



TRUST FOR CIVIL SOCIETY
IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

„As I see the world it seems pitch black ...”

The effects of reducing the social allowance in rural Hungary, 2012

A study in socio-psychology - excerpt

Pro Cserehát Association

Sára Bigazzi

bigazzisara@hotmail.com

Ildikó Bokrétás

i.bokretas@gmail.com

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Abstract

The aim of our paper has been to investigate the effects of reducing the social allowance and the modification of its eligibility criteria on the target population. The direct effects work a powerful impact on the objective living conditions as the reduction deprived them of several days worth of subsistence costs. The subjective (psychological) impact on their living conditions is impossible to measure as the quality difference – in subjective terms – between their living standards so far and from now on either does not exist yet, or is not yet apparent to them (mostly with reference to the conditions of eligibility). Their situation has been hopeless so far, and the new regulation itself had hardly any news value vis-à-vis their daily struggle for survival, although that this is not the whole truth. The real message behind the news is the quality in which it addresses them. The question is if they can, or if they want to identify with the role being projected on them.

We have analysed interviews made with 35 FHT (employment substitute support) recipients. We interpreted the results at three levels: intrapsychic (unfolding in the individual's internal world), interpersonal (among individuals), and inter-group levels. Working at the intrapsychic level we used the self-discrepancy theory to distinguish between those who had already had a registered job, and those who had not. The mental health, motivation, and attitude to job-seeking of the two groups, clearly linked to different generations, is associated to their labour market experience. At the interpersonal level the invariance in their close environment, and the perception of life situations similar to theirs seen when comparison their lives with others fails to enable them to notice and identify the possible breakout points. The similarity perceived in their immediate environment and the interventions and regulations targeted at them activate the processes at the third, inter-group level. The distrust developed toward social actors, the social injustice experienced by them, and the alleged causes concerning their situation are all tentative statements.

1. Self-images. „There’s no area in your life where you could make at least some improvement”

Skipping the review of the extensive literature on the subject, in this chapter we are going to interpret the concept of self-image in an interactive space, and will discuss the development of identity of personal (individual) identity and social identity (defined along voluntarily embraced group affiliations) along internal content and external feedback (or their interpretation).

1.1. The past or the ideal? The effect of different ‘self’ comparisons on self-esteem and mental health

The theory of self-discrepancy (Higgins, 1987)¹ suggests that people match their current self-image to their internal expectations (*ideal* and *expected* self-image), technically called *self-guides*. These discrepant internal representations of the self may be mutually contradictory, and different, which causes emotional discomfort. Self-discrepancy is the distance between these self-representations. The theory suggests that people are motivated to reduce this distance to ensure that their internal tension is mitigated. The theory also says that the outcome of the comparison of the current self and the ideal self impacts self-esteem, which correlates with the formation of depression, and one’s mental health status (Higgins, 1987, Moretti & Higgins, 1990). Where the current and the ideal self show a significant difference in content, self-esteem will be low, and that creates a predisposition for depression in the individual.

The other factor determining self-esteem, and mental health is the result of matching one’s current self and past self, which research proves to be of major significance in the case of people having lost their jobs (Gould & Kenyon, 1972; Marsden & Duff, 1975). That type of comparison is only possible if a real past experience is matched with the current situation. Such a comparison by individuals having had a secure job in the past may reveal a considerable discrepancy, and so its impact on self-esteem and mental health may also be more powerful.

42.86% of individuals in the research sample have never had a registered permanent job, meaning that they – so to speak – were born into their situation. The following figure (figure 1) reflects that formal employment tends to characterise interviewees defined as elderly (40+) based on their labour market situation, while **much fewer from the later generations (20-30, and 31-40 age bands) entering the labour market after the regime change claimed having a formal workplace.**

¹ For the list of references see the full Hungarian paper.

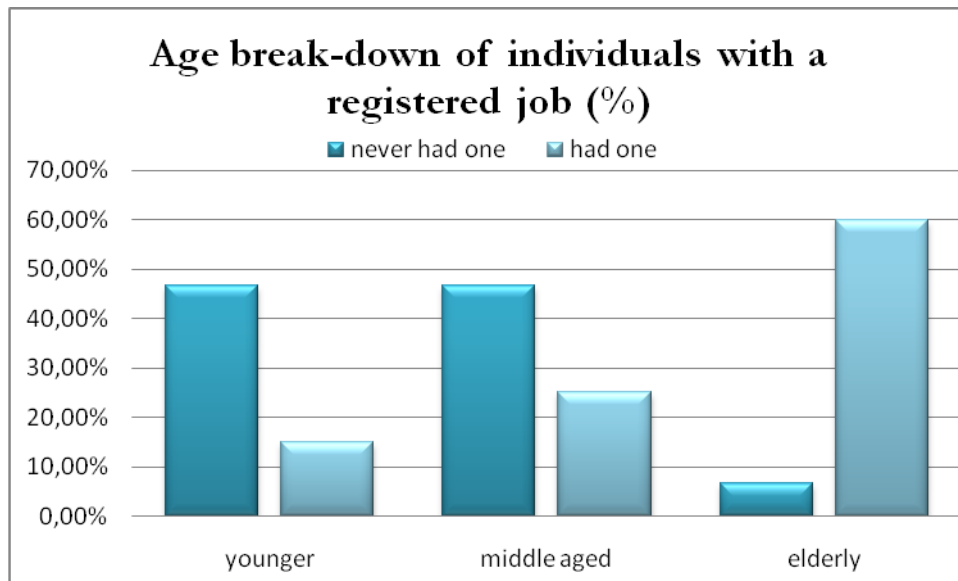


Figure 1: Employment details of the sample in a breakdown by age (had one/never had one (%))

Those born into unemployment have an environment that offers limited potential, lack of perspective, low social status, and they are accustomed to poverty being part of their lives. Their limitations of potential affect both their ideal self, and their possible perspectives in life. **They have no benchmarks from their own lives or from other people's. They lack a properly working self-image from their past, and have no role-models available to them within their own community.** The lack of this type of benchmark results in a minimal difference between their current and their ideal selves, which **thus fails to entail low self-esteem and the resulting threat of mental disorders.**

Although with most interviewees unemployment becomes integrated in their identity in the form of a permanent, practically unchangeable low social status, and poverty, and we still find significant differences in the level of their self-esteem and their mental health status.

„Unemployment it is for me like being penniless, you simply cannot survive” (Baranya, community L, 32 year-old Roma woman)

Quotations from the interview scripts corroborate the differences anticipated on the basis of various self-comparisons (past - current vs. ideal - current). **Those falling from a higher status (lost job) display a ‘more negative’ self-esteem as a result of their current and past selves because the difference between those two levels is significant.** The scripts suggest an expression of their lost future, and their awareness of their lowering living standards.

The possibility of comparison with their past self seriously impacts also their *mental health*; **almost all the individuals in the sample complaining about deterioration of their mental health had lost their jobs.** Long-term stress markers are frequent among the symptoms listed above, and are even indicative of spells of depression.

„Such stress, this kind of nervous state that we have here” (Borsod, community C, 41 year-old non-Roma woman)

„Well it [her health] has deteriorated. And my nervous system is also not like it used to be.” (Pest, community R, 33 year-old Roma woman)

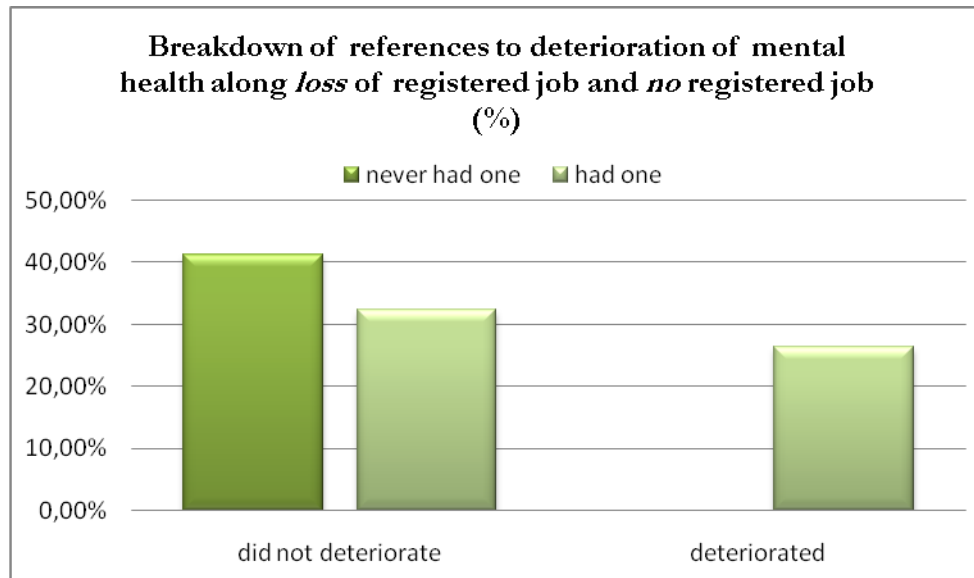


Figure 2: The appearance of the deterioration of mental health in the function of a lost job

These results point toward the **discrepant rates of threat affecting the two sub-samples. While the mental health of individuals having previously had a job is under threat with a likelihood of stress related diseases and depression, many of those who never had a job are young, and may have low levels of motivation** in the absence of alternative pathways of life and ideals, i.e. **with too low self-discrepancy** (too small discrepancy between current and ideal self). That may bear on their objectives, and also their vision.

1.2. Family and community network

When they introduce themselves, **interviewees in the sample most often define themselves through their role in their families.**

Self-definition on the basis of family roles is not necessarily a special feature of our sample, while at the same time, in lack of other options of identification it is suggestive of a narrowing of self-definition and activity levels. These individuals see other roles, statuses, and opportunities for action disappear from their lives. Their lives are organised around the family, and the significance of other roles, and of other social spaces being minimal. They become introverted, that is the only place for them to find a social function, and the more they do it the more hopeless other roles become to identify with.

This rate of narrowing of the social network further strengthens their family roles, and points toward the subject of trust. Interviewees evaluated their various social relations, units of society, institutions on a scale of confidence (zero: no trust at all, five: full trust)

We have completed a cluster-analysis to see which trust based relationship assessments co-occur, and which do not. The first and most compact unity in which they have similar rates of

confidence is the state and the politicians. Their confidence in the state is evaluated at an average of 0.34, and in politicians at 0.13. The European Union may also be linked to this societal unity (X=0.739). These three units together constitute the *political unity* (green), which receives very negative assessment with low variance (only the EU reflects a greater spread)

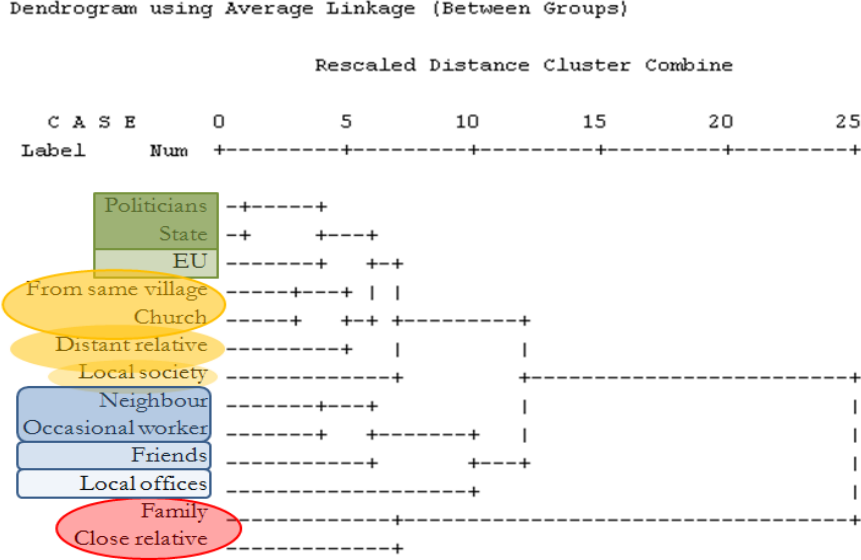


Figure 3: Co-occurrence of answers given on the scale of trust based on our parameters (cluster analysis)

Related to that is the content section of their *broad environment* (yellow): people from their village (X=1.4), the church (X=1.04), distant relative (X=0.86), and the local social organisations (X=1.5). That social network is negatively evaluated with a smaller or greater variance). It seems that they lack trust not only toward the political establishment, but also toward their direct informal environment.

The neighbour (X=2.3), occasional co-workers (X=2.1), and friends (X=2.7) constitute the *closer environment* (blue). Beyond the family (red) these are the people with whom they spend most of their time, and they live close even in terms of physical distance. The assessment of that closer environment is rather ambivalent (great differences, high variance). There are some, who strongly trust their closer environment, while others do not. This is the unit rather than that of politicians where – loosely – the trust in local officials, and the mayor also belongs, where the average (X= 2.27) conceals great variance. This last result points out that the local official – at least as interpreted by our interviewees – does not appear as an abstract external politician, but as the leader of the local community that everybody personally knows, and who does or does not enjoy the community’s trust.

The above scale of confidence suggests that the **interviewees do not trust anyone and anything other than their families**. When reading the statistics it is worthwhile taking two theoretical approaches into account.

(1) Fukuyama’s thesis (1995, 2001) says that the strength of the confidence in the closer and broader family is in an inverse relation to more general confidence in society, institutions, and sets of relationships beyond these closer ties (Yamagishi et al. 1998). That

means that the interviewees in the research came in a situation where they could only have confidence in their close family relations, which reduces their chances of success in social and economic integration as they no longer trust the institutions representing them, they are distrustful, and pessimistic, and place the chance – or indeed, the impossibility – of change / modification outside of themselves (Gambetta, 1988).

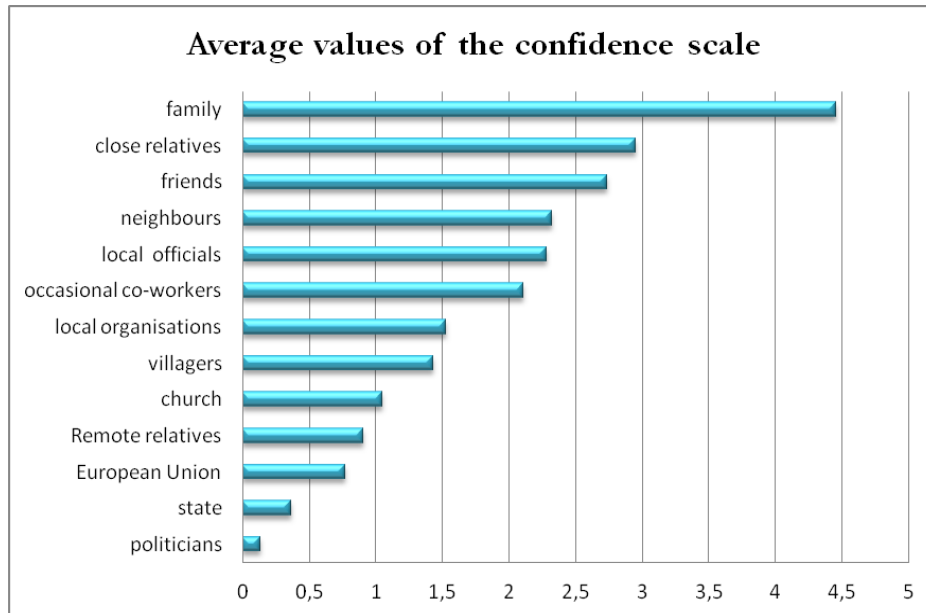


Figure 4: Average values of the confidence scale

(2) **The rational aspect of confidence** stands for ‘certainty’ and ‘ability of relying on others’, while its low rate heralds the pessimism concerning a chance of positive change. That also suggests that as humans we think rationally when we do not expect that various institutions should be able to bring about radical changes. The trust identifiable on the basis of the clusters of our results (figure 3) suggests this meaning, i.e. one can observe the close linkage between the institutions, and the distrust toward them. The **emotional aspect of trust** suggests that those confiding in this set of relations assume goodwill, justice, commitment, conscienciousness, and competence. This type of trust means a sense of security, optimism or the lack thereof. From this point of view those who trust become active participants of a dual game, and the trust created is faith in the other person(s), in the fact that they can resolve issues, formulate their opinions, and I can accept that opinion, we are in a relationship of mutual dependence, and he/she represents me same as I represent him/her.

This second (emotional) relation of trust may be linked with performance and social success because it builds on common objectives, and recognition of mutual dependence by both parties. The results in our sample suggest that trust is invested on a rational basis. However, the emotional aspect of trust fails to appear, even though this emotional type of trust would be necessary to enable these people to appear as active players in the labour market. In other words, distrust expressed towards institutions and other actors of the social space (rational interpretation of trust) results in external control; (emotional) trust creating the possibility of change and of the appearance of self-invented alternatives was not represented in the sample.

1.3. How do others look at me?

The opinion of the environment can impose patterns of behaviour on people (Jovchelovitch, 1996; Kertesi, 2000). Others relate to us in a given way, and it comes to our attention through patterns of thinking, communication, and activity. Their knowledge / representation about us influences our behaviour, and determines our spaces of action. Also for unemployed individuals **the feedback they receive from their external environment is of decisive significance in the social sense as it determines the courses of action in which they can move including their self-esteem, their job-seeking motivation, and strategy for action.** Refusal, discrimination, being regarded generally unable, segregation, being treated as a scapegoat are of indicative value. They indicate how far one can go, and what one is allowed to do.

Approaching self-image interpretations in an interactive space, three dimensions can be distinguished: feedback of the narrower community, and in this form, direct experiences (1); knowledge regarding the broader societal interpretation of living as an unemployed person, along with the concepts rendered to the employed (outgroup) (2) and the subjective interpretations of unemployment-related messages of political, institutionalized interventions (more narrowly: the subject matter of the new law as a message) (3)

(1) Feedback of the close environment, and immediate experience

Our interviewees **see their fellows struggling with similar problems around themselves.**

When we asked them how many people they think live similar lives today in Hungary, the 20 respondents said that 81% of all Hungarians share their problems. That means that in their daily experience they see similarity with other people, and they project it on the entirety of society.

During times of recession the unemployed individuals who see themselves as similar to other unemployed people will attribute their labour market status to external factors, and will be able to exempt themselves, which will improve their self-esteem (Hogg & Abrams, 1993)

The control perceived (external or internal) will influence the meaning of discrepancies received from the comparison (what it means being similar to 81% of Hungarians, and what the differences mean). Thus in our survey matching external control with social groups does not lead to individual depression. On the contrary, it exempts the individual, and questions the fairness or the stability of the social establishment as well as the low standing of this social group, i.e. the unemployed within this hierarchy.

(2) Knowledge concerning the broader social interpretation of being unemployed, and the thinking attributed to the employed (the outgroup)

The second dimension of feedback coming from outside is **what employed people think about unemployment.** That question may be placed in an intergroup context. Respondents primarily refer to higher status, and to the fact that employed people look down on them.

They believe that **many people blame them individually instead of blaming the situation** beyond their control. They believe that employed people attribute personal qualities to them that are not real, and when they give us their explanations, they try to get the blame off themselves, and prove why they are not responsible.

Some interviewees, when describing what the other group think about them refer to **'scape goat' status, and a relation of dependence** given that employed people believe that they pay the unemployment benefit for unemployed people.

(3) Subjective interpretations of unemployment-related messages of political, institutionalized interventions (more narrowly: the subject matter of the new law as a message)

And finally the third feedback for them that integrates in their identity is the way in which they interpret the interventions, and institutionalised regulations applicable to them (reduction of FHT, documenting 30 days of voluntary work, public work program, and its form realised in practice, etc.). Respondents (11/35) **do not understand these institutionalised 'messages' and are powerless against them** (11/35). They feel it is as bad as it can get, the issue is one of life and death.

„So I am supposed to be even poorer. Or I should kick the bucket. Because there is no other way I can read this. Because this money is too much for perishing. But too little for life.” (Baranya. Village M, 55 year-old non-Roma woman)

Some try to identify the purpose of the message: labour market integration appears, but is not found encouraging, moreover, **they do not find that they are responsible for it.**

They are so clearly unable to identify with the message expressed in the measures that **they handle the government as an outside group opposed to themselves.** They feel the government fails to represent them, that it has abandoned them, moreover, that it is opposed to them, it is their enemy. In other words, these measures were created against them, to do them harm.

The **result of an interpersonal comparison in their close environment is that they do not see major differences** given that what they experience is in fact a multiplication of identical pathways of life, while their real chances to see what happens outside are rather limited partly due to the fact that they cannot afford travelling. Ingrained TV watching habits, watching series, and news programs fail to show a real alternative because they do not invoke any experience of how to realise such alternatives. **The lack of alternative experiences caused by segregation has a double consequence.** On the one hand it results in a space restricted both psychologically, and physically, from which there are no ways out or any alternative pathways of life, thus their identity is not threatened by comparison On the one hand this results in a space narrowed down both psychologically, and physically **offering no way out and with no identified alternative pathways of life, thus their identity is not subject to comparison.** On the other hand, the effect of the surging rural unemployment following the régime change (closing down of mines, and cooperatives), and of the economic crisis on the unemployment rate, and daily subsistence (rising prices, monopoly of services in small communities, occasional jobs becoming less frequent), and the crisis-related measures targeted at them all amount to the fact that the respondents in our sample **do not attribute the reason of their situation or their status to themselves but to external factors.** (for more detail see chapter 4: The issue of responsibility).

Inter-group comparison, and externalisation of the cause helps them refuse the negative content projected at them from the outside (prejudices, differences of status, shortage of

empathy, dwindling assistance, and punitive measures), **and to define themselves as opposed to these.** This is how institutionalised structures, **the government and government decrees become external groups rather than a leadership representing them and recognised by them.** From this point of view they are under pressure by the representations of this external group (in which they are most often ‘endowed’ with negative features), and by the measures increasing their helplessness, and poverty, and even having punitive force as claimed by some. **This is a no man's land, and neither their internal relations, nor their external linkages motivate them, but render the respondents motionless, and impotent. They do not see possible ways out of their situation, or patterns of solution, nor do messages from the outside enable psychological mobility, or the identification of options to improve their situation.**

2. The question of responsibility

There may be several explanations to a given social problem, and what explanation eventually prevails is linked not to individual abilities, but social contexts, and socialisation-related, and thus cultural differences (Hewstone & Jaspars, 1982, 1984; Moscovici, 1982, 1984).

The full sample is characterised by externalising the cause. They blame the **lack of jobs, the government, and transportation difficulties** for their unemployment.

When asked what should be changed in Hungary to ensure that their life improves, 52.4% of respondents said jobs should be created, 38.1% said change of government, and/or reducing corruption, and 9.52 said there is nothing to do, there is no way out.

We matched respondents’ statements concerning the *Changes you think are necessary in Hungary* to the action patterns (see chapter 3.). As figure 5 shows, those who say the government should be changed (i.e. those identifying a specific responsible entity, external group) are those who actively seek jobs. Those who either never sought jobs, or did but gave up, mostly see job creation as the vehicle for change.

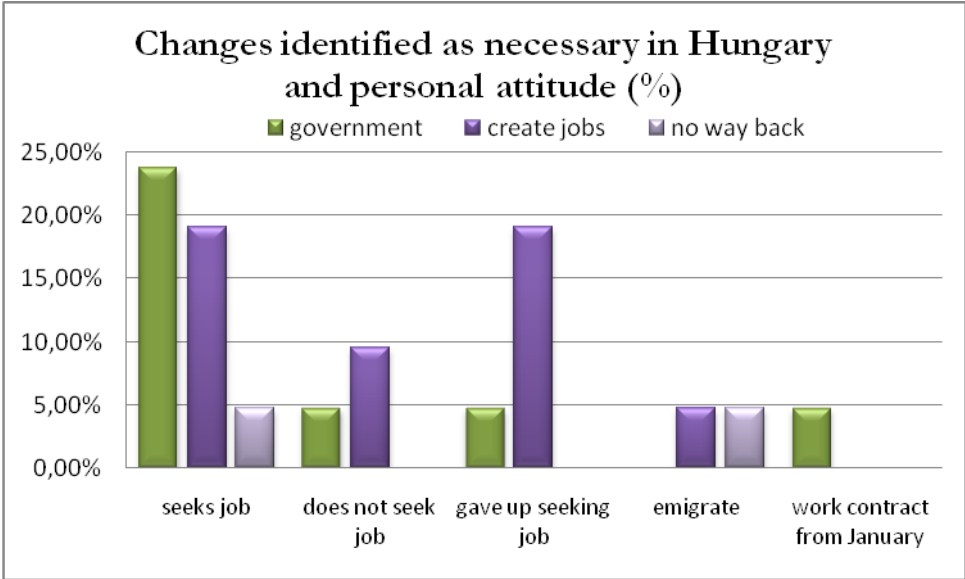


Figure 5: Correlations between changes identified as necessary in Hungary and the individual efforts to find a job
11.

This result is also corroborated by the following correlation. We also matched respondents' vision (specific targets vs deficient/general responses) to necessary changes in Hungary. A reverse tendency is shown by the changes identified as required by those having a specific or general vision. Those with a specific vision see a change of government as a chance for change, while those with a general vision think that job creation is required. (figure 6)

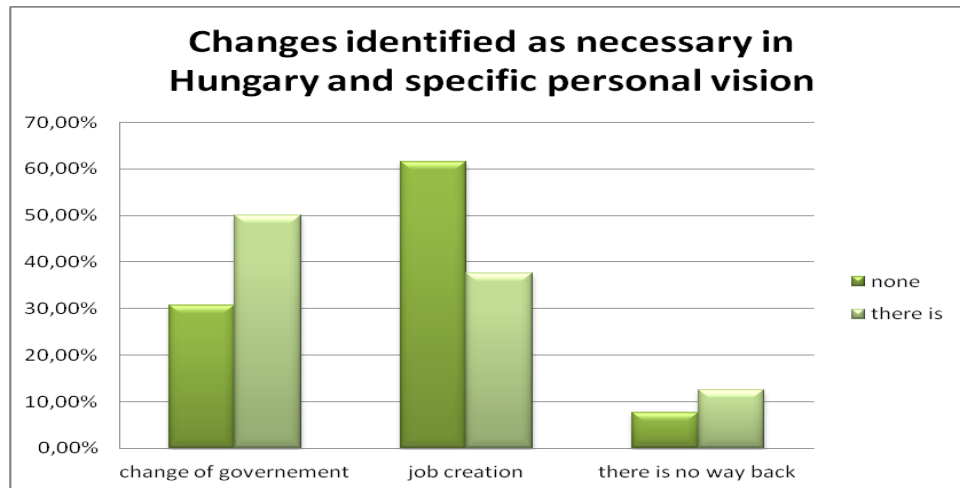


Figure 6: Correlations between changes identified as necessary in Hungary and a vision or the lack thereof (vision %)

These results point to an interesting correlation. **While technical literature says that externalising the cause results in a feeling that people have no control over their own lives, they do not control the events of their lives, and cannot do anything about their situation regardless how hard they try (passivity, frustration, learned impotence), still, when we look at our results, we see the opposite correlations. Externalised causes have positive associations. The government, as an external group, identified as an enemy enables these people to fight their long-term threat, and to preserve the positive elements of their self-esteem to a minimum extent, and, as a consequence, be individually active, seek employment, and think in terms of specific visions.**

In accordance with Tajfel's social identity theory people's primary objective is to derive a positive experience from their social identity (their identification linked to groups). If that is unsuccessful, they can exit these groups (e.g. social mobility), if they cannot (colour of skin, no job), they start other individual and collective activities along which they can change the negative image concerning that group. At the same time these activities are identified by the way in which they perceive the social system. Perceiving society takes place along the dimensions of stable/unstable and fair/unfair. If they perceive the social system as fair, then these activities will try to transform the values attributed to the group (the desire to create employment). **If they begin to perceive the system as unfair, it brings with it a cognitive alternative in the members of the group, i.e. they develop an ability to imagine how else it could be. That means that the actions will be aimed at changing the role of the group in the hierarchy (change of government). These actions include various forms of social protest.**

„The people will unite, and demonstrate in front of the Parliament building, and will not care about what happens. Because we see the demonstrations on television. Even if we only have primary school

education, we still have a brain, and we understand what happens in the world” (Borsod. Village D 33 year-old Roma woman)

3. Motivated for what?

In the research we assumed the motivation deficit, which is truly observable in jobseeking and in the endeavour to learn new skills. At the same time one can say that this is just the surface, and these motivations get re-channelled. In the case of our respondents the **work and further training potential did not reduce considerably**. They still appreciate the surplus functions of work (company, feeling being useful, forming a vision, practising cognitive functions), and they are motivated to work, and, through the re-channelling of their jobseeking activity, also to complete further training courses. Using these may later form the basis of their labour market integration.

The changes of motivation in this direction result in different patterns of action. In our sample we observed four different types of patterns of action that are in correlation with previous labour market experience.

Giving up: When somebody gives up it means that there was an unsuccessful attempt at job seeking, so they give up their previous activity at both cognitive, and emotional levels. That is the appearance of learned impotence at the level of action.

Failure to seek: Non-seekers never actually sought employment, and are not seeking any even now. Verbally they express the necessity of working, but would not do a thing to carry out what they say. Many were born into their situation, and never had a real job, thus their non-seeking is caused by a low level of self-ideal, and the lack of experience concerning alternative options.

Seeking: They continue their job seeking despite previous failed attempts.

Emigration: They do not seek employment, they see the solution in moving and working abroad.

Previous experience has a particularly important role in maintaining their present activity. It is important to add that, **from the point of view of later labour market integration, the young generation are most at risk, and allowance recipient generations may grow up unless reasonably rapid assistance is provided.** The elderly age group is much more of a jobseeker, maintaining their activity because they were ‘socialised’ to employment during the period prior to the regime change.

We managed to prove a correlation between the rate of risk and applied patterns of action, while those at a lower level of risk reflect greater variability, and for the most threatened seeking remains the only ‘available’ activity.

At the same time, seeking employment here qualifies for a struggle for survival. They keep up their seeking despite recognising the lack of chances, and giving up seeking would equal surrendering. Thus, in the case of people most affected by the reduction of

allowances one may call the reduction of social allowance an effective move, but **the result of forcing these people back to seek jobs is simply that they are forced to face up one more time to their lack of perspective, while they are doomed to hunger, and misery since his activity remains inconclusive without activating and expanding the labour market.**

4. Vision: „I am meant to live today...”

An easily observable feature in the research sample is **the loss of vision and objective by the interviewees**, which most expressively appears as different forms of living for the current day. **Based on the Maslow pyramid one can say that the life of these people moves around the needs at the two bottom levels: physiological (hunger, thirst), and the need for security (physical protection, predictability).** (Maslow, 1943) A clear consequence of this is that objectives become short-term, and long-term objectives often remain dreams, and they express their unrealisability. They also express the uncertainty of satisfying the need for safety; they fail to feel their feet on the ground.

Summary (brief)

In our paper we attempted an **identification of the psychic consequences of the amendment of the Social Act affecting long-term unemployed people** in a research project involving a small sample. We did not only have to deal with intrapsychic processes because the individuals involved are part of a social system, society makes statements about them, displays behavior toward them, and acts in relation to them. Same as the institution network. The amendment of the Social Act carries a message for them. These all create a space of representation simultaneously, which defines the chances of thinking, acting, their relation to themselves, and their situation. It defines limits to them, and expresses an opinion about them.

It becomes clear already with **intrapsychic consequences that the extent of these consequences reduces self-esteem, deteriorates mental health, helps stress and symptoms of depression appear more powerfully for those who have previous work experience, and who dreamed about a different life, for whom a different life is (or used to be) a realistic option, and have a representation that refers to it. While those who have never been formally employed, have different content from which to build up their self-image.** Already that result heralds the **different rates of threat characterising the two groups.** The mental health of the first group is under threat due to the excessively high self-discrepancy (between current and past self), the other only has his later labour market integration in danger because they match their current self to their ideal self under the influence of the limited environment, their motivation will also be low due to the low self-discrepancy. This outcome has been confirmed on the basis of action patterns identified in the chapter on motivations. **With the younger generation non-seeking, i.e. complete passivity is much more frequent, while those who already had a job that is a non-existent type of response.** Complete passivity is the result of the low level of self-ideals, and thus of self-discrepancy. Low inner motivation, and failure to set objectives is frequent.

The choice of strategy of action, however, is not only affected by motivation and objective.

Another powerful influence is the rate of the threat. **The least threatened interviewees show the highest rate of variability in choosing the strategies of action, which is not surprising as greater safety enables many more alternatives to emerge. In the case of the most threatened desperate seeking is the only right word.**

Based on our sample we found a correlation between vision and the rate of threat, which is not a surprising result. Those who struggle for their daily, and end-of-month survival, do not think on a longer term. Although interviewees show greater variability, and the different parameters do not correlate so clearly, the intrapsychic processes and the resulting forms of action were depicted in the following figure in a schematic manner.

Age	Above 40		Under 40		
Pathway of life	Previous job		Born in a situation		
Activated self-guides	Current/past self-comparison		Current/ideal self-comparison		
Result	High self-discrepancy		Low self-discrepancy		
Motivation	High		Low		
Rate of threat	high	Low or pre-final stage (4)	high	low	Low or medial
Level of action	Seeking	Giving up	Seeking	Emmigration	Seeking, not seeking

Table 1: Schematic introduction of intrapsychic processes and forms

Following individual processes we interpret the content projected toward them by the social space at four levels: their roles experienced **in the family**, the interactions followed in their **immediate environment**, the impressions of **employed persons** (as outgroup) as conceptualised by them, and the content of **institutionalised regulations** and interventions addressed to them. The primary environment is the family. Their role in the family structures their daily lives, and that is what gives them a chance of experiencing a positive self-image and usefulness in everyday life. **The lack of other options of identification brings with it a shrinking of self-definition and level of action.** That is supported also by results received along the scale of confidence. The results of the scale of confidence: family vs all other social units (village dwellers, remote relatives, politicians, church, civil organisations, etc.), a rational confidence supposes representation. There is no way out of this, I cannot influence it, so I become introvert. I cannot influence the situation, I am a sufferer of it rather than an active player in it. That affects their performance, and heralds the failure of their labour market integration.

The social space moves on three other plains: (1) **in their immediate environment they meet people in similar situations, which sends a message of being similar, and identification at a group level.** The result is on the one hand the shrinking space, the lack of motivation, and the favourable part is the lower rate of damage to self-esteem.

(2) **In the messages of the external group, the employed, they see themselves as scapegoats thereby blowing up the perceived group borders.** (3) **Finally the message of government regulations supposes a causal relationship unacceptable for them, whereby changing their situation depends on their own activity.** That unacceptable causal relationship is similar to what they find in the views perceived in those employed. **Here the institution**

system (government, state, politicians) is understood at an inter-group level. They become 'enemies'. Technical literature suggests that identification with a community is either the result of joint inner work, the creation of common standards, and values, or it is born at the effect of an outside pressure. While the source of the outside threat is identified for many of them, identification with the community has not come yet. Identification with the community is the next assumable grade of the process the result of which is social protest.

Our paper has identified diverging processes both intrapsychically, and at a social level, while at the same time it may be said that that injuries caused (deterioration of mental health, a feeling of exclusion, perception of society and the institution system as enemies) do not result in effective patterns of action. The lack of alternatives, and realistic exit options keep them in hoplessness, and complete uncertainty.