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„Solidarity: the new punk – A qualitative analysis about the connection between identity and solidarity patterns"

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Contents

Inherited memory

Walking in the city, an old man spoke to me
My answer apathetic, my words weightless
Only later I asked myself: Why?
After having lived 24 years in freedom, we are still afraid
Behind disguise, avoiding conflict, burned out
Even the nation neglects itself
The silent apathy keeps everyone warm
An inherited memory shuts my mouth

Youth Violence (2015) [1]

1. Introduction

Scholars of the social sciences emphasize that due to the fragmentation of societies into many different cultures and identities, solidarity stands under significant erosion (Putnam 1993:30). At the same time, there is an emerging wave of new solidarity structures which slowly but steadily appear next to classical solidarity patterns (Donati 1995:299). One example of this new way of solidarity is the Food Not Bombs (FNB) civil organization in Hungary. They are a group of dedicated people, who also happen to be integrated in the punk subculture, trying to help the homeless on the streets of Budapest. The question emerges: Why would a bunch of young adults who seem to have a problem with the norms of *regular citizens* – and who like to listen to simple and overly fast rock music – sacrifice their Sundays by cooking for the homeless? Maybe the question already answered itself. Actively showing solidarity for the *outcast* of society stands for a form of counterculture which challenges the normality of – literally and metaphorically – looking the other way.

Instead of presenting themselves as a charity, the organization focuses on creating socially engaged groups. While raising awareness on social inequality and injustice they also highlight environmental and political issues.

"Even though we provide meals and groceries to thousands of people, we are not a charity. Food Not Bombs is trying to inspire the public to participate in changing

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[1] Orbán népe – 4 way split released February 24, 2015

society and focus our resources on solving problems like hunger, homelessness and poverty." [2]

With this framing, FNB is a quite special civil group in Hungary, which supports the homeless of Budapest. It is contextually important to mention that in recent years the phenomenon of homelessness has been widely discussed in the Hungarian media due to a new law instituting a legal ban on homelessness. The constitution now says that: "*Habitual residence in a public space is forbidden.*" This constitutional change on the one hand has caused an outrage with extensive media coverage, and protests standing up for the homeless. On the other hand, the idea that "regular" citizens have the right for homeless-free streets had and still has a strong support base. Since the discourse was clearly divided into a political left vs. right distinction, supporting the homeless is now almost equal to a political statement in Hungary. This stands in line with the FNB's objectives. The organization does not only help and actively involve individuals without a roof but also aims to make a political statement.

Political activism plays an important role in the FNB community. The following statement on the official FNB website explains how the group's work stands in relation to politics:

"*The government and corporations find our message – that we could redirect the taxes that are currently spent on the military to fund things such as education and healthcare – a threat to their profits and power. They also worry that our sharing of food with the hungry shows that we can end hunger. They fear that sharing food and literature with the message 'Food Not Bombs' in high-visibility locations is an effective way to inspire public pressure for a change to our political and economic system.*" [3]

FNB Budapest refers to their weekly food sharing events as "*peaceful demonstrations.*" [4]

Along with helping the homeless as a form of demonstration, the group also organizes and takes part in protests which stand in accordance with the FNB values, mostly regarding topics such as homelessness and housing.

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[2] http://foodnotbombs.net/new_site/faq.php

[3] http://foodnotbombs.net/new_site/faq.php

[4] https://foodnotbombs.blog.hu/2010/11/13/bekesen_es_hus_nelkul

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These acts of solidarity and their connection to the helper's motives and identities is what this thesis aims to focus on. Since most members are strongly connected to the punk scene, or identify themselves as punks, the development and new characteristics of the punk subculture, both globally and explicitly in Budapest, and its connection to solidarity run as a common thread throughout this paper.

I chose this civil group for different reasons: I had met several members through friends and with time I had gotten to know the organization, had started to go to supporting events and finally ended up as a helper myself on the weekends. Before my encounters with the punk subculture in Budapest, I had not known much of its solidarity movements. If someone is not familiar with what these people do, it might strike them as a surprise. The punk archetype is predominantly seen through the eyes of common people as someone who hangs around in cities, collects change from passerbyers, and is all in all a friend of chaos, not afraid of dirt and sleeping rough.

The Cambridge Dictionary defines punk as: "*A culture popular among young people..., involving opposition to authority expressed through shocking behaviour, clothes, and hair, and fast, loud music.*"[5]

While the definition is a good fit – with a lot of exceptions of course – the punks of Budapest can be defined by a lot more. They build a strong community with a wide range of different political and civil missions, which mostly include some type of solidarity. Why this particular subculture shows such an interest in solidarity and how it is connected to an individual's identity is important in trying to understand new solidarity patterns in Hungary. This new formation of solidarity has fascinated me from the beginning and has offered itself as a special and heavily-loaded topic for this thesis.

The fact that the organization is in Budapest was also one of the reasons for choosing it as a research field. For me it was crucial to also include historical and national context to the relationship between solidarity and identity. As I have mentioned, the Hungarian government is pursuing anti-homeless policies, which seem to be heavily supported by right leaning voters. However representative data shows that the budapester attitude towards homelessness is more accepting and empathic than it is showcased by the hungarian media. According to research, "61 percent of capital city residents do not consider the amendment to the Basic Law acceptable (homeless ban). Significantly fewer (29%) are those who find it acceptable at some level. The proportion of those who are

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[5] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english–german/punk

strongly opposed to regulation is very high" (Political Capital 2019).[6] The times in Hungarian history when homelessness was forbidden by law – during socialism it was forbidden to not work or to live on the streets – also affected society's attitudes towards people without a roof. To investigate what drives an individual who belongs to a subculture to actively show solidarity in Hungary builds the core of my work. With the help of the analyzed material, new connections between solidarity and identity are to be found within this specific cultural context.

2. Research question

This thesis explores the connection between punk identity and solidarity with the homeless. The research is framed by the biographies, identities and solidarity patterns of the volunteers of Food Not Bombs Budapest civil organization. The leading research questions are the following:

- *How is solidarity influenced by an individual's biography?*

- *How is punk identity connected to solidarity with the homeless?*

- *How is social sensitivity and engagement connected to the identity and solidarity of an individual?*

The focus is placed on the solidarity attitudes of the FNB members throughout this paper. Alongside that, their positioning towards the view of the rest of the Hungarian society on the homeless is a further subject of significance. An additional aim is to get a more in-depth insight into the identity development of the individuals, while highlighting relations between identity and solidarity patterns.

3. Literature review

In the following chapter I will introduce the most relevant theories regarding the connection between solidarity and identity. First, I will present the development of broad solidarity theories followed by the literature about the relationship between identity and solidarity. After introducing the relevant parts of the research on the subculture, I will present the analysis of biography-focused identity.

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[6] https://www.politicalcapital.hu/hirek.php?article_read=1&article_id=2437&fbclid=IwAR37QNMyqT8WZhqSt6V_97IcD5hDYlc-f8zX2HCDP5zeU49i7z6-zrxVCBk#_ftn1

3.1 Solidarity

While solidarity has often been researched by social scientists, it has not become a homogeneous, clearly definable term, which is reflected in the multitude of the concepts and definitions of solidarity.

Hechter (2002) divides theoretical perspectives on solidarity into three different types: "*Normative perspectives suggest that solidarity arises from common values and norms, structural perspectives argue that it arises from common material interests, and rational choice perspectives hold that it arises from mutual interdependence.*"

The theories of early sociology dealt mainly with the conditions and mechanisms of social order. Various explanations developed of what holds societies together and how people can interact with one another in society. Durkheim offers one possible answer by investigating the conditions and components of social order. He combines the dynamics of social cohesion with the development of the division of labor in his book called *The Division of Labour in Society* (1992 [1893]). He states that society is based on social norms, shared values and customs, and that solidarity is one of the normative mechanisms that have an integrating effect on the members of society. He differentiates between two types: *mechanical and organic solidarity*. While mechanical solidarity is based on the equality or similarity of individuals on both a materialistic and a value-related level, organic solidarity refers to the actual interdependencies in society, which are often based on striking differences (see Durkheim, 1992 [1893]).

Durkheim sees solidarity as the basis of social order and social integration and defines it in connection with morality:

"Moralisch ist... alles, was Quelle der Solidarität ist, alles, was den Menschen zwingt, mit dem anderen zu rechnen, seine Bewegungen durch etwas anderes zu regulieren als durch die Triebe seines Egoismus" (Durkheim 1992 [1893], p. 468).

Similarly to Durkheim, Parsons traces the social order back to solidarity and derives solidarity behavior from the divided system of norms within society: *"Solidarity is characterized by the institutionalization of shared value orientations; the values being, of course, oriented toward collective gratifications"* (Parsons and Shils 1951, p. 193). In his system-theoretical view, solidarity fulfills a social function in what he calls the *"social community"*. This function creates order in the chaos of the different interests and goals of groups and individuals while it also generates social cohesion.

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Thome further develops solidarity theories and extends them by referring to solidarity as a form of social behavior based on shared systems of norms that come into their own in aid and cooperation:

"Als solidarisch wird ein Handeln bezeichnet, das bestimmte Formen des helfenden, unterstützenden, kooperativen Verhaltens beinhaltet und auf einer subjektiv akzeptierten Verpflichtung oder einem Wertideal beruht" (Thome 1999, p. 219). Not only does he see solidarity as a function of orientation uniting the interests of individuals, but he also sees an identity-creating function in which solidarity is seen as a form of social recognition.

Bayertz defines solidarity as a *"mutual attachment between individuals"*, which is based on a *"factual level of common ground between the individuals"* with a *"normative level of mutual obligations to aid each other, as and when should be necessary"* (Bayertz 1998, p.11)

The definition is based on the relationship between the individual members of society and assumes that solidarity is rooted in the similarity and commonality of individuals. This relationship is associated with positive moral obligations within a group of individuals (cf. Bayertz 1999, p.3; Scholz 2008, p.18).

Kurt Bayertz distinguishes solidarity in his essay 'Concept and problem of solidarity' (1998) in two areas. On the one hand, *community-based solidarity* is formed upon common interests and cultural characteristics of the members of a group. The particularity of the group is expressed by specific attributes, and through this commonality and belonging, a solidary relationship is established between the group members.

On the other hand, *battle-solidarity* is based on injustices. It strives that everyone and especially those who are socially, economically or politically better off get more involved in the extension of rights for everyone. *Battle-solidarity* is about a solidarity relationship beyond one's own group with the aim of supporting disenfranchised social groups and individuals in their struggle for recognition and equality. The solidarity relationship does not necessarily result from similar characteristics as in *community-solidarity*, but from common goals.

Also Sik and Zakarias highlight that crises and oppositions of different societal interests regarding solidarity are especially relevant in order to understand the phenomena of solidarity. *"In 'peacetime', meanings of solidarity merge into the tacit, self-evident background of an individual's Lebenswelt, environment – so that inconsistencies and*

incoherencies of solidarity can remain hidden. In contrast, as they come to the fore at a critical time, they inevitably emerge surrounded by misunderstandings, uncertainties, and conflicts. In this way, solidarity, as applied in acute situations of action, inevitably implies social struggles: it draws attention to conflicts of interest, bringing to the surface differences in interpretation of roles and norms." (2021, p. 2)

Bayertz connects this *battle-solidarity* type to *new social movements* and describes it as the following: *"Structurally, this type of solidarity is characterized by a bipolarity. On the one hand, it is characterized by a positive reference to certain goals or interests that are to be achieved through joint action by the group. Joint action is usually only necessary when resistance has to be overcome; and above all resistance from other groups representing competing interests. This characteristic engagement against an opponent results in a negative point of reference through which the solidarity of interests differs from the types analyzed so far. It is not only exclusive (to the extent that it excludes individuals with other goals and interests), it is conflictual; it is mostly understood by the group members themselves, but also by outsiders, as a form of battle solidarity."* (Bayertz 1998, p.31)

Bayretz writes that social movements are not just about enforcing bare interests, but about realizing goals. *"Since the elementary rights of people are by no means guaranteed everywhere, solidarity is a political resource that is still urgently needed. It is used above all where institutionalized mechanisms for establishing and maintaining justice do not exist or do not exist to fail."* (Bayertz 1998, p. 45)

The theories and definitions of solidarity described above are all based on collective orientations in society, which are derived from common values and norms.

Structural theorists consider solidarity as an outcome of individually rational actions. This means that solidarity collectives share common material interests. "*They discover their common interests in the course of mutual interaction, especially when they perceive themselves to be threatened by powerful antagonists*" ([Marx 1972 {1845–46}, p. 179] Hechter 2002).

Social scientists who follow the logic of methodological individualism assume that solidarity is a form of rational, *utility-maximizing behavior*. In this context, solidarity is seen as an institution summarizing rules that make it possible to structure actions according to expectations serving for predictability and thus rational action (cf. Dallinger 2009, p. 39f).

When taking these different approaches of solidarity theories into account, the solidarity motives of my field research seem to be based on general social norms, that is, *shared value orientations* (Parsons and Shils 1951, p. 193) such as the right to food and shelter for all members of society. They can also be seen as *common interests in the course of mutual interaction* (Hechter 2002), when we consider the long term political aims of the organization. Bayretz's theory of battle-solidarity (Bayertz 1998) is just as plausible when we focus on the FNB organisations self-positioning on a societal level. According to the interviews, FNB's goal is not only to feed the needy and to save food waste, but also to make a political statement, which implies a form of political protest against the government's anti-homeless and anti-poor measures. This battle is also remarkable in the opposition between civil organisations and the Hungarian government, which was described by Salai and Svansson: *"It would be an exaggeration to state that the current government is entirely hostile toward the civil sphere. Rather, its intention is to keep the civil society organisations under strict political, financial and administrative control: still propping them up but restricting their independence at every turn."* (2017, p. 31)

Scholz differentiates between social, civic and political solidarity forms. Social solidarity is defined as a *"...cohesion of the group or the sense of community by and large dictate the types of obligations found in social solidarity, established customs, social mores, laws, or codes express the expected obligations individual members have to one another in the group. An important difference between the obligations of social solidarity and the obligations of political solidarity is that the latter are chosen and oriented toward a particular goal in response to an unjust situation. Within social solidarity, by contrast, the obligations accrue with group membership and thus may be externally imposed. In addition, the moral ties pertain to day-to-day responsibilities to others in the community and are not explicitly aimed at alleviating injustice or oppression"* (Scholz 2008, p. 21). On the other hand, civic solidarity is described as "*the social bond of citizenship just means that one can expect certain protections from all others. (this is not to place civic solidarity in the social contract tradition but rather to show how Rousseau's particular imprint on political philosophy also evinces itself in the structure of civic solidarity)"* (ibid. p. 27). The last form of solidarity according to Scholz is political solidarity. "*Political solidarity shifts the emphasis of solidarity. Instead of basing solidarity on varying notions of dependence and group control, the political conception of solidarity highlights individual conscience, commitment, group responsibility, and collective action"* (ibid. p. 34). This thesis handles the first and last, social and political solidarity forms. Social solidarity is connected to the FNB organisations inner dynamics and cohesion, while political solidarity plays a role

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when we consider the organization's goals and examine the relationship between the helpers and the helped. According to my work, these two forms play prominent roles for the interviewees. While they can be distinguished, both have an effect on one another. Since the organisation is embedded in a politically active subculture (punk, hardcore) political solidarity has deep roots in its members. Also social solidarity – which connects the individuals during their everyday tasks and again binds them into their own subculture – plays an important role. Although these forms can be differentiated, it is important to note that on the one hand the subculture forms the individuals' solidarity attitudes, while on the other hand the individuals form the subculture, meaning that these two solidarities construct and support each other and thus one can not exist without the other since, if there is no social solidarity, there can not be an active political solidarity. When we explore the specific field of the FNB organisation on a societal level, we can see how the definition of political solidarity applies. "*Political solidarity is a unity of individuals each responding to a particular situation of injustice, oppression, social vulnerability, or tyranny. Each individual makes a conscious commitment to a cause. A number of things contribute to or motivate an individual's commitment to the sort of political engagement, social activism, and personal transformation compelled by political solidarity. An exhaustive list is impossible simply because that motivation is so personal. anger, hope, sympathy, pity, fear, self-confidence, self-interest, friendship, and countless other feelings may contribute, as might a host of other intellectual factors, arguments, experiences, or perspectives*" (ibid. p. 52).

After the description of theories around the question of "What is solidarity and what types of solidarity are still identifiable today?" more literature will be presented regarding the relations between solidarity, identity and biography in order to spotlight the next emerging question: "Where does solidarity come from and what shapes it?"

3.2 Biography and socialisation

When examining theories about the development of identity in the course of a life cycle, it becomes obvious how important individual biographies and socialization are in relation to an individual's identity.

Socialisation has been one of the most important topics of sociology. Classics such as Simmel (1890) and Durkheim (1893) layed down the basics of socialisation, which is

considered from their point of view as a form of *interpersonal mediation* between individuals and society. Mead (1934) saw social order and socialisation as something which comes from communication – filled with symbolic meanings – and which underlays constant discourse. Parsons (1959) examined which motivational processes are necessary to achieve a bond between the individual and an existing order while also connecting social order with socialization. Social order is, according to him, determined by a cultural system in which the values and norms of society are implied in the form of roles and expectations. In the book *'The Social Construction of Reality'* (1966) by Berger and Luckmann, it was shown how individuals continuously construct social realities for themselves and with each other.

Bourdieu (1979) didn't use the term socialisation, but he called the process of identity building an *"incorporation"* of societal norms and values. According to his theory, human action is determined by social origin, a class-specific *habitus* and by the disposal of the certain types of capital an individual has. This habitus reproduces and secures social order. "*Society inevitably inscribes itself into the individual and generates fixed patterns of thinking and acting*" (Abels & König 2010, p.19). In the book 'Outline of a Theory of Practice' (1977), Bourdieu describes how dominant social and cultural settings reproduce themselves, and how they affect an individual's *habitus*. He defines habitus as *"a subjective but not individual system of internalised structures, schemes of perception, conception, and action common to all members of the same group or class"* (p.86).

According to Ulrich Beck (1986), increased social and economical mobility and higher levels of education helped people to act much more individually since the 1960s than ever before. Family, community, religion and social class have less and less effect on an individual's lifestyle, therefore one can rely less and less on patterns or roles given by their environment. Beck describes this process in the frames of his *thesis of individualization* (see Beck 1986, p. 205.) This shows the diversification of biographies as a general phenomenon in modern societies and also shows how responsibility for personal development, success, or failure is put on an individual.

Ericson is one of the classics of identity research who described different stages of child and adult development out of a sociological and psychoanalytical perspective. His work mostly revolves around the topic of identity, which examines different stages of identity development within an individual's lifespan, called the *"eight stages of man"* (see

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Erikson 1968). He describes how specific stages of identity evolve during an individual's life and describes factors that play important roles within these phases with a psychoanalytic approach. Crises on individual and societal levels happen from time to time which work as a "societal process" (see Ericson 1950). He stated that although identity crisis is most important during the period of adolescence, identity issues usually remain a lifelong concern. A *redefinition of one's ego-identity* usually happens when major role changes occur, the result of which impacts the degree of success later on (see Sokol 2009). Identity development is according to Ericson a process which is referred to as psychosocial reciprocity. The adolescent often goes through a period of a great need for peer group recognition and almost compulsive peer group involvement (see Ericson, 1950) Young individuals *"are sometimes morbidly, often curiously, preoccupied with what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared with what they feel they are and with the question of how to connect (...)"* (Erikson 1959, p. 89).

In each of the eight stages of development, the individual faces an identity crisis that he or she must successfully resolve: if successful, recognition will lead to a final maturity in which he or she can reconcile who he or she is now, what he or she is, and what he or she wants to be in the future. For example, in the fifth stage of development (between the ages of 13 and 19), we have to deal with identity disorders. If we can successfully resolve this crisis, we will have a stable identity in the future. In the sixth stage of development (between the ages of 20 and 24), we face another challenge: to be open to the outside world, seeking a balance between openness and distance from others.

He claims that one can not separate *"the identity crisis in individual life and contemporary crisis in historical development because the two help to define each other and are truly relative to each other"* (Erikson 1968, p.23). According to this outtake, the development of identity is often connected with two types of crises happening at the same time, which is also plausible when looking at the interviewees' solidarity patterns. The Hungarian state's and many Hungarian citizens' lack of solidarity towards the most vulnerable members of society can be interpreted as a form of historical crisis (see the SOCRIS project *"Solidarity in times of crisis"* 2019) and the often mentioned identity crises the interviewees experienced, highlight this possible connection. According to this theory, biographical and societal fractions can greatly affect one's identity which might have pulled the interviewees towards active solidarity patterns within the FNB organization.

Since my work's core material was collected by biographical interviews, I find it important to briefly introduce the topic of self-narrative and its sociological relevance. Several theories have examined the relationship between narrative and identity within the social sciences. (Habermas 1985, 1990, Bauman 1991, Giddens 1991, Hannerz 1992, Beck-Giddens-Lash 1994, Castells, 1997 etc.). The disintegration of premodern social relations has made it difficult to establish and recognize identity. Modernity has fundamentally influenced the formation of personal identity. Modernity has given individuals the task of re-creating our personal and social identities over and over again, that is, of being able to tell a coherent life story about ourselves that our environment considers and accepts as authentic. This different kind of self-identity arises in competing, large cultural discourses that emphasize the incompleteness, fragmentation, and contradiction of collective and personal existence and the uncertainty of self-identity, while other groups continue to support categorical forms of identity (see Calhoun 1997). In addition, new societal expectations have led to the institutionalization of identity creation, the development of identity politics, and have also shed a light on the close links between personal and social identity and power relations (see Foucault 1988, 1998; Fehér-Heller 1993). Competing cultural discourses and emerging identity politics have also contributed to the intensification of debates over narrative and identity. According to Greverus, social systems and cultures (see Greverus 2000) are incapable of creating and maintaining an identity on their own without the individuals who actually live their identities and fill them with their own meanings. Simply put, the individual is always *"entangled in stories"* (Schnapp 1953). The entanglement of this story is not only meant to master practices, norms, habits, etc. during socialization, but also help individuals to get closer to themselves through them (ibid.).

3.3 Identity and group identity

When we take a deep dive into theories, which revolve around the 'hows' and 'whys' of solidarity, it is almost inevitable to encounter the topic of identity. Identity is the subject of several social disciplines: philosophy, psychology, social psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology and many others. Different approaches and theories emerging in particular disciplines are both debating and supporting each other.

Sociologist Erving Goffman showcased in his theory about identity that what we show to others is an important part of our identity. Researching the difference between personal and social identity, he discovered that people create and maintain their social identity in a similar way to *theatrical performance* (see 1973), using different techniques: such as *interaction, presentation*, and *role-play*. In addition to the fact that identity is the part of our personality that we show to the outside world, the outside world is also important because the influence of others significantly shapes one's own identity.

For Goffman, actions consist of the moments of *social identity*, *personal identity* and *I-identity*. Social identity is described here as a *"complete set of attitudes"* (Goffman 1980, p. 10) for people of different social categories. Having a *social identity* means having a knowledge of one's own social roles and the expectations associated with them. *Personal identity* is introduced as a *"unique combination of life history data within the social role structure"*(Goffman 1980, p. 74). While *I-identity* is defined as *"(...) the subjective feeling of one's own situation and one's own continuity and individuality which an individual gradually acquires as a result of his various social experiences"* (Goffman 1980, p. 132).

Krappmann examined the question of *"structural conditions for participating in interaction processes"* (1969). He examined the role theory of Parsons, which can be understood as a theory of adaptation to social conditions. He also pointed out in relation to Mead's thesis that identity can only be gained indirectly through the others, and linked it with Erikson's thesis that identity is defined by the unique biography and its typical crisis solutions, and at the same time by the recognition of the self-image which is gained through the others. This results in a balance between individual and societal influence on identity. Since identity is viewed as a structural condition for participating in interaction processes, Krappmann asked, which competencies are actually needed in order to gain and demonstrate identity, whereby he leaned on the work of Goffman. His theory states that identity should no longer be understood as a temporally and supersituationally stable entity, but rather as a balanced state of flow resulting from constant negotiation and interpretation within concrete interaction situations.

Newer theories include approaches from identity theory in the context of self-concept research (Filipp 1979) while they still lean on the classical theories described above. Self-concept is generally understood as the totality of attitudes, thoughts and feelings that an individual has about himself. Epstein (1983, p. 243) describes the structure of self and environmental theories as a hierarchical network of descriptive postulates that are based

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on generalized experiences and motivational postulates that contain general goals in life that are worth striving for. These theories fulfill three functions for the acting individual: adapting current perceptions to the experiences they have made, creating the most positive pain-pleasure balance possible, and increasing their self-esteem.

After discussing general identity theories, I would like to introduce a few, more current theories which revolve around community and group identity. The norms of reward and punishment, as well as the list of expected and rejected behaviors, appear in our customs and traditions at the level of everyday life. Another link within a group is common language, which is perhaps the strongest identity-forming factor. Every family has its own words and expressions, but it is also one of the most important foundations of national identity. In the end, common goals and common enemies can still forge people together, but they are often only enough to form temporary alliances.

The motivations that create community relations shape the common goals, values and interests of the participants in a solidary community. These can then create a sense of belonging, a *"we-consciousness,"* that results in a community identity which makes individuals who gravitate toward each other fit for action and solidarity with each other (Hankiss 2004).

Altreiter et al. describe different solidarity patterns and show that group identity affects certain solidarity types. *"The identification with a group and the perceived collective identities play an important role in standing up for one another and pursuing common goals, e.g., for solidarity. If one recognizes the common situation and the shared interests and emotions supporting the bond within the group, the participants also feel an obligation to act in the interest of the group and, if necessary, to make sacrifices. Emotions such as anger, outrage, fear or shame are particularly important in this context"* (Altreiter et al. 2019, p. 152). This phenomenon is especially striking when we examine the FNB organisation or the punk subculture on the whole since the expression of anger and rage at oppressive societal structures is one of their core motives. Altreiter et al. also shed light on the expansion of the extreme right-wing party's success among western societies. Firstly: *"One explanation for the success of these parties is seen in socio-economic change and, in particular, in the growing insecurity in previously socially stable milieus. Frequent unemployment, precarious work conditions and the fear of relegation among the middle classes enable right-wing populists to stir up resentment against migrants and to*

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mobilize against marginalized groups as well as against elites" (ibid., p.153). Although the FNB organisations members often deal with these issues themselves, they see them as structural and not individual problems. Their left leaning political and cultural identities enable them to focus on societal oppression instead of putting the threatened or already struggling individuals responsible. This also applies to the second factor of growing right-wing popularity: *"Empirical research has shown, however, that many messages from right-wing parties can be addressed even among the privileged and climbers. The reason for this lies with some of them in their exaggerated performance orientation and identification with corporate logic and the competition state"* (ibid., p.153). The FNB identity rejects capitalistic, endless growth-oriented and individualistic world views and represents the exact opposite narrative.

Smith and Sorrell (2014) write that *"emotional identification with a group as a fundamental aspect of solidarity"* (p.232) was examined by many theorists *"(Benford and Hunt 1992; Blumer 1939; Gamson 7992; Melucci 1988; Taylor and Whittier 1992; cf. Hunt and Benford 2004)"*,(Smith and Sorrell 2014, p.232). Scholars state that *"emotional identification, in fact, allows people to see themselves in terms of belonging to the group, to shape their identities around membership within the group (Melucci 1988; Hooker 2009; Hunt and Benford 2004; Rorty 1989)"* (Smith and Sorrell 2014, p.232).

According to Smith and Sorrell *"solidarity trades heavily on the centrality of identity in human personal and social life: who and what people identify with, what they feel the same as (identical). Yet identity requires difference, to know what one is not"* (p.238). In this outtake the mentioned difference of *"what one is not"* resonates with the above-mentioned *battle-solidarity's* attributes of Bayretz (1998, p.31). In this context, the self-positioning of a solidarity-based group against a system's oppressive mechanisms can also be seen as an identity forming force, which is an important phenomenon in relation to the research field. The fight against injustice was several times mentioned during interviews and was interpreted as an identity forming factor. This phenomenon of battle-solidarity can be connected to ongoing societal crises which cause injustice and oppression.

Sik frames the connection between identity and solidarity as the following: *"In the organization of society (...) the values and relationship systems of communities that cannot be drawn along the hierarchy or power have emerged as a brand new organizational*

element. The group of social opinion formers, including the political and civil elites, became divided according to ideological, religious, ethnic, political beliefs and affiliations. The impatience towards each other that can now be clearly articulated and advertised, the expression of personal kinship and dislike, and the naming of the enemy have strengthened the relationship of trust between the members of a group. Ideological warfare also visibly drew front lines for outsiders. The search for identity was present not only in the above-mentioned political "religious wars", but also in the freely developing movements and organizations of civil (self) organizations." (Sik 2012, p.124).

3.4 The punk subculture, its history and solidarity patterns

The investigation of solidarity patterns within the FNB organization requires insight into the development of the Hungarian punk subculture in order to understand the historical and cultural context of the scene, which plays an important role in the helpers' identities. Because the organization itself does not directly belong to the punk subculture, meaning that it is not a requirement in any way to be punk in order to become a helper, not all helpers are punks or belong to the scene. If this is the case, why is punk subculture relevant while describing the solidarity patterns of the members of the organization? FNB in Budapest began within the punk subculture of the country. The founders read about the international organization in punk related fanzines in the early 2000s and sympathized with its political messages and with the fact that they only cook with vegetables, which stands in accordance with spreading vegetarianism amongst the punk and hardcore scene.

With time, more and more members of the subculture started to cook vegan food for people in need, however, there were no real organized structures behind these spontaneous events yet. The goal of the group was simply to raise the awareness of poverty within the country. The number of members was constantly fluctuating, and the roles were given according to the skills and resources of the helpers, which provided a specific anarchistic dynamic with flat hierarchy structures. Also, the events would occasionally take place at different spots in Budapest and were handled spontaneously. There were time periods when the food distributions stopped but the organization always reorganized itself with more and more refined structures, while gaining more members and distributing more food on the streets. Due to these changes, and owing to the high inconstancy of helpers and the increased amount of work, the members of the punk subculture got slowly replenished by volunteers who had little or nothing to do with the punk scene.

Today, after significant changes within the group, FNB Budapest is still considered as *the brainchild of the Hungarian punk subculture* and the strong connection between the scene and the organization has never been interrupted. The dynamics are two-sided: the organization is well-known within the punk circles who regularly set up supporting events and concerts to raise money for FNB. Moreover, the organization still includes several helpers who belong to the scene and FNB shows up to their concerts and provides vegan food for them.

Additionally, the FNB group's leading ideas correspond to the main values of the punk subculture, especially in the Hungarian context. This connection will be further elaborated on in the chapter which discusses how identity and solidarity are related within the FNB organization.

Taking this strong connection into consideration, it is vital to provide an insight into how the punk subculture emerged in Hungary and how it has developed with an emphasis on its counter-cultural character. Within the following chapter in addition to a summarized chronological overview, the general attributes of the punk identity and solidarity patterns will be presented, while highlighting the changing dynamics of those habitual attributes. The aim of the chapter is to illustrate the underlying historical and country-specific context of the underground punk scene, so that we understand how the activities of the FNB members are connected to their identities and what motives determine their acts of solidarity.

3.4.1 How did punk develop in Hungary?

The Hungarian punk scene began to establish itself approximately in the late 70s within the system of Soviet-style socialism, mostly as a counter-cultural movement carrying similar attributes to the punk subculture in western countries, while preserving a special East-Central European edge. It played and still plays a unique role in Hungarian society with its statement-like music, radical fashion and rebellious behavioral patterns.

A traditional way of life was heavily emphasized within the Hungarian socialist system, which implied a work-based and norm-driven society being constantly observed by state instances. This pressure served as a base for dissatisfaction amongst those of a different opinion; some of them started to engage in activities such as forming bands that played highly amateur music with oppositional lyrics, attending the scandalous concerts of these bands, all in all, doing everything to distinguish themselves from the 'normal' side of

society. An important characteristic of the movement was the DIY approach. Without any musical background, young people started to form groups, created music and events despite the lack of resources such as musical knowledge, often instruments, or spaces for practice and concerts. Since all forms of arts were constantly monitored, the platform for different thinkers was extremely limited and the members of the subculture were actively pursued by the state. According to Adam Pozsonyi: *"A big part of the artists didn't consciously do counter-culture politics, but they instinctively strived for the freedom of art and lifestyle."* (Pozsonyi 2001, p.92) The spread of oppositionist ideas led to arrests, several show trials and in a few cases, even to prison sentences. The undertaking of the government to merge punk with Nazi ideology, and especially violent police encounters and the jail times some band members had to serve strengthened the solidarity amongst the punk scene.

After the collapse of socialism in Hungary, the change of the system brought a significant shift within the punk subculture. The Hungarian punk movement was anti-communist due to the counter-cultural nature of the punk scenes. Since there was no political restraint anymore, 'the voluntary outsider existence movement' – as Kata Oltai refers to punk – had to reinvent itself. Soon after the great euphoria brought on by the fact that the system they were fighting collapsed, the reality of the system change, which brought along unemployment, poverty and the spreading of consumer capitalism had its disillusioning effects.

There was a noticeable decrease in the activity of the scene in the chaotic era of the '90s, however, in short order a new wave of a more western-influenced generation of punk music started to emerge. The blueprint of punk's characteristics remained: aggressive, quick, outspoken, DIY and critical. However, the clearly self-destructive side of the scene began to transform into a more conscious direction. One of the most interesting but marginal examples of this turn is the straight edge scene. Straight edge (sXe) emerged as a counterreaction to the destructive and nihilistic mindset of the punks. *"Straight edge became a lifetime commitment to abstain from alcohol, tobacco, illicit drugs and promiscuous sex"* (Haenfler 2006; Wood 2006).

Another underground group, '*the most improbable punk subculture*', as referred to by Colin Helb, the Hare Krishnacore also found its members in Hungary. In their songs, hardcore is mixed with lyrics proclaiming the doctrines of Krishna, which overlaps with the values of the straight edge scene, adding a religious touch (Amar, 2015).

Also, vegetarianism and veganism became popular amongst the members and a more positive, inclusive and protective solidary community established itself.

These renewed *secret clubs* provided a sense of belonging and acceptance to its *outsider* members, who often refer to the scene as a second home. Having the courage to be an outsider and standing up for something were the sentiments which framed the early 2000s, and still have an influential impact on today's punk subculture. Since the scene has become a more comfortable and easily accessible community – largely due to the political changes in Hungary, such as freedom of speech and no real police persecution – some members, especially those who grew up in the socialist punk era, state that its significance has been lost.

Although this type of music and its integral lifestyle were not systematically banned by the state anymore, capitalism was able to provide a wide variety of new forms of suffering in Hungarian society, which served as adept artistic material for the new generation of alienated youth. Mind-altering, provocation, opposition towards the denial of ecologic, economic and socio-economic problems, and an all-over critical stance towards the *petty bourgeoisie* still build the main components of today's scene. The lyrics revolve around systematic oppression, inhuman societal and individual practices and current politics amongst other themes.

Just as prior to the system change, the subculture could never be considered as a homogenous group. It would be a logical conclusion that the diversities within the subculture intensified with the sprout of individualism – as a byproduct of the capitalist system. The distinctions between these groups are primarily music-related and not necessarily noticeable for the layperson. A more unmistakable division lies in the political orientations of the scene. Some lean towards the right, some towards the left, however, one thing is sure: punks are rarely apolitical. Antifascism, the rejection of nationalism and racism emerged relatively early in the punk movement. In Western Europe almost from the very beginnings, in Hungary around the second half of the '80s. (see Csoma 2017, p.277) The antifascist movement, which also includes an anti-capitalistic orientation, still carries a lot of weight within the punk subculture, which becomes especially noticeable when taking the numerous tensions between the left and right leaning members into consideration.

The leftist side of the subculture, just like other leftist movements, is characterized by an overall interest in social justice, equality, broad support of workers, low-income individuals, and marginalized or disadvantaged groups. Since punk is all about

counter-culture resistance, the right-conservative policies of the Hungarian government provide plenty of material for the left leaning part of the subculture.

As mentioned before, the Hungarian scene has undergone a significant shift since the change of the system. It has moved towards a more solidary, leftist, anti-capitalist and antifascist direction, which has also manifested in the current activities within the subculture. Organizing support events for causes, such as raising money for women who are affected by period poverty, for animal shelters, or for individuals who, due to their political activities, are persecuted by the state and of course, also for the Food Not Bombs Budapest group is on the usual agenda of the punks.

This is where the relevance of the reciprocity between the punk community and my research field, the Food Not Bombs organization, becomes obvious. If we created today's archetype of the punk identity, we could recognize that it is strongly saturated with patterns of solidary conduct and thought. One of the main aims of this paper is to highlight this connection between solidarity and identity, in order to provide a deeper understanding of the helpers' solidarity motives.

3.5 Food Not Bombs as a civil organization

The following chapter will summarize the development of the Food Not Bombs organization as an international movement and in addition to its history, it will present FNB Budapest's current activities.

3.5.1 The development of a global movement

This section is based on the FNB's official timeline and sums up the relevant events and developments within the organization. Its history goes back to 1980, when co-founder Brian Feigenbaum was arrested for protesting against a nuclear station in New Hampshire.

In 1981, Food Not Bombs shared food at its first protest against the local nuclear industry by setting up a soup kitchen. In the following years, food sharing as an act of protest took place at military or weapon related events. From the very beginning, the main aim has been to raise awareness to the contradiction between the enormous costs of military acts and poverty within the country. Organizing events such as *Walk For Peace*,

Free Concert for Nuclear Disarmament and *Boston Pee Party* to protest President Reagan's drug testing laws were also on the FNB' agenda.

The variety of events shows that the members have been involved in different movements, which explains why Food Not Bombs has not only been influenced by anarchists and animal and civil right activists, but also by faith-based activism during its existence (see Seiter, 2016, p. 34-35).

With the growth of the movement, police arrests became more frequent. One particularly telling occasion was the *Reclaim the Test Site* action at the gate of the Nevada Nuclear Test Site. Out of the 8,000 participants, roughly 3,000 were arrested, making it a *record for most civil disobedience arrests* in one protest. The protests could not be stopped by police involvement, therefore, the growing number of arrests made solidarity amongst the organization members even stronger and built a country-wide community. Thanks to one particular event where the San Francisco Food Not Bombs fed the survivors of the Loma Prieta Earthquake in Civic Center Plaza, sharing meals with the police too, ended the round of arrests. Also, due to the growing societal pressure in San Francisco, the city stopped granting permits for sharing free food in city parks.

From the beginning of the '90s, Food Not Bombs groups started to provide meals at local actions in several other cities in the United States and Canada. The First edition of *Food Not Bombs – How to Feed the Hungry and Build Community* was published in 1992 and the first *International Food Not Bombs Gathering* was held in San Francisco where the three principles of Food Not Bombs were adopted: free vegetarian and vegan meals without restrictions, dedication to non-violent direct action and group autonomy without leaders, using consensus to make decisions.

Although the frequency of the arrests declined, there were several ongoing cases against members of the organization. Amnesty International declared in a letter that the Food Not Bombs volunteers who were arrested would be considered 'Prisoners of Conscience' and Amnesty would work for their unconditional release in a case of conviction.

In the late '90s numerous tours took place in the United States and Canada and the movement also started to set foot in Europe. In 2001 a Food Not Bombs co-founder, Hannes Westberg, got shot in the chest by the police during a protest against the EU Summit and was jailed for 5 months in Sweden.

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Despite the state violence and the accusations of terrorism, the FNB members had to endure, the number of small and big victories had increased. More and more cities started to lift the bans on open food sharing, and in most cases, charges were dropped against Food Not Bombs. The organization also provided food in crisis situations such as earthquakes, terror attacks, hurricanes and tsunamis, and supported or organized anti-war protests worldwide.

Several *International Food Not Bombs Gatherings* have taken place outside the United States since then and the organization is currently represented all over the world.

3.5.2 Food Not Bombs Budapest, then and now

This chapter will outline the history of FNB Budapest based on Daniel Gulyas's work on the development of the formation.

According to one of the oldest members, they heard about Food not Bombs from the punk music fanzines *Maximumrockandroll* and *Heart Attack* for the first time. There was a strong political interest and vegan orientation within the punk and hardcore scene at the time. The members of Food Not Bombs in Budapest came exclusively from this group. People were concentrated from this subculture in which politics and veganism were important. Their food was strictly vegan, because they cooked for bands touring in Hungary, most of whom were vegan. With time they noticed that there was also a demand for the cooked food they offered amongst the homeless of Budapest. About a dozen actions took place between 2002 and 2003. The ingredients were bought by the members and cooked at private homes. According to this member, a possibly justifiable criticism has arisen that these were not legitimate Food Not Bombs actions. The group practically consisted of a circle of friends and the roles developed spontaneously, based on who had which skill or interest. This evolving organization ceased to function due to a lack of enthusiasm and leadership. They were also not affiliated with any other Food Not Bombs groups or initiatives with a similar profile. What made the early group FNB-like was not only its aim to raise awareness of inequality and poverty but also its flat hierarchy and DIY approach.

The said member, currently considered as one of the founders, reflects on the organization as a contingent grouping. The members responsible for specific tasks were

constantly fluctuating, if someone's activity was reduced, someone else took the lead. As not only one, but several cores existed simultaneously, one of the founders mentioned that he later met some members who did Food Not Bombs promotions in 1999. This suggests that perhaps the group mentioned by the interviewed member was not the first one. In the early 2000s, a few dishes were made and distributed at the Western Railway Station, where many people in need appeared. The ingredients were received from acquaintances as well as from the actual members of the group.

In 2004, Food Not Bombs actions took place through the Green Youth United (ZFE). Jugglers and drummers also appeared during the food distributions. The group was then reestablished in 2008 at the College of Social Theory (TEK). In addition to saved vegetables, the group also started to receive donations, but the food distributions were still held only at one venue, Boráros Square. In case there was some food left, the remaining meals were distributed at Blaha Lujza Square. The members were mostly vocational college students, but the group was open to anyone. Later, taking on too many volunteers at a high speed became problematic. At that time, the group did not have a Facebook page; instead, everything was organized on a Gmail mailing list and the pressure on "the more established" members has made it necessary to recruit new members.

The meat-free approach was still fundamental, but it became *unquestionable* through the influence of the vegetarian orientation of the punk / hardcore scene. There was also no management or any clearly structured hierarchy at that time. It was one or two people who controlled the actions, while some volunteers participated more frequently, others only occasionally. In the ZFE period, the Budapest punk scene was less represented, in the TEK period they started to reappear again, but the scale of activities was still constantly changing.

At the beginning of 2012, the actions were relaunched again by members of the punk / hardcore community in Budapest. There were no regular events and no guidelines to run the group. At that time, the group was made up of five people and due to this low number of members there was no need to share roles among them; they developed spontaneously. Everyone knew who was good at different tasks, such as cooking, sourcing, managing. At that time, they bought the ingredients using their own money and cooked in the community kitchens of TEK. The cooking events were also relatively unplanned, but the demand for the distributed food increased, therefore, the actions had to be planned in a more organized way.

Between 2012 and 2013, the group started to operate every two weeks, therefore, the involvement of volunteers who were not members of the punk community became unavoidable. As a result of this expansion more and more people in need started to gather, causing a self-perpetuating process of growth, which parallelly led to conflicts within the organization.

The concept of members spending their own money on ingredients slowly shifted to a self-sufficient system using leftover vegetables at local markets in Budapest and money from fundraisers. First, they collected thrown out food from the market dumpsters, which usually ended in conflicts with the security guards. After many attempts, the sellers began to get to know the members and started to gather leftover items at the end of the market days. Later on, this practice established itself into a weekly routine and resulted in close links between the sellers and the FNB activists. Due to the organization's steady expansion as well as other logistical reasons, the cooking locations had to be moved from time to time. Despite, or possibly, because of the constant changes, a sort of operative group developed itself, which was still characterized by a flat hierarchy while it functioned as a decision-making entity. When there was no space for cooking due to location changes, the saving of and donation of the collected food items didn't stop. The leftover vegetables from markets went to other social organizations, which were redistributing these as donations. There were also times when the cooking events took place at the FNB volunteers' private homes. One member reflected on this era in an interview as *"good times, because only the people were there, for whom [the project] really mattered"*.

A fascinating addition is an opinion mentioned in another interview with an FNB member, who didn't come from the punk subculture. The member's view of the scene had changed completely as a result of the group's activities in the FNB. *"The whole thing was more of a communion… If you're not in the punk subculture, of which there were quite a few people in the beginning, you only heard about punks being reckless alcoholic animals. And then you meet them, and you realize that they aren't."*

Today, the cooking events take place in a community garden, which is connected to the Aurora community house. The place also hosts supporting concerts for FNB and gives place to their regular meetings. The Aurora community house is a widely known project in Budapest with a little longer than 6 years of history and with a similar ideological orientation as FNB itself. According to their official website, "the goal is to create – through the power of the community – a society that protects the weak, helps the fallen, respects

and celebrates diversity, and fights all forms of exclusion and oppression by peaceful means."

Since the house provides venue for independent projects *"where the community is free to share its thoughts with each other, encourages action and participation"*[7] the organization found a welcoming place for its activities.

The food collecting at the markets take place every Saturday and are followed by the cooking events on Sundays, with usually 10 to 20 people taking part. Who is among the volunteers differs considerably from week to week, but there are always members who show up regularly and mostly play organizing roles at these actions. After spending the day cooking, the food distributions begin in the afternoon at two different spots: at a busy square called Boráros Square and at a daytime shelter on Alföldi Street.

Although FNB frequently receives donations and different forms of support, their situation, similarly to other civil organizations in Hungary, is not plain sailing. In the following chapter, I will give an insight into the historical context and will outline current operative laws and the political climate regarding homelessness, which will disclose the above-mentioned difficulties that non-governmental organizations are facing today.

3.6 Hungary and homelessness

3.6.1 Historical context

The following chapter will present a historical timeline providing an insight into the development of the Hungarian homeless situation. I will rely on Hungarian experts whose works describe and analyze how the issue of homelessness arose and how different political regimes dealt with this matter in the past. Due to the limitations of the thesis, this historical overview starts in the middle of the 20th century, which showcases how homelessness was handled during socialism and describes the changing circumstances around it until today.

Although the problem of homelessness was an existing phenomenon in Hungary under socialism, it was treated as taboo at a political level and could not be the subject of public debate. Social scientists studying poverty were often silenced, and the term poverty itself was considered undesirable; instead, the concept of the deprived or disadvantaged

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[7] http://auroraonline.hu/rolunk/

was expected to be used in political and social science practices (see Valuch, 2005). Homeless people were forced into a hidden way of life – as the structural causes of poverty could not be openly mentioned – the legislation at the time provided an opportunity to criminalize the phenomenon; those who do not have a place of residence or a declared place of work were called "social parasites" and could be sanctioned under criminal law. However, data from the 1980 census have already revealed that more than 92,000 people from the population were registered as workers residing in worker hostels, and nearly 30,000 people were found with permanent residences in press houses, caravans, caves, barges, etc. Because of their only statistically tangible "housing conditions," about 200,000 people in the population lived in the danger zone of actual homelessness (see Valuch, 2005).

In the early eighties, Ágnes Utasi summarized the issues related to homelessness on the basis of an in-depth interview-based case study in the framework of stratification research. She believed that the strata of the homeless drifting to the periphery were differentiated from within. Some groups are forced to "choose" a lifestyle, while others consciously follow an alternative lifestyle of homelessness. Although the chances of escape, rejection of social norms and conventions, and the search for informality are characteristic of all groups of the stratum, the chances of returning to society and reintegrating are far from the same (Utasi 1987, p. 181-213). During the Kádár era the opinion of the Hungarian public in connection with the phenomenon of poverty was based on the great consensus that "whoever works prevails in this country". However, during the transition period, employment security ceased due to the weakening of the planned economy and socialism. Unemployment became a mass problem and openly visible, along with poverty and homelessness. In the 1990s, the "new" poor of society emerged from the industrial proletariat and from the middle class of the socialist era (Szalai 2002, p. 34-50).

The housing system also changed. While in the Kádár system the construction and distribution of public dwellings and workers' hostels played an important role in obtaining housing, later such council dwellings were no longer built and house prices skyrocketed. Partly as a result of privatization and deindustrialisation, a great number of jobs were lost. Therefore workers were forced to leave their workers' hostels, which in many cases functioned as permanent residences. In other words, many in society became homeless because they had lost their jobs and, therefore, their accommodations at workers' hostels at the same time.

According to the differentiated classification of Péter Győri, during the change of regime homeless people came from the following groups: those forced to leave their workers' hostels, young people leaving or fleeing from state care, young people fleeing their families, casual workers, evicted people, divorced people, mentally ill people, alcoholics, drug addicts, people who were released from prison and deliberately homeless individuals (Győri 1990, p. 430-460). The estimated number of homeless people nationwide lied between 100-150,000 in the early 1990s (see Valuch, 2005).

In the years following the change of regime, at the societal level, previously neglected social problems seemed to escalate even more and a very urgent social policy intervention and reforms would have been needed. Instead, the emphasis was more on solving economic problems, while social considerations were pushed into the background. The processes of social differentiation have become more pronounced, with overall poverty tripling between 1998 and 2000 (Ferge 2002, p. 9-33). *"Social policy reform has indeed begun in slow motion. Consciously or not, but the first government did not dare to undertake a radical curtailment of the state's social commitment, among other burdens of regime change"* (Ferge 1998, p. 3-23).

Homeless care has increased since the early 1990s, with the issue shifting from repressive law enforcement to social benefits. A number of social laws and professional regulations have been enacted, institutional structural changes have taken place, however, the subjects of homeless treatment were the effective homeless, as a result of which the state has given priority to *"band-aid solutions"* rather than thinking about preventive treatment strategies (Oros 1996, p. 64-80).

Under a law passed in 1993, a homeless person is considered to be one who does not have a declared place of residence or a person who spends his or her nights in a public place, homeless shelter, or non-residential place. The state implemented the problems of homelessness mostly through local governments. Depending on the size of the settlement, the municipalities had to set up a warming place, a temporary accommodation, or a shelter. These first steps have contributed to the development of an institutional approach to homelessness, but the implementation of a comprehensive social policy-based program remains to be seen.

Although the rudimentary foundations of the care system have emerged since the turn of the millennium, a number of economic and social events have taken place – as well as various policy decisions – that have adversely affected the current situation of poverty and homelessness, and subsequent governments have not had a comprehensive social

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policy strategy. The continued privatization of municipal housing stock, the economic crisis and the massive collapse of foreign currency loans, and other diversified negative mechanisms have generated gradual social inequalities, making it difficult to address the problem.

Domestic social policy has not provided adequate responses to "housing poverty", such as the construction and expansion of homeless shelters, or housing opportunities that actually provide exits from homelessness (e.g., in the form of an advanced social rental housing system) since the change of regime. However, the long-term time series or continuous surveys of the twenty years since the 2000s suggest that there has been no explosive growth in the number of people living in such situations (see Győri 2020).

According to Péter Győri, the composition of the homeless has changed significantly over the past decades; "Young and middle-aged individuals who have lost their stable and regular jobs and incomes, marketable professions, built-up relationships, families and housing have been replaced by 'non-existents' who lived their whole lives without such qualifications, jobs, relationships and families. The transformation of typical livelihoods (the spread of collecting-begging), the increase in the proportion of the uneducated, the Roma, the sick and the elderly all point, among many other factors, to a kind of pauperization of the homeless in recent decades" (see Győri 2020).

The situation of homelessness has basically not improved much in the ten to fifteen years after the change of regime, except for the results of some data collection, empirical research and many different methodological studies, based on which the problems and dilemmas of the phenomenon can be better understood and explored. However, from 2011 onwards, with the completion of right wing politics and criminalization efforts, the chances of a broader approach to the problem seem to be lost.

3.6.2 Nowadays: laws and political climate

The research of the Hungarian homeless situation requires the study of current definitions of homelessness. There are many forms and definitions of homelessness social sciences offer. One of the most frequent definitions is provided by the European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion (ETHOS).

According to ETHOS, homeless can be classified into four categories:

- people **without a roof over their heads who sleep rough** or in overnight shelters
- people **without a home who, while they have a roof over their heads, are excluded from the legal rights of occupancy** and do not have a place to pursue normal social relations (such as those living in hostels or temporary accommodation for the homeless, women living in refuge accommodation, migrants living in specific accommodation and people living in institutions)
- people **living in insecure housing**, who do not have a secure tenancy and/or are threatened with eviction or are a victim of domestic violence
- people **living in inadequate housing conditions** (such as with friends or relatives, in squats, in caravans or illegal campsites, in conditions of extreme overcrowding and in other generally unsuitable places)

(European Commission Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities 2010)

If we examine the above categories, it becomes clear why it is so difficult to estimate the number of homeless individuals within a country. Even to estimate the number of the homeless in the first category of "people without a roof over their heads who sleep rough or in overnight shelters" can become problematic. Most statistics rely on the number of the individuals living in homeless shelters and the estimations of social workers, and are not able to include the number of people who belong to the other three categories. Although the estimations might be vague, they can provide a glimpse of the proportion of the people affected by homelessness and show relevant societal dynamics.

In this context it is important to mention the number of people living under the subsistence minimum in Hungary, as these individuals might be at risk of becoming homeless in the future. There are estimations in Hungary which report that about 30% of the population live under the subsistence minimum (Policy Agenda 2018). The study, commissioned by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Hungarian Trade Union Confederation, measures not only the subsistence minimum level, but also the so-called social minimum. This no longer includes only the cost of basic necessities for survival, but also provides a minimum contingency to cover unexpected expenses such as loss of income due to sick leave or the replacement of a washing machine. The amount of the social minimum per capita in 2017 shows that two-thirds of people living in villages have an income below the social minimum, which implies that they have no savings. Nationwide, 53% of the population, more than half of society, are affected by this problem.

The actual estimation of the number of homeless individuals in the country lies around 25–30,000 people and 7–8,000 are thought to live in Budapest. According to the estimates a quarter of these people are sleeping rough on the streets (A Város Mindenkié 2016).

One of the most remarkable anti-homeless measures in Hungary is the criminalization of homelessness by law. One example is the collection of local laws against begging and rummaging through garbage. The city has undertaken the removal of homeless people from underground pedestrian passages. There are "homeless-free zones" in one of the biggest districts of Budapest. The government passed a law in 2011, which allowed local municipalities to ban the "inadequate use" of public spaces. Later, the Government amended the Constitution (Article 22), which now states that: "habitual residence in a public space is forbidden", because the laws for "inadequate use" were not "effective" enough. Currently, if someone uses public space in a way that is "different from its original designation" – for habitual residence or for the storage of personal property used for habitual residence – they commit a petty offence. (€500 fine). This measure leads to the criminalization of homelessness, as the fine is so high that it is impossible for the homeless to pay, and therefore they can get imprisoned. All these sanctions for "anti-communal" and "flagrantly anti-communal" behavior convey the anti-homeless attitude of the government's policy goals of getting the homeless out of the public eye instead of providing help for the people in need.

4. Methodology

4.1 Qualitative research

In order to explore the in-depth reasons behind the studied individuals' motivations, behaviors and orientations regarding their solidarity patterns, it is necessary to apply a qualitative framing of the research. Since the already existing studies are often in disagreement about the causalities of solidarity patterns and individual backgrounds, this thesis aims to dig deeper into the characteristics of the interviewees by shedding light on possible patterns within their upbringings and biographies. To truly understand the levers of their actions, the material is collected with the help of classical qualitative methods such as field observations and qualitative interviews, and are collected and analyzed in the frames of grounded theory.

The data was collected by a circular method: while the basic information about the organization's structures and dynamics was collected through participant observations. In parallel I started to analyze the interviews with the members, which were completed for another Hungarian student's master thesis and were made available to me.[8] The interviews are mostly reflections about their work style and ethics, challenges within the FNB group and personal motivations regarding their activities in the organization. After the first field observations and analysis of the secondary material, I started to make biographical interviews with a broad focus on solidarity attitudes. At the same time, I continued to make more participant observations while targeting phenomena, which were disclosed in the new and secondary interviews.

4.1.1 Access to the field

Accessing the research field was uncomplicated, since the examined organization is open to join for everyone. If someone decides to enter the organization, they just simply have to show up to one of the events and ask someone what they can help with. To make access even easier, I was already invited to the events by different members, who I mostly knew indirectly through acquaintances. After I participated in several actions, I decided to write my master thesis about this group and started to talk about my idea while literally peeling potatoes with the members. Soon some of them started to show interest in my project and offered their support by providing relevant literature, articles and general information about who to ask when looking into a particular topic, which turned out to be one of the most valuable forms of help.

4.1.2 Sampling

One of the central quality criterions of qualitative research is the compilation of the sample. The interviewees were chosen by their *contentual representativity* (Lamnek 2005). This means that the cases are selected based on which ones can provide the most extensive information with regard to the research in question (Misoch 2015, p. 186).

I started my field research with participating observations, which helped to identify which individuals were both longtime members playing significant roles within the organization, and were also open to interviews. At the same time, I got to know an active member, who happened to study sociology in Hungary and already wrote about the

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organization's history, current structures and group dynamics. With his and some other members' help, several individuals were selected, who then also suggested other members. The sample resulted in a mixture of theoretical and snowball sampling: while the first person was chosen in accordance with the theoretical framework, others were picked based on recommendations by the ones already interviewed and again, later on, others were selected according to the theoretical sampling's methodology (Glaser/Strauss 1967).

The first interviewee was a long-time member with plenty of connections within the group, who also fulfills different organizational and decision-making roles. Due to his connection to the punk subculture and established position in the organization, he became the first interview subject and was able to recommend several other members.

4.2 Data collection: Field observations

During the research, I started to make participant observations at the FNB events with a central goal: to get to know the organization's inner dynamics, while also focusing on the member's individual habitus.

This method has proven itself insightful when gathering information about the current structures and dynamics between the members, and has offered an excellent opportunity to find the best fitting interviewees. The method's well-known limitation is that the researcher has little to no chance to make memos right away, which often resulted in information loss, but ultimately granted helpful impressions about the 'whys and hows' of the organization's processes. Since I was actively taking part in the tasks, there was no space for making specific assessments about the singular individuals. Therefore, it was more about gaining impressions of the members and their dynamics within the group than digging deep into each individual's personal motives.

My role was not differentiated from other members within the group, although many of the attendants knew that I am writing my thesis about the organization. Since most of them are familiar with the processes of sociological work, and a few of them had even been interviewed regarding the FNB organization before and consider reports about different social topics important, the setting was very natural and my presence was as welcomed as a regular helper's. Also, the fact that I had a gatekeeper and was familiar with the punk scene beforehand helped me to assimilate instantly into the group. In

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addition, it was beneficial that I belong to the same age group (the range of the age group lies between around 20 and 40 years) and share similar interests with the members, such as social topics, community building, etc.

Later, during the interview phases, it was a proponent factor that the interviewees were already familiar with me and therefore more willing to take part in biographical interviews.

In the course of these field participations one reoccurring experience of mine turned out to be an important observation: when entering the group, although not a necessity, it is greatly invaluable to have someone who knows you and can help you to build a connection with the helpers. Due to the organization's openness and flat hierarchies, there is an emphasis on independence on every level. Not only when accessing the group, but also when deciding what to help with and finally, who to talk to during the activities. Members of the organization reflected on the phenomena by comparing the current situation of new joiners with times when they had helpers who seemed to have an integrational effect on the newbies. Those were, according to their description, the *extroverts* of the group, who would show noticeable interest in the *new joiners* and therefore make them come regularly to the events. Nowadays it seems to have become an issue that newcomers are not establishing a strong enough connection to integrate them into the main circle and therefore motivate them to become regular helpers.

This phenomenon also shows the importance of belonging. The level of belonging to the group is strongly connected to long-time membership and is therefore crucial when becoming a core member.

4.3. Date collection: Interviews – secondary semi-focused and primary narrative-biographical

As it was mentioned in the introduction about data collection, I had access to the tone material of already made semi-structured interviews. The interviewee's personal experiences and perceptions about the structures and dynamics within the organization were questioned in the original study. While those interviews clearly focused on describing the FNB organization and its members, they were nonetheless a useful source, as they allowed me to gather in detail the respondents' attitudes towards their own solidarity patterns and motives, as well as towards those of other members'.

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With the utilization of this secondary material, it was possible to identify various solidarity types and connect them to the results of the primary material, the biographical interviews.

Although biographical interviews were mostly embedded in history related disciplines, the method broke away from historical and memory research and moved towards narratology and sociology (Rosenthal (1986) 2010; Schütze 1983). After the regime change, biographical research in Eastern Europe necessarily caught on in the political and social transition, and in the recent reconstruction of life history which also belongs to the topics of identity politics. According to the method, an individual's life story, memory, and identity are closely related (Breckner et al., 2000). Since it is one of the central goals of this thesis to explore the connection of these elements, I relied on the methods of biography research as well.

The *biographical interviews* (Schütze 1983; Rosenthal 2008) were kept as open as possible and the questions were mainly internal inquiries relating to the interview subjects' individual biographies, but they were still not strictly biographical. Towards the end of each interview, the respondents answered questions regarding their solidarity attitudes and were asked to reflect on their own path of solidarity.

The material provided extensive information about the external circumstances and internal processes of their childhood and adult life, while spotlighting the possible origins of their active solidarity attitudes and reflecting on other solidarity types they encountered before.

The length of the interviews greatly differed (from 40 minutes to more than 2 hours) depending on the interview setting, the given time frames and personality traits. When considering the individual's overall level of verbosity within the organization, one would assume that more extroverted personality types would talk in a more extensive way about their biographies. However, according to these interview experiences, the seemingly more introverted candidates (notes were made during the participating observations) would reflect on their biographies and on their inner processes in a more detailed way and longer than those candidates who made the impression of possessing more extroverted traits. The more extroverted characters tended to describe their experiences shorter and focused more on objective factors and circumstances.

4.4 Analysis – Grounded Theory

The analysis of the collected material follows the methodology of the *Grounded Theory from* Glaser and Strauss (1967). I decided to use this analytical approach, due to its flexibility, heuristic strategies and non-formal positivistic orientation, which examines individuals in their natural environment (Böhm 2000). I would like to use the opportunity this method offers to analyze the material from an innovative, new point of view in order to dig deeper into the connection between solidarity and identity.

Grounded theory is based on the assumption that interpretations formulated at different levels of generality are important for a deeper understanding of social phenomena, but also that these theoretical arguments do not detach from local interpretations of actions and phenomena. According to Katy Charmaz, Grounded Theory provides the following insights for understanding actions along with their meanings:

1. *the statements made by the persons cited in connection with their action*
2. *non-explicit views of involved individuals, such as emotional attitudes*
3. *the attitude of others, their perceptions of actors and their impact on others*
4. *the visible consequences of the action*
   (Charmaz, 2001).

The work begins with the resolution of the larger body of text and then continues with a literal analysis that follows two strategies: *reduction* and *contextualization*. We condense the data into *conceptual frameworks*, arranging them into certain topics that are labeled with *categories*. In the first stage of the analysis, our goal is to develop the categories based on the empirical material. In the second stage, we project this framework back to the entire text corpus or empirical database, progressing the data line by line through the natural and meaning-defined units of the text. This is called *coding*, but Strauss and Glaser talk about coding on different levels, specifically on the following three: *open coding, axial coding, and selective coding* (Gelencsér 2003, p. 147; Feinschmidt 2007, p. 240; see Glaser & Strauss 1967).

Open coding is the initial stage of the coding process. Our goal is to assign concepts to the data, mostly to the meaningful segments of the text in front of them, as they are read in several orders. We can formulate these on the basis of good questions, problem sensitivity and good insights. The questions relate both to what they talk about,

how they talk about it, how they act, and how they think about the actions of others. We analyse what it means in the context of the narrative, the narrator's life story, and their narrower environment. As we progress through the document, we retain some concepts (because we have used them more than once), discarding others, allowing us to stay close to the empirical data while working on the analytical framework (Gelencsér 2003, p. 147).

During *axial coding*, the researcher's task is to establish the conceptual relations between the above-produced categories – open coding – and to establish a connection between the categories and their different dimensions. We are looking for an answer to what a certain category can say about the basic problem of the research, as well as about its different parts and aspects. At the end of axial coding, we have a system of basic categories and subcategories, between which we establish connections (Gelencsér 2003, p. 148).

During *selective coding*, the categories and subcategories identified following the previous two steps are assigned to the text as codes. This means that we create corresponding relations between two systems, between an analytical framework expressed by a code system and a database containing textual and other documents (see Glaser & Strauss 1967).

Since the main goal of *Grounded Theory* is to create a theory which explains connections between individual and collective experiences, the aim of its implementation into the frameworks of the thesis is to gather symbolic meanings of reality construction (see Cutcliffe 2000), while also creating typologies. The typologies will both be deducted from the narrative and focused interviews. The main goal is to identify different solidarity types and to connect those with relevant biographical moments and/or patterns. In the process, abstract code categories are formed relative to the object level of the text, and the corresponding parts of the text are classified into them, thus obtaining a specific logical-intellectual (deep) structure of the text different from the original linear structure (Gelencsér 2003, p. 149).

With the aim of digging deeper into the structures of the collected material, parts of the interviews were analyzed using the fine structure analysis of Lueger and Froschauer. With the help of fine structure analysis, I was able to create the latent meaning structures of what was said in the interviews and thus capture an overall picture of the respondents'

value systems and the related solidarity patterns. *"... this procedure has the strongest analytical potential: by preventing the application of previous knowledge most effectively, it creates the possibility of gaining new and surprising knowledge for understanding a social system in the course of the interpretation"* (see Lueger & Froschauer 2003).

The translation from Hungarian into English was challenging especially when the fine structure analysis was applied. My goal was to translate the latent meanings of certain words or sentence constellations as precisely as possible. Despite the translation, I aimed to reproduce the results undistorted and decided to keep the open coding phase in the original language (Hungarian), in order to avoid translation related strains. Later during the axial and selective coding phase, the categories were translated parallel to the relevant interview outtakes.

5. Analysis

The first part of the analysis is the description of each interview partner's life story in which the individual biography's relevant elements are illustrated and thematically organized. Since the type of the interviews – biographical – provides a natural framing of the identified concepts, I aimed to keep the organic flow of the story telling while also focusing on the conceptualization of the material. In the following part the interviewees' life stories, their overall reflections on solidarity and social engagement are summed up while also the *latent meanings* (see Lueger/Froschauer 2003) of the material are implemented in the descriptions. To each interviewee is a Hungarian pseudonym assigned in order to comply with the scientific rules of anonymization, while keeping the genders of the given names in accordance with their actual gender identities. The biographies are first analysed individually in order to understand the exact life situations the interviewees were exposed to and how they handled and reflected on those. The goal is to grasp the singular circumstances, feelings and motives in this section while identifying differentiated life stories of the interviewees. Later with the help of the gathered cases I aim to highlight collective patterns among these biographies.

In the first phase of the analysis, the information units are organized into biographical categories according to *axial coding*, while in the next stage, connections between the categories are created according to *selective coding*. The main goal within

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this step is to disclose how much a certain biographical category explains the connection with the interviewee's solidarity patterns. This means the identification of the connection's direction and strength (tight or loose, strong or weak) between two or more concepts, therefore the creation of theoretical propositions is in focus of this analytical phase.

The following biographical core categories were identified and analysed in relation to the interviewees social sensitivity and engagement in order to explore the individual motives behind their high levels of solidarity and social activity:

- Childhood circumstances
- Father's and mother's distinguished roles
- Education
- Lovelife
- Path finding
- Subculture

Each category contains a sequence of coherent reflections on one particular subject which explain the relationship between the category and solidarity attitude of the individuals on a categorial level to a certain degree.

5.1 Péter Analysis - Love for the absurdity and strangeness of life

Childhood

The description of the circumstances of his birth and early childhood in a small village reflects on the chaotic and often absurd times after the system change in Hungary. His parents split up when he was 2 years old because *"My mother got tired of my father and the destructive environment that reigned there (at home)"*. He describes the reasons for the separation of his parents as following:

> *"My father is a peaceful alcoholic hippie punk. Domestic violence happened at our house, when my mother sometimes beat my father… My father is an infinitely nihilistic dude as far as I know him. And my mother is a fucking stubborn woman. That's why they couldn't handle it (the relationship). Thank God, because I might have had a fucking shit childhood if they stayed*

together. Also, they were fucking young when I was born. When I was born, my mother was 25, and my father 23."

The descriptions include acceptance for the nihilistic father figure, while the aggression and stubbornness of his mother are pointed out. Peter appreciates the fact that he did not have to take part in the conflict between his parents, which was caused by their deep-lying, habitual differences. Also, the fact that his parents had him at an early age legitimized their inability to stay together.

"Personally, I hate the rhetoric that you can't grow up in a one-parent family. I had no idea what it would be like if I had a father, I don't know, it caused me zero grief. I was very well off. "

He reflects on growing up without a father figure, while he criticizes the norms society is placing on individuals who grow up in one-parent households. Because his mother despised the living conditions and the all-round neglecting and nihilistic attitude of his father and other surrounding family members they lived with at that time, his mother moved back to her own childhood home with him.

"We moved back to her (mother) hometown with my grandmother. Actually, I grew up there with my mother, grandmother, aunt... This includes the fact that I grew up among 3 women, obviously they had guys in their lives, but usually they didn't. So, I had a mother, the other two are in a way incapacitated in life."

He grew up mostly among women and did not have a father figure in his life. Also, it is emphasised that only her mother played a role in his life, who he was able to take an example from, because the other two women had non-independent lifestyles, which he despises. This lack of independence regards both material (financial) and mental (way of thinking, approaching life as a whole) aspects.

"During socialism, they (the government) didn't take everything, they left us the home where I grew up. Half of it. The other half was owned by a party secretary dude, who became like a family member, or at least acted as a living part of the house we lived in."

The style of storytelling is particularly notable in this outtake. The rollercoaster of gaining and losing family wealth is told in a self-evident, factual way, which does not emphasize the financial status of the family. Rather it presents a colourful illustration of a

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family legend. For this reason, these events are not significant in a material way, but have a historical value, without judging the workings of justice or injustice in the Hungarian political system.

Another short story expresses an unusual habit his mother practiced in kindergarten, which caused an outrage within the institution.

"It was a great feature of our house that the kindergarten was right next door. The kindergarten teacher and my mother handed me over the fence until the faculty revolted and they made my mother pick me up in a regular way, like the other kids."

The next outtake underlines the argument that the interviewee handled unusual occurrences calmly and took them naturally, while it also shows that his mother cared about him. The unconventional events or practices did not happen out of neglect, but rather due to her non-conformist approach to life.

"My mother once forgot to pick me up from kindergarten, so one of the teachers took me home with her. At the kindergarten teacher's house the kitchen towel was kept on the stove like at our house so I felt very much at home. Of course, my mother came for me crying. For her it was a damn big trauma."

Description of father

According to the interviewee's description of his father's parents, they were frugal and so was his father. This was also one of the main reasons for his parents splitting up. The interviewee characterized his father by mentioning the subculture he grew up in:

"He remained in the underground scene, which can be considered punk by the standards of his time. It consisted of what came from the hippie lifestyle mixed with western punk. They had their own little bands, organized small demonstrations and political movements."

It is fascinating that the description of the father's cultural background matches the attributes of the interviewee's own circles.

"Sometimes I spent the weekend with him. It turned out that my dad was exactly the same person as me, up to 100%. The only difference with him is that at the age of 40 he came up with a flash that he was old, so he cut his hair and started growing his beard."

The interest in politics, social movements and liberal thinking are all commonalities between him and his father, which only "turned out" later and fascinated the interviewee since he did not grow up knowing his father.

Primary school

"Until 6th grade I was in this little loser role, I was always at the bottom of the social hierarchy. I remember very much that my mother sent me to another school after 6th grade, saying that the school where I originally should have enrolled in had too many gypsies. She is very ashamed of this statement today."

The interviewee reflects on his early school years in a factual way. Although his first 6 years in school probably involved negative experiences, he kept the description of those years short and focused on switching to another school, where he felt more integrated. After he changed schools his role in class transformed from the *loser kid* to the *girls' guy friend.* He ironically mentions that it was still a role which did not make him particularly popular among his boy peers, but he had his own social circle and it was enough for him for not considering himself to be at the bottom of the class hierarchy and therefore he came to terms with this new role.

The beginnings of political interest

"I remember very much that I was 14 years old, maybe in 8th grade and there was a popular guy in class who was a big handball fan and he went to European matches. There was a final in Krakow, and when he came back from there the guy was broken. He didn't talk to anyone, sometimes he went to the corner to growl. For some reason he opened up to me and it turned out that this child had been taken to Auschwitz and he was completely upset with the experience. For the most part, I started my career in political education with

this kid and we had no idea about anything. All we knew was that we were the opposite of that. We knew this 100%. In 10 days, we became red communists, as everyone should at the age of 14. That's when I had such a fracture in my life and started to be interested in politics and society, which is practically the only interest I have till today."

The quote illustrates a significant event in the interviewee's life which influenced him to be interested in politics and society. When one of his classmates learnt about Nazism and its consequences in Auschwitz, they started to gain historical knowledge about it together. They decided to position themselves against right wing politics and started to develop political interests, which affected the interviewees' world view in general.

During his highschool years the interviewee realized that a location change was necessary for him. He wanted to break free of the same circle of people and gain new experiences.

High school experiences

In the description of his high school years, he indicates that he enjoyed this era for different reasons. First, he mentions that he was the best in class without effort, because the expectations for general classes were low.

Secondly, he emphasizes that they received professional training (he went to a school which provided general education and professional training for cartography and surveying) from teachers who were experts in their fields and treated the students as colleagues, which possibly resonated with his own preference for flat hierarchies.

Thirdly, he expressed the fulfilment of his anticipation for a new and therefore possibly better environment within his class.

"I adored my high school years because there wasn't that damn continuous hierarchy there. We were in a healthy symbiosis, in which we didn't give a fuck about each other while forming little bonds. We were doing well, no one thought to put energy into fucking with anyone. Everyone in class had their own little character. I was well off in the role that I was the kid sleeping in the back row. And at the age of 16, with the role that I'm the kid who goes to school every day with a hangover but can bring 100% in class if it's needed. I

was fucking good in profession classes, if something had practical benefits, I was good at it."

The preference for flat hierarchies is pointed out again in the quote above. Although the class was not characterised as an enthusiastically close-knit circle, the appreciation for the lack of bullying and the organic acceptance of each individual within the community is notable. This way of reflection possibly comes from the distressing experiences he made at his previous schools.

The fourth point is the fact that he was talented and also appreciated by his classmates and teachers, which provided him with a feeling of comfort and relative confidence. While he performed well at high school, some rebellious incidents were also accepted by the institution.

Troubled teenager years

"When I was 17, there was a big turnaround when I made my own life difficult. I had a damn big quarrel with my mother. Her problem was that I spent too much time with my friends, I worked too much, I didn't study, I kept having fun, but I had to go to college and they wouldn't take me. I had no sense of responsibility, etc. "

His mother disapproved of his teenage adventures and worried about his future. Because of this fight, he moved out of the family home and moved into a student hostel during weekdays and into an apartment for the weekends with his friends. According to him, the apartment was filthy, where no rules applied. All in all it was a bunch of kids with tons of freedom.

This change also motivated him to get to know his father, because he needed financial support from him to make sure that he did not have to ask for money from his mother.

"At the age of 18 I started harassing my dad. We scheduled a date that was fucking funny because we sat next to each other for 20 minutes before I stood up and asked him if we were looking for each other. Then we sat in a pub and talked about the money. As long as there is money he gives some, if there isn't

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any, he won't. Then the idea came from my father, that we should keep in touch. This came in handy later when I couldn't pay for the apartment and I moved to his place for a month."

The description of getting to know his father in his late teenage years is filled with comical episodes and factual descriptions. The factual way of his father's offer could imply a distanced notion, but also an unconditional and honest proposal of support. The relationship between him and his father is mostly characterized by these two qualities.

Living together with friends during high school years

"The three of us lived in a 3 – room apartment, where our girlfriends later moved in. You can't imagine what kind of filth there was. We had a circle of friends and after a while we realized that everyone has their own key to the flat. There were many spontaneous home parties. When I came home from work, there were 30 people partying and I knew 2 of them maybe. After a while, 20 people lived in that apartment constantly. Everyone loved that we had a community space, where there are no parents who would say anything."

This outtake expresses an era of wild partying. While the focus is on the time periods of chaotic recklessness, it also reflects on the importance of freedom and community, which are recurring values in the interviewee's life story.

Lovelife

The description of his first relationship is filled with negative experiences due to the situation his girlfriend was in at that time. He and his girlfriend moved to her family's house in the countryside. She lost her father and suffered from depression and alcohol problems. Her suicide attempts, the family's bad financial situation and the constant conflicts with her brother put him into a providing and protecting role.

"There was peace when I was there."

Although the narration is factual, comic elements take the edge off the distressing experiences.

After the breakup he suffered from depression for 2 years, while this period was again packed with reckless partying.

"My buddy and I drank cans of cheap synthetic wine on Rózsadomb for two weeks because they (upper class residents of the area) hadn't seen anything like that anyway."

His drinking habit is framed by unlikely, chaotic, comic or outrageous events, which on the one hand takes away the weight of oftentimes painful or disturbing situations and on the other hand, provides a non-conformist self-image, which resonates with a kind of punk lifestyle.

The descriptions of his following relationships contain numerous chaotic events, struggles with work-life balance, distressing break-ups and ad hoc, quick, emotion-based decisions.

"It's important to know that I'm very attracted to girls who are just recovering from drug addiction."

The repetitive incidents showcase his attraction to absurd, strange and tragicomic life situations. While he provides support for his loved ones and accepts their actions, he tends to practice self-reflection, which often turns into self-criticism.

Path finding

After he finished his professional training, he lived at his friend's flat, where he eventually moved in. This was an organic process of spending so much time there that it just happened naturally. Due to the global economic crisis which heavily influenced the Hungarian markets as well, it took a long time for him to find a steady job after his studies. While he was looking for a job, he lived from casual labour and his friends' financial support. The nihilistic atmosphere is described in the following part:

"She (one of the flatmates) found a job…, so she practically earned our livelihood, while we also maintained the apartment from my casual jobs. A friend knew of some work, supermarket inventory, night shift in the countryside... We usually drank cheap wine until 7 in the morning, and she went to work at 8. Someone was tasked with getting out the flies of the wine glasses and pouring it back in the bottle every morning. Someone was always crying, it was filthy… we lived in awful nihilism."

While the flatmates supported each other, the community was in a depressing situation, which was accompanied by heavy drinking and parties. He did not question behaviours, which some might consider as deviant. He helped those in need on the spot and accepted their actions self-evidently. He mentioned that one of his friends was addicted to gambling and when he lost all his money, he lent him some, which he lost again. The narration did not include any form of disapproval or criticism towards his friend. After the gambling story he characterizes his friend as following:

"He is a very naive guy, you wanted to take him and wrap him up in a blanket to protect him from all the troubles in the world... Yeah I had to write his dissertation too."

Food Not Bombs

He moved to another small apartment with one of his friends, because they wanted to save money. After they found a place with two bedrooms, his friend got into a relationship, so he usually ended up alone on Saturdays with a heavy hangover. His friend spent every Saturday hanging out in her room with her boyfriend, while he had to make sure that he did not disturb the couple with any noisy activity. In order to escape from this situation he started to go to FoodNotBombs events.

"We lived together, we shared the costs while I was fucking depressed and I drank. I was brought back from depression by the fact that I went to a demonstration, meanwhile I started going to FNB events. I was fucking fed up that they (his flatmate and her boyfriend) were busy on Sundays, I wasn't even allowed to do the dishes, because I'm loud. All they did was order plenty of pizza and lay around."

The individual's main reason for volunteering was to solve the problem of meaningless and empty freetime. To become a part of something meaningful was a dream come true, which gave him the feeling of not being an outsider anymore. He wanted to join a social movement which he could resonate with.

He described the process of joining the community as a spontaneous, organic and self-evident progress, which involved no formality at all. An immediate, indirect connection was formed from the very beginning.

"Once I went down to the square to check out the food sharing and I saw a punk guy dragging a huge soup kettle down the street. I asked him if he was with FNB Budapest. He said yes and immediately asked me to jump in to help. I helped him drag around the soup to the square, stayed to do the dishes and since then I've been stuck here."

He also mentioned some attempts to join other civil groups where formality and hierarchical structures were more present, therefore, he felt like an outsider and could not connect to those groups. Although he had not known anybody from the group beforehand; it was the feeling of immediate acceptance and integration due to the ruling notion of equity and flat hierarchies within FNB that made him stay and become a long-time member.

Unfulfilling jobs

Although a more positive era began to unfold in the interviewee's life, he referred to his administrative job as not fulfilling.

"I had been working in the land office for one year and I was already fed up with it. I really didn't like that toxic atmosphere. It wasn't even a problem that I was surrounded by old women, but they whine all the time about how much work they have. However, if you hurried a little, you could do the daily work in two hours. In my more glorious days, I did the work of four people in four hours... It was irregular to work fast and efficiently, so they didn't like that."

The lack of efficiency and bad work ethics made him quit and start work in a warehouse and later at a construction company, until he found a more adequate job.

"I had to manage construction sites, but I didn't know shit, so I just jumped into the wonderful world of construction. I didn't touch anything in two months, my colleagues were Ukrainian bears, Romanian gypsies. I just asked everyone questions and they were very impressed by that. These kids started to respect me because no one ever asked them anything. They taught me everything and I started managing the site."

This outtake shows the interviewee's preference for flat hierarchies again. Although he was the logistical manager of the site, he relied on the workers' knowledge and appreciated their help and respectful, down-to-earth ways.

Working in the civil sphere – looking for purpose

The entrance into the civil sphere not only as a volunteer but also as a professional was supported by one of the interviewee's friends, who happened to work for a food bank in Budapest.

"I kept telling her for two years that there is no stress in your work, you travel the country, rescue food, deal with NGOs and those in need... It is the fucking wonder of the world. So one day she called me and asked if I wanted to work for a quarter as much as before... I said yes immediately and started to work at the food bank and a whole new world opened up for me. Is it also possible to work in such an environment? I was blown away."

His wish to work in the civil sphere had a long history.

"When I started working at the food bank, it was a big dream for me which came true. When I first came across the civil sector – and this is also true for FNB – I felt that I had to get into the civil sphere of Budapest somehow. Because it just makes sense and it matters. It has always been a very big problem for me that my work makes no sense. So the land office .. It makes so little sense that the car parts factory where I worked made more sense. At least a car is made. The construction industry... buildings are at least used by people. This has always been a very big problem for me. For me, the reason I got into the civil sphere and why it makes sense, I can't put it into words...We

are basically human beings, if you can use such big words I ... fuck it .. I don't even want to finish this sentence. That's what I told you at the beginning of the story in Auschwitz. That I wasn't really interested in anything else from then on. I found my area of interest. That many people work together in order to exist... I have this interest also on the micro levels. I had a great love for things like public transport, theory and practice. Social theory itself is basically how we can live together: it's my main interest."

The interviewee reflected on his new job in the civil sphere as a dream come true. He was attracted to the field because he always wanted to have a profession that is useful for society. How societies can live together in fair, efficient and peaceful ways builds his main interest. He originates the development of this direction from his school memories, when he learned about Nazism and its terrible consequences.

"I didn't know what to do with the fact that this dream came true when I became one of the leading faces of FNB... I found myself having a wide network of contacts in the civil life of Budapest, in the underground civil life, people know who I am. It was very strange to me, but it felt fucking good. When I started working at the food bank, it felt like I was certified as a pro from a village football team. Then the network of contacts was formed on a professional level as well."

One rewarding side of his job in the civil sphere is that he was able to build a strong social network, in which he feels accepted and recognised. He considers the job as a great leap forward in his life, which allows him to bring together his private and professional interests.

Getting into the subculture

"My friends didn't really dig my type of interest. When I came to Budapest I got involved in punk because I heard that there are different ideologies here, anarchism, antifascism, and fuck knows. And I got into this nihilistic punk company who simply drank. Okay, there were 2-3 faces with whom it was possible to talk about antifascism and sometimes to fight with skinheads, but

that's it. This has always been a problem for me. How this happened to me (the development of his interest) ... I can't answer that."

His interest in society did not come from a shared interest with his friends. He looked for like-minded people within the punk subculture, where he just partially found his place, therefore his job might have gained even more significance in his life.

Conclusion of the case description

Peter was born in a village and grew up in a small town. He had young parents in a destructive setting, which caused their early separation. He went through chaotic, tragicomic and often absurd happenings from a young age and handles these till this day as normal, or at least *natural*. He learned to accept given circumstances, while having a clear view on particular situations and not turning a blind eye to the *darker side* of life. Unconventional parenting and the lack of clear guidelines made him a non-conformist individual, who at the same time pays attention to economical and ecological *rules* when it comes to societal questions. He considers his childhood as normal, or average. He had no connection to his father during his childhood and teenage years, however interestingly his father's cultural background matches the attributes of the interviewee's own circles and his overall character. The father was described as a liberal thinker, who had similar interests in politics and subculture. Although they had no obvious expectations towards each other, their relationship is based on honesty and acceptance. His mother's behaviour can be described as unconventional, however she also showed traditional cognitive patterns in her parenting style. She set many expectations towards Peter, which caused tensions during their relationship. Both his father and mother can be considered as independent individuals, who turned to the interviewee with constant honesty, however no deep lying, positive emotions were mentioned towards them.

During his education the interviewee was exposed to very different roles and positions within particular hierarchies. He changed schools and was able to reflect on his social situation, while the wish to break free emerged. He felt best when experiencing flat hierarchies and relaxed environments with fair expectations. His political interests started to develop during high school, when he learned about the brutalities of fascism. His

counter reaction made him left leaning and provided a strong interest in anti-fascist politics.

His love life is illustrated by many emotional, colorful and often absurd and tragic stories which underline his attraction to chaos. Still the descriptions not only contain a mixture of comic or distressing events with loads of self reflection, but also shed light on an emotional, caring and protecting personality.

The interviewee's path is filled with stories about acceptance for deviant behavior due to his many non-conformist friendships as well. These friendships are extremely important to him, although very often only the part of excessive partying, alcohol and drug abuse is highlighted. Unfulfilling, meaningless jobs highly irritate him, because he despises the lack of efficiency and he is constantly looking for *real* purpose, while he keeps his preference for flat hierarchies. His unconventional, norm-questioning thinking, anti-fascist political interest and the lack of fixation on financial gain or power show that his connection to the punk subculture resonates with the current punk values. The acceptance for deviant behaviour also comes to show while his attraction to nihilism is notable.

- Solidarity path:

Peter's high level of social sensitivity and engagement can be connected with his love for efficiently functioning societies which builds one of his main interests. His long term dream was to work in the civil sphere, to join a civil organisation his values agree with, which came true when he got a job in a social organisation. Volunteering can be considered as the fulfillment of empty, meaningless freetime while it is also extremely important for him to be part of a community of acceptance and strong integration. Building a stable network while putting an emphasis on acceptance provides him with the feeling of social recognition. His work with the FNB organisation means the support of a grass-root social and political movement which stands in accordance with his non-conformist values.

5.2 Ferenc Analysis - Introduced to the world through music

Normalizing description of childhood

The interviewee was born in 1979 in a small town, where he spent his early childhood years. His narration of a typical idyllic childhood is filled with nostalgic, romanticizing memories, which describe his first love in kindergarten and recurring events of market visits and summer holidays at his grandmother's home in the countryside. Later in the course of his portrayal, he mentions that his upbringing was not idyllic and was filled with conflicts due to his father's behaviour.

"There was no family idyll, there were always problems. My dad loved to drink, I'm not saying he was an alcoholic, but it left its mark on the family."

Father's role

The characterization of his father contains self-reflections, which imply that the interviewees's negative personality features are his father's heritage. Those negative characteristics were aggravated when he drank, therefore the problem of regular alcohol consumption took its toll on the whole family atmosphere and caused conflicts between his mother and father.

"I inherited quite a few bad things from him unfortunately, from nervousness to impatience. And it came out of him a lot when he drank, he went to the pub about every day. Of course it also had a funny side when he took little me to the pub, I got a slice of cake with cola, and he drank beer. But there were many downsides to this in our daily lives. It's not good to come home with your dad drunk or drinking about every day, yes yes yes. And then my mom obviously had fights with him about it and stuff like that."

The interviewee missed his father's attention and the lack of care caused him to talk about him in a colder, more distanced way, but still kept a respectful tone. Although he clearly states that he did not like his father, in his narration he stays aways from harsh judgements and emphasises his father's good work ethics.

"I remember that he didn't really raise me... I don't remember him ever helping me with math or taking me to school. My mom did it mostly. There was no such thing like sex education or anything like that. He worked a lot, he worked, you can't take that away from him, but he also smoked a lot, which unfortunately

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caused his death. And he drank every day yes yes yes, and then there were fights about it. I didn't even like my dad especially, there were fights between us when I was a teenager, there were problems. He was impatient and envious of money for the most basic things."

Reflecting on family ties

The interviewee's reflection on his family ties can be characterized as a distanced and factual narration. Although he mentioned several times that he likes and appreciates his mother, a loving bond could not be identified from his side. His description of his brother is based on the differences between them on every level, such as interests, character or looks. His often mentioned longing for relationships caused him to look for connections outside his family.

"I really appreciate those who have a close, deep human relationship with their family. I don't have one. Well, I like my mom, but we're not talking on a daily basis. Absolutely not with kinship, not with my brother. For me, buddies and friends have always been the link to everything. For me, this family relationship is absolutely not working out. Okay, I have a brother, but I have simply no emotions towards him. Friends were more important to me because there's a lot more connection to them. I never understood this blood-bonding thing."

Despite his distant relationship to his family, he lived with them until his thirties.

Living at home for a long time

His observation that he lived at home for a long time, although his relationship to his family members was not characterized by intimacy is framed by justifications and self-positionings within the family. He mentions that he always had jobs and saved up money, while he also supported his family financially. With the descriptions of his work ethics he indicates that it was a comfortable situation which took – according to his expectations towards himself – too long, but he emphasizes that he did support his family and was not a burden for them, which justifies his decision not to leave the family home.

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I quit drinking, I haven't drunk alcohol since 2006, so there was no problem going home drunk. They saw that I worked a lot from Monday to Saturday. So it wasn't really that I was parasitizing off my mom and that she always did everything, but that I brought home money, I saved up the other part for house savings, everything I could put into it. But obviously I pushed it in front of me... that I would move, I lied to myself…

The importance of identity and belonging to a community

The narration is loaded with the topic of belonging, while he ranks the importance of his friends in his life above his family. The connection to his friends was provided through music, which again played a significant role through his biography. He did not mention significant friendships from his school years. His interests revolved around books and movies, which he described as lonely hobbies and therefore he had the urge to open towards collective activities, such as going to concerts and partying.

"I also have a tattoo that says: music saved my life. Everyone needs some hobby or some attachment. I really enjoyed reading, but how do you get to know people with books? For me, MTV was the first point of connection to the world. People build themselves, they create a style. I thought I was a rocker. Even so, I didn't go to concerts for a very long time, I didn't have a rebellious phase, I was a loner type, sitting at home, so my school, home, library, TV and newspaper were my life. Since I was a TV junkie and interested in books, it was hard. Maybe after that I befriended a couple of schoolmates and went to concerts with them and they got me into the bad stuff. Actually they got me into life, into pubs. The first time I got drunk was when I was 19, I went to concerts, festivals, house parties. So I got to know bands, styles, metal, punk ... and hung out with them for a long time."

The interviewee's identity is strongly connected to the music subculture, where he found a welcoming place and was able to connect with like-minded people. Through this connection, he got into activities which gave him the feeling of really being alive and able to experience the outside world.

"I got acquainted with underground punk music and dropped into a world where everyone knows everyone, hundreds of people go to concerts. I never played in a band, but I was touring as a roadie, and that's how I first found my place there."

Path finding

The interviewee considers himself as someone who needed a long time to find a path which provided stability, purpose and belonging, and set him free from a nihilistic attitude in life. His idea of a *life in order* consists of him moving into his own apartment, which he renovated himself, finding a steady job, where he does not have to do manual labour, and having a girlfriend.

"I did all the shittiest jobs, I cleaned up, did student jobs, distributed flyers advertising newspapers. I was a shop assistant, so to speak, dirty work. Well we don't say that ... so I did manual work for a long time. I lived at home for a long time, because of course it is nice, mom was there helping, but I saved up money, I was hardworking, so I always worked as much as I could. I am now in such a relatively normal position at the age of 40, I am a team leader in a warehouse. I am typically the late maturing type who has been looking for his place in the world for a long time in all respects. In music, in terms of interest, in terms of girlfriends, in all respects."

FNB – social sensitivity

The interviewee illustrated his introduction to FNB as a spontaneous idea which revolved around partying, and therefore mostly around the connection to the subculture, the feeling of belonging.

"It wasn't like: Hi my name is this and that, but instead there was a group of people who you laughed with, you partied and if the company was good, you could hang out with them even more and the goal was good."

The narration lacks any form of sentiment regarding helping those in need. While he mentions his early interest in history and World War II, which made him position himself against the oppressors of history and provided him with a long term antifascist ideology aligning with FNB's and underground punks' values.

"Then I met people in this arena (underground punk) and also met FNB there. There was talk about an opportunity to cook for those in need and I had a social sensibility for that. It may have come from history, I was a very big World War II junkie, or a fan or I don't even know how to say it and obviously... so Nazism maybe, the fallen people... we support the oppressed, that was the point. I got this from my dad, he really liked books and movies on WWII, which he showed me... It evolved in me that okay, Nazism or anything like that is bad, but obviously what are you doing at the age of twenty something? And then someone in the pub said you could come down and there is a fucking good company."

The illustration of his FNB career contains his changing waves of enthusiasm and parallelly growing levels of structure within the organization. Due to his early part-taking, he was able to follow the development of FNB starting with occasional afterparty cookings from their own money, turning to more regular events requiring consistency and leading to a well structured organization with flat hierarchies causing several conflicts, which made him burn out and end his regular and active part-taking at the FNB events.

He practices self-criticism regarding his changing role in the group framed by many conflicts. These were often caused by his ambition to take part in almost every group decision, while taking on a leading role. Since the organisation is characterized by flat hierarchies, taking a leading role generated friction between the members and him. He also connects his burnout to his high-level activity.

"The FNB has always been something that someone did and passed on to someone else. It was in waves, but I wanted to do everything."

Although he is not a regular helper anymore, he still shows up to events when there is a need for it. He kept a friendly relationship with the remaining members and reflects on the FNB times as nostalgic and cherished memories.

Conclusion of the case description

Ferenc grew up in a small town and later moved to Budapest with his family. Despite his normalising description, the image of an idyllic childhood was framed by ongoing family conflicts which mostly revolved around his father. He characterised his father as a nervous and impatient man whose attention he lacked. Although the father had good work ethics, he had an alcohol problem and according to the interviewee he didn't take an active part in his upbringing. They had a distanced relationship which was caused by the fathers aggressiveness and neglect. Even though the sum of his narration seems to be certainly negative, the interviewee's first real interests were connected to him. His fathers love for history attracted him to historical books and movies where he learned about fascism which altogether influenced him to be drawn to left leaning ideologies and to take on anti-fascist views. His relationship to his mother was also distant just like with other family members such as his brother. He described it as a loose, physical care based connection while he clearly recognises the support he received from her as a child and adult.

He learned car mechanics upon an environmental pressure, but he never worked in the field and referred to himself as a lonely kid at school.

The interviewee didn't mention any previous girlfriends or romantic relationships besides his current, long term spouse. He connects the fact that he didn't have too many serious connections to his past living circumstances. He lived with his mother till his thirties to save money and to enjoy her care while he emphasised that they both supported each other during this period. He often claimed that he became independent only later on because he didn't exactly know what his path was. He had manual labor jobs which were unfulfilling, however he found it important to always work and to save up money. Later he was able to climb the hierarchy ladder at a warehouse where he got a leading position. He now owns a flat, lives with his girlfriend and seems to be content with the situation he is in.

He found his way into the subculture through music. As a teenager he had lonely hobbies such as reading books and watching TV. While watching music videos on MTV he found a deep love for rock music which provided him with a connection to the outside world. The urge to take part in collective activities was satisfied through the punk

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community which was an easy field to enter, since *"in punk everyone knows everyone"* therefore it meant a smoother integration while the punk values stand very much in accordance with his own.

- Solidarity path:

Through punk and hardcore he found his place: his identiy and community. He felt *really alive* with his new crowd and wanted to spend more time with them. This is how he found FNB which was at the time not a real organisation but a group of people who wanted to help the people in need while they also simply wanted to hang out on Saturdays together. His participation increased and he became one of the motors of the early FNB. His active part can be connected to his overall high willingness to participate in and lead groups while he also enjoyed decision making processes. Although he doesn't take part at the FNB events regularly anymore, he keeps his active times as nostalgic and cherished memories.

5.3 László Analysis - Class reflection, self-reflection

Description of childhood

The interviewee's description of his childhood is kept short with a strong focus on the positioning of each family member's social status within society. Both his parents have blue-collar professions, while his mother had to give up her job due to a health condition (an allergy to a specific work material) and become a full time stay-at-home mother, his father worked in Germany and earned his living with interior construction work. His job abroad provided the family with a middle class status, but because of the distance between his workplace and family, he spent very little time at home (one weekend a month).

> *"Our class background was that my father had already worked abroad as a plasterboarder in the '90s. In fact, the family had so much income that we lived well on a standard, average middle class level."*

Also, the stories about extended family members included specific reflections on the mentioned individuals professions and implied their class statuses both directly and indirectly. His and his relatives' belonging to the working class have an essential role in the narration and will be further discussed in the analysis.

An influential person in his life was his grandmother, whom he spent a lot of invaluable time with. She introduced him to different cultures and explicitly aimed to provide him with experiences which can cater to an open mindset towards otherness.

> *"She very consciously wanted to expand the minds of her grandchildren and did things like taking us with her to Christian, Jewish and Muslim communities. She asked if she could take us to random dinners so that her grandchildren could see the world. So I loved that woman, that she did so much to expand our minds and be open people, so that figure was great, brilliant."*

During his childhood, they moved from Budapest to the countryside where he went to school and the financial struggles of his family started to unfold. The financial problems resulted in his father turning to alcohol, causing constant conflicts and an all around negative atmosphere.

> *"I handled family things relatively well, I was relatively happy, or not happy, but I had a completely normal childhood. There was no real problem with that."*

Father figure

After the unfolding of the families economic decline, which was connected to his fathers deteriorating working conditions caused by his business partner's exploitation, they became indebted and, subsequently, his parents split up.

> *"In three years, a bastard capitalist contractor indebted and exploited my father, so there was constant frustration around money. He was in debt, and his business went bankrupt."*

During this phase his father channeled his frustration into alcohol abuse, which ended with domestic violence against his mother. On one occasion he had to call the police because his father attacked his mother. The arriving police officer was a friend of

his father's, therefore no legal action was taken, which resulted in the interviewee's overall loss of trust in law enforcement.

"I never had a good relationship with my father. It was a very bad feeling that my sister was a daddy's girl and he never had a good relationship with me. He was a girl's dad, so he could never connect with me. My sister bashed my mother all her childhood. She held a mentally sick person accountable for not going to work, it caused a lot of conflicts. Even though my dad was the main culprit for ruining us, my sister didn't give a shit because she was a daddy's girl."

This outtake encloses both the interviewee's longing for a connection with his father, especially by comparing his relationship to his sister's and his empathy for his mother's suffering.

The relationship with his father developed in a more positive direction with time, since there were attempts to resolve the ongoing conflict in order to reconstruct the family relationships. The interviewee confronted him about his past actions, which negatively affected the whole family. Although his father accepted his son's claims, he never apologised, therefore the interviewee does not see a chance for a deeper father and son connection and cannot consider him as his father.

Mother figure

The interviewee's mother played a significant role in his life. Her characterisation is wrapped around the parents' separation and its long term consequences for the mother both financially and mentally. When the abusive marriage ended, the interviewees mother was left with her children in an extremely vulnerable position.

"My mother was quite afflicted by what my father did to us, she started to lose it at the time and the result was that my mother is still bipolar and suffering. She was the absolute loser of it all, my father won, moved to Germany with his girlfriend, my mother lives in a workers' hostel and works as a cleaning lady."

Since they lost the family home, they had to rely on the help of the mother's parents, which also left the family in a mentally abusive and defenseless situation.

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"My mother's parents saved us from the shitstorm because when the bank took our house, we would have become homeless. They moved us to the same house where they lived, and despite helping a lot, it soon became clear that we would have a very bad relationship and that they had a complete lack of empathy. They represented a very disgusting, very Kádárist, Stakhanovist socialist attitude. They checked in on us, it was like the police, they completely regulated our lives and told us what to do and it was a complete psychoterror."

The interviewee's critical reflection on the grandparents' help is framed by attributes which originate from Hungary's socialist era. The *"Kádárist, Stakhanovist, disgusting socialist attitude"* mentioned can be interpreted as a common phenomena in the current Hungarian society*,* which implies an archetype of certain members of society who incorporated the socialist values and, despite the "soft dictatorships" oppression, they consider long-term job security and thus an easier livelihood as a positive "system-specific" feature of the socialist state. (Gyarmati, 2013:68)

The contempt of the interviewee is based on the grandparents' value system which includes a work-centered orientation and a rule-following attitude. Individuals who belong to this specific archetype are not bothered by the loss of freedom if their everyday life is secured, even if it is maintained by an oppressive system. Through the narration it becomes clear that the interviewee positions himself against this mindset and actively supports any form of resistance against oppression.

"I grew up having constant problems with my dad, so dad was not present and so I became the dad or the supporting figure for my mother and sister and I became the most responsible one for everything, as my mother was not accountable because of her illness. I was socialized in an environment where I obviously had to help my mother. I've been working continuously since I was 15 and obviously I gave some money home, that was pretty basic for us."

The narration points out several times that the interviewee does not hold her mother accountable for her actions and considers her situation as an illness, which he fully accepts and does his best to support her in the different phases of manic and depressive episodes.

Being social, the importance of community

The interview subject kept the description about his school years short and focused mainly on his social status within the school community.

> *"I was a very social person at school. Luckily, I wasn't the kind of depressed person who tends to self-isolate. I figured out that talking to my friends if I had any problems helped me a lot. I always found refuge in friends, in big communities, I always stayed social and got along with people. Besides, I was a good student all the way through. I was in a lot of trouble outside of school, I fought a lot. Not in school, in school they liked me, I hung out with good guys, I found connections, there was no bullying towards me."*

According to this outtake and many other parts of the interview, it was immensely important for him to belong to a community where he was able to express himself and find refuge from the chaos which he experienced at home. Even though he mentions that he was depressed due to his family's situation, he was able to turn to friends who were listening to his problems and were providing emotional support.

Belonging to the subculture

He encountered the punk/hardcore scene when the family issues started to deepen and he was looking for ways to escape from the faint atmosphere.

> *"I got into punk at just 13 years old and since then I practically exist in this medium. I got my Mohawk when I was 13 and have been in this (subculture) ever since. I really found my own little place to break out from home, since that was the time when it started to get really horrible."*

Within punk it is usual that a relatively high percentage of the community is involved in social projects or gets into social work, which can be connected to the values of the subculture such as equity, freedom and rejection of any form of oppression or hierarchy. The interviewee reflects on this process in the following outtake:

"I thought I should definitely go to college. Several friends from the punk circle were social workers and I liked these kinds of things too. My main motivation was that, if anyone, I know what a deprived life situation is like, that you are under the supervision of these dickhead grandparents and what it feels like to grow up broke. I know what it is like to be poor, coming from the working class. So I was very motivated because I had experience in this and I know how to help people. That's how I got into social work."

Due to the punk community's acknowledging attitude towards poverty, he was able to own it and decided to turn his negative experiences into an impactful and positive matter. His constant reflection on his social status (worker class) also showcases how the subculture frames social hierarchies and how this framing enables both acceptance and resistance at the same time.

"I liked the anger and sense of justice that I had towards certain things, towards social, human relationships, towards power relations. I was fucking tired of a lot of things. From the rich, since practically my father became crazy because he was exploited by a capitalist fucker. That's why I've hated these capitalist jerks all my life, I could sympathize with these thoughts, with this energetic rage, and the attitude of "fuck everyone", I really liked it. We went to many concerts, and friendships were formed."

As it was mentioned in the chapter about the Hungarian punk subcultures development, an all-over critical stance towards the *petty bourgeois* and capitalists build the main components of today's punk scene. The subculture focuses on systematic oppression, inhuman societal and individual practices, and current politics amongst others and therefore resonate with the interviewee's world view.

Social work, university and job experiences – looking for purpose

Although the interviewee studied social work, he was not able to finish his studies (only missing the Bachelor thesis), but during his time at the university he was involved in several social projects, such as street work for sex workers, substance users, and helping refugees during the *migration crisis,* which he described as life experience. Later he was able to find a job as a social worker which he also referred to as fulfilling although his work

was often dangerous and underpaid. Also due to his mother's bad financial situation, he had to find a better paying job in order to support himself and his family.

> "Shit is paid for social work. There were nearly 5 life-threatening occasions in 1 year and I don't want to die for 160,000 (800 EUR) a month, so I was forced to go, even though I still long for it (social work). I needed the money and I quit this street job because I had to get some better pay and I went to be a warehouse worker and I was a warehouse manager for 3 years at a small shitty company."

Jobs outside of the civil sphere

During his time at the warehouse he was often confronted by the business owner's *upper class* character, which he – also due to past experiences with his father's business partner – despises.

> "My boss was born into a good life, but he's unviable. I fucking hate people like that, I'll beat him up the next time I see him."

At the moment he works for a company where he handles customer issues and is responsible for sales and management related tasks. Although he describes his job as stressful, he is a central figure within the company and enjoys the semi-decision making role. The fact that, thanks to his current earnings, he is able to provide a more stable life for himself and can occasionally help his mother out financially helps him to maintain a more balanced lifestyle, which is contributing to his mental health.

> "It's a good feeling not to have to count the money at the end of the month. It helped me a lot mentally. In every way, I've improved a lot in the last year and I feel a lot better. I felt earlier that my life was going to waste because of my mother, obviously it is going to be a lot more shitty because of that, but it's going well."

His prediction that he will have issues in the future because of his mother is connected to his mother's living and working conditions. His mother currently lives in a

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workers hostel and works as a cleaning lady. Because it is an extremely vulnerable situation (her living conditions depend on her ability to work) and there is no social security due to her work contract, he is counting on the possibility of his mother's unemployment, which would not only affect her financially but also mentally.

FNB – working in the civil sphere, even if I cannot afford it

As the average earnings of a social worker in Hungary provide low financial security, the interviewee felt forced to change professions to get a better paid job. However, his wish to improve the situation of society's most vulnerable members did not disappear and he started to do volunteer work besides his regular jobs. He got familiar with FNB through the punk subculture, since several FNB members belonged to the scene at the time.

"People don't live to work, I fucking hate to work, but I really like community, community building and social things. If I can't do what I love at work anymore because I don't get paid, I'd rather do it in my spare time. It is important that I carry something on my back, be in the community, exist, build ... If we cannot change the world from one day to the next, then as many people as possible must be drawn into a good morality. Have at least a well-functioning community if we can no longer make a big difference."

The interviewee's attitude towards work also aligns with the punk subculture's values which reject a capitalistic work-based life purpose and revolve around flat hierarchy community building. One of his main goals is to develop communities that are based on self-organising principles. Since Hungarian society does not have an established environment for grassroot, flat-hierarchy organisations, he considers it essential to support these formation types in order to bring change within society. This observation also includes an all-round feeling of powerlessness due to society's atomization, when individuals attempt to change structural problems of society such as homelessness. The support of grassroot organisations undertake transformations on the microlevel while, with the spread of this approach, the meso, then the macro level can be influenced in the long run, which is, according to the interviewee, a clear political statement.

"The role of self-organization is that people break into our lives and they want to gut us out, but because of our positive goal, we can do something against that. Society is atomized, people do not dare to come together, they think along their own interests. Obviously, we will not save the homeless or overthrow the government, but it is important that our example becomes an outward example... FNB is a group of angry private people and brothers who want to do something because they are dissatisfied. The strongest unifying force is anger. Every part of our social life is politics, and talking to a homeless person is also politics."

Nowadays the interviewee takes part in fewer events, because he wanted to focus more on recreation and his mental health. His self-reflection shows that he is aware of the consequences of his socialization and while it is still important for him to be socially active, he wants to take care of himself in order to maintain a stable lifestyle.

"What happened to me now was that I was a little tired. I was there every Sunday for 4 years, it was very intense. I've been active in a lot of media, lately I'd rather spend more time with myself. So far, I've been helping out, my mom, people, it's always that I'm not dealing with myself, I'm helping out, and especially in the last year I've started spending more time with myself because I feel the need for it now. I'm a lot more passive, but because I'm resting now, that's it."

Conclusion of the case description

Laszlo grew up in a middle-class family in the countryside during his early childhood. In his description the blue collar professions of his parents and relatives were often mentioned. The financial struggles of his parents started to unfold, family conflicts were constant and an all around negative family atmosphere was pictured. Despite that, the narration of his childhood tends to be normalising and a working class identity is emphasised. Later he moved with his mother and sister to Budapest due to his parents' separation.

Because of the family's economic decline his father turned to alcohol which caused more family friction and ended in domestic violence which put him in a defenseless position. According to the interviewee his father was exploited by a *"capitalist bastard"* which in the end caused his bankruptcy. Although Laszlo stated that he *"can't consider him as a father"*, he tried to resolve their conflict as an adult which can be related to his longing for connection during his childhood.

The interviewee's mother suffered long term mental and financial consequences of the divorce and she found herself in a vulnerable, unstable and defenseless mental state. As a result of the divorce she had to rely on her own parents' support while they have shown an extremely oppressive attitude towards her and her children. This experience showed him that the generation of his grandparents have little empathy for those in need, which he connected with an overall Kadarist (socialist-state capitalistic) attitude. The narration about the mother's situation shows that Laszlo considers her mental instability as an illness (manic-depression). Because of the constant help he had to provide her, he sees his urge to help others as part of his socialisation and therefore considers empathy as a self-evident act.

During his school years he used his ability to connect with others and found refuge in community which turned out to be a crucial skill later on. At university he studied social work and was involved in different civil projects, however he was not able to finish his studies, because he felt forced to change professions in order to earn a more decent wage.

His love life is mostly characterized by dysfunctional relationships in which he usually finds himself in the position of the helper. Although he left social work for a better paying office job - with little responsibility to bear but some degree of decision making - his hate for capitalism didn't disappear and he kept showing a critical stance towards the Hungarian social security system and overall politics. His need for financial stability is also connected to the fact that he had to constantly support his mother financially.

Laszlo's long term attachment to the punk subculture is rooted in his wish to escape from the faint family-atmosphere he experienced at home, the longing for acceptance and the outlet for rage and anger. He pays close attention to social and cultural issues such as poverty and injustice, due to his own experiences while he stands in solidarity with the

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working class and leans his core identity on "*punk values*". Also through the subculture he found a way to fight the system from underneath, as a form of grass-root movement.

- Solidarity path:

These values come to life in the frames of social engagement. His path to FNB led from the subculture he grew up in, but his deep urge to help others is connected to his early socialisation, as mentioned above. He sees civil engagement as a form of political resistance, statement and protest and feels a moral obligation to better his own community in order to bring change into the current system. Also this type of grass level, flat hierarchy community building counters the growing atomisation of society in his view.

5.4 Anna Analysis - Looking for the right way to be, to lead, to help

Childhood memories

The interviewee starts with a joke, that birth went well, dissolving the formality of the interview situation and providing a satirical atmosphere in the beginning. The factual description of her early childhood implies regular circumstances which did not involve any particularly mentionable event.

Shortly after her birth her family moved to Nigeria due to a job offer his father received as a mechanical engineer. She mentions that their position counted as privileged in comparison to the locals, but the people who worked around their house were treated in a collegial, friendly way.

Primary and highschool, university, after graduation

After 5 years they moved back to Budapest and she started school. She was assigned the role of the "*typical social outcast*" in her class. Not because she was that different from the others, but because she was not especially outstanding in anything according to her.

"I was the typical, stupid, socially outcast kid you see in American movies. You're not that pretty, you're not particularly talented, but you still have some friends."

Later at University – which she only describes shortly – she wanted to apply for a Ph.D. in biology, but her grades were average and she did not push herself, so she was rejected. She notes in a self-reflecting way that she probably did not want to have a Ph.D. deep down.

"Everyone is pushing to be special or extra in something, but it's really good to be average because then you don't have to measure yourself against expectations, or to be the best, super fit, good-looking, or smart. You just are, the way you are and then you figure out for yourself what you are good at. In this, scouting and Africa also helped me to stand up for myself... It's a different kind of self-confidence. You don't become confident just because everyone thinks that you are nice or smart, and it's good to let go of that tension."

During the narration, the interviewee often mentioned that she was average, or nothing special. In this outtake it becomes clear that it's a form of self protection against other people's expectations, which does not necessarily equate to having a low sense of self-appraisal. In fact it can provide a deep confidence, which doesn't require the constant self-comparison that current society puts on the individuals.

After she finished her studies, she moved back to her parents' house and had several different unfulfilling jobs in which she did not find her purpose. According to her narration this was clearly a step back regarding her independence and due to these circumstances, she was heavily affected by depressive emotions. Although with time she found a job which she enjoyed because of the good work atmosphere and the low degree of responsibility, she still wanted to take part in a more meaningful project.

Volunteering experiences – looking for purpose

Because of her longing for adventure, fulfillment and independence, she applied for a volunteer program at an international non-profit organization where she was accepted

and had the chance to spend 6 months in Denmark working with children with special needs.

"I applied, obviously they accepted me because every idiot is hired ... They (in Denmark) act like they have a great welfare system, but all the problematic children are excluded from society. These kids would still go smoothly through the school system in Hungary, which isn't necessarily a good thing, but it's still weird the way they exclude problematic kids. The kids I worked with in Denmark said they knew they didn't have to work a single day all their lives because the state cared for them."

Although her all-round description of the experience is positive and is showcased as a great learning opportunity, the narration includes criticism regarding how the Danish welfare state excludes children considered problematic from society. Her opinion on this practice includes that these children should not be treated as outcasts who cannot be part of the "normal" society and that if there are absolutely no expectations set towards an individual, they will not be able to break out of the stigma of being problematic and therefore their situation will not improve in their adult lives. This sequence points out that independence and a "help yourself" attitude are crucial within the interviewee's value system.

Additionally, she criticises the whole system of the well known, non-profit organization's international volunteer program and describes it as a cult without a religious charge because of its high hierarchies and a system of "*inner circles*".

After Denmark she was able to go to Malawi and work as a volunteer for another six months, where she was promoting education for the locals. Her narration is filled with practical problems, which need quick and lasting solutions. The interviewees' all around approach to these problems were pragmatic, always aiming for a logical and consistent outcome. She criticised the organisation's way of helping the locals due to the lack of efficiency and consistency and emphasised that this type of volunteer work is more benefitting for the volunteers than for those who are actually in need of help. According to her the impact of volunteer work is negligible in comparison to its costs; she therefore critically views other volunteers or organisations who put themselves in the role of *rescuer.* Through the narration a strong desire to bring efficient and lasting change for the needy is outlined, while there is no sign of heroism within these acts. The help is displayed as

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self-evident and even selfish due to the knowledge that helpers can gain through these experiences.

> *"People do this (volunteering) for themselves. It's nice to help the locals with a few things, but there are volunteers coming and going in these countries and one day they'll go home and reintegrate into their civilized little European countries, while these organizations are spending tons of money on volunteers. Everyone wants to help them (the locals), but everyone helps badly and we didn't necessarily help well either. Anyway, it's okay to do it for yourself. There was a chick who said that: even if I only helped one person's life, it would be worth it. We told her like: well fuck, if the organization used that money spent for the cost of your trip, they would have been better off, so lets not pretend that it's such a great deal for the locals… So this way of heroism seemed pretentious to me and I looked at the project like, well, what we're doing now is insignificant, but maybe it won't be insignificant another time."*

The description of the time spent in Africa includes a high level of self-reflection, is kept factual and lacks any form of romanticism. She also highlights a best practice another volunteer developed himself. He gathered the knowledge of the locals and only helped them with the self-organisation. With that the locals were able to learn practical solutions from each other, which she considered as a much more ideal way of helping others. This again points out her critical approach towards existing, but not efficient enough helping systems.

The following outtake sums up one of the main long lasting effects of her volunteer work in Africa:

> *"If you go to a foreign place where you stay for a long time, you will approach everything in such a way that, well, nothing can surprise me anymore."*

The interviewees' resilience, flexibility and openness are all represented through the whole biography, which can originate from her own early childhood experiences in Africa and also from her parents' learnings from this time period abroad.

Unfulfilling jobs

After her return to Hungary she again suffered from depression due to a lack of purpose and fulfillment in her new job. Although the job itself was interesting – she worked on educational materials – the written materials usually ended up in a drawer and therefore had no impact at all.

"While there were some interesting projects, it was disappointing that you were doing a lot of good things and then the work ended up in a drawer. So you do your job, you get the money, you go to places, you work on international projects, with people in meetings, dinners, but for what?"

The feeling of meaningless work pushed her to look for other social projects with a real impact.

Scouting – a way of life

The interviewee started scouting when she was 7 years old – due to her grandmother's push – and she only left the organization in her late twenties. During this relatively long period, she played different roles on different hierarchy levels within the scout team, which provided her with a strong sense of belonging and community. Her narration implies that scouting had a big impact on her character and made her the critical, problem-solver person she is today. The descriptions of her scouting experiences imply that when a problem needs a solution, despite that you shouldn't follow rigid ideologies, certain structures or hierarchies within a group are crucial when approaching and handling specific tasks.

In the description of the scouting teams hierarchies, she draws parallels to the structures of Food Not Bombs and expresses the necessity of given systems of power relations, which help groups of people to work together efficiently.

"FNB is a less structured organization and I can very much agree with that because there is no need for unnecessary hierarchies. On the other hand, scouting is practically made out of hierarchies, but I think this also has a practical side to it. The disadvantage of a non-hierarchical system is that shit

tasks have no owner. It's often hard to move things forward without others thinking that you're the boss. I have serious struggles with this, by the way, about what it means to be a boss and have some power… If you are endowed with power, it means that you have a fucking big responsibility towards the people who have endowed you with power. You have power because others thought you were capable of doing certain things and therefore have the responsibility to do it right."

According to this excerpt, it is important to keep balanced hierarchies in order to maintain an organization's existence and to be able to move forward. Hierarchies mean in this context different levels of decision making power, which require a high level of responsibility towards others. Power, according to her view, is not claimed by an individual, but given by the community upon the group's levels of trust regarding a certain individual's qualities.

This standpoint also suggests a more flexible handling of ideologies. If one agrees with an ideology it doesn't mean that all the features of the view system have to be applied all the time. It is more important to maintain the bases of the group within flexible frameworks, even if it means that some rigid mechanisms based on the original ideology have to be set aside.

Family relations

According to the interview her parents played an important role in her life. Her mother's family members all had higher education, while her father's consisted of individuals with lower levels of education. Interestingly her mother doesn't have an academic qualification, while her father is the first member of his family with a university degree. Maybe due to this constellation there were no explicit expectations regarding the interviewees educational path.

She reflected on her parents extensively in the frames of a comparison to other FNB members' family backgrounds:

"The interesting thing is that everyone at FNB has some handicap and people get into FNB because they are looking for something. I'm saying that everyone is hurt here because I'm from a totally normal family compared to others. My

parents are not divorced, my father does not beat my mother, he is not an alcoholic, they are financially okay and it is so weird to see how childhood traumas and family backgrounds can terribly affect adults for so long, with negative consequences even to this day."

This comparison enables her to appreciate her good relationship to her parents, while it also points to her compassion for the less fortunate.

"My dad is the leading example for normal dads, so keep this on record, he is not flawless of course, but still…"

This short excerpt relates to the upbringing of her brother, whom she didn't have a good relationship with. During her childhood and adult years, they were not able to connect on a deeper level and she felt that he couldn't fully integrate himself into the family since he is the child from his mother's first marriage. Although her father treated him as his own child, several incidents took place which mostly revolved around her brother's inability to take responsibility for his actions, passive communication and an all around careless lifestyle.

"There are those who argue that if someone is a member of your family, you should love them. Well, I don't think so. If someone sucks, then, well, they suck and you don't have to love them just because they are family."

This extract showcases the interviewees rejection of strict ideology or sentiment-based rules and outlines her pragmatic attitude towards others.

According to the interview, in her family there was no tradition of social work or any kind of particularly social orientation. While her parents are generally open-minden and helpful people, some negative preconceptions about the "*dirty good for nothing homeless*" are to an extent still characteristic of them, however this form of prejudice decreased thanks to her activity in social projects.

Relation to and reflection on punk

The interviewee often encounters the scene because of the close interconnection between the members of the subculture and FNB, but states that she is proudly not punk and expresses criticism towards the subculture regarding their level of social activity.

"I think punk should be a little more socially engaged in Hungary. Its okay to watch the singers shout into the microphone that life sucks, but they're not fucking doing anything against it. Obviously FNB also came from the punk scene, but look around now, there are only a few of them (punks). They should be more active in the social sphere."

Her critique points out that although the scene is constantly raising awareness of poverty, injustice and inequality, they often stop short of taking active steps against these social phenomena.

FNB

She got into FNB through Facebook because she wanted to do something useful and liked the idea of saving food which is given out for the people in need. She immediately felt integrated into the group. Because of the good company and good cause, she was interested in how this type of social organization works in the long run. It was particularly interesting to her that FNB belonged to a different subculture (punk) which took a different approach to life, so in the beginning she was a quasi-subculture tourist.

"If you only hear about punks being alcoholic bastards, it's good to realize that's not the case and you want to get to know this world."

She stayed because the cause and the community was really important to her besides all the hustle. In the meantime, she became a member of the inner circle because of the high demand, and thus the volume of food that had to be prepared. In addition, the community itself kept her within FNB, which became her own circle of friends. For a long time it was scouting, and then FNB took its place.

"We're not just a set of people working together, we're friends."

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Love life

During her description about her lovelife, she often practiced self-criticism and aimed for an objective and not romanticising narrative. She had several boyfriends, spent, according to her, a long time being single and now lives in a long term and happy relationship. The common thread running through every short story is the importance of being independent and keeping her integrity, which is repeatedly showcased during the entire interview regarding different topics as well.

Conclusion of the case description

Anna had a happy, stable family background growing up. Her parents decided to move from Budapest to Africa during her kindergarten years. She described their societal position as middle-class, however they had different social statuses in Hungary and Africa.

The relationship between Anna and her parents played an important role in her life thanks to her mother's strong and independent character and her father's supportive personality. Within the family, different levels of education were characteristic, therefore none of the parents had explicit expectations towards her educational path. There was no explicit tradition of social engagement within her family, yet she described her parents as open minded and very helpful individuals whose core values lay on traditional grounds.

During her primary school and highschool years she described herself as a typical outcast and claimed that she was not specially outstanding in anything. She had no interest in being popular, she found comfort in "being average" which can be seen as self protection against expectations or failure, although it can also be considered as a form of self-confidence coming from within. At university she studied biology, had average grades, but wanted to apply for a phd position which she didn't succeed at. The wish for independence and more meaningful projects was always present in her life.

The narration about her lovelife is self-critical, objective and not romanticizing at all. She also aimed for independence in this part of her life and was looking for coherence, balance and harmony while keeping her integrity no matter what.

- Solidarity path:

Her path to her current job in a social organisation was not by chance. She spent many years scouting which had a strong influence on her identity development. Her longing for independence, adventure and interest in well functioning, sustainable and socially impactful systems was fulfilled by volunteering in Africa as a young adult and constantly looking for jobs where she was able to help in a long lasting and practical way. Although she prefers flat hierarchies she doesn't question the benefits of systems which have some level of hierarchical-decision making structures, if someone takes responsibility for their power . The type of help she truly appreciates is self-evident and lacks any level of heroism. She is a critical problem solver, who also sees the punk subculture critically. She claims that she is "proud not to be punk, but is only a tourist", because although there is a high level of awareness towards social injustice and systemic oppression the subculture often lacks in actions. She sees the engagement within FNB as a useful protest, which is formed by a "circle of friends" and plays an important part in her identity.

5.5 Laura Analysis - Can I do it? I will do it!

Overall reflections on childhood

The interviewee didn't go into specific details about her childhood, but rather provided a reflection about it as a whole.

> "I had a very balanced childhood. My parents were very attentive to me and my brother. They always took care of us, we never had a problem with our parents. We went on a lot of trips, vacations, they looked after us, private lessons, music lessons, sports, we got everything. Obviously what they missed from their lives they tried to provide for us so if we were to study or wanted anything in life, we would not have to learn them as adults, like learning a language, and so on. Sports were also something that we could decide which we wanted to do. What we were good at or what we liked. So I had an especially good childhood and got support in everything to be able to move forward in life and have an easier life than others."

The descriptions revolve around the opportunities her parents provided for her, which she considers as necessary in order to be successful. At an early age (9 years old) she regularly spent time in Austria, where she was able to practice the language and to learn independence. She reflects on this opportunity as a privilege and therefore appreciates the fact that it provided her with important life experiences, which became a central part of her character.

Through her childhood she gained a large circle of friends who she still maintains close relationships with as an adult. Her friends often visit the interviewee's parents and they became part of an extended family, which she appreciates.

The interviewee refers to her family as a welcoming community, which is based on trust and openness, which was developed during her childhood, when she was able to talk about everything without being judged or getting punished.

"There are of course fights and frictions, but my parents created a very good atmosphere for us to have a relaxed life. They established a trust-based relationship with us… When you start rebelling, you want to scream, to slam a door, but that wouldn't work; they laughed a lot of times at my attempts to fight with them. It would have been easier to fight as a teenager, but instead you had to sit down to talk and explain what you did and why. This still has an impact on my life. We still discuss everything, I tell them everything, whatever problem I have, I call home."

During the narration it became apparent that both honesty and self-reflection are crucial characteristics for the interviewee, and that these originated from her mother and father's parenting style.

Sports as a purpose in life

Sports played a significant role in the interviewees life from her early childhood. Her parents placed a great amount of emphasis on sport activities since she was 3 years old as sports were generally important for them as well and they wanted their highly active

children to have space for letting out their excessive energies. She didn't perceive her parent's initiative to do sports as a form of pressure, but as a useful tool to grow as an individual. She highlighted that she and her brother were free to decide which sports to take on and the whole family had to adjust to a tight daily schedule structured around school, extra-curricular classes, training sessions and sports competitions. Because at school the teachers noticed that she excelled in running, she decided to take on middle- and long-distance running, which she pursued during primary school and the beginnings of high school. Her days revolved around training and sport events, which provided her with a strong sense of purpose. When she had to give up sports due to serious health conditions, she felt lost and purposeless and suffered from depression, which caused many conflicts at school.

"I was told several times to be happy that I can even walk. It was stressful for everyone at home too, it wasn't a simple teen depression. When you realize that there's one thing you've invested time and energy in and something you're good at and you're suddenly told that at all levels you have to forget that, you don't know what to do with your life. You sit there, you go home from school and suddenly you don't know what to do with the time you have."

Thanks to her parents, friends and school communities support she was able to finish highschool and look for new opportunities outside of sports.

University – a new path

When she had to decide what to do after graduation, she applied to a university of engineering, which was one of her childhood dreams because her father had a similar profession. She was part of a strong community and her studies were filled with group learning events and parties. Although there were times when she wanted to leave university, her father pushed her to finish it, which she appreciates in retrospect. After she received her Bsc degree, she applied for an engineering Msc in Budapest at one of the most prominent universities of engineering in Hungary. Shortly after starting, she realised that she had only applied to prove she was able to make the entry, but was not actually interested in the field she applied for. Due to that she applied to another university, but was not satisfied with the quality of education, therefore she left this institution as well. These decisions did not cause any resentment from her parents.

During the narration about her university years, it became visible that the interviewee sets high expectations towards herself, which she usually accomplishes, however, the pressure can become overwhelming causing stress and burn out.

Working in construction

The interviewee worked as a construction manager for different companies, which she enjoyed due to her established leading skills, flexibility and overall energetic character, which is needed in the world of construction. Although she has a persistent and tenacious personality, when working in a chaotic and disrespectful atmosphere where she can't maintain a healthy work-life balance, she stands up for herself and is not afraid of changing workplaces.

Belonging to the subculture

The interviewees interest in the punk subculture roots in her childhood, when she was exposed to rock music at an early age by her parents. According to her it was easy to get into a specific subculture in the countryside, because there is only a limited option for places to go, therefore the spatial distribution of the members of a subculture is more dense. The friendships within these scenes become deeper, therefore it has the effect of a stronger sense of belonging.

> *"In a small town, it's not hard to get into a subculture, you have an easier time because you know right away which pub to go to. At a young age, you don't care so much about the things of the world. It was simply based on the music. I went to places where people listen to the same music as me."*

Social engagement

According to the interviewee her social sensitivity is explicitly connected to her parent's own social orientation.

"As a child, I helped my parents several times in orphanages. My parents taught us to help others because you never know when you will need help. It was no question that I was following a similar journey. My parents were good-hearted, my dad always said you never know what is going to happen to you. It takes very little for someone, for example, to become homeless. It's nice to try to think ahead and plan your future, but you never know what will happen to you."

During her childhood and teenage years her parents took her to places where she was able to put her own situation into perspective. During these visits she realised that not all children had the same level of financial or emotional stability in their lives. Her parents also helped in disaster-stricken areas and often emphasised not to take stability for granted. They pointed out that it doesn't take a lot to lose existential security, even if an individual explicitly puts effort into it.

The interviewee points out that it's important to start with social projects at a young age. Children have to be taught how to be directly or indirectly empathetic to others with different backgrounds and living conditions. Not only the interviewees overall empathetic and open attitude towards others can be deducted from her family background, but also her active participation in social projects.

FNB

Since the interviewee was involved in the punk scene and showed interest in social projects, she heard about the FNB community and decided to join them in an emotionally stressful period of her life. She stated that it is quite common amongst the members to start volunteering in especially challenging times to feel like a useful part of society, which can be interpreted as a way of coping with problems in their own lives.

"Like all of us, we got in (FNB) because something happened in our lives and we wanted to belong somewhere. Or not to belong somewhere, but you want to do something, you feel like you have to be useful... Pretty much everything came together, I came out of a very long relationship, my job wasn't good either, I wasn't doing good mentally and I came down the first day and disappeared in a crowd, which was pretty weird for me. I went down to the

guys, said a few ideas and then they asked me if I want to be an organizer?...
Basically, the community doesn't push people out and it's good to belong to
them, everyone who comes here knows that."

Next to the strong sense of community, which is mostly based on friendships, another feature of the organisation kept her with the group: She referred to the group as a circle of people able to relate to their clientele and not differentiate themselves from them.

"How should I put it… an FNB member tends to assimilate into the
environment, it's not the little costumed Charity Service of the Order of Malta
where we hand over the flour and sugar at Christmas in a festive setting, it's a
completely different thing."

This description showcases a differentiation from other social organizations, in which there is an emphasis on the selflessness and altruism of the volunteers and a clear hierarchy between the helpers and the helped, which means that the volunteers are providing help from above for the individuals at the lowest levels of society. FNB members usually reflect on their activities as a selfish motive because they highlight their own gains from these projects, such as the feeling of being useful, building their social nets, changing society's view on social issues like homelessness etc.

Conclusion of the case description

Laura grew up in a town with supportive parents and had an emotionally and financially stable family background. She was taught from an early age how to be an independent individual. She enjoyed the trust and honesty of her parents and even if she made mistakes she received no judgement for them. She has had a large circle of friends since her early childhood, in which her family's welcoming attitude also played a role. The overall description about the family's situation shows a middle class status with a big emphasis on the interviewee's and her brother's wellbeing. Her mother is pictured as a loud, honest, independent and strong character with an organising and community building role. Her father is a supporting, sometimes even pushing person who made sure to keep the children accountable and persistent. His stable, honest, caring personality and good work ethics was often highlighted during the narration.

The interviewee's school years were filled with sport activities which provided her with a strong feeling of purpose. She saw this as a useful tool in order to grow as an individual. Her life was tightly structured, but she considered pursuing sport achievements as her own goal, therefore it didn't become a burden for her. Laura's sports career had to suddenly stop during highschool due to a serious injury. Because of that she felt purposeless and all in all depressed. Thanks to her strong class community and parental support she was able to overcome this phase and finished highschool with a more positive outlook towards her future. Her narration showed a "can do, will do attitude" which was also characteristic during her years at university aside from little bumps when she wanted to abruptly break off her studies. In these phases her father pushed her to finish school.

Her stories about her lovelife show a passionate and emotion-driven personality with longing for connection which often resulted in turbulent relationships.

After she was not able to pursue her sports career anymore, she decided to study engineering and took on jobs related to architecture and building while she was often involved in social projects outside of work. She was constantly looking for a challenge due to the high expectations she set towards herself, but it was still always important for her to have a good work-life balance.

She got involved in the punk subculture through rock music which she was exposed to by her parents from an early age. She described that in a small town subcultures often emerge due to the lack of options and like-minded people easily find each other. Because of the high density of the people distributed at a few frequently visited clubs, stronger friendships and therefore a stronger sense of belonging evolved. Her social engagement didn't start because of the punk subculture but was rather supported by it.

- Solidarity path:

Her social sensitivity and high engagement is explicitly connected to her own parents' social orientation. As a child she visited and helped at orphanages with her parents which she described as eye-opening experiences. Her parents were actively involved in volunteer work and they often consciously emphasised not to take financial or emotional stability for granted. As an adult she took part in different civil projects from time to time, but she got regularly active when she joined FNB. She mentioned that it's common among the FNB members to start volunteering in challenging times in their lives

in order to feel useful and to cope with their own problems. The description of FNB revolves around a strong sense of community which is based on friendship and collective goals. The volunteers don't differentiate themselves from the helped, they relate to their clientele and the act of help is almost considered as selfish since they often highlight that the helpers themselves profit from their social engagement in many different parts of their lives. Laura sees the main goal of FNB to change society's view on homelessness and to connect with the helped because *"you never know what will happen to you next"*.

5.6 Anita analysis - When life teaches you to that you are vulnerable, you realise that everyone is

Description of childhood, reflection on family ties

The interviewee spent her childhood in a small town according to her description in a *"typical after system change panel family"*. This framing paints a picture of an average lower-middle class family, which has basic financial stability, distant from both extreme poverty and luxury, while putting an emphasis on being average. She spent a lot of time with her grandparents in the countryside, which provided her with a longing for freedom, community and love for animals. When she was around 8 years old, her family moved to her grandmother's house, because her mothers father died and her mother wanted to be there for her. This new family setup indirectly caused the split up of the parents, which she didn't consider as a traumatic experience at that time, because according to her *"there was never a strong and loving connection between them (her parents)"*. The ongoing conflicts between the parents were not noticable for her at the time, but later she realised that their separation rooted in dishonest communication at an early stage of their relationship.

Losing the stable family background and the lack of attention made her an angry teenager. She constantly tested her limits in order to get attention, while she wanted to let her mother know that she has no control over her.

School experiences

The interviewee described her all-over school experiences as considerably negative. She changed schools several times, mostly because she was not comfortable with the teachers, who were treating the students differently according to each child's social background. Strict rules and discipline were something, which made her longing for more freedom and understanding, which led her to change schools till she found one which was characterized by a more relaxed and liberal atmosphere.

"The only expectation of the school was that we go to classes and behave normally. So I survived, it was acceptable."

She performed on average and was not pushed to get better grades by her parents. Although there was no pressure on her to study, she decided to apply for university because she wanted to get as far as possible from her home environment.

During her Russian and Hungarian studies she focused more on partying than on university. She took part in ERASMUS in a European country and collected many positive experiences regarding community, belonging and companionship. During this time, although she focused on "*self destruction*" she parallelly felt that the world opened up in front of her because she was able to meet people who were open-minded and accepting towards each other, creating a positive community.

Path finding

Later she decided not to finish her studies and spontaneously moved to another european country, where she worked as an au pair and felt integrated both into the family and the broader environment abroad. Because of the guest families support she was able to make new friends and started to go out frequently. Excessive partying began which later unfolded in drug abuse and the abandonment of her work responsibilities. During this period she had a romantic relationship filled with mental abuse and oppression from which she didn't know how to get out. With the help of her mother she was able to escape and she moved to Hungary. During her recovery at her mothers place her ex-boyfriend visited her and physically abused her which ended in a 2 years long sequence of court visits and

psychological therapy. She described this time as an extremely stressful period, but she received full support both from her parents and friends.

FNB

During this trying period FNB came to her life as a recommendation from a friend. FNB made her believe that nothing irreversible happened and that she is still a normal human being who is not only able to help herself but also others. Before that she felt apathy and worthlessness. FNB was a continuum in her life which helped her to stay sane during the trial period. She realised after the therapy that she can be useful not only through work but in other social tasks too.

"Everyone is very relaxed, accepting and I felt that similar vibe of love just like in Prague. Everyone who is there (at FNB events), even if they don't like each other very much, it's good to be together and it's good to be there. Everyone is good as it is, it is good that there are no complicated rules. Later, several of them became my friends and thus FNB was able to keep me as a member. A big part of the team was there for me during a shitty period, even though I didn't necessarily inaugurate everyone in my traumas, but even without their knowledge, they supported me."

Although not every member of FNB was familiar with her story, they all gave her a strong sense of acceptance and support, which helped her to overcome her past traumas and to feel useful again. She tried other socially engaged civil groups in Budapest as well, but she didn't feel as part of the community because the members were according to her "*snobby and not down to earth*" which is especially important for her within any community she takes part in.

The role of subculture

The interviewee's love for hard rock music and later for punk began with her father listening to similar music. He took her to rock concerts from an early age which provided

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her with many common memories. Her preference for rock music was also a part of a rebellion against her mother and grandmother. During her teenage years she didn't take an active part in the punk subculture, but occasionally went to concerts. She considers punk as a form of self expression, in which everyone can be themselves and not be judged.

"I loved DIY concerts where you can let off steam and they (the bands) can't really play music, I really like that. I've never had very colored hair, I haven't pushed this radically, I'm more just part of its worldview. Nihilism has characterized my life quite a bit. Not on purpose, at the age of 30 I just realized I had no plan, no concept in life. What is important to me in punk is the desire for freedom and the discarded reality that we are very ugly, not from the outside, but that we are like that and that's it. Take it or leave it."

This framing showcases that the interviewee is drawn to the punk subculture due to its acceptance towards being an outcast of society. Not complying with mainstream societal values such as the importance of having a plan in life and living in order to achieve growth as an individual were an indicator of freedom for the interviewee.

Variety of jobs and schools

The interviewee had a long list of different jobs and schools, from working in an indian restaurant, having dietitian training, working in logistics, spas and customer support to learning goldsmith and metalwork she took a dive in different spheres of the job market and education. She describes this wide variety of tasks as a way of path seeking which is connected to her ascertainment that she didn't have a plan in life before.

Now she wishes to study special education for children, because she sees big potential in the sphere and also wants to do something to help others. This turn is also connected to her realisation that she was not a reliable person for others, she didn't provide enough support for her friends and that she often acted selfishly.

"If i think about all my jobs, I did a lot of things, a lot of stupid things too, but I was always very lucky, because I was surrounded by people I could count on.

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For a while, I also became a person you can count on, I want to become even more so. Because of these things, I decided I wanted to do something helpful. I was not a reliable person for my environment. I did my thing quite self-righteously."

Her changing attitude originates from her previous experiences when she received support and she felt that she took out more of the *"bucket of kindness and caring"* then what she provided.

"I think I've been very selfish for quite some time. I'm not saying I wasn't showing solidarity, I gave the homeless some change or my sandwich, but for a long time I took out more than I put in. I needed some kicks in life to realize I don't get everything for free, I'm not untouchable, if I act like a dickhead I'm going to get it back, I need it to be active in solidarity."

The interviewee sees solidarity as an act which is based on reciprocity, therefore finds it important to get active in order to be worthy of receiving it.

Conclusion of the case description

Antia grew up according to her description in an average, lower-middle-class family with a basic financial stability, distant from poverty and luxury. She spent a lot of time in the countryside at her grandmother's house where she learned to love animals and freedom. At the time of her parents' divorce she didn't feel shaken up, because there was no strong, loving connection between her father and mother during their relationship from her perspective. However the loss of a stable family background and the lack of attention made her an angry teenager who was constantly rebelling and seeking for her parents attention. She shared important memories with her father during adolescence which revolved mostly about their common love for rock music and going to concerts. Still she felt a lack of care and attention which was also notable in her parents' lack of interest in her education. She had constant conflicts with her mother and later with her grandmother about typical teenage problems such as partying, drinking and smoking. Although the

interviewee's relationship with her mother was distant during her teenage years, it became much closer with time.

Anita's school experiences were described as all over negative. She constantly longed for freedom and acceptance, but she often encountered injustice and special treatment of others. Therefore she kept changing schools till she found a more liberal and accepting highschool where she at least felt not disturbed by the teachers. She spent her time partying which continued during her years at university. She had no real interest in studying, but her main goal was to get as far as possible from home. She also took part in an Erasmus program where she felt the most accepted and integrated in a positive community which she described as the world opening up for her.

The interviewee's lovelife was based on ad hoc decisions, filled with loose and friendship-based relationships, till she found herself in an abusive and toxic relationship in which she completely lost her independence. She got involved with her boyfriend abroad, where she spontaneously decided to move to. Although she was working as an Au-pair for a welcoming and trusting family, she turned to partying and drug abuse which ended with the abandonment of her work responsibilities. With the help of her mother and friends she was able to leave and go back home. This period of her life was dedicated to recovery and the rebuilding of her old friendships and family bonds. Because at that time she didn't really have a plan or purpose she tried out many different jobs and schools. Later she decided to apply for a school where she can help others professionally which was motivated by the fact that she received so much support from her own environment.

Antita's involvement with the subculture emerged from her love for rock music which provided her with a connection to her father and was a tool for rebellion against her mother. She sees punk as a deeper form of self expression, as a space where the outcast of society finds acceptance without judgement. Within these circles she felt that she can be herself without following mainstream values. It doesn't matter if someone doesn't have a plan and it's not important to always grow as a person.

- Solidarity path:

The interviewee's social sensitivity and high level of engagement was connected to her recovery and trying periods of her life. She was involved with other civil organisations, but she often encountered a snobby attitude among the helpers and noticed that flat hierarchies and acceptance was important for her, therefore she decided to leave those circles and joined FNB. The work with them provided her with a sense of purpose, that nothing irreversible happened and that she is still a normal human being who is able to help others. Before that she felt apathy which she turned around with the help of supporting others. She received strong encouragement during her recovery from the FNB members which also helped her to process past trauma.

6. Results

In the following chapter the most important biographically relevant units are collectively analyzed in order to describe how solidarity can be influenced by an individual's biography. Also the effect of communities which base their values on solidarity such as the punk subculture on individual biographies will be presented, so we can see that solidarity is not necessarily something we simply learn, but we can produce and reproduce it by circular processes of individual choices and collective mechanisms.

Childhood circumstances

All of the interviewees grew up in middle class or lower middle class families and experienced with one exception financial instability during their childhoods or adult lives. They reflected on wealth as something that can come and go due to economic, political or social changes. This attitude could be connected to the relative financial instability during the interviewees' childhoods, however not all of them were exposed to these struggles.

Laszlo experienced a steep financial decline during his childhood in which his family's stability of housing ceased. The ongoing family conflicts caused by instability made him seek rescue in the community of peers from an early age, which happened to be the punk scene. Due to the interviewee's attachment to the punk subculture and it's values such as equity, freedom and rejection of any form of oppression or hierarchy, he

was able to develop a strong working class identity which is based in his case on the fight against oppression and injustice of the social system in Hungary. Growing up poor or becoming poor and belonging to the working class is not something shameful, on the contrary, it is something to acknowledge and fight against, while it also carries identity-building elements of which those affected, can be proud. Belonging to the middle-lower segments of societal hierarchy enabled many interviewees to reflect on injustice and fight against oppression, which carried a latent notion of being a system fighter during their narrations. This attitude was notable among those individuals who developed a strong political interest from an early age. This system figher identity could have contributed to the activation of individuals and thus fueled their motivation behind social projects. The pride in growing up underprivileged or being part of the working class and to turn it into something positive is essential. This motive stands in accordance with the work of Harrison in which he *"establishes the continuity of 'self-valorisation' – the building of revolutionary subjectivity through workers' opposition to capital and realisation of their own authentic needs"* (Harrison, 2011).

When considering the amount of time spent together as a family, an interesting difference was recognized between those who have parents with higher and lower educations. Anna and Laura whose parents have higher education (at least one parent has a university degree or equivalent) tended to show solidarity patterns which are heavily influenced by the value system of their parents. Well spent time together as a family was highly important during their childhoods and they both draw an image of a family environment with open communication and trust. The strong bond helped them to develop their own value systems from a young age which resonates with their parents values even if they don't perfectly match. The interviewees' parents are according to the narrations open-minded, helpful and empathetic individuals, therefore their high level of social sensitivity and engagement is no surprise.

Other interviewees such as Ferenc, Laszlo and Anita with parents of lower education (under university degree or equivalent) spent more time with their grandparents and have not built a strong family bond from an early age, but rather developed a deeper connection to their parents as adults. These individuals often talked about conflicts with their parents during their adolescence and they actively sought refuge among their friends. Their identities seem to be strongly connected to the subculture therefore their value systems stand more in accordance with community-based values than with

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family-based values. Especially Laszlo and Anita, who were exposed to high levels of family conflict from an early age, favoured time spent among peers which provided them with a feeling of belonging and acceptance. The identities of these interviewees were highly influenced by their friend circles which was able to overweigh the influence of the parents' value systems. Since they were involved in either liberal-thinking or punk groups their attitude towards others also implies a high level of solidarity.

Considering for example Anna's strong emotional connection to her parents, we can see that although the peers were of course important to her - especially during her long years of scouting - the ideology forming effect of the peers was set, however the basic value system of the parents remained highly influential.

As mentioned above Anna and Laura both have a strong and positive emotional connection to their parents. Their narrations showed less exposure to the feeling of powerlessness and they usually looked for pragmatic solutions when they encountered challenges. They frequently criticised underperforming social systems' low efficiency rather than emphasising the injustice of the system. Mainly Anna showed critique through social engagement since she seemed to have a strongly pragmatic attitude towards life as a whole and saw the solution for most problems in active engagement.

The signal critics of the comprehensive social system were Laszlo and Peter. During the narrations about their upbringing a rather weak and/or negative connection to their parents was showcased. Their stories displayed the underlying feeling of powerlessness against the government, so in order to fight the sense of impotence they activated themselves in social fields. Laszlo's experiences with defenselessness and injustice were unambiguous since he witnessed the economical collapse of his family and received no to little help from others. Although Peter did not mention traumatic events, his all in all attitude towards problems and conflicts also carry a touch of powerlessness on a deeper level. According to his narration he took absurd or chaotic situations as they are. He usually turned them into *fun stories* which implies a form of resignation. He claimed several times during the interview that he always had an interest in the workings of systems, let it be traffic or social systems.

All in all a connection is notable between the social sensitivity[9] or active social engagement (volunteering) of parents and their children. On the one hand those whose parents were not especially empathetic gathered an active solidarity attitude from their surrounding communities while on the other hand, those with highly socially sensitive parents carried on the norms and values of their families.

All of the interviewees talked about times when they were exposed to different social positions within a community such as being the *loner in class* or losing financial stability. The interviews all showed high levels of self-reflection: They are able to reflect on their own statuses and to relate with others on different hierarchical levels of society. The experience of oppressive social structures made the affected interviewees such as Laszlo very aware of hierarchical structures within society. The amount of self-reflecting and relativizing passages through the material is noticeably high through the narrations. Self-criticism is also characteristic of the interviewees which can be interpreted on the one hand as a form of childhood normalizing self-protection in which trauma is belittled while on the other hand self-criticism or self-positioning within society can be seen as an act of empathy for those who grew up under worse living conditions.

Father's and mother's distinguished roles

The interviewees' descriptions about their fathers are as diverse as possible. Some illustrated very strong and loving bonds from their early childhoods on, some had little to no relationship while others experienced abuse and neglect from their fathers. Regardless of the negative or positive connection, the father's singular interests such as hobbies, taste, and political orientation - we might as well mention *habitus* from Bourdieau (1977) here - seem to play an important role when it comes to developing a relationship between father and child. These interests can build the base for connection and significantly influence the orientation of the children according to the narrations. If a father took part in volunteering, was interested in history, belonged to another era of the punk subculture or simply had a preference for rock music similar interests were drawn among all the interviewees in the course of their own lives. This connection often led the individuals to be

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[9] *"Social sensitivity describes the proficiency at which an individual can identify, perceive, and understand cues and contexts in social interactions along with being socially respectful to others."* Social Sensitivity. (n.d.). In *Alleydog.com's online glossary*.
Retrieved from: https://www.alleydog.com/glossary/definition-cit.php?term=Social+Sensitivity

interested in certain subjects while the all-round attitude of the father and child regarding solidarity is not necessarily described as similar at all. According to Ferenc's example, who lacked his fathers attention, he was introduced to history through his fathers love for historical books and movies. Although they might had opposing views on the political agenda of different regimes and what fairness or justice during a war means, they had one common interest which later pulled Ferenc into an antifascist-punk subculture.

The interviewees with strong and stable relationships with their fathers such as Anna and Laura seem to have more trust for others and confidence in themselves than those who had abusive or neglecting fathers. Those who experienced ongoing conflicts with their fathers often mentioned general anger and mistrust towards the government and oppressive societal structures which fueled their social engagement. These individuals looked for male role models within their own established communities or overtook the father role in their own families from an early age. In one particular case the interviewee explicitly mentioned that his urge to help others must come from his socialization in which he had to take on the providing role and care for his family. In another case the interviewee suffered from the abuse and lack of attention from his father and later put excessive amounts of energy into social or work-related projects in which he was able to take on a leading role while he constantly provided financial support for his mother.

In the interviewees' lives the mother's role mostly revolved around emotional stability and independence. Among Interviewees who lacked their mothers attention or received too much care in form of worry as in the case of Anita, teenage rebellion - filled with parties, drug and alcohol abuse - seemed to be a common tool to gain more acceptance, and freedom as an individual. Other interviewees like Laura and Anna, who have strong and loving bonds with their mothers, a desire for independence, high level of engagement and the wish to lead others emerged during their own adult lives. Those who described a weaker and distanced mother-daughter connection seem to have had more trouble finding their educational or career paths. In case of male interviewees, interestingly only the amount of support they had to provide for their mothers was mentioned which seemed to be repeated in their own romantic relationships and in their high levels of social engagement.

Education

All narrations about school experiences contained detailed descriptions about the interviewees' very different positions within school hierarchies. Peter emphasised that he took on various roles within particular groups, which might have played an important role in the development of his current ability to reflect on and empathize with different social groups. Most of the individuals experienced social decline or incline during their education which possibly enabled them to reflect on their own and other individuals' positions within society - especially on injustice and unfair treatment.

Anita who attended strict schools and experienced a low level or integration within the school community often described the feeling of purposelessness and was characterized during these periods by low level of engagement and an overall nihilistic attitude. Laura, who also attended strict schools, but was well-integrated into the school community, has shown a high level of engagement and was characterised by a "can do" attitude which enabled her to look for the betterment of underfunctioning social systems and fueled a wish for efficiently working social systems.

Members of more liberal schools with high integrity reached fulfillment through knowledge or the practice of their already highly developed social skills on which they are relying through their adult lives in social projects as well. Laszlo and Peter, were able to get involved in communities outside of school which provided them with the feeling of belonging and directed them towards a higher level of structured engagement, like the organisation of concerts or later, taking part at FNB events. Ferenc, who didn't feel integrated at school at all described himself as a loner who was able to connect to communities outside of school through music subculture which later resulted in high levels of activity with a main focus on belonging to the community.

Lovelife

Many interviewees reported that they got more involved in social projects after they went through distressing break ups or felt overall depressed due to unfulfilling jobs or educational paths or all of these at the same time. Anita, who experienced abuse and independence loss within a romantic relationship found acceptance, belonging and a

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strong sense of purpose through social engagement. Others, such as Laura, who went through turbulent relationships, but was able to keep her independence was left with a similar feeling of purposelessness and looked for the opportunity to feel useful again with the help of social engagement.

Almost all of the interviewees emphasised the importance of integrity, honesty, equality and independence within their romantic relationships. These qualities were also important when they looked for fitting social projects. The research field, FNB is based on flat hierarchies, characterised by an DIY approach and there is no sign of romanticizing heroism regarding their helping activities.

Path finding

In almost every interviewees life there was a significant point when they felt purposeless or depressed as a result of an ongoing period of stress or a sudden break in their lives such as relationship issues, unfulfilling jobs or failing studies. They often used engagement in social projects in order to cope with their personal problems or to balance out their meaningless jobs and to feel accepted, validated and useful again.

Through this social recognition and the feeling of impactful and efficient social engagement, other, less harmonious fields of the interviewees' life situation were neutralized to an extent. In the case of some of the interviewees such as Ferenc or Anita, who struggled with finding a community where they can belong to, to be socially engaged is more of a question of identity building than balancing out meaningless work. For Ferenc, who said that the punk community saved his life this statement is especially true, since he developed from an isolated teenager to be a community builder adult along his path finding experience.

Subculture

Those interviewees who experienced traumatic childhoods and or a lack of parental attention tended to show rebellion during their teenage years and looked for a new family in the form of friendships and integrating communities which they often found - sometimes by chance, sometimes on purpose - within the punk subculture. Anita explicitly

mentioned that she finds punk as a form of self expression, in which the possibility to show one's ugly side is not only accepted but even encouraged. From this point of view the subculture can form a rescue for the youth and provide a space where they can truly be themselves. Hate and aggression is often the subject of punk with which angry and lost teenagers and very often also adults can resonate with. This loathing is usually extended to the system as a whole. Systemic and political oppression are identified in all levels of society and the subculture builds it's base-values around the fight against different forms of oppression. Laszlo also considers punk as a form of self expression, resistance and political protest, just as he sees FNB.

Punk is relevant in this context because it does everything that is in opposition to the common governmental and societal values. Since today's punk subculture thematizes poverty, injustice, systemic oppression of all races and genders to help homeless individuals can be seen as self-evident. Homelessness is often interpreted by society as personal failure rather than as a systemic one. If an individual is homeless they can't meet the expectations of society to grow as an individual and to thrive for always being the best version of themselves within society's frameworks. Punk accepts and embraces failure and stagnation within the values of society and tries to spotlight the failure of society instead of putting the responsibility on the individual. The aim of FNB is not only to help the homeless, but to question the human value measured on the basis of the capitalist system and to support the exiles of society, which stands in accordance with the current punk values.

7. Thesis statement

The findings of this thesis about how solidarity is influenced by individual biographies can be divided into two core parts. When taking a look at the categories and their connections with solidarity, the group of passive influences can be distinguished from acts which can be connected to a form of *processing identity*. The first part falls under the topic of socialisation, while the other part is discussed as a question of identity creation.

7.1 Socialisation and its influence on solidarity

According to the interviews solidarity seems to be something that is learned in the course of an individual's life. It can be taught from family, friends and collective groups such as a subculture or an actual civil organisation.

The core concepts 'childhood circumstances', 'the father's and mother's distinguished roles', and 'education' are connected to socialisation, however almost everything can be considered as a form of socialisation if it has something to do with influential interpersonal acts and thoughts, if we agree with - among other theorists - Ericsons "conception of the life cycle" (1950). Since there is no clear cut among the passive influences of the different biographical periods and life segments, I will discuss all categories mentioned above in this chapter.

The key learnings of the first concept, called 'Childhood circumstances' are the following:

The interviewees' childhoods were both very similar and very different. There is a wide variety from growing up in loving and supportive environments to explicitly traumatic adolescents. What seems to be a common thread is that all interviewees come from middle-class or lower middle-class families. The interviewees either experienced financial instability themselves or were taught from an early age by their families to be aware of the fragility of other individuals' financial or emotional stability. Those who experienced financial instability often mentioned the unfairness of the Hungarian social system while those who had more stable economic backgrounds also pointed out injustice but were generally more solution oriented on an individual level then system critical. Also the strength of the family bond plays an important role when looking at the individuals' base value systems. Individuals who grew up having strong and stable emotional connections took on more of their close environment's norms and values while those who felt neglected or were exposed to emotional instability fled from home and adapted their peers' and/or their subculture's norms and values. In both cases we could see that the ability to reflect on their own or others' life situations was an essential part of their early socialisation and their narrations continuously showed a high level of self-criticism and social sensitivity which was either learned at home or within the subculture/from peers.

The key learnings of the second concept, called 'The father's and mother's distinguished roles' are the following:

The interviewees painted different pictures about their fathers and the relationship they have with them during the narrations. Some had strong and stable fatherly bonds, while others felt neglected or experienced abuse in their relationships. In both cases the characteristics and interests of the fathers played an important role in the development of their own interests. Even if they didn't take on certain hobbies, interests or political orientations they all looked for connection and therefore were possibly influenced by their fathers habitus. Interestingly most of the interviewees had something in common with their fathers which later directed them either towards, antifascism, the punk subculture or into social engagement. Interviewees who have good relationships with their fathers seemed to have a more trusting and solution oriented attitude towards society while those who didn't, often pinpointed out the injustice of the system as a whole and showed a more skeptical view on society. Among the fathers' descriptions alcohol abuse and neglect were common which in some cases resulted in the interviewees early maturity. These narratives showed how the interviewees had to take on the providing and protecting role within their families and how they parallely fled into partying, alcohol and drug abuse. Later their path led them to subcultures and groups where they found themselves again in providing roles, but on a larger scale. They provide meals for the homeless on the weekends and organise donation events for people in need. Those who grew up having good relationships with their fathers and received stable emotional and financial support searched for ways to give it back to the community and also ended up having the need for being socially engaged. Similarly to the fathers, the mothers also highly affected the emotional stability of their children. A connection between the mothers care and the interviewees' wish for independence and engagement was showcased during the narrations. Those who had to support their mothers from a young age mentioned the urge to help others and to carry on this providing role. At the same time, strong mother roles were *inherited* by the interviewees during their own adult lives. The example of independence and leading attitude was carried on in the next generation according to some interviewees' narratives.

The key learnings of the third concept, called 'Education' are the following:

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All of the interviewees described their struggles during their school years which mostly revolved around class hierarchies and smaller or bigger injustices. Interviewees who were less integrated in the school communities looked for peers and groups outside of school which led some of them to the subculture they are taking part in till this day. The more integrated interviewees also reported about the existence of hierarchical structures within their school groups which shows that they were able to reflect on their own statuses from an early age. The most important factor seems to be in this context the ability to reflect on their own and their peers' statuses within certain communities. Self-reflecting passages through the material were noticeably high through the narrations. Self-criticism is characteristic of the interviewees which can be interpreted on the one hand as a form of childhood normalizing self-protection in which trauma is belittled while on the other hand self-criticism or self-positioning within society can be seen as an act of empathy for those who grew up under worse living conditions. This high level of self awareness can be connected to the relatively high level of education almost all interviewees have.

Also the information they gathered from their teachers and/or peers as young individuals about tragic historical events such as the Holocaust directed the interest of some interviewees towards antifascism.

The key learnings of the forth concept, called ʹLovelifeʹ are the following:

The interviewees frequently mentioned that the participation in social projects really started when they went through break ups or felt overall depressed. Many reported the feeling of purposelessness and through social engagement they were able to feel as a useful individual again. Social engagement seems from this point of view almost therapeutic. Most of the interviewees kept the description of their love stories short and they didn't romanticize them extensively. This is also true about their social engagement, since all of them emphasised that helping others is not a heroic or romantic act but is evident and needs no praise. Almost all of the interviewees emphasised the importance of integrity, honesty, equality and independence within their romantic relationships. These qualities were also important when they looked for fitting social projects.

The key learnings of the fifth concept, called ʹPath findingʹ are the following:

One the one hand interviewees described the period of path finding as frustrating and often depressing. Social engagement emerged usually during this era because

through social projects they were able to cope with personal problems or meaningless jobs and felt accepted, validated and useful again. Due to the lack of social recognition they turned to communities which were based on values that "made sense" to them. Through this new form of belonging and the feeling of impactful and efficient social engagement, other, less fulfilling fields of the interviewees' life were balanced out.

On the other hand the path finding periods of the interviewees were filled with pain, the feeling of purposelessness and personal failure. This experience and parallelly their high levels of self reflection allowed them to accept that individuals can have turbulent lives, make mistakes and all in all fall through the hands of society.

The key learnings of the sixth concept, called *'Subculture'* are the following:

There are many ways into the punk subculture but one of the main roads is teenage rebellion. Interviewees with neglecting or abusive parents frequently mentioned that they seeked refuge and acceptance among their peers. Within punk there is plenty of room for self-expression, anger, hate and emotions, which some of the interviewees looked for. The subculture can provide rescue for individuals where they can truly be themselves. Punks' hate against the oppressing system has a long tradition and is carried on by those who want to show resistance and political protest within DIY (do it yourself) frames from the "underground". Since today's punk subculture thematizes poverty, injustice, systemic oppression of all races and genders, to help homeless individuals can be seen as almost self-evident. Punk allows the individual to be *dirty*, to be *careless* and to *get rid of general social values* regarding how to be a good citizen. Homeless individuals often can't meet society's expectations to always grow and succeed as a person. Punk accepts and embraces personal failure and stagnation and tries to spotlight the failure of society instead of putting the responsibility on the individual. Of course not only those who fled from home can become punk, but also those who simply like the music, artistic expression, freedom and critical approach against governing systems.

7.2 Identity and Solidarity

Why solidarity plays such a significant role in the individuals' lives and how their identities affect their solidarity attitudes can be described as a two-way dynamic between solidarity and identity. According to the interviews, solidarity is not a one way street. The interviewees developed (and still develop) their identities during their

upbringing, education, gathered its pieces from peers and contingent life events and became embedded into solidarity communities. As an example a punk kid chose to be a social worker and do volunteering, because he found comfort in the subculture at a young age where he felt accepted and was able to let out his anger towards the world and social work was popular among other members of the subculture at the time. Within this circle he learned more about the D.I.Y (do it yourself) approach, grassroot movements and societal injustice - developed an identity - which he poured into his work at FNB. FNB was greatly formed by him, just like by its other core members. This one member's identity was highly affected by his chosen community, by the subculture. One of his main aims is to change the system by developing and supporting grassroot projects and to spread its ideas and ways of working (D.I.Y) among the whole Hungarian society. One part of his core identity (wish for equality and fairness for all) is channeled into social engagement while social engagement itself keeps affecting and building his own identity. Experiences during the organisation of FNB events and the feedback they receive from outside can greatly affect an individual's drives and with that the person's identity in the long run. This process can be simplified as a phenomenon of *processing identity.* By that, the circular working of identity building is described. The identity is never fully built, but is a process of influential and meaningful experiences which frame the identity and this developing identity influences a person to act a certain way. In the case of solidarity we can see that the interviewees all went through different experiences which led them to look for opportunities to help others which became one of the core parts of their identities. Through that they became attached to communities on which they have an active influence in their day to day tasks, activities, thoughts etc. The act of help grew into a bottom-line political statement with the aim for the betterment of Hungarian society. Because of this aim they are held within their community and their community keeps them following this goal. In sum, the individuals gain a certain identity through their lives and this identity forms their actions in the course of their biographies. The interviewees became socially sensitive and engaged individuals, they show solidarity for minorities and people in need while this mindset - or we might call it identity again - influences their future acts. Therefore the phrase *processing identity* might show how solidarity is reproduced within these communities and particular individuals' biographies.

Another aspect of the connection between identity and social engagement is the importance of community. The narrations illustrated the definite significance of belonging and attachment which was mentioned as well within the frames of

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processing identity. From another perspective, the community is not only identity (re-)building, but also can be a tool to fight individualisation. Interviewees frequently described the feeling of purposelessness and detachment during their path-finding periods. During these times they looked for purpose and belonging through social engagement. Interestingly, not only their own issue with individualisation - the separation from communities and the feeling of impotence caused by the pressure of the "you can do anything if you try hard enough" culture - was highlighted. The interviewees often mentioned that there is too much emphasis on individual performance in today's western societies and too little on structural oppression. Their empathy with homeless individuals or people in need comes to show in these descriptions. Beck *Thesis of Individualization* (see Beck 1986.) shows the growing diversification of individual biographies in modern societies and also highlights how personal responsibility , both for success and failure, is put on an individual. This is what the interviewees question and try to challenge through their social engagement and allround solidarity attitude.

Connected to this, the interviewees pointed out that they don't consider their social engagement as charity at FNB, but they see it as a self-evident act of solidarity instead. The support of people in need is not focused on the helped individuals, but is considered as an act of solidarity-based protest on societal level. Bayretz's theory of *battle-solidarity* (see 1998) and Scholz's description of *political solidarity* highly resonates with the interviewees' attempt on bringing change into current society. Why these individuals chose this way of solidarity again can be connected to the above interpreted socialization.

It is necessary to mention that the interviewees did not talk about the issue of homelssness or their explicit empathy with homeless individuals in particular. Their view on FNB's social work is straightforward : they don't do charity, they help everyone who is in need by saving wasted food from the markets in Budapest. They recognise that a warm meal once a week for 100-200 people is not much, but it's a way of showing how solidarity should be done. Instead of pointing out who they are helping they simply try to emphasize why the act of help is necessary on a societal level. By that they highlight the systemic problems on the macro level instead of stressing individual deficiency on the micro level. One of the most remarkable anti-homeless measures in Hungary is the criminalization of homelessness by law. Sanctions for

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"anti-communal" and "flagrantly anti-communal" behavior convey the anti-homeless attitude of the government's goals of getting the homeless out of the public eye instead of providing help for them.

To work for FNB means the support of a grass-root social and political movement which stands in accordance with the interviewees' non-conformist values.

Most interviewees reject a capitalistic, work-based life purpose and strongly support flat hierarchy community building. One of their main goals is to develop communities that are based on self-organising principles. Since Hungarian society does not have an established environment for grassroot, flat-hierarchy organisations, they consider it essential to support these formation types in order to bring change within society. This observation also includes an all-round feeling of powerlessness due to society's atomization, when individuals attempt to change structural problems of society such as homelessness. The support of grassroot organisations undertake transformations on the microlevel while, with the spread of this approach, the meso, then the macro level can be influenced in the long run, which is, according to the interviewees, a clear political statement. This attitude was especially notable among those individuals who developed a strong political interest from a young age. This system figher identity could have contributed to the activation of individuals and thus fueled their motivation behind social projects.

Additionally, these individuals not only show solidarity towards the people in need as a way of political resistance, but also form a significant solidary group among themselves. Interviewees referred to FNB as a second family which showcases the strong bond they have. The feeling of immediate acceptance and integration due to the ruling notion of equity and flat hierarchies within FNB made many members stay and become long-time volunteers. The connection to the group serves as a form of self-stabilization. The ratification of self-image takes place through social engagement, which can contribute to an individual's self-esteem. The identification with the group on the one hand facilitates identity work, on the other hand solidarity within the group is seen as a strong value, therefore affects its members to strengthen their solidarity.

8. Conclusion and outlook

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The main goal of the thesis was to explore solidarity patterns within a specific group in order to interpret its origins, conditions and changing dynamics. With the help of these findings we should gain more insight into the hows and whys of solidarity in a specific context, while contributing to a bigger picture of general solidarity patterns.

In this thesis I explored the importance of biographies in relation to solidarity attitudes. During socialisation the ability to reflect on one's own or others' life situations seems to be essential. Narrations continuously showed a high level of self-criticism and social sensitivity which was either learned at home or within the subculture/from peers. This high level of self awareness can be connected to the relatively high level of education almost all interviewees have. Also the information they gathered from their teachers and / or peers as young individuals about tragic historical events such as the Holocaust directed the interest of some interviewees towards antifascism.

Almost all of the interviewees emphasized the importance of integrity, honesty, equality and independence within their romantic relationships. These qualities were also important when they looked for fitting social projects.

Social engagement emerged usually during an era of path finding because through social projects they were able to cope with personal problems or meaningless jobs and felt accepted, validated and useful again. Due to the lack of social recognition they turned to communities which were based on values that "made sense" to them. Through this new form of belonging and the feeling of impactful and efficient social engagement, other, less fulfilling fields of the interviewees' life were balanced out. These path finding periods of the interviewees were filled with pain, the feeling of purposelessness and personal failure. This experience and parallelly their high levels of self reflection allowed them to accept that individuals can have turbulent lives, make mistakes and all in all fall through the hands of society.

Since today's punk subculture thematizes poverty, injustice, systemic oppression of all races and genders, to help homeless individuals can be seen as almost self-evident. Punk allows the individual to be dirty, to be careless and to get rid of general social values regarding how to be a good citizen. Homeless individuals often can't meet society's expectations to always grow and succeed as a person. Punk accepts and embraces personal failure and stagnation and tries to spotlight the failure of society instead of putting the responsibility on the individual. Of course not only those who fled from home can become punk, but also those who simply like the music, artistic expression, freedom and critical approach against governing systems.

Why solidarity plays such a significant role in the individuals 'lives and how their identities affect their solidarity attitudes can be described as a two-way dynamic between solidarity and identity.

This process can be simplified as a phenomenon of processing identity. By that, the circular working of identity building is described. The identity is never fully built, but is a process of influential and meaningful experiences which frame the identity and this developing identity influences a person to act a certain way. Individuals gain a certain identity through their lives and this identity forms their actions in the course of their biographies. The interviewees became socially sensitive and engaged individuals, they show solidarity for minorities and people in need while this mindset - or we might call it identity again - influences their future acts. Therefore the phrase processing identity might show how solidarity is reproduced within these communities and during individual biographies.

The support of people in need is not focused on the helped individuals, but is considered as an act of solidarity-based protest on societal level. Political solidarity is an attempt to bring change into current society. The interviewees aim is to raise awareness on inequality and poverty but also to do it with flat hierarchies and with an DIY approach.

Another aspect of the connection between identity and social engagement is the importance of community. The narrations illustrated the definite significance of belonging and attachment which was mentioned as well within the frames of processing identity. From another perspective, the community is not only identity (re-) building, but also can be a tool to fight individualization.

It would provide insightful information if the research could be expanded to all FNB members and the member's parents, in order to see how the parent's biographies influenced the interviewees' socialization and to see how solidarity might get *inherited* through socialisation.

It would be also beneficial to analyse other solidarity types in order to see the origins of their solidarity attitudes and to develop a general theory regarding the conditions of solidarity.

With more material and the possibility to compare the biographies of different groups, the created biographical categories could be further explored and also analyzed in the frames of quantitative research. Although numerous studies have been

made regarding solidarity, there is still no clarity about its workings. However there is one thing that is definite: its importance doesn't seem to decline and it's rather punk to show real solidarity nowadays.

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10. Abstract

The thesis explores the development of individual solidarity patterns and analyses the connection between identity and solidarity. The research is framed by the biographies of the volunteers of Food Not Bombs Budapest civil organization which is embedded in the budapester punk/hardcore subculture. The material was collected with the help of classical qualitative methods such as field observations and qualitative interviews, and are collected and analyzed in the frames of grounded theory. The first part of the analysis is the description of each interview partner's life story in which the individual biography's relevant elements are illustrated and thematically organized. The goal is to grasp the singular circumstances, feelings and motives while identifying differentiated life stories of the interviewees. With the help of the gathered cases collective patterns are highlighted among these biographies. The effect of communities which base their values on solidarity such as the punk subculture on individual biographies are presented, which shows that solidarity is not necessarily

something to be learned, but it can be produced and reproduced by circular processes of individual choices and collective mechanisms. The group of passive influences can be distinguished from acts which can be connected to a form of *processing identity*. The first part falls under the topic of socialisation, while the other part is discussed as the question of identity.

Zusammenfassung

Die Arbeit untersucht die Entwicklung individueller Solidaritätsmuster und analysiert den Zusammenhang zwischen Identität und Solidarität. Die Forschung wird von den Biografien der Freiwilligen der Budapester Zivilorganisation Food Not Bombs umrahmt, welche in die Budapester Punk/Hardcore-Subkultur eingebettet ist. Das Material wurde mit Hilfe klassischer qualitativer Methoden wie Feldbeobachtungen und qualitativer Interviews erhoben und im Rahmen der Grounded Theory erhoben und analysiert. Der erste Teil der Analyse ist die Beschreibung der Lebensgeschichte jedes Interviewpartners, in der die relevanten Elemente der einzelnen Biografien illustriert und thematisch geordnet werden. Ziel der Arbeit ist, die singulären Umstände, Gefühle und Motive zu erfassen und differenzierte Lebensgeschichten der Befragten zu identifizieren. Anhand der gesammelten Fälle werden kollektive Muster dieser Biografien aufgezeigt. Die Wirkung solidarischer Gemeinschaften wie der Punk-Subkultur auf individuelle Biografien wird dargestellt, was zeigt, dass Solidarität nicht nur direkt erlernbar ist, sondern durch zirkuläre Prozesse individueller Entscheidungen und kollektiver Mechanismen erzeugt und reproduziert werden kann. Die Gruppe der passiven Einflüsse kann von Handlungen unterschieden werden, die mit einer Form der Identitätsverarbeitung verbunden werden können. Der erste Teil fällt unter das Thema Sozialisation, während der andere Teil als Identitätsfrage diskutiert wird.