

## DESCRIPTION OF THE BOKORS AND THEIR OPPORTUNITIES IN TOURISM

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**Abstract:** A 'bokortanya' is a special type of settlement, some examples of these can be found west of Nyíregyháza. At the beginning of the 'nought years' we only saw mouldering 'bokors', while today the situation is rather different. During this period the town development strategies, real infrastructural and other improvements and developments contributed to the actual social-economical revitalisation of the 'bokors'. During the past decades there have been changes. Significant differences emerged among the 'bokors', the dying and outstanding settlements have started to become distinct. The functions of 'bokors' have shifted, and the lifestyle of the inhabitants has changed, therefore these settlements have differentiated. Based on my research I have categorised them. Visiting 'bokors' as a unique type of settlement can only be of interest for a small group of experts. It is not likely that 'bokors' will appear as a tourist destination themselves; however, it is realistic to assume that they can provide a supplementary programme and accommodation for visits of other purposes. They can provide attraction and services that are a real experience for tourists. Tourism itself does not mean a complex solution for any of the 'bokors' at present; it may, however, provide a supplementary income source for the local population, and also make the landscape/settlements more attractive. They can make the opportunities in a town touristically developing more colourful and unique and Nyíregyháza can help improve them in this process.

**Key words:** suburbanisation, hamlet, revitalisation, rural tourism

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### INTRODUCTION

The events and research carried out in 2003 on the 250th anniversary of 'settling' have greatly contributed to the resurrection of the 'bokors' and tirpak traditions. However, the basis of this revitalisation of the 'bokors' is some other issue. It has been 20 years since the political changes in the country; the town development strategies, real infrastructural and other changes and developments make this revitalisation possible. At the beginning of the 'nought years' we only saw mouldering 'bokors', while today the situation is rather different (table 1).

During the past 20 years significant differences emerged among the 'bokors', the dying and developing settlements have started to become distinct. The decrease of the population has slowed down, but there have been huge diversions from the average.

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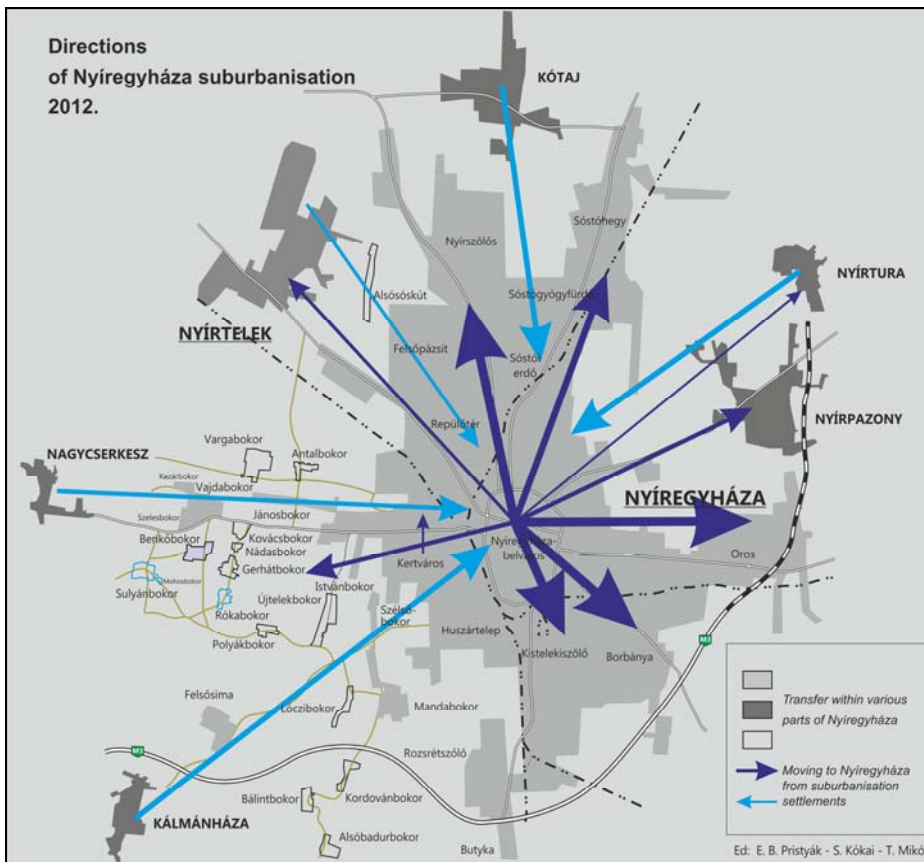
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**Table 1.** Social and service characteristics of the 'bokors'  
(Data source: Own edition and collection of data)

	Name	Popul. 2001	Houses 2001 (n.of)	Drinking water s.	Gas supply	Sewage supply	Public trans/bus	Pitched way	Touristic opport.	Shop, pub	Distance from c.
1.	Alsóbadurbokor	271	77	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	11(km)
<b>2.</b>	<b>Antalbokor</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>Partial</b>	+	-	+	+	+	+	<b>6</b>
3.	Bálintbokor	106	50	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	10
4.	Bedőbokor	41	16	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
<b>5.</b>	<b>Benkőbokor</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>32</b>	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	<b>8</b>
6.	Csernyikbokor	130	41	<i>Planned</i>	+	-	-	-	-	-	12
7.	Debrőbokor	18	17	Partial	+	-	-	-	-	-	10
8.	Felsőbadurbokor	228	108	Partial	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
9.	Felsősima	442	131	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	12
	Felsősima tanya	325	105	+	Partial	-	-	-	-	-	13
10.	Füzesbokor	62	28	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	6
<b>11.</b>	<b>Gerhátbokor</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>37</b>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	<b>7</b>
12.	Istvánbokor	35	16	<i>Planned</i>	-	+	-	+	-	-	6
13.	Jánosbokor	180	75	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	7
14.	Kazárbokor	82	33	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	8
15.	Kordovánbokor	23	19	+		-	+	+	-	-	11
16.	Kovácsbokor	59	25	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	7
17.	Lóczibokor	42	14	+	+		+	+	-	-	7
18.	Mandabokor	261	72	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8
19.	Mandabokor II	199	70	Partial	+	+	-	+	-	-	7
20.	Mandabokor III	64	36	Partial	+	+	-	-	-	-	10
21.	Mátyásbokor	55	19	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	11
22.	Mohosbokor	13	7	<i>Planned</i>	-	+	-	-	-	-	7
23.	Nádasbokor	14	12	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	7
24.	Polyákbokor	154	37	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	8
<b>25.</b>	<b>Rókabokor</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>20</b>	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	<b>9</b>
26.	Rozsrétszőlő	1069	324	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8
27.	Rozsrétbokor II.	54	17	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	8
28.	Salamonbokor	191	65	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	5
<b>29.</b>	<b>Sulyánbokor</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>32</b>	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	<b>10</b>
30.	Szabadságbokor	67	28	+	+	-	-	+	+	Rest.	4
31.	Szelesbokor	20	9	Partial	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
32.	Szélsőbokor	85	41	Partial	+	-	+	+	-	-	5
33.	Újtelekbokor	225	98	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	6
34.	Vajdabokor	288	80	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	7
35.	Vargabokor	104	56	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	8
36.	Zomboribokor	45	19	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	5
	<b>Altogether:</b>	<b>5277</b>	<b>1905</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	-

Gyula Krúdy, who was born in Nyíregyháza, wrote that 'tirpaks used to blush, be ashamed and get angry because of this derogatory term.' This has changed and hopefully has found its appropriate place. Nyíregyháza has benefited a lot from the 'settling' and the civic developments that followed. The identity of 'tirpaks' was restored.

Changes here started to happen more slowly after the political changes in the country than in other bigger settlements. The quick development of Nyíregyháza only reached the outskirts a whole decade later. This slow shift can also be viewed as delay; however, the economic situation can have little impact on the thinking of a society. There have been significant changes in the past decade, the 'bokors' have differentiated, as I have previously published (Pristyák, 2000; 2003; 2011). De-urbanisation reached other areas of the town first; construction has only started in the 'bokors' in the past few years, since 2005 in particular; therefore this part of town is now an important area of suburbanisation for Nyíregyháza (figure 1).



**Figure 1.** Directions of Nyíregyháza suburbanisation, 2012  
(Source: *Own edition*)

### THE TOWN'S CONCEPTS

The provision of quality life circumstances in the concept of long term settlement development of Nyíregyháza includes an operative programme about development and protection of built-up environment. The aim of this programme is 'the development of the town and its surroundings while preserving and further developing the specialties, traditional settlement/landscape peculiarities of individual areas.'

The development categories of the peripheral built-up areas and building regulations relating to them were determined in the settlement structure and regulation plan of the town.

The peripheral built-up areas around Nyíregyháza belong to the following categories:

1. quasi-village settlements: Szélsőbokor, Vargabokor, Jánosbokor, Rozsrét-bokor, Újtelekbokor, Salamonbokor;

2. due to their place in the settlement structure areas that are marked for economic development: Zomboribokor, Szabadságbokor;

3. support of settlement areas for recreational purposes/development;

4. settlement areas marked for conservation purposes: Rókabokor, Sulyánbokor;

5. settlement areas with agriculture and large-size lands: Mandabokor I., Manda-bokor II., Alsóbadurbokor, Füzesbokor, Mátyásbokor, Antalbokor, Gerhátbokor, Mohosbokor, Bálintbokor, Hármastanya, Nádasbokor, Bedőbokor, Istvánbokor, Polyákbokor, Benkőbokor, Kazárbokor, Szelesbokor, Csernyikbokor, Kordovánbokor, Kovácsbokor, Debrő-bokor, Felsőbadurbokor, Lóczybokor, Felsőxima (tanyák).

Generic developments that apply to the 'bokors':

- improving accessibility of 'bokors';
- provision of healthy drinking water in the administrative area of the town;
- extension of the drainage system, updating the cleaning system of wastewater, construction of replacements of local public utilities in areas where it is not feasible economically;
- support for unskilled/unqualified adults in achieving skills/qualifications and work experience;
- preservation of the characteristics of 'bokors';
- differentiated development of various 'bokors' based on their particular roles;
- development of complex labour-market models for the gypsies, the disadvantaged and the permanently unemployed groups;
- projects social economics;
- improving tolerance towards the disadvantaged groups;
- wide distribution of health prevention.

### SOCIAL PROVISION, SERVICES

The level of service in these settlements can only be concluded from the data provided. There are not enough services in the area: the number of places for nurseries (3-5 years) is 138, the utilisation level is close to 100%. Due to the reorganisation of the primary school system provided by the local council there is only one school in Rozsretszo, where they provide a class a year from first to eighth year, altogether 130 pupils. There is an opportunity for children to attend a boarding school in Nyirszolos. Child care for babies (under 3) and health care provision is lacking; however, there are some social care type of services (such as meals provided in Benkobokor).

Table 2 describes the data regarding education, employment and other information of the local population. It clearly indicates that the ratio of ageing population is still high (table 2).

**Table 2.** Data regarding the social composition of the population of 'bokors', 2008  
(Data source: Town Development Strategy of Nyiregyhaza)

Population data	%
Proportion of population between 0-14	18.0
Proportion of population between 15-59	60.0
Proportion of population between 60 and over	22.5
Proportion of population who have only primary education in the group of 15-59-year-olds	40.0
Proportion of population with higher education	5.0
Proportion of population between 15-64 in employment	21.0
Proportion of households with no employed person	49.0
Proportion of population who do not have regular income in the group of 15-59-year-olds	57.0
Proportion of population who do not have regular income and have only primary education in the group of 15-59-year-olds	28.0

This area plays an important part in the transport system of Nyíregyháza, as ring roads, national roads and motorway junctions avoiding the internal part of the town have been built. A Lego factory is being built at the moment. A more complete integration into the transport system requires the further development of the road systems. The most significant change in public transport in recent years is the fact that 21 'bokors' have been included in the local bus routes. The roads are tarmac, the turning points not always though. Social care in the 'bokors' have been taken over from the local council by the church; the Jóób Olivér Szeretetintézmény run by the Kertvárosi Evangélikus Egyház (that is responsible for the west part of the town and the 'bokors') has taken up these tasks with the help of 'bokor janitors' and family helpers. Their headquarters are at 23 Benkőbokor.

### **TOURISM IN THE 'BOKORS'**

The greatest valuable of the 'bokors' is the special, unique settlement-structure features, their settlement- morphological picture and 'tirpak' traditions. Awareness of these should be increased. They do not really have other cultural or unique agro-touristic values. The conservation of traditions takes many forms; particular events that link into equestrian and gastronomic tourist products.

'Tirpak' events are quite regular, the number of visitors has increased over the years; the gastronomic and other traditions may interest the young who have some connections with 'tirpaks' and 'bokors'. Civic societies form and more events are organised by the local Lutheran church as well. The 'bokors' can also join the TDM (Tourist Destination Management) – this is current, local organisation in tourism – with a slogan of 'Nyirseg tourist magic'.

Besides rural tourism there are opportunities for active tourism as well, such as walking, biking and riding. The town supports the 'bokors' changes in order to make them provide for rural tourism. It is not likely that 'bokors' will appear as a tourist destination themselves; however, it is realistic to assume that they can provide a supplementary programme and accommodation, and so increase their turnover. This small area can become competitive if visitors spread its good reputation and return here and also if it can provide attraction and services that are a real experience for tourists and represent better price-value ratio when compared to competitors (Hanusz, 2010). Officially in the area of 36 'bokors' there are five places where one can find private accommodation. In reality, there are two where they deal with tourism. There is no commercial accommodation. The Lutheran church also offers guest rooms.

Tourist oportunities in the 'bokors':

- the greatest valuable of the 'bokors' is the special, unique settlement-structure features, their settlement- morphological picture and their modest 'tirpak' traditions;
- they do not really have other cultural or unique agro-touristic values;
- the conservation of traditions takes many forms; particular events that link into equestrian and gastronomic tourist products;
- rural tourism near to a big city.

Attractions that have a county or national reach should be focussed on, as they are the ones that will make people living outside the county borders to travel and stay here.

Tourist products suggested to be developed are as follows:

- tourist products that can shape the image (rural, eco- and cultural tourism);
- other general tourist products (rural tourism, biking, tourism for the young and elderly);
- support to participate in tourism, just like in the cases of villages that have no special attractions.

Accommodation (table 3):

- private accommodation is available at five places (32 beds), these are mostly 'village accommodation';
- in fact, there are two places where they deal with tourists; the outstanding one is Bihari-Tanya;
- no commercial accommodation;
- guest rooms of the lutheran church, 12 beds;
- 'Tirpak Inn' next to the main road no 36, with 'Tirpak' food on the menu;
- there are some inns: Antal, Szabadság, Sulyán, Gerhát, Bálint, Mandabokor.

**Table 3.** Data of Nyíregyháza private accommodation  
(Data source: Nyíregyházi TDM)

<i>year</i>	No of guests (person)	Total guest nights	Foreginer guest nights	No of hosts (person)	No of rooms	No of beds	No of beds available
2000	2764	12402	7358	43	-	-	313
2001	2740	15047	8061	54	-	-	362
2002	2791	17274	8951	58	-	-	449
2003	2044	12332	7342	58	-	-	409
2004	1834	8070	4398	58	-	-	412
2005	1809	7848	2260	67	182	445	503
2006	1831	9510	3026	56	147	340	394
2007	2108	8018	3265	59	141	336	391
2008	2157	7159	2309	66	162	376	429
2009	1500	5371	3316	60	156	372	428

'Tirpak' events, organisations, publications:

- Tirpák Lovas Napok (Equestrian Days) / Tirpák Hétféje (Weekend) on Bihari-tanya;
- days in Vajdabokor or Meeting of local minorities in Mandabokor;
- in Sosto Village Museum they celebrate Whitsun with 'tirpak' traditions;
- events organised by local Lutheran church;
- publication of E-misszió (E-mission Nature and - Environment Protection Association):

Friendly 'bokors', Guide to the natural resources of 'bokors' and hamlets around Nyíregyháza – this is a promotive, very high standard and free publication.

The number of visitors has increased over the years; the gastronomic and other traditions may interest the young who have some connections with 'tirpaks' and 'bokors':

- association for the Population of 'Bokors' – civic society that is the most active in maintaining traditions;
- Tirpák Kulturális Egyesület ('Tirpak' Cultural Association);
- Vajdabokori Tirpák Népzenei Együttes (Vajdabokor 'Tirpak' Folk Music Ensemble);
- Folk Choir and Dancers of Mandasi Bokortanya Club;
- Nyírség Turizmusáért Egyesület (Association for Tourism of Nyírség);
- Tirpák dishes – Dr. Bodnár Zsuzsa, ethnography.

Progress in tourism of 'bokors':

- in publication of the town Nyíregyháza provides some information and a picture occasionally (usually with the Village Museum);
- 'Tirpak' Days have been organised on Bihar-tanya for the past 6 years, it is close to the 'town day' and includes equestrian and gastronomic programmes;
- 17. Rókabokor, 11. Benkőbokor houses are monument type buildings, Róka and Sulyán bokor have protected settlement structures;
- 'Tirpak Inn' next to the main road No 36 in Szabadságbokor, with 'tirpak' food on the menu and opportunities for 'tirpak' weddings;
- gastronomic collections and 'tirpak' specialties (e.g. pucóka (gnocchi type pasta), kúnnya, laskafélék (different kinds of pasta), mákostengeri (sweetcorn with poppy seeds));
- increase of village accommodation;
- events organised by the Association for the Population of 'Bokors' (linking to the 'town day').

The tourist development of 'bokors' is one of the many strategic objectives of Nyíregyházi TDM, as this town offers complex touristic products and tourism itself is an important sector:

- a) Utilisation of the town's excellent spa water and health opportunities as a main tourist sector;
- b) Tourist developments based on cultural heritage in the city centre;
- c) Establishment of eco- and rural tourism in the 'bokors' in harmony with nature conservation and environmental developments;

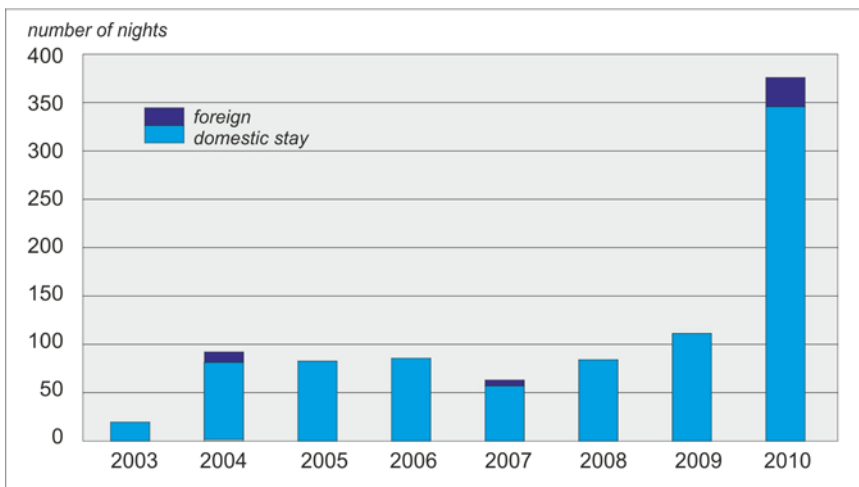
d) Sustainable economy, based on the characteristics and skills, within which tourism is an important factor;

e) Developed local infrastructure, which satisfy the requirements of quality tourism;

f) Development of human resources is a basic requirement for tourism.

Numerous studies have focussed on the dissolution and depopulation of the 'bokors'; however, there have only been a few on their tourist exploitation. One way of saving the system of 'bokors' is to fill them with sensible tourist programmes. 'Tirpak' Days will be an essential part of the equestrian events around town, as tourists who take part in fox-hunting and riding in carriages will look for places that have been made appropriate for tourists during the 'tirpak' weekends; these places can also serve as attractions during any season of the year (Nyíregyházi TDM 2011).

As you can see from figure 2, private accommodations have a varying amount of guests from year to year. These are greatly affected in any given year by the events that are organised in the 'bokors' as well as in town ('Tirpak' weekend, events in 'bokors' during town day, 'tirpak' wedding, etc.). In addition, any particular provider's turnover can be affected by their own marketing activities (Sulyánbokor Kentaur-tanya not functioning, church events etc.) (figure 2).



**Figure 2.** Turnover of Bihari tanya (Szabadságbokor)  
(Source: proprietorial statement/reference, own edition)

The biggest and best-known accommodations are the Bihari-tanya and the Lovas Panzió in Antalbokor. This is a thriving community, the farmers still live there in their own houses, and keep horses, ducks and other animals. This a village accommodation for 2x10 people, with a stone-wooden and clay-and-straw - mortar guesthouse. They have been active members of the county's rural tourism association since 1994. They can offer more and more accommodation as well as programmes, such as horse riding, riding in a carriage, horse sledging, pig killing, clay forming and pottery; events such as coach driving, the event being Tirpak Days. In 2010 the number of guest nights exceeded 350. Based on the commentaries of the owners they had guests from Nyíregyháza and Budapest and its surrounding areas. The attraction of Nyíregyházi Zoo also contributed to the increase of guest turnover, adding to the individual marketing activities.

In the past years the investments based on relatively little equity, very often relying on family fortunes, have provided new accommodation. In projects it is still establishing accommodation that has the major part; various tourist programmes have been emphasized less. Tourism at present does not mean a complex solution for any of the 'bokors'. It may, however, provide a supplementary income source for the local population, and also make the landscape/settlements more attractive, thus making up for anything missing in Nyíregyháza.

## SUMMARY

The function of 'bokors' has partially changed, the lifestyle of those living there show a great variation and the 'bokors' themselves differentiated. Based on my research I categorise them as follows (Pristyák, 2011):

1. 'Bokors' arranged as villages, one or two main streets and hopefully further economic growth: Felsősimá, Gerhátbokor, Jánosbokor, Mandabokor, Rozsrétzölő, Rozsrétbokor, Salamonbokor, Szélsőbokor, Újtelekbokor, Vargabokor, Vajdabokor, Zomboribokor, Szabadságbokor. In these settlements the distance to reach workplaces and services is acceptable, and the prices of properties provide an opportunity to build family homes with gardens. These renewed 'bokors' share some similarities with 'dormant villages'.

2. Agriculture and family farming are dominant: Alsóbadurbokor, Antalbokor, Bálintbokor, Bedőbokor, Benkőbokor, Csernyikbokor, Debrőbokor, Felsőbadurbokor, Felsősimá, Füzes-bokor, Istvánbokor, Kazárbokor, Kordovánbokor, Kovácsbokor, Lóczibokor, Mandabokor I., Mandabokor II., Mátyásbokor, Mohosbokor, Nádasbokor, Polyákbokor, Szelesbokor. Besides the more significant agricultural husbandry there is also a tendency to keep houses as weekend cottages and to practice closed garden cultivation. Older population is present in a high ratio.

3. Bokors with tourist basis: Antalbokor, Benkőbokor, Rókabokor, Sulyánbokor, Tamásbokor that belongs to Nagycserkesz. The two protected monuments and the protection of Róka- és Sulyánbokor is not an outstanding result, the town was due to do this to catch up, and it does strengthen the touristic function of the 'bokors'. In some places recreational purposes will come to the foreground. Besides husbandry, recreational and rural tourism will provide an opportunity to explore unused resources, which may result in an income. The effects of agglomerating and suburbanizing processes influence from sparse homesteads (bokortanyák) to small towns. These facts present such a challenge to the economy, local residents and connections of Nyíregyháza that should have been solved immediately well before (Pristyák & Kókai, 2012).

People who deal with tourism in the 'bokors' would have benefited from avoiding the pitfalls of touristic 'self-development'. To make this more efficient with the help of experts. Even other scientific or professional circles (ethnography, archives, history, geography) 'acknowledging' them would have raised interest.

It is not likely that 'bokors' will appear as a tourist destination themselves; however, it is realistic to assume that they can provide a supplementary programme and accommodation. It can provide attraction and services that are a real experience for tourists and represent better price-value ratio when compared to competitors. Tourism at present does not mean a complex solution for any of the 'bokors'. It may, however, provide a supplementary income source for the local population, and also make the landscape/settlements more attractive. They can make the opportunities in a town touristically developing more colourful and unique and make up for anything missing in Nyíregyháza.

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