and also demonstrated by the means of space informatics (in a breakdown by streets).*
3. The scientific analyses *clearly justified the hypothesis that the historically inherited, exceptional and peculiar settlement structure of Hajdúböszörmény also promoted the appearance of areas and layers segregated from social and spatial aspects, in fact, the segregation of a layer of multiple handicaps (mostly of Roma origin), which has been further reinforced by the unfavourable processes of the recent decades.*
4. The findings of the interviews and expert panel surveys gave evidence of the scientific hypothesis that *(in-)migration to the garden areas around the city is fuelled almost exclusively by people coming from outside the city, as moving out from the other segregated areas of the city is practically negligible.*
5. *As regards the motivations of the migration processes, for the outskirts of Hajdúböszörmény too we detected the feature that can be taken as natural, i.e. that the main objective of people coming from underdeveloped villages is the cheapest possible living, the provision of at least the minimum of the living conditions, the role of relatives or identity, and much less by getting closer to the urban way of life.*
6. The findings of the expert panel surveys also proved that *migration coming from outside, strengthening the processes of segregation, mostly involves social groups living in deep poverty who are not able to join in the intensifying, so-called “professional international migration”.*

7. The survey of the *migration processes taking place in the segregated areas* of Hajdúböszörmény and the related socio-economic phenomena proved with general value the preliminary hypothesis that although there are segregated areas spatially separated from each other, the impacts of the problems are becoming more and more evident for the whole of the city.
8. The specific and mostly innovative surveys focused on Hajdúböszörmény clearly proved that the conscious interventions of the recent decades – despite the best intentions and the significant financial and human resources involved – have failed to bring the expected results also in the case of this city.
9. The analyses of Hajdúböszörmény contributed to the better understanding and possible solution of a serious socio-economic dilemma, i.e. that the catching up of the inhabitants of the segregated areas to the majority society, in other words, the elimination of the foundations of the present parallel, so-called dual social existence, the creation of an at least relative social cohesion requires both at national and local level intensive efforts and sacrifices from both sides.

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