MYPLACE (Memory, Youth, Political Legacy And Civic Engagement)
Grant agreement no: FP7-266831

WP6: Mapping Activism in Hungary

Deliverable 6.1: Hungarian report mapping and typologising youth activism based on outputs from WP4 and WP5

Hungary (Sopron and Ózd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Editors</th>
<th>István Murányi, Zoltán Berényi, Domonkos Sík, Flórián Sípos</th>
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<tr>
<td>Version</td>
<td>V1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>27 January 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Package</td>
<td>WP6: Mapping Activism (Typologies)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deliverable</td>
<td>D6.1: Hungarian case study level report on mapping and typologising youth activism based on outputs from WP4 and WP5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissemination level</td>
<td>PU: Public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Deliverable Date</td>
<td>31\textsuperscript{th} January 2014</td>
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<tr>
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<td>27/1/14</td>
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<td>V2.0</td>
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1. Introduction

The objective of this study is to present an overview of youth activism in Hungary by using survey data from W4 and a selection of WP5 respondents. The WP4 and WP5 research were conducted in two locations: in the northern town of Ózd and in the western town of Sopron.

Both towns are a long way from the capital Budapest, that is, the political, economic and cultural centre of the country. Both are close to the border and are micro-regional centres. However, there are some considerable differences between the two locations. Sopron is on the Hungarian-Austrian border and Ózd is on the Hungarian-Slovakian border. Sopron has historic civic traditions. In Ózd, these are missing. According to the 2001 census data, Ózd has the third largest Roma community in Hungary (37 per cent of the population). In Sopron, there is a higher proportion of active workers, while in Ózd the proportion of inactive employees and students is higher. Young people in Sopron are considerably more highly educated than young people in Ózd. In Sopron, the proportion of young people who have a favourable social status is higher.

In the next, quantitative part of the report, by submitting the WP4 survey data to analysis, a typology of youth activism will be provided. As the lack of empirical variation based on political activity did not allow for the identification of types of activity, we decided to combine behavioural and attitude variables with variables of political and organisational activity. By using this method, we identified 4 types of youth activity: the group of ‘Passive inactives’; the group of ‘Inactives with some interest shown’; the group of ‘Full actives’; and the group of ‘Full inactives’.

Following that, in the third section of the report, qualitative material from the WP5 in-depth interviews will be used to demonstrate the characteristics of the youth activity types identified in the quantitative part of the report.

2. Typologising youth activism

In this part of the report, using survey data we sought to provide a typology of youth activism in Hungary. We found, however, that by considering only political participation and group involvement variables, activity types could not be identified. Hence, we explain the reasons for this, and propose an alternative solution for identifying types of youth activism by combining other variables.

2.1. Empirical strategy

The characteristic of the Hungarian data is that, regardless of the statistical methods used the distribution of the variables of political activity (question 16) and organisational participation (question 18), we could not identify types of activity. The problem that we faced was that we found very few respondents who engaged in a specific activity. In
other words, in most of the variables, we found that the proportion of actual values was under 1 per cent. Unfortunately, this was clearly insufficient variation for the identification of activity groups. To illustrate this problem, in the next section, the distribution of the combined variables of political activity is given.

2.2. **Typology of youth activism in Hungary**

2.2.1 General overview

In the cluster analysis, we decided not to use those variables which referred to participation in local and national elections. This was because, on the one hand, all of the variables used in the cluster analysis were combined variables (indexes and scales). Being high level measurement ones, these variables satisfied the criteria of cluster analysis. Besides, all of them were created in combination with elemental indicator variables. That is, all of them are combined variables. It is quite true, that voting participation is a good indicator of political activity, but it is also true that it is a dummy variable and statistical considerations do not recommend involving dummy variables in cluster analysis. On the other hand, we decided not to use voting variables because this indicator is only applicable for the 18 years old or older young people. As such, it would be highly misleading to employ this indicator in a full sample cluster analysis.

Question 16 of the questionnaire (There are different ways of being politically active. During the last 12 months, how often have you done the following?) provided 4 choices for respondents to select from (once, twice, three times or more, never). By combining the first three options however, it became possible to indicate the proportion of those who carried out the specific activity with some frequency (once or twice and three times or more). Tables 2.1. and 2.2 below indicate the distribution of those who were active (either by being a member, or participated actively or done voluntary work) in the organisation in question and the distribution of those who carried out these activities in the past year with some frequency. The characteristic feature of these tables is that both of the show extremely low level of participation in political activities. In both locations, it is the participation in student elections and signing a petition that happened less infrequently than any other types political activity. However, we found that even the proportion of those young people who did that was extremely low. In Sopron the figure indicating the former type of activity was 3.7 per cent, while in Ózd it was 2.2 per cent. The figure indicating the latter type of activity was 1.8 per cent in Sopron and 2.9 per cent in Ózd.

**Table 2.1. Participants in political activities – SOPRON**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Once or twice and three times or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Volunteered in an election campaign</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contacted a politician or local councillor</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended a public meeting dealing with political or social issues</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signed a petition</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Table 2.2. Participants in political activities –ÓZD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Once or twice</th>
<th>Three times or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collected signatures</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given a political speech</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distributed leaflets with a political content</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boycotted or bought products for political, ethical or environmental reasons</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written political messages or graffiti on walls</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worn a badge with a political message</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated in a demonstration</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated in a strike</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donated money to support the work of a political group or organisation</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written an article, e.g. in a student newspaper, organisation journal, the internet or a blog</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written or forwarded a letter/an email with political content</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated in a violent political event</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied buildings or blocked streets / railways</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated in a ‘flashmob’ (a spontaneous demonstration organised through social media)</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uploaded political material to the internet (including social networking sites such as Youtube / Twitter / Facebook)</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voted in student union elections</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Once or twice</th>
<th>Three times or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Volunteered in an election campaign</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contacted a politician or local councillor (e-mail / phone / SMS / letter / fax etc)</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended a public meeting dealing with political or social issues</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signed a petition</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collected signatures</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given a political speech</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distributed leaflets with a political content</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boycotted or bought products for political, ethical or environmental reasons</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written political messages or graffiti on walls</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worn a badge with a political message</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated in a demonstration</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated in a strike</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donated money to support the work of a political group or organisation</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written an article, e.g. in a student newspaper, organisation journal, the internet or a blog</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written or forwarded a letter/an email with political content</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated in a violent political event</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied buildings or blocked streets / railways</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated in a ‘flashmob’ (a spontaneous demonstration organised by social media)</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uploaded political material to the internet (including social networking sites such as Youtube / Twitter / Facebook)</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voted in student union elections</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.2 Dimensions of participation

In order to identify groups engaging in public and political activity and which not only have sufficient members but whose activity can also be interpreted effectively, a cluster analysis was carried out.\(^1\) The reasons for selecting the appropriate variables were as follows:

1. We wanted to make sure that the variables, selected directly or indirectly, indicated the public and political activity of the respondents;
2. We also wanted to make sure that the variables selected could be taken as a combined variable (either a scale or an index) that represents a dimension of the political or public activity of the respondents.

1. Overall Participation Index
The Overall Participation Index was created with the inclusion of the following sub-indexes:

1.1. Cause oriented index: this contains 9 items (4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18) out of the 20 items of Q.16 (the question refers to political activity). Its value is 0-9.

1.2. Campaign oriented index: this contains 11 items (1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 15, 19, 20) out of the 20 items of Q.16 (the question refers to political activity). Its value is 0-11.

1.3. Civic Engagement index: this contains 15 items of Q18 (the question refers to organisational membership and activity). Its value is 0-15.

The distribution of the values of the three sub-indexes and the combined, Overall Participation index by the number of elements clearly indicated that the respondents’ political and organisational activity was extremely low. The average and spread of the four indexes also showed this. Compared to the three sub-indexes, we found, that the combined index had a better average and spread. However, in the 0-20 values scale, its value still proved to be extremely low.

Table 2.3. The frequency of the values of the Overall Participation Index and its three sub-indexes: Sopron

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index values</th>
<th>Cause oriented index</th>
<th>Campaign oriented index</th>
<th>Civic engagement index</th>
<th>Overall participation index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>52</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) The features of the method used in the cluster analysis were as follows: K-Means Cluster Analysis, Method: Iterate and classify, Number of clusters: 4, Iterate: Maximum iterate: 10, Missing Values: Exclude cases listwise. In the selection of variables two points were taken into account.

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Table 2.4. The frequency of the values of the Overall Participation Index and its three sub-indexes Ózd

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index values</th>
<th>Cause oriented index</th>
<th>Campaign oriented index</th>
<th>Civic engagement index</th>
<th>Overall participation index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean 0.07 0.11 0.24 0.41

Std. Deviation 0.549 0.699 1.302 1.754
Considering that, we decided that by using the 3 indexes indicated above for the
purpose of our objective, it would be best to create an Overall Participation Index with
its value set between 0 and 35. In the cluster analysis, we decided to employ the
standardised index.

As it was explained previously, in both locations, the activity of young people was
extremely low. Therefore, by only considering the variables of political activity and
organisational participation, certain types of direct, visible activity would not have been
identified. For the purpose of identifying different types of activities in the two locations,
we decided to include attitude and behaviour variables as well. The specific reasons for
selecting each of these are elaborated below in the following descriptions.

1. Interest in history index
   By using 12 items of Q52, the Interest in History index was created, with its value ranging
   from 0 to 12. An extremely high level of correlation exists between the political-
   ideological orientation and the interpretation of history in Hungary. Taking that into
   consideration, activities related to history indirectly indicate the level of political activity
   (the average of the index is 3.94; its spread is 3.23). The higher the value is of the index,
   the higher the amount is of history-related activity undertaken in the preceding year.

2. Time use in mass media scale
   Using four items of Q3, the ‘Time use in mass media’ index, with its value range of 0 to
   12, was created. Interest in politics and public affairs could be identified by the
   proportion of time devoted to the acquisition of information about such matters on an
   average day. At the same time, there is a strong correlation between political activity
   and interest in politics (the average of the index is 2.82; its spread is 2.43). The higher
   the value of the index is, the higher the amount of time devoted to acquiring
   information about politics and current affairs.

3. Frequency of discussion of political issues scale
   Using six items of Q4, the ‘Frequency of discussion of political issues’ scale, with its value
   range of 0 to 12, was created. Given the traditions of Hungarian political culture, the
   frequency of discussion with family, friends, partner (i.e. one’s immediate social
   network), about political issues, could be regarded as a direct indicator of political and
   public activity (the average of the index is 4.56; its spread is 4.55). The higher the value is
   of the index, the higher the frequency is of discussion about political affairs.

4. Freedom of speech scale
   Using three items of Q46, the ‘Freedom of speech’ scale, with a value range of 0 to 30,
   was created. Statements considered acceptable in public discussions indicated either the
   rejection of minority groups (e.g. Gypsies), the stigmatisation of groups (e.g. Islamic
   extremists) or questioning the occurrence of the Jewish Holocaust. Preference shown in
   accepting these statements could also be considered an indicator of political and public
   activity that is above average (the average of the index is 8.68; its spread is 6.99). The
   higher the value is of the index, the higher the acceptance is of such public statements.
5. Effectiveness of "hard" action scale
Using six items of Q19, the ‘Effectiveness of "hard" action’ scale, with a value range of 0 to 60, was created. The scale was constructed by taking into account those actions which are seen to have a significant influence on politics, at least according to Hungarian popular opinion. These include not only actions such as signing petitions, participation at demonstrations, disseminating political information on the Internet, but also ‘hard’ forms of action such as violent protest and participation in illegal protests. Having said that, the evaluation of these political actions as significant by no means accurately reflects their real impact but it could nevertheless be considered an indirect indicator (the average of the index is 20.44; its spread is 12.85). The higher the value is of the index, the more these actions are capable of influencing politics.

6. Effectiveness of "soft" action scale
Using five items of Q19, the ‘Effectiveness of "soft" action’ scale, with values ranging from 0 to 50, was created. The scale was created by considering five actions which are legitimate and cannot be considered dangerous (voting, political party activity, voluntary organisation activity, involvement in the media, establishing personal contacts with politicians). In common with the previous scale, the evaluation of these actions as significant by no means reflects accurately the actual political actions, but it could nevertheless be considered as an indirect indicator (the average of the index is 22.23; its spread is 10.57). The higher the value is of the index, the more these actions are capable of influencing politics.

7. Level of trust on a range of organisations and institutions scale
Using 13 items of Q7, the ‘Level of trust on a range of organisations and institutions’ scale was created, its values ranging from 0 to 120. The trust or distrust in the 13 institutions indicates an emotional relation with those institutions that are mostly political or bureaucratic in nature. Intense positive or negative emotion in most cases serves as a basis for potential actions. Taking that into account, it could be regarded as an indicator (the average of the index is 53.79; its spread is 23.58). The higher the value is of the index, the higher the trust in the institutions concerned.

8. Level of personal interest on 10 different issues scale
Using 10 items of Q5, the ‘Level of personal interest on 10 different issues’ scale was created, with values ranging from 0 to 100. The intensity of interest shown in different issues (such as accommodation, wealth, women’s rights, the European Union) also indicated the motivation behind the person’s activity (the average of the index is 56.28; its spread is 21.96). The higher the value is of the index, the higher the interest shown in the issues.

9. Justification of violence scale
Using eight items of Q44, the ‘Justification of violence’ scale was created, with values ranging between 0 and 32. The degree of acceptance or rejection of violence used to achieve set objectives related to ‘politics’ (as understood in its broadest sense) also influenced potential activity. Therefore, in common with the aforementioned scales, we can consider that as an indicator of actual political activity (the average of the index is
10.59; its spread is 9.83). The higher the value is of the index, the stronger the conviction about the appropriateness of applying forceful actions to achieve the set objective.

2.2.3. Type of participants

In order to use them in the classification, the 10 previously discussed variables (that is, the 8 scales and the two indexes) were standardised. Standardisation was carried out for the following reasons: first, because problems generated by the different scales of measurement were removed; second, so that the generated clusters could be interpreted effectively. In order to facilitate interpretation and acquire the best possible number of elements in each cluster, the four cluster option was found to be the most appropriate during the K-means cluster analysis. In other words, the following four groups were identified through cluster analysis (see Table 2.5).

Table 2.5. Clustered groups of participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passive inactives</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactives with some interest shown</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>40.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full actives</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full inactives</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the four groups, two thirds of the full sample proved to be more inactive than the average (69.8 per cent). One third of the full sample was found to be more active than the average (30.2 per cent). The following variables were used to differentiate between the four identified groups:

1. Overall Participation index
2. Interest in history index
3. Time use in mass media scale
4. Frequency of discussion of political issues scale
5. Freedom of speech scale
6. Effectiveness of ‘hard’ action scale
7. Effectiveness of soft action scale
8. Level of trust on a range of organisations and institutions scale
9. Level of personal interest on 10 different issues scale
10. Justification for violence scale

Table 2.6. The categorisation and characteristics of the clusters by the variables (averages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passive inactives</td>
<td>-0.034</td>
<td>-0.293</td>
<td>-0.500</td>
<td>-0.617</td>
<td>0.290</td>
<td>-0.155</td>
<td>-1.006</td>
<td>-1.543</td>
<td>0.299</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactives with some interest shown</td>
<td>-0.039</td>
<td>-0.053</td>
<td>0.153</td>
<td>0.320</td>
<td>-0.040</td>
<td>-0.230</td>
<td>-0.098</td>
<td>-0.357</td>
<td>0.254</td>
<td>-0.103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With the exception of three scales, the ‘Inactives with some interest shown’ group (40.9 per cent of the entire sample) is characterised by negative averages. However, each of these averages is smaller than the averages characterising the group of ‘Full inactives’.

The most characteristic difference between these two groups and the two other groups is that members of the two former groups: significantly more frequently discuss politics (scale 4); devote more time to acquiring information about politics and current issues (scale 3); show interest in numerous issues (scale 9).

The characteristic feature of the ‘Passive inactives’ group (19 per cent of the entire sample) is that, they show a lower level of inactivity than the group of ‘Full inactives’; they also show less inactivity in organisations and in political affairs (index 1). Also, although members of this group generally express pessimism about the opportunities available to influence politics (scales 6 and 7), their level of pessimism in this respect is lower than that of members of the ‘Full inactives’ group. Furthermore, members of this group are least interested in general affairs (scale 9); they devote the least amount of time to getting information about politics and other affairs (scale 3). Members of this group show the highest level of distrust in institutions (scale 8). On the other hand, out of the four groups concerned, the members of this group are most likely to accept the use of violence in order to achieve set objectives (scale 10); and show the greatest inclination for making public information about sensitive issues (scale 5).

The distinguishing feature of the ‘Full actives’ group (30.2 per cent of the entire sample) is that it scored positive averages in all aspects. Compared with the other three groups, this group shows significantly different characteristics in several dimensions, for example regarding: activities connected with history (scale 2); support given to public declarations (scale 5); preference shown in favour of activities capable of influencing politics (scales 6 and 7). Members of this group also show the highest interest towards all kinds of issues (scale 9).

With the exception of one dimension, the ‘Full inactives’ group (9.9 per cent of the entire sample) is characterised by negative averages in every dimension. They express the highest level of pessimism about opportunities to influence politics (scales 7 and 8). Moreover, they display the lowest inclination for making public information about sensitive issues (scale 5). The only positive average this group shows is in relation to scale 8. This indicates that the level of trust the members of this group show towards institutions is higher than the average for the entire sample.

In the following paragraphs, the most significant socio-demographic characteristics of the four groups generated by our cluster analysis are provided. For the descriptive analysis, we have classified these 8 socio-demographic variables into the following broad categories:
1. Age (3 groups)
   - 16-18 years
   - 19-21 years
   - 22-25 years

2. Gender (2 categories):
   - Female
   - Male

3. Ethnic background (2 categories):
   - Ethnic minority
   - Ethnic majority

4. Religious affiliation (4 categories):
   - Christian Roman Catholic
   - Christian Protestant
   - Christian Other
   - None

5. Marital status or cohabitation (2 categories):
   - Married/cohabiting
   - Not married/not cohabiting

6. Employment status (5 categories)
   - In employment (full time)
   - In employment (part-time)
   - In education
   - Unemployed (both actively looking for and wanting job but not looking)
   - Homemaker
   - Other (community/military, disabled/sick, other)

7. Education (10 categories), based on the ISCED 2011 classification, we constructed a new variable with three categories:
   - Level1 (pre-primary level education, primary education)
   - Level2 (lower secondary education)
   - 3-Level 3 (upper secondary education, post-secondary, non-tertiary education, short cycle tertiary education, BA or equivalent level, MA or equivalent level, Doctoral or equivalent level)
8. Social class (constructed by considering the following six variables: respondent’s class + father’s occupation + mother’s occupation + respondent’s education + father’s education + mother’s education). These categories do not correspond to any official socio-occupational categories in Hungary but were created by using the empirical data collected in WP4 research and following the directives of WP4.

- Class1 (lowest class)
- Class2
- Class3
- Class4 (highest class)

The characteristics of the full sample (N=1187)

In the case of analysis of the two sub-samples, it was decided to take account only of those deviations that could be regarded significant. It was found that a significant proportion (73 per cent) of the ‘Passive inactives’ group came from the city of Sopron and that the proportion of young people from the city of Sopron was also higher in the group of ‘Full inactives’. In contrast, it was found that the proportion of young people from the city of Ózd was higher in the group of ‘Inactives with some interest shown’ and in the group of ‘Full actives’.

The characteristics of the Sopron sub-sample (N=597)

We found that the distribution of the following three variables was not significant in the Sopron sub-sample: gender, age and ethnic affiliation. When compared to the other two activity groups, the representation of those who are married or who live with a partner is higher in the group of ‘Full actives’ and ‘Full inactives’.

Table 2.7. Activity groups and ethnic affiliation, Sopron (line-percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity group</th>
<th>Married/cohabitation</th>
<th>Not married/cohabitation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passive inactives</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactives with some interest shown</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full actives</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full inactives</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Chi-Square Test: Value: 14.501, Sig. (2-sided): 0.002)

When compared to the two clusters, it became clear, that the proportion of Roman Catholics is significantly higher in the groups of ‘Full actives’ and ‘Passive inactives’. On the other hand, it also became clear that the proportion of Protestants and those who are not affiliated with any religious groups is significant in the group of ‘Inactives with some interest shown’ and in the group of ‘Full actives’. 
Table 2.8. Activity groups and religious affiliation, Sopron (line-percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Christian</th>
<th>Christian</th>
<th>Christian</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>None</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>religion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive inactives</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactives with some interest shown</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full actives</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full inactives</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Chi-Square Test: Value: 28.188, Sig. (2-sided): 0.005)

We found, that a noticeable characteristic of the ‘Passive inactives’ group is that more than a quarter of its members (27 per cent) belong to the ‘otherwise employed’ category. The proportion of those, who are in full employment is higher in the ‘Full inactives’ and ‘Inactives with some interest shown’ groups than in the other two activity groups. The proportion of students is especially high in the ‘Full inactives’ group.

Table 2.9. Activity groups and employment status, Sopron (line-percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>In full-time paid work</th>
<th>In part-time paid work</th>
<th>In education</th>
<th>Un-employment</th>
<th>House-work</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passive inactives</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactives with some interest shown</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full actives</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full inactives</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Chi-Square Test: Value: 141.702, Sig. (2-sided): 0.000)

As the following table illustrates, in Sopron, the proportion of those with the lowest education level is highest in the ‘Full inactives’ group and in the ‘Passive inactives’ group. Consequence, the proportion of those with the highest level of education is most significant in the other two activity groups.

Table 2.10. Activity groups and the level of education, Sopron (line-percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Level 1</th>
<th>Level 2</th>
<th>Level 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passive inactives</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactives with some interest shown</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full actives</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full inactives</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Chi-Square Test: Value: 14.504, Sig. (2-sided): 0.024)

In Sopron, the proportion of those young people who have high social status is higher in the ‘Passive inactives’ and ‘Full actives’ groups than in the other two clusters.
Table 2.11. Activity groups and status, Sopron (line-percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lowest class</th>
<th>Low class</th>
<th>High class</th>
<th>Highest class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passive inactives</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactives with some interest shown</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full actives</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full inactives</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Chi-Square Test: Value: 29.501, Sig. (2-sided): 0.001)

The characteristics of the Ózd sub-sample (N=590)

It was found that in the Ózd sub-sample the distribution of the following four indicators was not significant: gender, marital status, religious affiliation and social status. In Ózd, in the ‘Full inactives’ and ‘Passive inactives’ groups we found more young people who belonged to lower age groups (i.e. 16-18 year olds or 19-21 year olds) than in the two other activity groups.

Table 2.12. Activity groups and age, Ózd (line-percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>16-18 years</th>
<th>19-21 years</th>
<th>22-25 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passive inactives</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactives with some interest shown</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full actives</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full inactives</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Chi-Square Test: Value: 17.478, Sig. (2-sided): 0.008)

The proportion of those, who belong to ethnic minorities is extremely high in the group of ‘Inactives with some interest shown’ (39 per cent) and noticeably low in the group of ‘Full actives’ (22 per cent).

Table 2.13. Activity groups and ethnic affiliation, Ózd (line-percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ethnic minority</th>
<th>Ethnic majority</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passive inactives</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactives with some interest shown</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full actives</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full inactives</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Chi-Square Test: Value: 16.483, Sig. (2-sided): 0.001)

When compared to the other two activity groups in Ózd, i.e. in the ‘Full actives’ group and the ‘Inactives with some interest shown’ group, a significantly higher proportion of those who are full-time employed was found. In these two groups, the proportion of those otherwise employed is considerably smaller.
Table 2.14. Activity groups and employment status, Ózd (line-percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>In full-time paid work</th>
<th>In part-time paid work</th>
<th>In education</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Home makers</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passive inactives</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactives with some interest shown</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full actives</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full inactives</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Chi-Square Test: Value: 30.674, Sig. (2-sided): 0.010)

In Ózd, the proportion of those with the highest education level is most significant in the ‘Full actives’ group. The proportion of those with the lowest education level is highest in the ‘Full inactives’ group.

Table 2.15. Activity groups and education level, Ózd (line-percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Level 1</th>
<th>Level 2</th>
<th>Level 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passive inactives</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactives with some interest shown</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full actives</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full inactives</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Chi-Square Test: Value: 42.092, Sig. (2-sided): 0.000)

Since the Hungarian WP4 data did not have enough variation to be able to identify activity types using only the behaviour variables, the decision was taken to combine participation variables with attitudinal variables. As a result of using these combined variables, it was possible to differentiate four distinctively different types of activities in the full Hungarian sample. The following types of individuals were identified: the ‘Passive inactives’ group, the ‘Inactives with some interest shown’ group, the ‘Full actives’ group and the ‘Full inactives’ group.

In the following paragraphs, a brief description of the characteristics of each of these quantitative clusters will be provided. The results of our analysis of the full sample indicated that on the one hand, young people belonging to the higher age groups and the highest education level are mostly over-represented in the ‘Full actives’ cluster. On the other hand, those young people who are employed are also over-represented in this cluster. In Sopron, we found that in addition to the previously mentioned young people, those who are married or have a partner and those who belong either to none of the religious groups or Protestants are also over-represented in the ‘Full actives’ activity cluster.

It was also found that in Ózd, those young people with the highest education level and employed full time were over-represented in the ‘Full actives’ group. Among those young people in Ózd who belong to the ‘Full actives’ cluster, we found a small proportion of young people who belong to ethnic minorities.
Our analysis of the full sample indicated that in the ‘Inactives with some interest shown’ activity cluster the proportion of those who belong to the higher age groups and the proportion of those in full-time employment is also high. However, it is remarkable that it is also in this activity group that we found a high proportion of unemployed young people and a similarly high proportion of young people belonging to ethnic minorities.

In Sopron, in the ‘Inactives with some interest shown’ activity cluster, it is those with a high level of education, those in full-time employment, those without religious affiliation and Protestants who have significantly high representation. In Ózd, the proportion of those in full-time employment is also high in the ‘Inactives with some interest shown’ activity cluster. In addition to that, however, it is also in this activity cluster that we find the highest proportion of those young people who belong to an ethnic minority.

In the full sample, we found that it is the members of the ‘Passive inactives’ activity group that have the highest socio-economic status. Among the members of this cluster, we found a high proportion of Roman Catholics and a high proportion of young people belonging to the lowest age groups. In Sopron, among the members of the activity cluster Roman Catholics, those with a lower level of education and those with a high socio-economic status could also be found in high proportion. In Ózd, the most characteristic feature of the ‘Passive inactives’ activity cluster is that those who belong to the lowest age groups contribute the highest proportion of its members.

The results of our analysis on the full sample indicated that those who belong to the lowest age group and have the lowest level of education comprise the highest proportion of members of the ‘Full inactives’ activity cluster. In addition to them, however, those who are married; are home makers and are Roman Catholics are also over-represented in this cluster.

In Sopron, in the ‘Full inactives’ activity cluster, it is those with a lower level of education, who are married or live with a partner, still in education and are Roman Catholics who have a high representation. In Ózd, those who are still in education are over-represented. The reason is that in this activity cluster, in Ózd, we found a high proportion of young people with low levels of education and young people belonging to the lowest age groups.

The next part of the report provides a thematic analysis of the activity clusters identified. After analysing the WP5 data we could not find individuals who clearly and in every respect represent the characteristics of these activity clusters. Therefore, for a better understanding of the characteristics of each of the identified types of activity, from the WP5 in-depth interviews, citations which represent these characteristics appropriately were selected. These will be presented in the next part of the report.
3. Understanding activism on the basis of thematic analyses

3.1. Passive inactives

The first activity cluster refers to a group which is not really interested in public life, does not discuss issues, does not believe in its potential power to change the status quo, does not support free speech at all costs, does not show any signs of activism, but which does not reject the use of violence to solve certain social problems. The main characteristics of this group are ignorance, lack of interest and political frustration which is combined with an inclination to accept violent, anti-democratic solutions to problems in Hungary.

This group is described through its passivity in both organisational and political affairs as the qualitative analysis shows the link between members of this group and their pessimism about being able to influence politics, their low interest in current affairs and distrust of institutions.

Such a situation is usually based on the perceived hopelessness surrounding one’s personal prospects in life and on defeatist attitudes. The hopelessness about one’s prospects are on the one hand, expressed in indifferent attitudes to school and education in general:

I: What are you studying for?
R: To be a waiter.
I: Waiter? How did you choose this profession?
R: This school was close to us.
I: This was the only reason why? You are not interested in it?
R: Not really.
(Jani, Ózd)

On the other hand, they often express disappointment because of their experiences in the labour market:

R: I would like to work, but no one gives me a job.
I: Where did you look for jobs?
R: Pastries. That’s what we learnt at school, but no one took me. [...] They said to me, that the job was already taken and crap like this. To be honest, I think that the problem was that I am a Gypsy or whatever, and that’s why I was refused.
(Hunor, Ózd)

Our research also found that their personal experiences in school and employment failures were also frequently complemented by negative childhood experiences of low living standards: ‘Because you get small money, buy some clothes for the children and food and there is nothing left to live on’ (Kulpa, Ózd).
It was also found that passivity is connected to helplessness. Our analysis revealed that beside their experiences of personal hopelessness, the experiences of insoluble social problems also contributed to the emergence of ‘learned’ helplessness. Lack of social solidarity is considered to be one of the most troubling problems in contemporary Hungary:

For example, the people who need more help are those who can’t pay back their debts and have lost their homes. Or the homeless people, who have no one else to turn to. Recently there was a case, a half-naked man was on the street and his wife, they also were in massive debt and the woman wanted to jump in front of my car and others as well […], because we heard from the neighbours that they had huge debts. (Emericus, Ózd)

Lack of mutual recognition and respect is considered to be a problem:

If someone gives me something, I respect them. Seriously. Because they are wonderful people, at least they have a heart. But other people think, like ‘if they gave once, they will give again, so they should be exploited’. So negative. Mankind is so negative (Adri, Ózd)

The perceived envy and selfishness of the others is an additional source of social conflict:

Yes they are really selfish. The only thing that matters is for it to be ‘good for me’. What happens to the others is just not my concern. If someone has something and I don’t, then I take it (Andrea, Sopron)

On the other hand, such serious structural disadvantages and interpersonal conflicts do not play always a role in the process of generating frustration. It was found that in these cases experiences of relative deprivation and the perceived limitation of one’s buying power could become a factor in the generation of frustration:

I thought that I would be able to pay for my rent and tuition during the last year of college, but I got only 53,000 forint and the rent was 45,000 (…). My mother’s salary was also reduced. So what they earn is almost fully spent during the month. My father also has to look for supplementary job opportunities and ways to save money. And I don’t think that’s normal either. (Emma, Sopron)

The controversial transformation of higher education also generated frustration:

To be honest, I don’t like at all this idea of a contract because I understand that they want to keep the people in Hungary but they shouldn’t do it like this because it’s a really aggressive way of doing it. (Klaudia, Sopron)
In some cases, on the basis of these bitter experiences a general lack of trust emerged, which overshadowed not only the horizon of expectations in everyday life but also the perception of the political sphere. The first dimension of the lack of trust concerned public institutions, characterised as being dysfunctional even at the most basic level:

I was hit by a car in February and the car drove off [...] a few months later I received a letter that they had closed the case because they couldn’t prove if it was the suspect or not, even though it was unambiguous, because I recognised him. (Andrea, Sopron)

The dysfunctionality of public institutions, on the other hand, went with the idea that corruption permeates everything in Hungary: ‘The whole system is corrupt. And those who talk about this are either silenced or, in my opinion, murdered or paid off’ (Mónika, Ózd). The perception that public institutions are dysfunctional and corrupt results in a lack of sense of security and a generalised fear of becoming the victim of crime.

I: Is it common for people to fight?
R: Not nowadays.
I: How about in the past?
R: Everyday.
I: Let’s say two families fought. And this wasn’t rare [...] The father of a kid was beaten up, so just recently he took revenge, so the other ended up in hospital. That’s why I don’t go out nowadays. (Adrian, Ózd)

Interiorised collective insecurity was also connected to the lack of trust:

I: You mentioned that you don’t like to go out in the dark, is there a particular reason for this?
R: Well, you hear strange things [...] A girl gets caught in the dark and stuff like this and I don’t want to become a victim myself [...] This is a really dangerous area! (Klára, Sopron)

The second dimension of the lack of trust is to do with everyday experiences of misrecognition. Many young people mentioned that they are not treated as partners in the school:

I was trying to express my opinion, but in school it’s impossible. Everyone wants to hear only their own opinion. At least in our class. When we were preparing for the students’ day everyone had to write down five ideas. I started to read out loud my ideas. They were cool but the teacher didn’t even let me finish which made me feel quite bad. He said they were no good. Because he already had a plan in his mind, because he is quite a selfish man! (Leonóra, Ózd)
Others share similar experiences in the workplace: ‘Well, in the workplace, basically you just have to obey the boss. I view working as a must. [...] I must endure certain things ’ (Mónika, Ózd). Others refer to authoritarian parents: ‘Well, it usually goes the way – and I think it’s similar with other families as well – that the father is the head of the family. We do as he says. He leads us and controls us’ (Feri, Ózd).

Negative experiences of public institutions and personal relations create disappointment in the democratic political system. From a perspective shaped by such experiences, political life appears as a terrain of manipulation and raw power struggles. These ideas may take the form of the simple detection of manipulation:

> Of course there is freedom of speech, but political parties manage to make sure that reliable information does not reach the public in its original form. A certain level of manipulation can be detected. (Emericus, Ózd)

Such evaluations generally lead to the conclusion that political action is futile, democracy is a mere illusion, that people do not have real opportunities to influence public affairs and that politicians are misusing their power:

> I: So you said, that there is not any democracy in Hungary.  
> R: Yes. Because people have absolutely no... for instance, there was this huge consultation and survey but do they really read it? Or do they really act upon it? I’ve never heard of anyone to do that. So I don’t reckon we can actually have a real impact [on politics]. (Mike, Ózd)

These conclusions can easily be followed by a withdrawal from public life and politics. In other words, if the institutional and personal experiences eliminate sources of trust and it seems that there is no real chance of changing the status quo, then the logical conclusion is that there is absolutely no point in following the news or discussing daily issues. The first dimension of disinterestedness concerns the past:

> To tell the truth, I haven’t asked them, how they experienced that period.  
> I know that my grandmother lived through World War II, so I think, she would be interested in the topic and certainly would give me information that you don’t get in school. But, so far I haven’t thought of asking about it. (Julika, Sopron)

As current political life is greatly determined by historical factors, ignorance of the past is can be an important factor in explaining why a person feels disinterested in the events of the present. We found that this indifference is sometimes expressed on the level of ignorance of political news:
R: I usually hear my parents cursing, saying ‘God damn it’ and ‘again Viktor Orbán’ and stuff like that. Because they watch the TV.
I: Do you watch television?
R: Not really.
I: Not really?
R: No, I usually don’t watch TV. (Chloe, Ózd)

It was also found that indifference is sometimes expressed in the avoidance of political communication. In order to avoid debate many young people refuse to talk about politics:

Well, we talk about the news sometimes [...] if I’m asked I tell them my opinion, but I don’t initiate [...] we don’t really agree with my father on political questions. He’s more like a rightist, while I’m leftist [...] I’m more liberal as well. (András, Sopron)

Moreover, others were just sick of talking about politics and instead focused on private matters: ‘We don’t talk about politics, rather other things, such as dancing, clubs and stuff like this. Private life, you know’ (Adri, Ózd). It was found that young people are not confident enough to talk about political issues: ‘Not that it’s taboo or anything, it’s simply that we are not experts on the topic, so we don’t talk about it. We consider that it’s better not to talk about these issues if we don’t understand them’ (András, Ózd). We also found that in other cases respondents regarded political questions to be so sensitive, that considering these could potentially provoke family debates which are better to avoid, they are simply ignored:

I: If you hear the word ‘politics’, what does it remind you of?
R: I become nervous and gulp. Because my mother doesn’t like to talk about politics and she told me not to do so. When the extended family gathers and starts to discuss these issues, my mother usually leaves the kitchen and doesn’t participate. She kind of excludes herself, which is of course not necessarily good [...] , because at a certain level it’s our business, as we live in it, so I don’t know. (Lujza, Sopron)

It may be argued that the lack of information about current issues and the avoiding of discussion about public life could result in the refusal of any form of political action. This could either be because the alternatives are unknown or because alternatives are also considered to be ineffective. In many cases, political frustrations are closely connected to the lack of basic political knowledge including semantic uncertainty. As a result, instead of providing orientation, for some young people belonging to this activity cluster it provides disorientation:

I: Political parties are often called left wing or right wing. What do these distinctions mean to you?
R: Well, that one thinks this and the other that. But that’s all in my opinion. I am not really interested in it [...] It doesn’t mean anything to
me. I am concerned with my personal interests and the interests of my family. (Auróra, Ózd)

Such patterns of distancing oneself from the political sphere are often complemented with the refusal of traditional forms of expressing a political opinion, such as voting. This could either take the shape of gloomy resignation which represents a repressed frustration: ‘Well, I don’t think it’s really important to vote, because, you know, I would be surprised if it would be particularly me who influences the results’ (Klaudia, Sopron). In other cases, disillusionment, anger and dissatisfaction are openly expressed:

I: Couldn’t you vote?
R: No, but not that I would like to.
I: This means, you wouldn’t vote?
R: No, because it doesn’t interest me. I reckon, I think that it’s not my duty to solve these problems! Someone else can solve them, someone who is interested. But as for me ... Leave me alone! I don’t care! (Adri, Ózd)

This longer interview excerpt highlights the most important elements in the action of the frustrated respondent turning away from voting. When it appears to be that there is no real difference between political parties and that there is no real alternative to choose from, then refusing to take part in political life may seem to be the only alternative. Less institutionalised forms of political actions could also be dismissed for the same reason. For example, In the last few years, in Hungary, the number of demonstrations has actually increased but it was found that for many young people this form of participation seems to be just as futile as voting:

These protests against the government, I wouldn’t participate in them, because they are actually futile [...] Thousands of people may go out, but it’s completely uncertain that it will have any impact on the government. If a few thousand people were demonstrating, well it would be different, because the proportion is different. But that. (Ferenc, Sopron)

The perceived lack of political alternatives generates a problem. To resolve this problem young people in this activity cluster often turn to scapegoating; that is, they typically put the blame on other specific groups and consider them to be the main reasons why certain problems are seemingly insoluble. For most of the young people, the scapegoats are the Roma:

I: You mentioned that you would prefer not to have them [the Roma] around. What do you think, where should they be instead?
R: I don’t know. Somewhere else. [...] Maybe another city should be created for them.
For other young people, the scapegoats appear to be multinational corporations, seen as the representatives of globalisation:

> After the transition, they started to erode everything. [...] Until that point everything was going fine, but then the multinational companies were brought in [...]. And they started to close the factory. (Emericus, Ózd)

Of course, such scapegoats are not invented individually. Instead, they are the well known target of extremist, populist political propaganda. They are used as instruments through which personal frustrations are turned into anti-democratic political sentiments.

### 3.2. Inactives with some interest shown

The second activity cluster refers to a group which is interested in and often discusses public affairs. However, this group does not believe in any potential power by which the status quo could be changed, does not trust politicians nor shows any signs of activism. This activity group is well aware of the importance of politics but because of the experiences, judgments and preconceptions of its members about the quality of interactions in the political sphere, this group is highly sceptical about the results that political actions can actually deliver.

This group is characterised by its inclination to discuss political and public affairs more frequently; devote more time to acquiring information about politics and current issues; and to express greater interest in various issues than the group of ‘Full inactives’ and ‘Passive inactives’. Nevertheless, this group also displays a high level of inactivity in political and public affairs.

It was found that such an attitude to politics is usually firmly established by a well balanced family background. In addition, it was found that instead of feeling hopelessness and a permanent sense of anxiety about the future, this kind of attitude also involved plans to study and work: ‘I would like to become a pastry-cook [...]. I am creative and have good manual skills [...]. I am already working, paying my bills and for extra maths lessons. (Andrea, Sopron)

> I: Do you often worry about your future?
> R: Sometimes yes, sometimes no. But never too much, because I know that Austria is close and I could easily move there and certainly find a job. (Anita, Sopron)

Such a sense of security surrounding one’s social position is often complemented by the experience of solidarity and mutual recognition:

> Once, in the summer, me and my friend went to a club and there were
two or three Roma kids with us. The security guards didn’t want to let them in and we tried to convince them that we were together and that we had already bought our tickets [...] and only when they saw we were together did they let them in. (Auróra, Ózd)

On the one hand, on the basis of such interpersonal relationships, an autonomous self could emerge which is capable of setting personal life goals and realising them:

Well, you know we have to pay greater attention to how we spend our money. So I can’t go home and say, ‘Mum, I’m doing my language exam, give me the money!’ Instead I work for it: as a baby sitter or, during the summer, in a hotel. (Adél, Sopron)

On the other hand, such experiences often raise awareness of their relatively good social position and reflexivity about social differences and this can easily lead to an interest in public issues:

Look, I live close to Sopron and here we really can’t complain, because here people have a good life, many are able to work abroad as well. However, in other parts of the country, there is a much more difficult situation. (Ferenc, Sopron)

Based on these encouraging experiences a vision of a viable, realistically achievable personal future develops: ‘I’m 18 years old, I will finish high school this year and I plan to become a doctor. If I succeed, I would like to become a paediatrician’ (Adel, Sopron). It was also found that in the case of young Hungarians who fall into the ‘Open inactives’ activity cluster the prospect of having realistically achievable objectives provides a solid basis for the development of an open, active personality which proactively seeks personal solutions to collective problems instead of giving up the fight:

I’ve got a good friend and we’ve discussed how many people have lost in the crisis, but there are some, who actually have profited from it. And those who gained must have done something really clever and they are only people like us, so we should think something up ourselves as well! [...] For example speculate on the forint-euro rate. (Kamill, Sopron)

Arguably, such a generally open attitude is not confined to personal issues. It also implies interest in public matters. Such an interest is expressed first of all in the awareness of the importance of historical issues:

The major reason why I am interested in history is that my father spent half of my life talking about World War II. And not only that but also how history is written by the winners and that you have to look always for the opinion of the other side as well. (Krisztián, Sopron)
Collective memories, on the one hand, indicate the traumatic moments of the past and thus serve as a warning of the political dangers of totalitarianism:

R: Well, grandmother told me that children were marching, when she was younger.
I: What children?
R: I don’t know, once she suddenly started to tell me that when she was younger, children were marching in the streets. I didn’t really understand what she was talking about. (Klaudia, Sopron)

On the other hand, the interpreted past also reveals controversies of the present as it provides opportunity for parties to misuse collective memories and to manipulate them:

Well, in my opinion they don’t show everything and they also display things that suit the interests of the dominant political forces. [...] I reckon that they should present every era, as it really was. This includes state socialism as well, because in my opinion many people lived well in the time while many others were poor. (Kamill, Sopron)

In this sense, originally open attitudes may lead to disappointments in the political system if they reveal controversies about the instrumentalisation of the past. Such disappointments are further strengthened if other aspects of public life also prove to be untrustworthy. This opinion is expressed in most cases a propo of politicians in general:

My opinion of politicians is that they are talking about countless things and not half of what they say is true. Or they simply promise things, which they clearly can’t fulfill. (Adél, Sopron)

Blame for the low quality of democracy is often put on the big parties:

Usually we are struggling between two parties and if they have two so-called opinions, then these should be two defining arguments at least, rather than wasting our time with the same stupid idea under two different names. (Eufrozina, Sopron)

The argument that the radicals are responsible for creating a hostile, nervous, suspicion-filled atmosphere where democratic public sphere is undermined also appears:

There is one political organisation which generates the tension between the Roma and Hungarian people [...] and this resulted in quite a big problem in the town. [...] I am not an educated man, I am not a clever man, but even I understand that across the country, everyone could distance themselves from ’Jobbik’ [...] and when their representative talks, then all the other parties should ignore it. (Alexander, Ózd)
The idea that other citizens are to be blamed for being immoral and ignorant and thus preventing any form of collective action is also present:

Corruption and stupidity [...] Hungary is full of corruption and stupidity. [...] I don’t believe in democracy [...] It exists only because we don’t know a better option. [...] people are too easy to manipulate through the media, so there are too many stupid people. (Krisztián, Sopron)

These experiences create uncertainty about the worthiness of any form of participation in political life. It leads, on the one hand, to a refusal to participate in elections:

We have some impact through the elections, but besides that, not much [...] Our opinion is not asked on concrete questions. It could be done like this: if there is an issue, such as taxation, everyone’s opinion could be surveyed and then they could reconsider their decision. (Andrea, Sopron)

On the other hand, it may lead to a cynical approach to party politics:

I: You mentioned that you don’t like to vote. Have you ever voted?
R: Yes, one time.
I: And how was it?
R: Well, a big nothing. [...] I thought I’d try it once but I can’t even recall which party I voted for, or why, but as I remember it didn’t win.
I: How did you decide which party you would support?
R: Well, whoever lied better to me through the media, maybe that was it. ‘This looks like a cool guy, hey let’s vote for him!’. (Mónika, Ózd)

The general disappointment in political life concerns not only a complete or cynical rejection of party politics but also a sceptical refusal of other forms of civic action such as participating in demonstrations or civil organisations: ‘That’s an interesting question, it was said that some demonstrators were paid which could easily be true’ (Kamill, Sopron). As political action does not seem to be a viable option, it induces a withdrawal from it and turns focus onto one’s personal life:

I: Have you ever considered participating in any sort of activity? Take into account the fact that I see you are pretty well informed.
R: No, I never thought of that, because it doesn’t really interest me. You know I’ve got other things to do. (András, Sopron)

3.3. Full actives

This activity cluster refers to a group that is more interested in politics than the other three and sometimes takes part in political activities or, at least, does not refute the idea of taking part in them. The main difference between this cluster and the ‘Inactives with
some interest shown’ group is that this group has some belief that somehow political actions bring change. Nevertheless, frustration, cynicism and refusal of the formal political sphere also characterise the views of respondents in this activity cluster whose attitudes frequently result in aggressive, extreme forms of activism.

This group is characterised by the high level of interest of its members in all kinds of social and political affairs, activities connected with history and support given to public declarations. This group is also drawn most to activities capable of influencing politics. The experience of education, especially higher education, is more common in this cluster than any other and this extends the horizons of its members to current issues related to educational reforms introduced by the government (e.g. cutting state-financed places at universities, tuition fees introduced together with a state loan system combined with obligations to work in the country after graduation):

I: And what do you think, what has a real effect on people in Hungary? What are they speaking about or interested in?
R: For instance, in the circle of my friends, it is higher education and job opportunities. (...)
I: I see. And are there other issues that people are interested in? Do you have such experience? Do you speak of such things?
R: Not really. We all watch the news, we are up-to-date, but it is not usual. (Auróra, Ózd)

Solidarity towards individuals or other social groups may be also present:

I was an eyewitness to a case when someone was hurt for being a Gypsy and even though the attackers didn’t know him personally, they judged him. So I made a vow that just because someone is of a different colour I will not judge them. They can be richer or smarter, but I have no right to judge them. They also have two feet and hands and eyes. (Gelej, Ózd)

Furthermore, occasional engagement in debates with the potential of convincing others in also present:

I’ve got a lot of friends, including those who sympathise with ‘Jobbik’. Not devoted fans, because with them there would be such a big tension [...] because it disturbs me, if they want to hate other people, so I rather avoid them. [...] So I discussed political questions with sympathisers, or anti-Semitic people a lot and how can I put it, I think I made them reconsider their point of view. And I think it’s important to be amongst people and talk with them about what is right, because if they only hear the other side [...] if they stand up for lies and you tell them the truth, well sometimes it happens that they change. (Alexander, Ózd)

The idea that something can be changed through political activities is also manifest in approaches to some formal political activities such as elections or demonstrations:
I: Do you think, voting is important? Or, why do you hesitate?
R: In my opinion, it is important. Finally, we make the decision therefore it is important that everyone went voting. And I don’t understand those, who are not in favour of it. There are people who do not vote, and later they do not agree with the decision. They may do something against it, they may vote, they may call their acquaintances and do something about it, for that let it be what they want. (Aurora, Ózd)

Nevertheless, even in this most active cluster, lack of information about political issues can also prevent more active participation:

Not that it’s taboo or anything, it’s simply that we are not experts on the topic, so we don’t talk about it. We think that it’s better not to talk about these issues, if we don’t understand them. (András, Ózd)

Or, the overall refusal of the political sphere may also result in the lack of potential partners with whom to discuss events:

I: I see that you are indeed interested in political issues. Do you like to have discussions about this? With whom do you speak about politics?
R: Well, with Mom rarely. In general, not really. Sadly, the intellectual layer is not present even in my circle of acquaintances, with whom I could do this. Rather on the Internet or, for instance, I know someone in Miskolc. (Leonóra, Ózd)

Even this politically active group displays characteristics of creating a distance between itself and politics:

I: Do you often talk about public issues?
R: For sure. But only briefly. At the end, we always conclude that everything is shit. And we curse it as much as we can. (Márk, Ózd)

Generally, negative opinion about the political elite is widespread in this group. Politicians only exceptionally appear in a positive context. This group can hardly tell the difference between political ideologies. The whole political sphere appears as a homogeneous mass:

To tell the truth, I have got a negative opinion, I can’t say anything positive about them. I talk about my experience, what I see in the hospital, they determine everything, that happens. Health care, working places, do you really want me to recite all of them? (Lilla, Sopron)

The main difference between this cluster and the others is the participation of respondents in informal civic actions which are not identified as ‘political’. One such action is politically-motivated consumption. ‘I am happy when I see Hungarian products.'
Because, I think, there isn’t much of them in the country’ (Leonóra, Ózd). However, sometimes such action also meets with scepticism and suspicion:

R: I would rather choose the Hungarian [i.e. product].
I: Why?
R: Since it was produced here, I would rather give money to those who live here. But it is possible that anyhow, it will go abroad...everything might go to China. (Pál, Sopron)

Political messages in music, the lyrics of songs, most commonly those reflecting the national radical subculture, are frequently discovered:

R: I know such Hungarian groups, the ‘Kárpátia’. It is good what they sing, (...) I just don’t like this rock style. But I have no problems with them, I just don’t like it.
I: Do you agree with their message?
R: I have no problem with it.
I: And can you tell me, what is the message, or what the ‘Kárpátia’ tries to communicate?
R: Well, first, it is the Greater Hungary that came into my mind. (Auróra, Ózd)

The importance of history is very likely to be accepted and reasons behind historical commemorations are frequently found. The most frequently mentioned topics are the revolution and independence war of 1848-1849, the traumas of the Trianon Treaty of 1920, World War II and the Jewish Holocaust:

My grandparents often tell me stories about those times [...] For example, during World War II they had a bigger house and they had to sustain Soviet soldiers. And they told me that the Russians were really cruel. They humiliated the women and them as well. (Karl, Ózd)

Sometimes these traumas can be a source of hypothetical violent activism, or even acceptance of war:

I: You mentioned the Trianon Treaty. Why is it important? How does it influence the situation in Ózd?
R: I think, the lost territories [the territories lost after WWI] could be annexed again with force somehow.
I: With military force?
R: Yes, it could be made to happen somehow. But a competent leader would be required for that. I think, there are a lot of devoted people... Many of them wearing the symbol of Greater Hungary, the map. So, I think, we could make it happen, if we really wanted it.
I: And wouldn’t you exclude starting a war for it?
R: No. (Leonóra, Sopron)
The refusal of such violent approaches can be also found:

If there is a commemoration of Trianon, everyone says, ‘Bring back Greater Hungary!’ But I totally disagree with this opinion [...] Neighbouring countries already hate us because of this; there is no need to fuel this hatred further. (Krisztián, Sopron)

The Internet and the social media are frequently used to collect information: ‘Viktor Orbán has a homepage where he informs the people about what he’s doing at the moment to make things better for us. Sometime I watch that’ (Pál, Sopron). However, expressing political views openly on social media can be also regarded as dangerous:

R: I read them but do not join or like them. I don’t want other people to see what I think and about what. But I have friends, who uncautiously post such things, which they can be condemned for.
I: For instance?
R: They make racist comments about Gypsies. I doubt if it is a good thing that other people see it. Or, it is his business if he openly comes out. Nonetheless, I don’t think it is a nice thing. (Auróra, Ózd)

Frustration, hopelessness, national self-victimisation, scapegoating are also reflected in the views of the group. Attitudes combined with interest in politics or civic activism may easily result in openness to violence and radical solutions:

I: Would you go to an illegal demonstration against tuition fees, or educational politics, or for human rights?
R: For higher education not. I think, that could be solved in civilised frameworks. But if they want to take our personal rights, that is no doubt, a step towards such politics, that cannot be solved in regular ways.
I: How far would you go?
R: Almost to the furthest point. (...) I don’t believe that it would happen, but I see a chance, that if this humiliating politics goes on for more years, then the people will revolt and change the government with very violent tools. And then, there will be an era that will be prosperous.
I: Would you take part in this uprising?
R: Yes. It is worth to me. (Krisztán, Sopron)

The ‘Jobbik’ political party proved highly popular in this group. Even in some of those cases, when the respondents did not agree with the ‘Jobbik’, they had some contact with it, through their personal networks, and their politicians proved attractive to them:

I: May I ask you, whom did you vote for, or is it not public?
R: It is public, but needs explanation. I supported the candidate of the ‘Jobbik’, and I did not agree with their politics. Dad told me and Mum partly agreed that one should avoid extremists, because who knows
when they can turn against us. I have Jewish ancestors, and they might find me if they decided to persecute Jews. However, I voted for him just because I know him, and he just lives two streets next to us, and he was well aware of the problems of the district. And I hoped he could change them. (Krisztán, Sopron)

Sometimes, especially in Ózd, sympathisers of or even members of the Hungarian Guard (a right-wing organisation) were interviewed and reported activities related to it:

Well I’m a member of the Hungarian Guard [...] and the police don’t like it that we were marching in uniforms and it frightens others and there many of us had our vests and clothes seized, so there were some conflicts because of this. (Csele, Ózd)

Young Roma people also told stories about their taking part in the counter-demonstration against the ‘Jobbik’ and the Hungarian Guard:

I participated in a counter-demonstration [...] While we were looking for the Roma bloc, first we were lost and ended up amongst the supporters of ‘Jobbik’. You should’ve seen that police protection [...] there was a really black skinned Roma couple amongst us and they were threatened by them, so we had to ask for the help of the police, it was so frightening [...] it was good to face these experiences. (Mónika, Ózd)

In this group, relations with civil society organisations were only exceptionally mentioned. Charity activities and volunteer work were mentioned scarcely, usually linked to religious high schools:

I: Any civil organisation, youth organisation?
R: Long ago, when I attended high school, there was a so-called 72-hours movement. I don’t remember exactly the name, probably “72 hours for the poor?” We went there and distributed food packages for persons in need and homeless people. (…)
I: And at the university, did you feel like doing such activities?
R: At the university, there is no such opportunity. (Emma, Sopron)

3.4. Full inactives

The smallest activity cluster refers to a group that shows the least interest in public issues and has very limited information about the political system. This group also sees few opportunities to influence political decisions and its horizon rarely extends beyond private life and material problems to include public issues. This activity cluster also lacks self-confidence, and struggles with expressing views about the topics discussed. The most common characteristic of answers coming from this group is of semantic uncertainty and sometimes naivety.
This group is characterised by its low inclination towards talking about sensitive social and political issues in public, a high level of pessimism about the opportunities available to influence politics and the quantitative analyses of the WP4 survey reveals the negative averages of this group in every dimension of activity.

Lack of interest in the political system was a frequently occurring element of the WP5 interviews:

I: If you hear the word ‘politics’, what comes to your mind first?
R: I am not a lover of politics, I don’t even like to listen to it on the TV.
I: So, you are not interested in this story?
R: No.
I: And why not?
R: Well, I don’t know, I am not a fan of these somehow… On TV, I see only quarreling, and then no, not really…
I: So, the fact itself that there are various political…
R: On the other hand, I believe that politics would be important for the country. I just don’t know. I don’t really…
I: You mean, there are too many debates?
R: Debates too, and I don’t know. (Fondor, Ózd)

In general, this group was uninformed about public issues. Television was not even watched by members of this activity cluster. News portals and other information sources were also missing:

I: What do you hear about this? With whom do you talk about?
R: Mostly, I hear it from my parents, that they curse again, that on, my God, what did Viktor Orbán do again, and the TV.
I: So, do you watch TV?
R: Not really.
I: Not really?
R: I don’t watch TV much, so not really.
I: And do you discuss these with your friends? The crisis, politics? With nobody? You mentioned that you had friends. You never discuss these topics with them?
R: No. With them, always the boys are the topic. That is the winner. That’s how it is. (Chloé, Ózd)

This group shows difficulties when various forms of political activities should be identified:

I: What would you consider doing for a case, that you find important?
R: I have no idea at all, what kind of things there exist, in which one could take part. But I doubt if there is anything. (Julcsi, Sopron)
Semantic uncertainty frequently restricts participation in debates on public issues:

I: And if you should tell, whether there are inequalities in the society, what would you say about that?
R: Well, in my opinion, it is possible that there is such a thing.
I: What is inequality? What kind of unequal groups exist nowadays in Hungary? What does it mean ‘unequal’?
R: I don’t know. (Fondor, Ózd)

The attention given by this group to historical events is extremely limited:

I: Which are those historical events, which are important from the past years, decades, centuries? Which is important for you. And not only from the last one-two decades, but the distant past.
R: I went to school, things like that.
I: I mean, not from your personal life, but from the history of the country.
R: History...
I: But which period was important?
R: The year 2007.
I: And before?
R: From 2006?
I: I mean, that is also a historical event, that István Dobó defended the castle in Eger. Think about such old events. Anything, that you consider is interesting?
R: Well, 20th August.
I: 20th August why is important for you?
R: Because it is more different, they do thingummy... celebrate, what is the name of it, I forgot, what they celebrate in August. Nevertheless, they celebrate something around 20th August. (Emericus, Ózd)

Sometimes uneasiness was expressed in the interview:

I: To what extent are you anxious usually?
R: Very much.
I: Indeed? And what makes you anxious?
R: When I am in an uncomfortable situation and something is going on with me that never happened before.
I: What did you mean by an uncomfortable situation?
R: This conversation, for example.
I: Do you feel yourself uncomfortable?
R: A little bit.
I: Why?
R: Because I have never been in such situation, that I speak like this, to an unknown person. (Aladár, Ózd)
General refusal of the political sphere prevails within this group, although, sometimes a general trust in institutions also appears. In this activity cluster there are apparent difficulties in telling between interests of average citizens and those of politicians speaking on the television. For instance, Roma respondents occasionally expressed affiliation towards to ‘Jobbik’ just based on the party name (‘Jobbik’ means ‘the better one’) or personal sympathy, without identifying potential conflicting interests. This is frequently accompanied by a naïve trust in political institutions:

I: What is your opinion about ‘Jobbik’?
R: The ‘Jobbik’? I don’t know. They are likeable. But I have heard them speaking only at times.
I: And then what do they say?
R: Well, after listening to them, I ... what kind of person he is...
I: Listening? You mean during the broadcasting from the Parliament?
R: Yes, yes, yes.
I: And he speaks there at times.
R: Yes.
I: And do you agree with him?
R: Well, sometimes.
I: And do you remember anything that they said and you agreed with? Or, what you did not agree with?
R: No. I have not heard him telling such things. (Lexa, Ózd)

4. Conclusions

Since the Hungarian WP4 data did not have enough variation for identification of activity types using only the behaviour variables, we decided to combine participation variables with attitudinal variables. As a result of using these combined variables, we were able to differentiate four distinctively different types of activities in the full Hungarian sample. The following types of individuals were identified: The ‘Passive inactives’ group, the ‘Inactives with some interest shown’ group, the ‘Full actives’ group and the ‘Full inactives’ group.

We have examined the four activity clusters and attributed typical opinions to each of them from the WP5 data. In the following, a brief overview of the characteristics of each of the activity type clusters are provided.

The group of ‘Passive inactives’ (politically frustrated) can be characterised by disinterest in politics and frustration. The members of this group typically see no viable life prospects for themselves. This group experiences distortions in institutional and interpersonal interactions. All this results in a lack of trust in others and in politics.

In turn, together these factors lead the group to turn away from the public sphere which includes making no attempts to gather information, to initiate discussions, to go and vote or participate in demonstrations. In the seeming absence of alternatives, the
solution for these problems for this group often appears to be the expression of frustrated anger directed towards different objects. The potential for violence in also detected in group attitudes.

In this sense, even if ‘passive inactives’ do not openly commit themselves to an extremist political ideology, they do have the bases for becoming predisposed to populist demagoguery. This group could easily develop an adherence to political forces advocating quick, potentially violent solutions to complex social problems.

Young people, who fall into the cluster of ‘Inactive with some interest shown’ (political scepticism, cynicism) are open, but inactive citizens. That is, they are either politically sceptical or cynical. They also have a stable family and social background and consequently an interest in the past and present. Members of this activity group however, are mostly disappointed in Hungarian political life. As a result, they turn away from politics and political actions. They see political actions as being futile. Despite this they show some interest in public affairs. Many of the young people who belong to this activity group are frightened or disgusted by the perceived corrupt and manipulative nature of politics. Consequently, they are in a certain sense, lost to democracy. They are equally inclined to accept sceptical or cynical narratives about political and civic life. They use such narratives to turn away from what they see as an unattractive political sphere and to justify why they focus on the realisation of their personal objectives instead. In short, young people belonging to this activity cluster do have the potential for political actions but they choose to stay away from public life. The unfortunate consequence of this is that their behaviour contributes to the perpetuation of the status quo in Hungary.

In conclusion, this cluster can be identified as a group of well informed, interested and relatively active young people who have an above average interest in historical events and who occasionally link such events to their current situation. However, they refuse participation in the political sphere. If they support parties, they prefer protest parties such as ‘Jobbik’. At least in the private sphere of their life, they take part in and form opinions about public debates but also have some experience in other forms of activities such as demonstrations, elections, or politically motivated consumption. Frequently, agents of socialisation such schools (offering various civic activities), church (with links with civil society organisations), family (actively transmitting family history) play an important part in their political attitude and behaviour formation. However, the climate of opinion in the two survey/interview sites, ranging from hopelessness and frustration in Ózd to indifference towards the political sphere in Sopron, also lays a key part in shaping their attitudes and frequently drives them towards radical solutions. They are relatively active on the Internet, watch TV news and documentary films. These influences can make them even more open to radicalism.

These young respondents come from a lower social class background than average, their connections with the political sphere proved only sporadic and, based on this limited experience, they are hardly hardly able to build and formulate opinions – even negative ones – about public issues. The main difference between this cluster and the 'Passive
inactive’ one is to be grasped through this characteristic. As previously pointed out, ‘Passive inactive’ respondents are disillusioned pragmatists who frequently come from a more comfortable social background and because they have a negative opinion about the political sphere they consciously reject it. The consequence is that they consider individual achievement and the possession of wealth more important than those belonging to other clusters. In contrast, the larger proportion of respondents in this ‘Full passives’ cluster did not take this step. It seems, that the political sphere has passed them by. In this regard, they remain closer to certain members of the ‘Inactives with some interest shown’ cluster who, similarly to these extremely inactive young people, have more trust in institutions. However, compared to them, the full passive respondents think about public affairs even less frequently. Many of these young people do not care about public affairs at all.