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The Influence of Urban Environment on Immigrants' Integration in Józsefváros and Kőbánya

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ABSTRACT: The main aim of Concordia Discors¹ research was to investigate through the analysis of intergroup relations² the effects of different urban environments on the dynamics of third-country migrants' integration in Józsefváros and Kőbánya. A fundamental assumption of the project was that integration is a dynamic achievement, which is highly affected by the urban environment and it is neither a rigid state nor the theoretical opposite of conflict. In order to investigate the nature of intergroup relations in different urban environments a mixture of several methods was used, such as interviews, analysis of statistical data and mental mapping. From the results of our research we concluded that intergroup relations are highly influenced by the urban function (working, residential or mixed) of a particular neighbourhood. The following article aims to describe the diverse forms of coexistence of majority and minority groups in Józsefváros and Kőbánya through results of the interviews and media analysis carried out in the summer of 2011.

KEYWORDS: Budapest, integration, Józsefváros, Kőbánya, immigrant, urban

Introduction

Although the ratio of foreign immigrants in Hungary is less than two per cent of the total population (KSH: 2009) and most of them are *invisible* ethnic Hungarians from neighbouring countries with the same cultural background and mother tongue. There is a not so numerous but definitely considerable group of third-country immigrants who make a strong impression on the everyday life of local communities.

Due to their uneven territorial location, third-country immigrants – who we are focusing on – are highly overrepresented in certain territories of the country, such as the capital. Budapest and some districts in particular have certain neighbourhoods which can be characterized by a visible concentration of *third-country immigrants*³.

¹ First of all, I would like to thank Endre Sik for the invaluable pieces of advice he has provided.

² According to the Concordia Discors project paper: "The term intergroup relations refers to the interactive process between majority group and minority groups which involves using particular stereotypes, and aims to define the specific intergroup borders." (Bergamaschi et al. 2011)

³ Immigrants coming from non-EU countries.

Before discussing the details of neighbourhood-specific analysis of intergroup relations, we need to review the number and distribution of foreigner groups living in Hungary. According to Kőszeghy (2009), each foreigner group shows a diverse territorial distribution. European migrants show the lowest, Chinese and Vietnamese migrants show the highest concentration in Budapest. Almost half of all foreigners and 90 per cent of Chinese and Vietnamese immigrants live in Budapest (Kőszeghy 2007). Within Budapest two districts, Józsefváros and Kőbánya are the most important points of concentration of third-country immigrants, which was the primary reason why we have chosen those as target areas. Besides, the selection of the districts was based on the different levels of interethnic conflicts and cooperation. So, we tried to find neighbourhoods that were characterised by more problematic interethnic relations but also ones with signs of cooperation.

Theoretical Background⁴

International literature often uses the terms *interethnic relations* (Rex and Mason 1986; Coenders, Lubbers and Sheepers 2004) and *interracial relations* (Halinan and Maureen 1989). The aim of the project does not lie in studying ethnic or racial characteristics of group relations. Rather, it focuses on the nature of interactions, tries to highlight the variables that contribute to shaping relations between the majority population and minority groups. That is why we have adopted the more neutral expression *intergroup relations*. The term refers to the interactive process between majority group and minority groups which involves using particular stereotypes, and aims to define the specific intergroup borders. Such stereotypes have an eminently social origin and contribute to determining the level of conflict or cooperation between the observed groups.

Within the framework of this project we tried to mix theories rather than testing them. Although several differences are noticeable between the American and European schools about the nature and definition of conflict and cooperation, nevertheless, they have some common assumptions. According to Realistic Conflict Theory conflict is more likely to occur between groups when the resources are limited and the groups need to compete for the same resource or when the majority group fears that the minority group cannot fit their own traditions as a culturally integrated group. According to this paradigm, manifestations of hostility on behalf of the majority group are dictated by the fear that the minority groups might interfere with privileges linked to their socio-economic status (Sherif 1967; Bobo 1983; Bobo-Krugel 1993). This paradigm is flexible enough to serve us for interpreting highly diverse realities.

The next paradigm used by us was contact theory. According to this model, the

⁴ Based on Concordia Discors Research Paper. Bergamaschi et al. (2011), 5.

possibility for majority and minority groups to potentially interact is a fundamental variable in the construction of positive relations. The guiding principles of the theory, however, exclude that simple and anonymous contact can lead to serene meetings, which can actually lead to increasing conflict. In order for contact to create positive effects, it has to take place according to certain preconditions, including the absence of opportunities for conflict or competition, in an institutionally controlled situation, where there is cooperation on a common goal and there is equal ecological distribution of diversity (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1998; Lance and Dronkers 2009). The main point is that the various threats, whether of a socio-economic or symbolic and identity-related nature, can be triggered by concrete and objective situations, just as they can be the product of purely imaginary concerns. Regardless of which theoretical model is adopted, and of the real or imaginary character of competition, the basic objective remains arriving at an understanding of the mechanisms that gave rise to intergroup tensions or cooperation. In this sense both conflict and cooperation are the products of social constructs that reflect the characteristics of a given context.

We tried to investigate some of these factors which are crucial from the conflict-cooperation point of view such as the urban context and everyday experiences of the residents.

One of the main assumptions of the project is that *place matters*, which means that immigrants' integration and intergroup relations are highly influenced by the urban environment and vice versa. On the one hand, we investigated the role of immigration in urban changes as it is perceived by the residents; on the other hand, we were interested in the effects of different urban contexts on the integration of immigrants and intergroup relations. Relevant literature (Wimmer 2004; Kissler et al. 1990; Baumann 1996; Lamont 2000) takes into consideration that inter-group representations and behaviours do not develop according to general rules but they vary according to the local context, socio-economic status, time, etc. The effect of urban infrastructures has been traditionally analysed by studies on mixed neighbourhoods, which highlight how different urban spaces usually foster social mix (Lee 2002). More recently, some scholars have investigated the impact of diversity on intergroup relations looking at diversity as experienced in everyday life rather than defining it in statistical terms. The focus is then on social networks and practices developed in daily experiences in specific urban areas (Ray et al. 2008; Tyler et al. 2009; Jayaweera et al. 2008; Wessendorf 2010; Stolle et al. 2008; Amin 2002, Lee 2002). According to the Concordia Discors research paper (Bergamaschi et al. 2011) neighbourhoods are regarded as significant in terms of intergroup relations. They can be squares, streets, open markets, etc. The decision to examine areas with differentiated degrees of accessibility and possibilities of

contact with strangers is based on the assumption that such different characteristics foster the development of diverse kinds of relations (Wessendorf 2010). That theoretical framework served as a basis for our investigation on a neighbourhood level.

Methodology

In order to gain an insight into the nature of intergroup relations and relations to the living environment, we used a mixture of several methods in our research⁵. Altogether 36 interviews – carried out in the summer of 2011 – allowed us to explore the attitudes towards minorities and towards the neighbourhood so that we can establish the frameworks of the relationships⁶. Besides the 36 interviews with ordinary citizens, ten expert interviews were also conducted with representatives of the most important organisations in the field, i.e. NGOs, local governments, an elementary school, etc⁷.

The selection of the districts and neighbourhoods

The two target districts – Józsefváros and Kőbánya – have been selected on the basis of the higher than average ratio of immigrants living there affirmed by the statistics of IRM-BÁH. According to Kőszeghy (2010) these two districts are those where the proportion of immigrants is about 7 per cent, 3 percentage points higher than that of Budapest. However, the importance of the two selected districts in terms of migrants' integration lies not only in the relatively high ratio of foreigners – especially Asians – there, but also in the remarkable economic behaviour of their residents and in the heterogeneity of their urban environment.

Six neighbourhoods have been chosen for the analysis based on the higher than average ratio of third-country immigrants and the different levels of conflict and cooperation. An expert team⁸ was brought together first to help us identify the

5 Besides the above-mentioned methods five walking interviews were also conducted and a five month-long PhotoVoice project was held in an ethnically mixed elementary school in Kőbánya, and based on the pictures made by the students of the schools, a Neighbourhood Forum was also organized.

6 Annex 1 contains a short characterization of the interviewees. The urban characteristics of the neighbourhoods (working or living neighbourhood) are reflected by the occupational composition of our interviewees. (For example the overwhelming majority of interviewees from Népszínház utca and the Four Tigers Market consists of shop assistants or owners, whereas the interviewees from Orczy Building and Tara Square can be characterized by more diverse occupational profiles).

7 List of experts with whom the expert interviews were made:

1–2. two representatives of the local government of Józsefváros (one of them works in the editorial board of the Józsefváros newspaper and lives in Orczy Building)

3. head of EDIKTUM Endowment dealing with Asian migrants

4. the ex-mayor of Kőbánya

5. head of the social department of the municipality of Kőbánya

6. municipal rapporteur of equality of opportunities of Budapest (who also is in charge of immigrants)

7. a project manager at Menedék

8. a project manager at Budapest Chance Nonprofit Ltd. which is an organization operated by the municipality of Budapest being in charge of issues of equality of opportunities (including migrant-related issues).

9. Head of Centre for family support of Józsefváros

10. Head of Bem József Elementary School (a culturally mixed school situated in the middle of 5–7 Hungária Avenue neighbourhood)

8 The members of this team were Endre Sik – senior researcher at TÁRKI, he grew up in Józsefváros; Nguyen Luu Lan Anh – head of the ELTE Intercultural Psychology and Education Centre; urban sociologists Gábor Csanádi and Adrienne Csizmady.

neighbourhoods with the above mentioned parameters. After that we spent a few weeks on our future neighbourhoods observing them and making several mini-interviews (around 20 interviews in each district) with the residents, and door-men of our future living neighbourhoods to ensure us that migrants really exist in these neighbourhoods. An extra possibility to ensure us that immigrants prefer these neighbourhoods as living neighbourhoods was making photos on the names appearing on the entry phones where Asian names definitely appeared. To make the picture more clear in the preliminary phase, we also conducted few expert interviews at the social department of the municipality of Kőbánya, with the ex-mayor of Kőbánya, with the head of an NGO dealing with Asian migrants, with few teachers of the Bem József Elementary School, and with the assistant of an agency which also helps Asian migrants. Based on the statistics, the suggestions of our team and the interviews enabled us to identify the neighbourhoods characterized with the parameters we needed.

Picture 1. Pictures of the six selected neighbourhoods. (1: Four Tigers Market, 2: Orczy tér, 3: Taraliget Residential park, 4: Hungária körút 5-7, 5: Népszínház utca, 6: Mázsza tér) Pictures were made by Judit Sebő



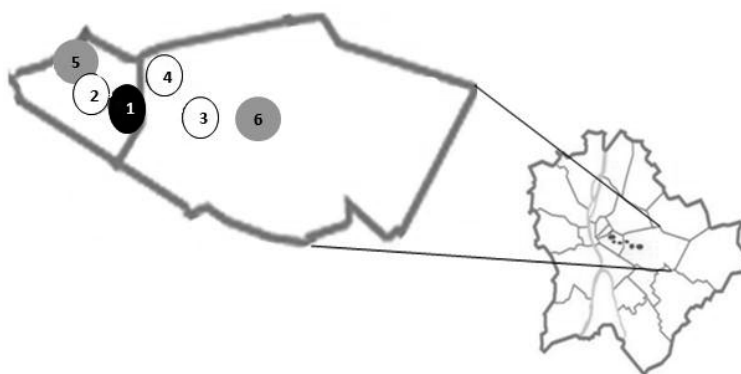
Having chosen the neighbourhoods, it was a key element of the research to classify them, since the way migrants and the local majority perceive each other depends a lot on the urban context. The classification was based on our experiences on the field. After carrying out the above mentioned interviews, and spending a couple of weeks on the field speaking with the residents we managed to identify the main characteristics of the neighbourhoods even though it was not possible to simply divide working and residential areas. Instead, we must regard the features of the neighbourhoods as a continuum with residential and working areas at the two poles. Regarded in this sense, Four Tigers Market can be identified as a working neighbourhood. The relevance of the market lies not only in its “plain” working status but in the fact that all the residential neighbourhoods (Orczy Building in Orczy tér, Taraliget Residential Park and the housing estate in 5–7 Hungária körút)

were built mainly to serve as a home of those mostly third-country immigrants who work on the market. Mázsza tér and Népszínház utca are mixed neighbourhoods but they are very different from the aspect of intergroup relations.

Table 1. The six target neighborhoods in Józsefváros and Kőbánya by their urban functions

Type of neighbourhood (based on the urban function)	Józsefváros	Kőbánya
Working neighbourhood	Four Tigers Market (1)	
Residential neighbourhood	Orczy tér (2)	Taraliget residential park (3), the housing estate in 5–7 Hungária körút (4)
Mixed neighbourhood	Népszínház utca (5)	Mázsza tér (6)

Figure 1. The selected working (highlighted with black), residential (highlighted with white) and mixed (highlighted with grey) neighbourhoods within the two districts and Budapest.



Recruitment and sampling of the interviewees

We have used the snowball sampling method since immigrants were relatively difficult to find in the area. Due to the language barriers we faced we had to make one interview in English, one in French and one in Chinese with the assistance of an interpreter.

Table 2. Distribution of interviewees by nationality and neighbourhoods⁹

Neighbourhood	Hungarian	Immigrant	Total
Four Tigers Market	1	7	8
Orczy tér	5	1	6
Taraliget residential park	3		3
Népszínház utca	9	6	15
Máza tér	1	3	4
Total	19	17	36

In the course of the interviews, interviewees were asked to prepare 24 mental maps so that we could analyse their subjective evaluation of their living environment and of their urban space and could test the assumption that there was a hidden association between space and migrants. By designing a “map” our interviewees were able to recall their “hidden” memories of places and people.

Analysis

Before entering into the details of the neighbourhood-specific analysis of inter-group relations we have a conceptual issue to clarify, namely about the identification of the immigrant groups. While making the interviews we found that the Hungarian majority constructed two stereotypical groups to identify and characterise immigrants: the “Asians” and the “non-Asians”. The former contains the Chinese and the Vietnamese, the latter refers to Arabs and Africans. In our analysis these groups appear as they are perceived by the majority.

The effect of different urban functions on migrants’ integration

Our results indicate that the urban environments and the immigrants’ integration are strongly and mutually interconnected. The area of the Four Tigers Market (1¹⁰) represents a typical working neighbourhood on the one hand, because there are no living palces in the neighbourhood, on the otherhand because it exerts a strong influence on the integration process of the migrants who work here and on the way they are perceived by the majority. The market – which is known by the interviewees as the symbol of the Hungarian black market – has been operating since 1990 with 3700 pavilions, at more than 260,000 square metres. It has a major influence on the everyday life of the neighbourhood, i.e. the inhabitants, shopkeepers, service providers in the vicinity of the marketplace. Its presence is one

⁹ In the 5–7 Hungária körút neighbourhood were not any interviews made, since it was investigated with the PhotoVoice method, and the Neighbourhood Forum was also organised here.

¹⁰ The numbers following names of the neighbourhoods refer to their IDs on the map.

of the most important factors why Asian immigrants choose Budapest for their destination; either they work in the field of commerce or they operate shops or work at the market as assistants. Chinese and Vietnamese immigrants generally began their career at the market first as assistants of a relative, and when the business went better they opened their own shops. The attitudes of the host society towards the market and the immigrant merchants are widely heterogeneous and highly influenced by the standard of living of the majority. While there are social layers, for whom the market is the only opportunity to purchase new products, the FTM is also regarded as the seedbed of crime and responsible for the terrible reputation of the districts as it lures every kind of criminals there. Nevertheless, it is important to add that this kind of hostility towards the market is not directed towards the immigrants but mostly towards the Hungarian criminals. This negative reputation is stressed by the local newspaper *Józsefváros* as well. In the last 10 years we found 22 Chinese-related articles (in average two in every observed year) and almost two thirds of the articles were about the illegal presence of the market, police raids and the efforts of local government to eliminate it, or they reported about criminals, drug dealers and murderers operating on the market. Other topics regarding Chinese hardly appeared and it also must have a negative effect on the relations between the Chinese and Hungarians.

In accordance with Nyíri (2010) we found that the other factor which has a negative effect on the integration process is that Chinese migration has occurred mostly because of economic reasons. They form a modern type of middleman minority, i.e. they generally do not plan to permanently settle down, they only come here to run a successful business; if circumstances turn bad or their business goes bankrupt, they leave Hungary. This attitude is reflected well by the absolute lack of Hungarian language knowledge of Asian merchants on the market. They are from the first generations arriving to Hungary at the early 1990s and they do not feel the need to learn Hungarian because they do not get in touch with Hungarians, neither in their private life nor in business. With the exception of one interviewee no one spoke Hungarian even at a minimum level.

The market language

In accordance with our results two sociology students found that on the Four Tigers Market existed a so-called "market-language", a "lingua franca" mostly used by Asian migrants to communicate with Hungarian customers, employees and other traders. It has a limited vocabulary, containing only the words used in selling-buying situations for example numbers, sizes and quantities with a strong Asian accent which is understood by Hungarian buyers and the non-Asian vendors as well.

The resentment against the market, the fear from the criminals operating there and the influence of local media by whom the criminal character of the area is highlighted, the lack of a common language which prevents the groups from communication are not a good combination for shaping an open-minded majority. The competition between the majority and minority for limited resources (consumers) – as a possible source of conflicts – does not exist since Hungarians principally appear on the market as customers, whereas the merchants are from the Asian group.

The intergroup relations in Orczy tér (2) are highly different from those of the market, although the two neighbourhoods are located in less than one kilometre from each other. The reason lies in the diverse urban functions of the area. The neighbourhood of the square is a slum area with a newly built (between 2000 and 2006) high quality residential park – called Orczy Building – in the middle of it. Despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the buildings of the neighbourhood were built before World War II, and the population of the neighbourhood consists mostly of the poorest strata of Budapest, Orczy Building can be regarded as one of the most favoured residential areas of well-to-do Asian immigrants working in the area (mostly at the Four Tigers Market). The reason for the popularity of the Orczy Building among immigrants is the proximity of the market. According to the residents the relationship between Hungarians and Vietnamese is neither hostile nor too close; they live in the same building but do not communicate with each other and they do not even know each other. The two groups rarely have conflicts, and if so, they are only about trivial issues coming from cohabitation, generally related to the different cultural backgrounds of the two groups.

Taraliget Residential Park (3) was built by a Chinese-owned company and it is situated not very far from the eastern edge of the Four Tigers Market. The residential park is surrounded by dilapidated industrial buildings, and it consists of 432 newly built flats. It is physically more closed than Orczy Building since the park is surrounded by a high concrete fence and is equipped by surveillance cameras. As an integral part of the market, the residential park satisfies the residential demands of the wealthier Asian vendors of the market similarly to Orczy Building, but regarding the intergroup relations some differences can be observed. Since Asian people work at least 10 hours a day, they have no time for looking after their children, so they hire retired Hungarian *grannies* around 50 to 60 years of age, to babysit their children. These ladies who also live in the neighbourhoods often take care of their own grandchildren and the Chinese ones at the same time. This kind of relationship is regarded as highly beneficial by both parties; Hungarian grannies can supplement their incomes, and with the assistance of the children the feeling of usefulness returns into their life, they begin to live more actively. From

the Asian parents' point of view the grannies can help their children to appropriate the Hungarian language and culture. The role of children has a key importance in shaping intergroup relations since these children often spend more time with the Hungarian granny than with their own parents, and after a while these ladies become *like distant relatives* while the business features of the procedures decrease constantly, i.e. the Hungarian granny makes cake for the Chinese parents and vice versa, sometimes they have a little talk about the actual happenings around the children, etc.

Another field of cooperation is that Chinese and Vietnamese inhabitants often hire Hungarian cleaning ladies. Although this relationship is not as beneficial from an integrational point of view, and is principally based on economic considerations (Hungarian labour force is cheap and easily available), it cannot be ignored. Minor problems coming from living together here exist as well similarly to Orczy Building but they make no sense according to the residents.

5–7 Hungária körút¹¹ (4) is also an important residential area where poorer Chinese and Vietnamese sellers of the market concentrate. Although the area is a quiet residential neighbourhood surrounded by a fence similarly to Taraliget, it is considered as a low prestige slum area because of a nearby street which has a terrible reputation. The perception and the judgement of the whole area are highly influenced by this particular street. The neighbourhood consists of a housing estate with a primary school in the middle of it, which is widely known in Budapest as one of the few culturally mixed primary schools that makes efforts to get Hungarian and migrant parents and children together. There are two types of housing estates in the area: three-storey brick buildings built in the early 1960s surrounded by ten-storey blocks of flats built between 1972 and 1975. Since the transition Asian traders have bought many flats in the high-rise blocks of flats, while in the more prestigious 3–4 storied buildings Hungarian families live. In accordance with our findings a recent study of ICCR Budapest Foundation 2012¹² (2012) found that regarding Asian children there are conscious assimilation efforts made and they often mediate between the parents and the office clerks. However, many Chinese parents believe that their children must not lose their Chinese identity, so they often send their children to special Chinese schools on the weekends. In the case of the neighbourhood, children have a key role to play in building intergroup relations. Since it is a closed residential area too, small problems from living together occur but according the residents they can be regarded as irrelevant.

Népszínház utca (5), which is a mixed area regarding the working and residential

¹¹ Although we have not made any interviews in the neighbourhood during the last summer, we organized a Neighbourhood Forum where parents, teachers and also the children could express their opinion in various ways about the topic.

¹² ICCR Budapest Foundation is an independent, non-profit research institute founded in 1991 by ICCR-Vienna. According to their homepage they specialize in migration and xenophobia, and compiling, reproducing and distributing research reports on the situation of migrants across the country.

features has a different kind of relationship with the market. It does not serve as a residential area for the sellers of the market but the market serves as one of the most important wholesale centres for Chinese and Vietnamese retailers working in Népszínház utca. Notwithstanding this fact, it also has a relevant residential feature, because immigrant retailers working in the street prefer the area for living because of the proximity of the workplace. The street has always been a traders' neighbourhood full of small family-owned shops. Until the transition, only Hungarian-owned shops were here, but after 1990, Chinese, Arab and African shopkeepers appeared, causing different kinds of difficulties for Hungarian business people. The reason for the tension is that Chinese and Vietnamese traders allegedly cause huge damage to Hungarian shopkeepers with their low prices – considered unfair – and with their unique business policies including tax evasion and exclusive commercial conditions for members of the community. As a result, the relationship between the majority and the immigrants depends on whether an individual is personally involved in trade, i.e. whether he/she owns a shop or not. If so – when they are in a situation of competition – hostile behaviour towards the immigrants is more likely to occur. Hungarians have significantly different opinions about Arab traders than about Asians despite the fact that the Arabs might squeeze them out the same way as Chinese shopkeepers do. The reason why Arab shopkeepers seem to be more accepted is that their prices are considered fair, and Hungarian shopkeepers are able to compete with them. As a consequence, their presence does not hurt Hungarians' sense of justice. The relation between Africans – whose most preferred area within the capital is Népszínház utca – and Hungarians is also tense. The Hungarians' judgement on Africans is highly different compared to other migrant groups. There is a stereotypical conception that Africans do not work and are not willing to work, they are loud and they deal with drugs for the *black mafia* despite the fact that Africans show stronger assimilation efforts, compared to Asians; mixed marriages and at least a basic knowledge of Hungarian is an everyday phenomenon in their case.

The area around Mázsza tér (6), which is also located relatively near the Four Tigers Market, also functions as one of the most important wholesale centres for Chinese vendors of the market. Its customers are mostly Asian people. Therefore, the traders hardly ever have any contacts with the Hungarian inhabitants of the district.

The conflict–cooperation continuum¹³

It is impossible to analyse the context of intergroup relations on our neighbourhoods with the dichotomy-model of conflict–cooperation, since neither the pure form conflict nor cooperation was to be found in our neighbourhoods. Based on our

¹³ This section is based on the idea of Endre Sik.

fieldwork, we developed a continuum which identifies several interim situations between the two poles. This continuum-approach is important because our neighbourhoods show a great deal of heterogeneity regarding their urban function i.e. working or residential or mixed neighbourhoods; moreover, the way migrants and the local majority perceive each other depends on the urban context and on the ethnic and age composition as well. Besides, the social status of the majority also significantly influences the process of integration. The closest interim situation to the conflict pole is the tense coexistence, meaning that there are at least two ethnic groups both maintaining the boundaries but without any enmity between them, having no harsh and regular (not even mediatised) hostility between the groups. The midpoint of the continuum is peaceful coexistence, where the groups live apart from each other; they have no contact with the members of the other group, and they do not care about each other's presence. Trustful coexistence differs from peaceful coexistence in that the groups have rather positive impressions about the members of the other group, and develop fragile and infrequent ties, creating a sort of embryonic form of cooperation.

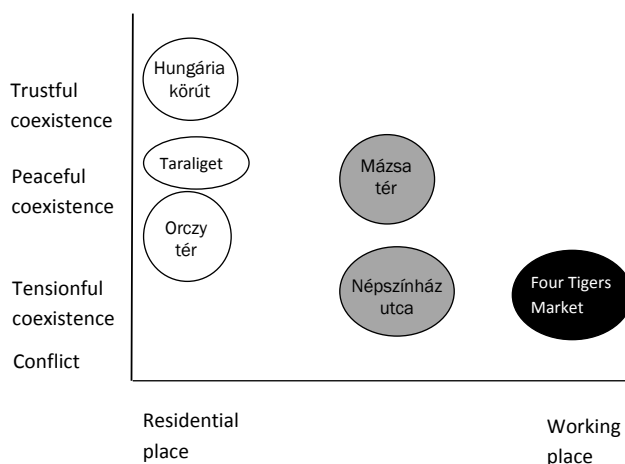
Figure 2. The conflict-cooperation continuum



Conclusions

Summing up our findings, we can say that the success of integration in our neighbourhoods is highly influenced by the urban space where interactions of the host society and immigrants take place. Based on the conflict-cooperation continuum, we have found that the intergroup relations taking place in the residential neighbourhoods are best described as peaceful coexistence which can be easily transformed into trustful coexistence – as it has been happening in Hungária Avenue – provided there is an organisation – in our case a school – which can efficiently mediate between immigrants and Hungarians or in cases where one group needs a trust-based service and only the members of the other groups are available for a reasonable price (as the process begun in Taraliget residential park). Workneighbourhoods are generally more conflictual because of sharp competition (as it happens in Népszínház utca) – especially in times of a financial crisis and an uncertain labour market situation – and secondly because of the illegal practices that Asians are accused of (as in the case of the Four Tigers Market).

Figure 3. Allocation of the neighbourhoods along the conflict-cooperation continuum and by the type of urban function (white: residential neighbourhoods, black: working neighbourhoods, grey: mixed neighbourhoods).



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Annex 1 Characterization of the interviewees¹⁴

1. Yemeni man living in Józsefváros. He was born in 1975, has Hungarian citizenship. Married, has three children from his Roma wife, a boy (12), a girl (7) and another boy (5). He received a degree in Arabic Studies at Eötvös Loránd University, and currently works as a teacher and researcher.
2. 27 year-old Hungarian educated painter from Józsefváros, Népszínház Street. He spent his childhood in the district. He has just moved to another district with his girlfriend and his foster-daughter. His wife still lives in the 8th district.
3. 68 year-old Hungarian pensioner from Józsefváros, divorced, father of two boys and lives alone in the district.
4. 43 year-old Chinese man who works as a security guard in Józsefváros. He was 18 years old when he first came to Hungary in 1987, with another 300 compatriots from Jilian Province. Afterwards, he went home for a year. He came back around 1990.
5. 33 year-old Mongolian seamstress who has been living in Hungary for 13 years. She has been living together with her Turkish companion for two years. She has an 8 year-old daughter who was born in Hungary and is Mongolian citizen. Her daughter has been living in France since 2004 with her Mongolian ex-husband.
6. 58 year-old Hungarian pensioner from Kőbánya. Currently she lives in Kőbányai út in a recently built apartment building. She was born in Budapest in 1953, and has been living in the city since then. She grew up in the 8th district.
7. 71 year-old Hungarian pensioner woman from Kőbánya. She was born in Salgótarján but after her husband's death she moved to Kőbánya so that she could visit her child more frequently.
8. A Chinese hairdresser who was born in 1982 in Hong-Kong. He came to Budapest (Kőbánya) in 1995 with his father. He went to study at the Budapest Technical University where he had classes in English. Since he finished university, he works in a Chinese company and is responsible for the import but his second and more beloved profession is hairdressing.

¹⁴ The living/working neighbourhoods the interviewee belongs to are not marked in the case of all of the interviewees because of protecting their personality rights.

9. 58 year-old Chinese shop assistant from Kőbánya. He has 3 children, one in Spain, one in China and one in Hungary. He has been living in Hungary since 1999; he came here alone at the age of 45, to be able to run a profitable business.
10. A Chinese shop owner working in Népszínház utca, being around 36-45 (he did not tell us his age). He came here especially for the "business" with his Chinese friends. He arrived to Hungary in 1994, and his sister came after him in 2007, because he told her about the favourable business possibilities.
11. 70 year-old Hungarian electrician and owner of a lamp shop in Népszínház utca. He was born in 1942 in the 9th district of Budapest, where he spent his childhood. At the end of the 1950s, they moved into the 8th district, where he finished elementary school. He worked in Baross Street for 12 years, and then he got a placement in his current shop in 1974.
12. Hungarian internet café owner around 70 from Népszínház utca. He was born and went to school in the 8th district. He has 2 children, one of them works in the UK as a medical doctor, the other one lives in Budapest. He has bought his own internet café from the local government in the 1980s, he has been working there from then on.
13. –14. Hungarian jeweller couple (N and I) from Józsefváros. Both of them were born in 1946 in Budapest. They got married in 1966, which is when I. moved to the 8th district with his wife N. who already lived there. N. was born in the 8th district while I. was born in the 12th district. Between 1966 and 1975, they lived both with N's parents and then they moved into their current apartment. They took over the shop of N's father after his death in 1982. N. and I. are professional jewellers and appraisers.
15. 40 year-old Syrian second hand technical shop owner from Népszínház Street. He first arrived to Budapest in 2000 as a tourist, alone. In 2002, he went back to Syria and came back to his Hungarian girlfriend (later wife) in 2004, and settled down in Budapest. In Syria, he used to be a mechanic; he was an employee in a workshop. Now, he has his own second-hand technical articles shop, and in the same street a *100 forintos* shop too.
16. 55 year-old Hungarian shop assistant. She was born in Budapest in the 3rd district, and grew up there. After she finished university, she worked in the 13th district until her retirement. Later she continued working in two different locations, both in the 8th district.

17. 24 year-old Hungarian receptionist from Józsefváros. He spent one year in the USA during high school. He graduated from high school in Hungary, attended College of Catering and Commerce, but he gave it up. He does not live in the district, only works there.
18. 33 year-old Hungarian shop owner from Józsefváros. He spent his first 6 years in Józsefváros, and then the family moved to Kispest. When he was 18, he moved back to Józsefváros. Six months ago he moved from the 8th district to Kispest back again, but he works still in Józsefváros.
19. 27 year-old Hungarian shop assistant. Her family lived in the 20th district, and then moved into the 2nd. Currently, she rents an apartment with her fiancée in Józsefváros and works as a saleswoman in a Chinese shoe shop in Népszínház utca.
20. 43 year-old Angolan skilled worker from Józsefváros. His mother tongue is French, but he also speaks Hungarian and Russian. He arrived to Hungary in 2001, asking for asylum, but he did not receive refugee status. In Angola he was a mechanic. In Budapest, he lives in Békásmegyer alone in an old condominium but once in a week he visits his friends in Népszínház utca where he used to live.
21. 40 year-old native Hungarian man from Serbia working in Kőbánya. He and his wife are from Vajdaság. They have two children. He came to Hungary in 1994, first to Sopron to attend university. He spent 6 months in Hungary, and then some months in Denmark, and then he moved back to Hungary in Budapest. After university, he became an interpreter of an NGO supporting refugees. He has been working in the same organization for 10 years, not only with migrants but also with homeless people.
22. 39 year-old Hungarian Roma man. He was born near to Szabolcs, in a Roma family. He has 7 brothers and sisters. His father was an alcoholic, and destroyed the family. When his youngest sibling was born, his mother brought him to an approved school, where he stayed until he was 18. Then he moved to Budapest because he wanted to try his luck. He has been living in the 8th district for 11 years. He works at ECHO TV as a domestic policy expert, is a municipal representative and he is a member of the editorial board of the Józsefváros newspaper.
23. 71 year-old Hungarian bakery shop owner from Orczy tér, Józsefváros. He was born in the 8th district, and he lived there until beginning elementary school, when his parents moved elsewhere. He worked for a Swedish company for

25 years in the 5th district. He is currently retired, but he has been working in his own bakery placed in the Orczy tér as a hobby, since 2004.

24. 25 year-old Hungarian waiter from Józsefváros, Orczy tér. He was born in Miskolc. After finishing elementary school he graduated from highschool where he specialized in cooking. Then he worked in Debrecen, later in Tiszaújváros as a wind turbine-engine manufacturer, after a year he switched to insulation material production. He has been living for 2 years in the Orczy building. Currently, he works as a waiter, a bartender and a cook near to the Keleti Railway Station.
25. Vietnamese man (age unknown, around 50), owner of a travel agency company in Orczy tér. He came to Hungary in 1997, but before, he lived in Moscow for 5 years and Germany for 4 years. He has Vietnamese nationality, and speaks Vietnamese, Russian, English, German and French. However, he does not speak Hungarian. He has been working in the 8th district since 2005, but he lives in the 19th district with his Vietnamese fiancée.
26. 62 year-old Hungarian doorman from Orczy Building. He has been working in Orczy building for 5 years. He mostly worked in the 8th district all his life. P. has two children and one granddaughter. His two children live in this district, they are 30 and 34 years old. They live with him, because they are building their own apartment. 9 of them are living in his 90m² apartment in Józsefváros. He has never lived in another district than the 8th, just in Mezőkövesd, for one and a half years.
27. Chinese woman from Four Tiger's market, Józsefváros. She was born in China in 1983. She directly came to Hungary in 1999, because her parents were already here and worked on the Four Tigers Market. She still has Chinese nationality, and she speaks Hungarian, Chinese and her local dialect, "Fu shou hua".
28. 25 year-old Egyptian hairdresser working in Orczy tér. In Egypt he went to a national elementary school, then to a vocational school in electrical engineering from the age of 6 until the age of 17. Near to this facility there was a barber school, and he spent his evenings and week-ends there, as he was interested in the hairdressing profession. Indeed, he has never worked in the field of electrical engineering, because he does not like it. In December 2007, he arrived to Budapest. He currently lives with his Hungarian wife, who is 22 years old, and with wife's sister and mother. He does not have any children. He has known his wife for 2 years, and they got married in March 2010.

29–30. Shop assistants (F and G) from Four Tigers Market.

F. is a 44 year-old Roma Hungarian woman who works in the Four Tigers Market and lives in the 8th district. She was born in the 8th district. She has been working as a saleswoman at the Four Tigers Market for 10 years now and lives in the district for 14 years because she found a cheap apartment after her divorce. G. is a 42 year-old Hungarian woman from Transylvania, Romania. She has been working in the shop for 10 years. She lives in the 7th district, and has never lived in the 8th. She came to Hungary to try her luck. She did not attend university; her highest qualification is high school diploma.

31. 40 year-old man from Taraliget, Kőbánya. He is a Hungarian common representative of several buildings. He has wife and children, but they do not live in Taraliget Residential Park. He comes to the estate once a week for one day to meet residents and work things out. He has been working in the estate since 2007.

32. 49 year-old Hungarian politician from Kőbánya. He was born in the countryside, but he moved to 10th district when he was 4, and he has been living here since then. He used to be a teacher, as his wife, but he began to work in the city hall in the field of education. As a hobby he studies the history and old photos of Kőbánya, and he collects maps of the district.

33. 44 year-old Vietnamese woman. She comes from a very poor Vietnamese family, and at the age of 17 she decided to come to Hungary in order to financially help her family. In her town in Vietnam there was a Hungarian weaving factory, and they selected Vietnamese girls to go and work in a factory in Hungary: that is how she managed to come. She worked there for three years, and then she worked in the Four Tigers Market for 13 years, while in the evening she washed dishes in a restaurant. In 1993, a Polish man offered her the possibility to introduce a new product in the Hungarian market. It turned out well for her, so she had the idea of creating a Vietnamese culture house. In 2008 she created her own association which is still successful.

34. Sudanese internet café assistant from Népszínház utca around 25. He arrived to Hungary in 2006, through Turkey. He lost his family members and all of his money in the 1993 Sudanese war. He has been living here since then. He does not consider himself an economic refugee. K. worked on several workplaces in Budapest, for example in the kitchen of a fast food restaurant and later in an Italian restaurant. Currently he has a full time job in a well-known international internet café.

35. 38 year-old Nigerian entrepreneur. He lives in the 8th district and currently he is an entrepreneur. He arrived to Hungary with his Russian companions in 1998. Hungary was not his destination; he was heading to Austria or Germany. He is married, has a Hungarian wife; he does not have children. He speaks English and Ibo and knows a little Russian and also speaks Hungarian on an intermediate level.
36. Chinese waitress around 20 from Népszínház utca. She came from South China and is a Fuzhou nationality woman, her mother tongue is Fuzhou. She was born in China and was brought up there. She speaks English well, knows some French and also speaks Hungarian. She arrived to Hungary in 2007, to continue her studies. She graduated from Szolnok University, she got her Bachelor's degree in tourism and hospitality. She moved to Budapest and since that time she has been living and working here.