BELVEDERE MERIDIONALE

TÖRTÉNELEM ÉS TÁRSADALOMTUDOMÁNYOK XXXV. ÉVFOLYAM 1. SZÁM

Social changes, challenges, vulnerabilities

Editor of thematic issue: Pászka Imre

– MMXXIII TAVASZ –

BELVEDERE MERIDIONALE

TÖRTÉNELEM ÉS TÁRSADALOMTUDOMÁNYOK

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Kiadja a Belvedere Meridionale Kft.
Technikai szerkesztő: Szabó Erik, s-Paw Bt.

ISSN 1419-0222 (print) ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

Tartalom

Studies

Review

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On Social Scientific Approaches to the Concept of Climate Change[1]

Abstract

Climate change, both as a natural and a social phenomenon, represents a defining theme and challenge for contemporary global scientific, economic, political and cultural life. In my study, I would like to present an approach to the issue that does not primarily focus on the specific social effects of climate change, but tries to model how the phenomenon is thematised in social communication networks. According to my assumption, as a discursive node that thematizes social knowledge, the concept of climate change also participates in the definition of meaning systems that are much broader than the specific topic.

The study presents the concepts of climate change created in social communication processes, reviews the structure and different layers of these concepts, and also the discourses of social communication related to climate change.

The study also addresses the problems indicated by the concepts of 'agency' and 'anthropocene', which, through the interpretation of climate change as a natural and social phenomenon, point to a new thematisation of the relationship between nature and society within the system of social knowledge.

Keywords

Climate Change, Anthropocene, Social Communication

DOI 10.14232/belv.2023.1.1
https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2023.1.1

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:
Tóth, Benedek (2023): On Social Scientific Approaches to the Concept of Climate Change. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 35. no. 1. pp 1–13.
ISSN 1419-0222 (print)
ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

[1] This study was supported by the Climate Change National Laboratory (NKFIH-471-3/2021).

Introduction

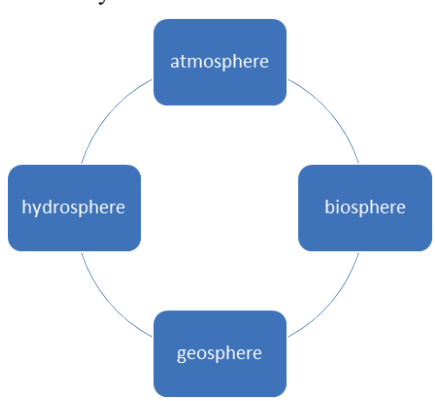
The range of issues and problems related to climate change is extremely complex from several points of view, it affects almost the entire spectrum of social sciences from philosophy to theoretical and empirical sociology, economics, political science, literary and cultural sciences. As a result of all this, "There is no one story to tell about climate change. We need a broad variety of insights about climate and its interactions with the human mind and its cultural manifestations; such insights will offer a sufficient number of entry points for human actors to work creatively with the idea of climate change rather than let it paralyze us with fear or fatalism. Neither climate nor humans are fully in charge"[2].

The present study wishes to outline a social scientific approach, but it is important, above all, to clarify the essential differences between the natural and social science interpretations of the concept of climate change. It is, then, worth examining how the concept of climate change appears in the so-called "social reality": what is the relationship between the conscious (knowledge-like) and the indirect, non-conscious (attitude-like) components that build the interpretation of the concept and motivate the social actions related to it.

1. How do the natural and social sciences understand climate change?

In the following I would like to briefly review two juxtaposed interpretation ranges of the concept of climate change: the one from natural and the one from social science investigations.

From a point of view of natural science, climate change is a quantifiable, measurable and modelable natural phenomenon, which can be modeled as a holistic system formed by the interactions of natural "spheres" (geosphere, biosphere, hydrosphere and atmosphere) that can be interpreted as operationally closed systems:



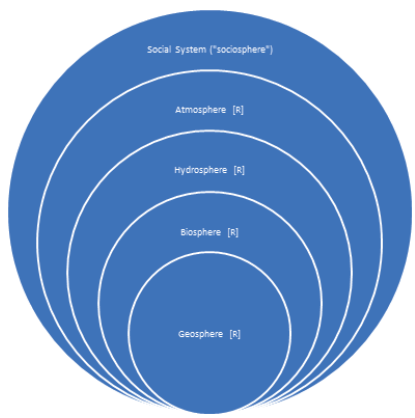
[2] Hulme 2015. 298.

The goal of natural science studies is to quantitatively model and understand these systems and their interactions, as objectively as possible, focusing on the systems themselves. According to the generally accepted self-interpretation of natural science investigation, its subjects are natural objects.

At the same time, climate change is also a social phenomenon. As soon as we recognize that humanity has become the shaping agent of the physical climate (a recognition which is mostly concentrated in the Anthropocene concept[3]), we must become aware that economic, cultural, social, political and ethical practices make the filters that define the socially constructed meaning of climate change. It is important to emphasize that the "social concept" (meaning) of climate change has an indirect relationship with the natural phenomenon itself: "And as this idea meets new cultures on its travels and encounters the worlds of politics, economics, popular culture, commerce and religion – often through the interposing role of the media – climate change takes on new meanings and serves new purposes."[4]

The meaning of climate change thus takes on new and new "social" elements in the networks of social communication, very different from its original "natural" aspects. It fits into a web of different attitudes, ethical, ideological and political beliefs, past and future interpretations related to risk, technology and well-being.[5] (Their conceptualisation, operationalisation and measurement is a rather large methodological challenge, which in itself generates serious debates.)

In the 'social concept' of climate change, the previously presented systems (spheres) can be modeled in addition to the system of society, more accurately, as parts of it:



As Figure 2 also shows, in the 'social concept' of climate change, the spheres described with natural science tools do not appear in their 'reality', but are embedded in social reality, in the form of representations defined by meaning systems (this is indicated in the figure by the individual [R] index attached to the names of spheres). This is how the concept of climate change takes on socially created and defined meanings, and in this form it appears and becomes perceptible to the members of societies (in form of public discourses).

[3] For the term 'Anthropocene' see: Arias-Maldonado 2015. 73–95.

[4] Hulme 2009. 37.

[5] Hulme 2009. 38.

As Martin Voss also points out, the problems related to climate change began to emerge for researchers (natural scientists) from the middle of the 20th century, but for the public, all of this could only appear from the beginning of the 21st century, because as parts of social reality the problem, the possible overview and the ability to act are all constituted in the social space, in the form of direct and indirect interactions and communication processes.[6]

As a result of the above, the aim of social science studies is to reveal, in general, how the social system includes and processes the systems originally identified as natural. In this respect, in my opinion, at least two different approaches can be distinguished, the difference of which leads to the so-called "agency problem".

One view could be essentially summarised as a natural cause (in this case, climate change) directly leading to certain social consequences. This model of natural cause and social effect tries to describe the direct social consequences of climate change, such as migration, the emergence and functioning of various forms of violence, etc. This approach is basically characterised by empirical efforts to explore the current situation.[7]

The second approach ventures much further than the first one in the field of social hermeneutics, insofar as it wants to explore the history of the perception and cultural reflection of climate (the cultural concepts generated and defined by it) as a background for the interpretation of the current situation[8] (Thorough historical analyzes of Hungary and the Carpathian Basin from this point of view can be read in the works of Imre Pászka[9]). This approach is interested in how all those social filter systems and discourses which, according to their own nature and possibilities, make the concepts of climate and climate change accessible to social communication, are created and function. This understanding is theoretical and mostly characterised by historical sensibility (the question often arises, for example, how the concept of climate could be interpreted before and after the appearance of units of measure, measuring devices, and scientific models).

The difference between the two approaches leads to a question concerning the essence of the possible interpretation of climate change, namely the so-called "agency problem",[10] which can be briefly summarised as whether scientific modeling views climate itself as an *index* indicating change or as an *agent* of change. In the first sense climate, as an indicator of measurable weather trends, gives a sort of indexical sense of change: this fundamentally quantitative approach, primarily based on measurable data, is expressed with the term 'Climatic Change' (under which title a magazine was also launched in 1977). The basic question in this case is: *what* is climate change?

In the latter sense, climate is an agent of change: a natural force *and* sociocultural pattern that causes both natural and social changes (in English terminology: Climate Change. Here, 'climate' is a noun, the cause of change, not merely an adjective). This approach (which has been increasingly popular in the literature since the 1990s) generally places more emphasis on the non-direct, mutually determining, dialectical relationship of natural and cultural connections, rejects the 'natural cause − direct social consequence' model that can be considered traditional. The basic question sounds like this: what does climate (change) *do*, how does it affect?

6 Voss 10–15.

7 The best-known example of this model is perhaps: Welzer 2015.

8 Boia 2005; Glacken 1976; Hulme 2009.

9 Pászka 2019; Pászka 2020.

10 For the agency-problem see: Hulme 2015.

According to this, climate is a natural force transformed into a social one, "which influences social habits, economic well-being, health, and the total energy of nations".[11]

The perception just summarised in the words of Mike Hulme thus defines the inherently natural phenomenon of climate change as a social/cultural agent. At this point, it is worthwhile to place next to it another concept that has become extremely popular since the turn of the millennium: Anthropocene. This idea is discussed in an extremely wide spectrum of sciences, from earth sciences to economics, philosophy, cultural anthropology, critical social sciences, and geopolitics. In essence, this is within the scope of agency, only from the "other side", insofar as it thematises that human (social) action becomes a determining force (agent) in terms of the shaping of the natural environment: "[the Anthropocene] refers to a new phase in planetary history, we are told, when humanity has become a major force of nature that is changing the dynamics and functioning of Earth itself".[12] In his famous essay, Bruno Latour points out the significance of all that regarding the scientific approach and epistemology in general: "While the older problem of science studies was to understand the active role of scientists in the construction of facts, a new problem arises: how to understand the active role of human agency not only in the construction of facts, but also in the very existence of the phenomena those facts are trying to document".[13] Juxtaposing the agent concept of climate change presented by Hulme and the Anthropocene concept, the dialectical relationship between the natural and social spheres (interacting with each other and mutually determining each other) is clearly outlined. In my opinion, an accurate understanding of this relationship is the key and the starting point for the actual, theoretically demanding understanding and possible modelling of climate change (and its significance) from the point of view of the social sciences. This is where Martin Voss's statement can be understood, according to which the research on climate change actually confronts the social sciences with their own basic questions, if, for example, it prompts a reconsideration of the old, fundamental ontological and epistemological connotations of the paradigms of realism/social constructivism (in other words: naturalism/sociologism). These are based on the fundamental separation of society and the natural environment and assume the primacy of one of the two spheres as a starting point, while both the agent concept presented by Hulme and the Anthropocene concept (especially with the emphasis placed by Latour) are subordinated, interacting, and posit a new kind of relationship.

Climate change as a force organising social discourses

When defining the social concept of climate change, we are not asking about objects, but about subjective representations of natural objects and phenomena. The natural and social science approaches therefore talk about climate change quite differently. So differently, in fact, that Martin Voss states that "Climate change as a positivity (positive fact) independent of humans, which can be pointed out 'out there' with the methods and tools of the natural sciences, does not exist for the social sciences".[14]

[11] Hulme 2015. 290.

[12] Lövbrand – Mobjörk – Söder 2020. 2.

[13] Latour 2014. 2.

[14] Voss 2010. 26.

Regarding societies, "knowledge and understanding of climate change is mediated through a range of social and discursive practices. The unique complexity of climate change means that such mediations span a wide range of institutions and representational practices, from positivist science and the environmental movement, to media representations, politics and popular culture".[15]I would like to emphasise that the knowledge systems and discursive practices also mentioned in the quote primarily do not directly include (professional) scientific results, but rather beliefs that play a fundamental role in the construction of the so-called "social reality",[16] the self-interpretation and world-interpretation accepted as reality by the given society. The most important medium of social reality is so-called "ordinary knowledge" shared by different systems of social communication. The term 'knowledge' will be defined in the words of Mike Hulme: "Knowledge is a form of representation in which some material or imaginative reality is given discursive shape, political legitimacy, and cultural status through technological and social processes. Whether knowledge is scientific, local, or personal, its making always involves human values and cultural framings".[17]The body of knowledge about climate change can be understood as a synthesis of various concrete knowledge contents ('facts') and various, basically subjective, emotionally colored and unreflected associations, framings, moods, in short: attitudes.

The social knowledge created in the manner described above has been organised into discourses. These discourses are mostly characterised by specific knowledge-attitude combinations, their specific thematic contextualisation (e.g. climate change and migration, climate change and capitalism as closely linked) and their own language, i.e. metaphors and vocabulary (according to Mike Hulme: climate change as battleground, justification, threat or inspiration[18]). The literature[19] separates (with some simplification) three major discourses in social communication related to climate change: the discourses of 'climate catastrophe', 'climate scepticism' and 'climate realism'. The first sees climate change as an unstoppable catastrophe, the second as a product of political-economic conspiracy theories, and the third as a phenomenon that can be understood, modelled and managed scientifically.

As an illustration I would like to briefly present below some data, which came from a questionnaire survey conducted in April 2021 at Pannon University, in the framework of the Climate Change National Laboratory. The online questionnaire was filled out by 10 000 people, of whom 3 810 answered all questions. The survey was not representative, but at the same time the relatively high number of responses certainly allows for conclusions about trends − certainly in a way and to the extent that corresponds to our current, illustrative intent.

Based on the results of the survey, the vast majority of respondents represents the discourse of climate realism. A very small percentage of them agree with the propositions of the discourses of climate catastrophe and climate scepticism: only 1.9% completely agree with the statement that "climate change is not actually happening, it is a pseudo-scientific and political slogan", and 3.6% with the statement according to which "climate change can no longer be stopped, no matter what the politicians and scientists claim".

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[15] Doyle 2011. 2.

[16] For the terms „social reality" see: Berger – Luckmann 1967.

[17] Hulme 2015. 294.

[18] For the metaphors described by Hulme, see: Hulme 2009. 40 – 42.

[19] Jankó – Móricz – Pappné 2011.

On the other hand, 80.7% believe that climate change is a completely real threat, and 69.9% agree or completely agree with the statement "If world leaders accepted the models and opinions of scientists, climate change could be stopped". In addition, 73.8% agree or completely agree with the statement "Climate change is a process that can be accurately modelled scientifically": therefore, the discourse of 'climate realism' really represents an overwhelming majority among those who filled out the questionnaire.

Layers of the climate change concept

Below I would like to present the possible layers of the complex concept of climate, decreasing in the level of abstraction and related reflectivity. The grouping below, borrowed from Ferenc Jankó,[20] clearly shows how the various elements of knowledge and attitudes can be layered on top of each other, outlining the spectrum from objectivity to subjectivity, from the conscious/reflected to the completely unconscious/unreflected. It is worth emphasising that the terms defined below as "climate concepts" denote individual points of the spectrum, they are not necessarily separated from each other according to exclusive or relative importance. As Ina Dietzsch puts it, "one endpoint is the abstraction of the complex statistical construction of climate change, and the other is experience and living, in the context of which ordinary people organize their actions and make their moral decisions." [21]

Our actual climate concepts are located somewhere on the spectrum, perhaps closer to one or another of the "climate concepts" presented here, but in any case including elements that can be assigned to the others. In other words: our actual climate concepts can be modelled as a proportional synthesis of the components presented below.

a. **Statistical climate concept**: This is the climate concept of meteorology/climatology. It is actually a statistical model and as such, a scientific construction: "global climate" as such cannot be experienced concretely anywhere, just as "average temperature" does not exist in an observable way. The source of the statistical climate concept is the scientifically controlled public (specialist texts, informative texts, etc.). This is the "scientific", factual, objective (considered) concept of climate.
b. **Cultural climate concept**: A concept that can be interpreted in the context of the community, society, a concept that is not strictly reflected, interwoven with beliefs, subcultural elements and meaning systems (such as, for example, the system of observations built into popular culture and consolidated in nursery rhymes, but this is also the climate concept of climate sceptics). In this concept, the attitudes and the associated dictionaries (metaphors) and narratives (e.g. "climate catastrophe") are present in a structured way.
c. **Psychological (or "individual") climate concept**: It appears at the level of the individual, it depends on lifestyle, place of residence, age, etc. It is formed in the memory, based on one's own observations and memories related to the climate. People compare "today's" weather to this (e.g. "every Christmas used to be white"). Of the three, this is most closely related to unreflected and unstructured attitudes, and it is the least conscious in general.

[20] Jankó 2017.

[21] Dietzsch 2017. 22.

The more subjective and unreflected layers of the complex concept of climate can only be explored and interpreted indirectly, with questions directed at the attitudes related to them, firstly because of their lack of reflection, and secondly because – as mentioned earlier – attitudes play a decisive role in their formation and operation.

The set of natural phenomena of climate change can therefore actually be understood as an external irritation penetrating societies, which can only appear and act in the contexts of social reality in accordance with the laws and connections of these contexts. Climate change can and does become an actual, integral part of everyday life and social actions filtered through meaning systems, possible associations and attitudes that determine the realities of individual people. What we know about climate change itself and the ways in which it actually affects us through our social reality (determines our some of our actions, attitudes and, where appropriate, our anxieties) are not necessarily directly related. One of the primary tasks of social science research is to explore and understand these not necessarily conscious mechanisms of influence and meaning systems (in a word: contexts) in order to make social actions aware and organized in a suitable way at different levels of social life, from the micro-environment of everyday life to the level of political decision-making. A valid and effective response to the irritation caused by climate change in any social environment can only be given in the form of conscious and, if possible, coordinated action patterns, because the problem can ultimately only be approached through actions, and these actions are motivated by the complex climate concept outlined above. Let us emphasise again: it is not necessarily about actions appearing at the social macro-levels. In the everyday life of individual people, there are also motivations that, consciously or not, are definitely related to environmental problems expressed in the phenomenon of climate change, and the actions motivated by these are an important part of the totality of social reactions related to climate change. As an example, I would like to refer again to the data of the survey conducted by Climate Change National Laboratory cited earlier: 88.2% of the respondents collect waste selectively, 71.5% claim that they only buy things that are absolutely necessary, 84.9% use LED bulbs, and 84.8% claim that they have their devices repaired rather than replaced − these are all decisions and actions motivated by the problem examined, which are represented by a very high proportion of the respondents.

At their own level and in their own way, these data also prove that human action (even at the level of the individual) is a fundamental component of climate protection and, in general, of the closely related environmental awareness: climate change is a problem shared by both the natural and social spheres in terms of its cause and solution. It appears in its agency, in its dialectical relationship.

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The role of technology in early modern utopias

Abstract

Science and its by-product, modernization through technology, are perhaps the most powerful strands of the European spirit and culture. Technological advance is one of the most dominant motives of the utopian works from the dawn of the modern age. The theories of the 16th and 17th centuries, which in many respects can be traced back to Plato's State, were greatly aided by technological developments, including the advent of the printed book. Thus utopian ideas, the desire to improve society, and confidence in technological progress were mutually reinforcing each other.

Keywords

Early modern utopias, technology, Thomas More, Tommaso Campanella, Francis Bacon

DOI 10.14232/belv.2023.1.2
https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2022.1.2

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:
Kádár, Zoltán (2023): The role of technology in early modern utopias. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 35. no. 1. pp 14–19.

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)
ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

The desire in man to dominate nature is particularly strong in Western civilization. This aspiration is already found in Christian thought, but only in the period of modernity it became an ideology, a principle that helped to legitimize the period of capitalism,[1] and from the 19th century onwards modern science and technology turned to be the sole means of achieving this supernatural domination. Even though there was already a chance of what could be interpreted as a technological revolution during the Roman Empire when engineering was at a very high stage of development, technology was not seen as in the modern age. The reason for this can be that the power source that could have realized it had not yet been invented to enable a radical transformation of the division of labor. The advent of steam energy was necessary to revolutionize the production of material goods and to enable the man of the age who regarded production as something that needed revolutionizing[2]. The fall of the Roman Empire was accompanied by a decline in the technological development of antiquity. The former metropolises were regressing into cities and production being dominated for centuries by rural, agricultural activities, which meant that the mechanical tools developed by the ancient peoples were little needed[3].

Utopian thinking did not find a breakthrough during these centuries until the early modern era, with the advent of geographical discoveries and thought experiments generated by the expansion of the known world. While Christianity gave Europeans an adequate explanation of the world and principles of life, the desire to create utopias did not become a definite demand. But from the moment religion ceased to be a sufficient consolation, the need had increased to create a more livable society, to change and outline the conditions they longed for. This need intensified during the Renaissance, but it was in the period of Enlightenment that it triumphed[4].

The emergence of modern utopia can be traced back to Thomas More's Utopia (1516). This work, and the utopias that followed it, found in the genre novel the most appropriate form to convey their ideas. The term utopia, as used by More, is a paradox: it denotes a place (the right place, the best place for the community) that is nowhere[5]. All societies in all historical periods have thought forms that testify to some golden age, paradise, or other ideal place or period. These places or periods have provided for a given community a state in which pain and the deprivations and problems of everyday life are eliminated and resolved. They are not utopias, however, at least not in the sense laid down by More, the modern creator of the genre.

Utopia presents a world beyond the depicted present, different in time and often geographically, in the image of a better or even perfect society, but it tries to remain within the range of possible solutions. It liberates the imagination, but also imposes limits because is not impossible, but rather unlikely: either human nature is not plastic enough, or there is little chance of changing the existing social order, institutions, and forms of government in a utopian direction. For utopians, it is obvious that what they dream of is not yet feasible in the present, but changes in science, technology, the structure of the state or morality may bring about the possibility of its realization. The dreamers of the fantastic and fairy-tale-like structures of utopian books were aware that only a later technological development could bring about their eventual realization.

1 Leiss 1975. 194.

2 Sibley 1973. 7.

3 Headrick 2009. 54–56.

4 Cioran 1987. 90.

5 Kumar 2003. 64.

The same is true of the prediction of world governments or world leaders since they had to take into account that only a certain economic development and a world trading community that did not exist in their time would enable the members of these imaginary elites to exercise their power. The authors of the utopias were also aware that the results of medicine or eugenics would be achieved in a more advanced scientific environment[6].

The classical conception of utopia, going back to Plato, is a static construction; the rationally worked out foundations of the perfect state are eternal, made into indisputable rules for society by the leadership chosen throughout the history of the utopia. In the utopias, the philosopher-architects of the Platonic conception of the state return: we find them in various forms in the works of More, Campanella, and even H.G. Wells[7].

Another feature of utopias is their prophetic quality most reminiscent of the Book of Revelation, which indicates that the desired states of affairs expressed in the given book will or may occur in some future historical unfolding. This is characteristic of socialist utopianism, as both evolutionary doctrines and Marxism provided the scientific basis for the idea that conditions, as they are in the present, must necessarily change. According to this view, the progress of science, class antagonisms, and other social tensions will push human development in the direction the authors wish to see[8]. According to Emile Cioran, utopia is social alchemy: whereas alchemy tries to impose the impossible on the physical world, utopia tries to implant in human existence a mixture totally alien to human nature, to the nature of socialization[8].

At the dawn of the new age, More takes stock of the negative topicalities, political problems, and social concerns of his time, and creates his work Utopiain this light. In 16th century England, the rise of capitalism and agricultural development renders the work of the masses of peasants accustomed to a primitive way of life unnecessary, turning a large part of the former pillars of society into penniless vagabonds, thieves, and refugees from starvation into criminals. The land where the local peasants had made their living was soon grazed by sheep that were profitable only to a few people, and because of that masses of proletarians flooded the cities. More contrasts the ever-changing legal order of Europe, its periods of peace and war, and the exploitation of the majority of the people, with the stability of Utopia, its well-organized communistic order.

More sketches a patriarchal social model, partly inspired by the works of Plato and partly by medieval communist doctrines, in which an ideal society with a clear past and a foreseeable future is characterized by stable morality, permanent physical products, and social institutions, based on a logically structured system. Technology does not represent the creation, perfection, and multiplication of material goods, but the guarantee of social equality. In the moderate society of Utopia, the working day is only six hours long, with both sexes working equally in the fields and commerce, without an economy based on money, eliminating superfluous occupations and work processes[9]. More does not show the abundance of technological creations in his novel, although the reader can meet the expertise of utopians in the field of military and

[6] Kumar 2003. 66

[7] Kumar 2003. 66

[8] Cioran 1987. 93.

[9] Sibley 1973. 8.

secret war machines[10], more important is how much the author speaks about the reasonable or science-based everyday of the imaginary country.

Utopia's social structure is extremely reasonable (even the fact it is an island is no coincidence, the founders separated the peninsula from the mainland for the aim of defense), the cities are comfortable, roughly equidistant from each other, and identical in institutions, customs, and language, moreover similar in layout. The population can easily obtain its needs through smoothly functioning redistribution. Thanks to general satisfaction, the most popular leisure activity is learning, which is partly vocational training and partly autodidactic activity. In almost every field (institutions, disciplines, etc.), the Utopians boast the achievements of the European sages, but there is only a limited record of scholastic nit-picking - hence the absence of complicated legal matters and unenforceable laws.

Campanella's The City of the Sun (1602), like the cities of More's Utopia, was built as rationally as possible, and also on an island. The leader of the city is the high priest prince called the Sun, and below him are the sub-princes of Power, Wisdom, and Love, who are in charge of the affairs of war, science, and succession. They pay a lot of attention, that the citizens breed only in the proper way[11]. This selection is a principle adopted by Campanella to improve and maintain the physical and mental quality of the population of his imaginary nation[12].

The inhabitants of the City of the Sun are polymaths, men and women alike, skilled in all the trades, as they receive a high level of physical and mental education from three years of age, they get to know all the processes of work, and also they encounter at every turn with painted scientific pictures about the plants and the animals on the walls of the city, thus the emphasis in education is on the natural sciences. The working day is only four hours long, thanks to technological innovations that harness the power of water or wind. On the one hand, Campanella considers it important to talk about technological achievements, and on the other hand, he also shows the technological development of his time. His conception of nobility is revolutionary since nobility is not a function of birthright or virtue, but of practice skills to the degree that can raise one to the status of nobility in this utopian world.[13]

The necessity of acquiring technological knowledge is often mentioned in the book, which is strange because even in contemporary literature about the versatility of man, such a persistent propagation of this kind of knowledge is rare.[14] Campanella draws a sharp distinction between the concepts of science and technology: science is knowledge of the natural environment, while technology is control over the world around us.[15] The novel reports on several technological innovations: it treats the art of flight as a solved fact, mentions an imminent invention that will make it possible to observe hidden stars, and includes a device that will allow listening to the music of the spheres. The Sun City's creativity manifests itself in watercraft that can travel without oars or sails using amazing powers.[16] The technological innovations scattered throughout the book show how keen Campanella was on these inventions.

[10] More 2016. 96.

[11] Campanella 1901. 281.

[12] Sibley 1973. 10.

[13] Hall 1993. 617.

[14] Hall 1993. 619.

[15] Hall 1993. 619.

[16] Campanella 1901. 304.

In the works of More and Campanella, knowledge and the scientific design that permeates society is very important, but in Bacon's New Atlantis (1627) this approach is even more pronounced. The individual, the basis of the bourgeois value system, emerges alone, with civilization establishing an economy that is not nourished by nature itself but by the creations of the individual (business, enterprise, technological invention).

Bacon thought that knowledge was a form of power, realized that understanding the laws of nature offered the possibility of humanizing nature, and subordinated his entire work to this idea. It is therefore not surprising that this is the central message of his utopian work. The New Atlantis is more a sketch of a successful scientific research center than a description of some remote land of social justice or a rational and hence perfect state. In Bacon's thinking, the world belongs to those who, with knowledge, can conquer its various segments and prosper in the long term in the territory they have acquired. The exemplary cooperation of scientists in the state is an intellectual community in which the interests of individuals are subordinated to a great common goal, which can be understood as an extension of the Empire of Man[17]. The scholars of the House of Solomon operate in a similar way to the scientific community of today: they hold conferences and publish their findings (if they are not secret)[18].

Bacon's imaginary state, Bensalem, is also an island, and in this respect, the book continues the tradition of the utopias mentioned above, but this writing is also very different from them since the community depicted here is a monarchy, with the presence of private property and the class differences that go with it. The inhabitants do not live according to the puritanism of utopias but instead live in a state of splendor and luxury.

Bensalem is a reclusive country driven by scientific thinking and the need to implement technological innovations. It makes every effort to explore and acquire knowledge from other countries, and as a result, its spies are constantly traveling the world. The island's central edifice is the scientific complex known as the House of Solomon, where scientists, well paid by the state, carry out their sublime work in seclusion from the masses, and use their achievements to enhance the power of their country and, in general, to help the whole human race to pursue its material needs through science[19].

This unfinished work of Bacon shows the boundless power of the human mind and despite its utopian nature, it is one of the great works in the history of science. Here we can see the praise of complex technology, thus The New Atlantis is the first of a series of modern utopias, in which science is seen as the benefactor of humanity, and the depository of social progress. Bacon's work with its refrigerated caves, submarines, bird-like flying people, weather stations, and the successes of medicine, clearly illustrates the importance of man's understanding and purposeful use of nature.

[17] Borlik 2008. 235.

[18] Bacon 1901. 271.

[19] Dinello 2005. 33.

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Investigating the patterns of cooperation and role of embeddedness in EU defence projects – a social capital based approach

Abstract

Social capital and cooperative behaviour could play an important role in the modern societies seeking to achieve socio-economic development and integration. Additionally, in times when facing remarkable challenges trust and interstate cooperation might enhance the countries involved to make fruitful efforts against the potential negative consequences of the emerging threats. Accordingly in this paper we propose that since the middle of the 2010's possible challenges emerged in the European Union, which necessitated common reactions and coordinated measures, thus it seems interesting to investigate the patterns of cooperation and role of social embeddedness in the defence sector. Applying a quantitative approach with social network analysis methods we explore and characterize the EU-level defence cooperation projects in the light of other relevant factors.

Keywords

social capital, cooperation, network analysis, European Union, defence projects

DOI 10.14232/belv.2023.1.3
https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2023.1.3

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:
Balogh Péter (2023): Investigating the patterns of cooperation and role of embeddedness in EU defence projects – a social capital based approach. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 35. no. 1. pp 20–38.
ISSN 1419-0222 (print)
ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

1. Introduction

Social capital and societal cooperation might be considered a rather important – or even indispensable – prerequisite for modern societies to foster and develop. Furthermore, since Europe witnessed several events in the middle of the second decade of the New Millennia that spectacularly illustrated the importance and necessity of adequate defence capabilities, it seems worth to investigate the role of social resources, trust and interstate cooperation in regarding the initiations and solutions in the European defence sector. The annexation of the Crimea by the Russian Federation in 2014 and the culmination of the refugee crisis in 2015 highlighted some potential vulnerabilities of the region and the fragility of the neighbouring areas. These developments might have played an important role in paving the way for a (re)starting and intensifying process of defence capacity building. These processes can be observed – on the one hand – in the case of the increasing share of budget spent on defence issues by several European NATO member countries ('D.E.N.C.' 2021), and the direct investments into security infrastructure by purchasing different products[1]. On the other hand, a more subtle dimension of investment into security also started to evolve: different states of the European Union initiated cooperation projects in different spheres of defence issues. Besides that these projects might highly contribute to the integration and development of a common strategy and repository of relevant assets, the cooperation has the potential to facilitate and take advantage of partnership, social capital and embeddedness (Granovetter 1985).

In our study we wish to empirically explore the different structures and potential relations between the European Union members in partnership, network embeddedness through defence investments and examine if former possible examples of cooperation and social embeddedness play any role in the state-to-state relations of the defence projects.

2. Research problem and concepts

Cooperation and social capital and connections as a general means can promote development and increasing standards of living conditions (see Orbán-Szántó 2006, Putnam 2006) as the resources of the networks can provide novel resources for the community concerned (Coleman 2006.). In this sense, European integration can also be interpreted as a process of building partnership and trust among the European countries[2] in order to better realize common objectives and manage or prevent undesirable processes arising as potential threats for the countries involved and for the

[1] See for example: https://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2021/08

[2] In this context certain scholars also introduce the concept of European Social Capital (Praprotnik – Perlot 2021) while investigating the issue of the possible directions of the development of European Union future.

community as a whole. However, the evolution and development of integration might lead to a higher level of cooperation and a convergence of certain countries or regions, and clusters of member states characterised with less deepened partnership relations or smaller sub-regions or subgroups with specific areas of cooperation. That is, a differentiated integration pattern might evolve (Brunazzo 2022) with a segmented structure of partnership, which could also be explored in specific areas as well – including defence initiations (see Blockmans – Crosson 2019).

Accordingly the general research problem of this paper is whether a pattern and relationship between the network embeddedness and defence investments can be explored in the European context lately. Among the possible research questions the following ones can be differentiated: (1) can stable patterns of fragmentation be measured in the European defence partnership network? It might be interesting to investigate (2) the level of inequalities and concentration of defence cooperations among the participating European member states, and also the (3) possible role of the time factor could be worth to see if it has any role on the embeddedness in the cooperation network of this specific context of defence projects. Last but not least (4) the relation between other possible defence investments might also be interesting to be in the focus of the investigation.

3. Methodological remarks

Our research is based on the publicly available data sources of defence cooperation partnerships (PESCO) supplemented with the data of Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, and in the course of data analysis a basically quantitative approach would be applied. In order to empirically investigate the patterns and differences of the *defence cooperation* partnerships and explore regional clusters and distinctive hubs of defence collaborations we assembled a complex database from possible online information. Several articles and studies (Blockmans–Crosson 2019, Varga 2019, Nádudvari–Etl–Bereczky 2020, Molnár–Szabolcs 2020) have already mapped the overall structure and some deeper characteristics of the cooperation, which results can be utilized for further investigation. In this aspect it might be worth to investigate the structure as a *directed asymmetric network* in order to find out whether some kind of difference in the evolving structure can be measured. As for the methods applied, besides the quantitative approach in our research project we rely on the network analysis perspective which enables us to explore the inner patterns of the graphs and also to quantify the positions of the states and regions involved.

4. Data analyses

4.1. Introducing the PESCO projects

The four waves of PESCO projects contain an overall number of 60 defence initiations among 25 European Union member states. The most active participant of the defence program is France with its fourteen coordinated projects (see Figure 1.). With a kind of gradual decrease Italy and Germany follow the most active country with eleven and nine initiated projects, then Greece, Spain, Estonia and Portugal can be found with a minimum of three projects. There seem to be an

essentially negative relation between the activity level and the number of partners in the cooperative defence initiations. This rather unclear pattern can be illustrated with the correlation coefficient (-0,097) as well, and might – at least partially – explained with the notable outliers among the less active project coordinator countries. Lithuania, Hungary and Bulgaria all have only one project coordination, however they have relatively higher number of partners – ties directed towards other EU countries, but this inverse pattern is the most visible in the case of Belgium and primarily the Netherlands, where in one single coordinated project 23 partners are included.

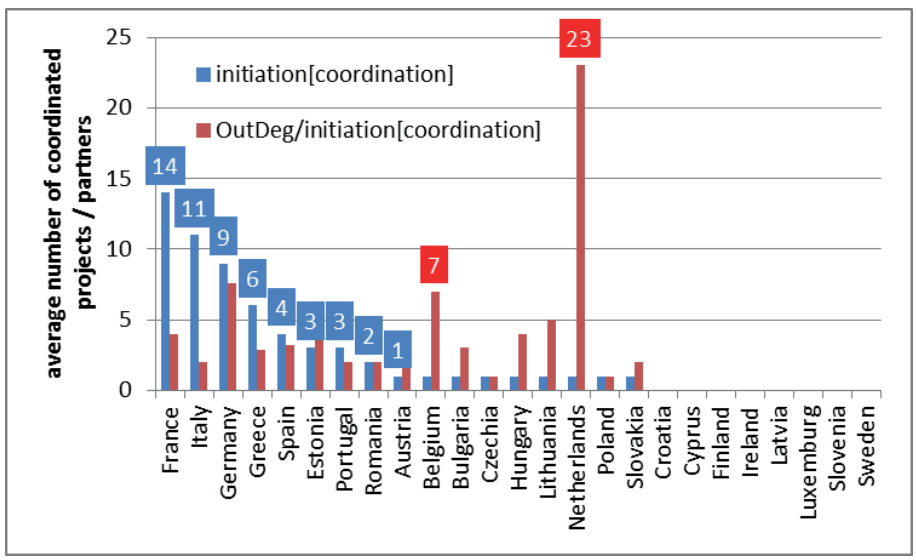


Figure 1.

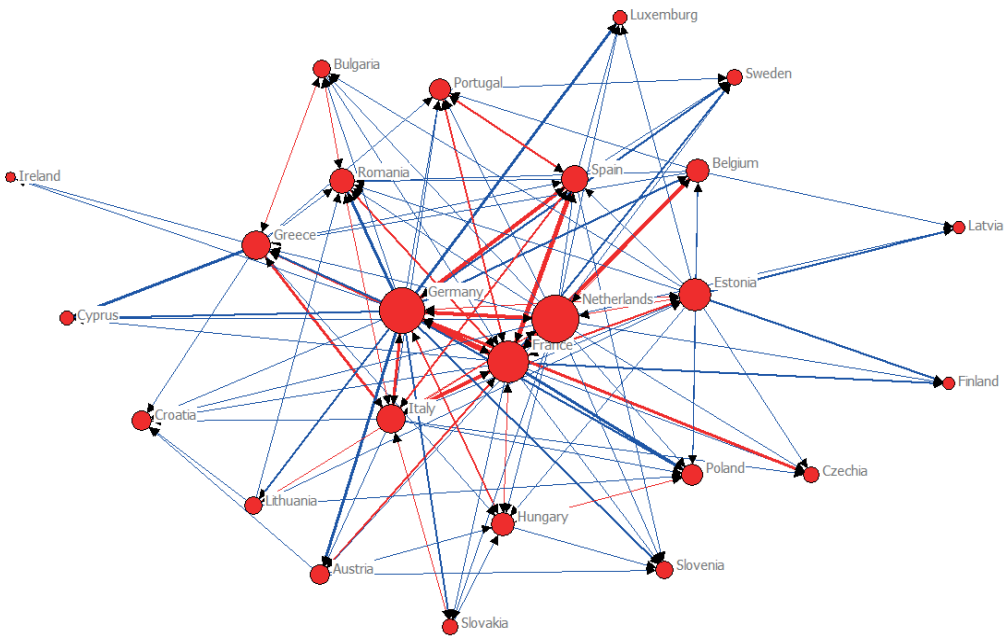
The pattern of the cooperation network based on the PESCO projects can be described as a structured and differentiated network containing more or less clearly distinguishable segments (see Graph 1.). These segments even can be interpreted to some extent as an arrangement of concentric circles. In the centre of the network we can primarily find Germany, France, the Netherlands, and Italy is well – although the latter is located more distant from the other three most active countries. This pattern could imply a progress of concentration – which would be a comprehensible process considering certain models of network evolution – if we consider that the analyses based on earlier weaves of PESCO projects[3] identified more numerous leading countries.

The next segment of the network could be interpreted as an intermediary ring located around the core with most active countries. In this section Estonia and Greece seem to be more significant countries with relatively higher number of connections, but Spain and Romania could also be considered ones.

On the periphery of the network we find the third, outer ring with the least integrated states of the PESCO cooperation network – namely Ireland, Latvia and Finland. Hungary is positioned

[3] See for example Nádudvari – Etl – Bereczky 2020.

around the border area between the intermediary and the outer segments, in a sub-graph with Austria, Slovakia and Slovenia[4].



Graph 1.

A further worth-to-be-mentioned characteristic of the directed graph is the frequent and dense presence of mutual links – although obviously in light of the nature of the cooperation projects (fixed participants) it is understandable –: France possesses eleven partners with reciprocal links, Germany and the Netherlands have seven and six respectively. These mutual relations contribute to the evolvement of a more embedded network structure.

The positions of the countries in the graph of the cooperation network proves to be structured in a different way as well: based on the figures of the distribution of initiations – or ties

[4] It should be noted, that the pattern of defence cooperations explored in this part of the analyses might emerge as an intersection of various different factors not ready to be measured quantitatively. On the one hand regarding the central players of the network the presence of a traditionally strong, developed, functional and many-sided defence sector has the potential to invite others to cooperate in several different fields of defence, that is, these actors necessarily can have greater and wider room for building collaborative relations. In this sense we encounter a mechanism widely known in the social sciences which describes that the more one has, the more will be added to her – referred to as Matthew effect in sociology (see Merton 1968.).
On the other hand the less significant countries of the cooperation network – similarly – could have smaller and less diverse defence sectors which disable them from participating in several dimension of the development projects. However in this regard it should be emphasized, that specialization can play an important role, and in some cases we might again discover the process linked to Matthew effect: when a state acquires a specific, strategically important element of the European Union defence sector – as for example in the case of Estonia regarding cyber defence (centre) or the Czech Republic and space developments – it also gets an advantage to accumulate further development projects and collaborative relations.

directing towards other countries (out-degree[5]) – and partnerships – ties point toward an arbitrary state – a positive relation can be explored (see Figure 2A.). That is, the more active a country is in the PESCO initiations, the more numerous partners can achieve in the cooperation network (correlation coefficient; R= 0,657). Certainly France and Germany seem to be a kind of outlier in this sense, however if we exclude them form the analysis (see Figure 2B.), the pattern proves to be essentially the same (R= 0,537).

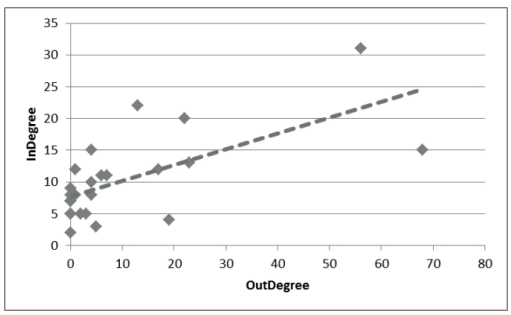


Figure 2A

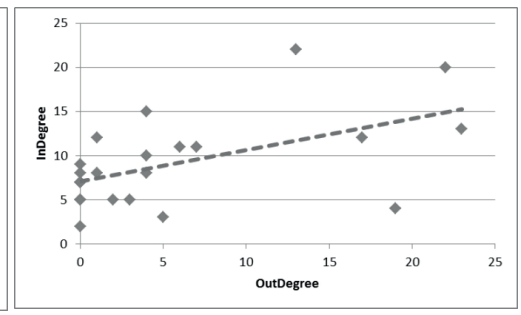


Figure 2B. (outliers excluded)

4.2. EU- and NATO-differences

Since all PESCO countries are European Union members, only inner comparisons can be carried out. One aspect can be the time spent in the organization – accordingly the first comparison reveals the differences of the network centrality values in light of the date of accession[6].

As the data explores, both the out-degree and in-degree mean values tend to decrease towards the EU-members that joined the organization later (see Figure 3.). This negative tendency is more notable in the case of the initiations, but in the case of the partnerships it is also visible. That is, the countries with longer membership have higher volumes – as a tendency – of participative actions and community collaboration, which might imply a kind of institutional learning and the cultivation of cooperative norms – and might illustrate the evolvement and possible role of trust and embeddedness.

The similar mechanism can be empirically explored if we distinguish between the founders of the EU and the rest of the countries. The average value of both the initiations and collaborations prove to be remarkably higher in the group of the six EU-founders (see Figure 4.). The project initiations seem to be polarized as there can be measured more than seven times higher values of out-degree in the case of the funding states compared to the other countries, and the average level of participation is also almost twice as high in the founder member states.

So the countries in the European Union seem to be different regarding their activity on both defence investment initiations and partnerships. The main pattern imply that the EU-members with longer experience have higher levels of collaborative activities which might be explained with institutional learning, embeddedness and trust.

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[5] Degree – or number of ties – is the most important characteristic of a node (Barabási 2016. 63-65.)

[6] Longer EU and/or NATO membership might be treated as a certain indicator of following and practicing cooperative negotiations and compromise decision-making, that is, a possible source of social embeddedness.

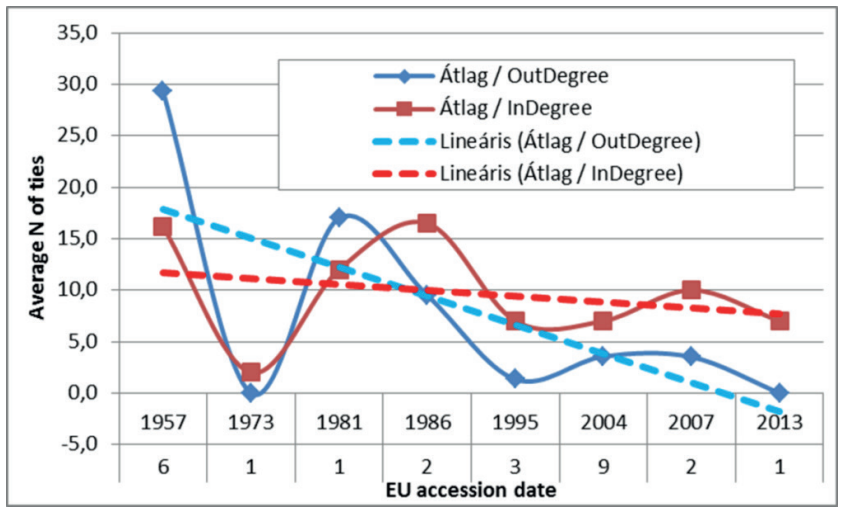


Figure 3.

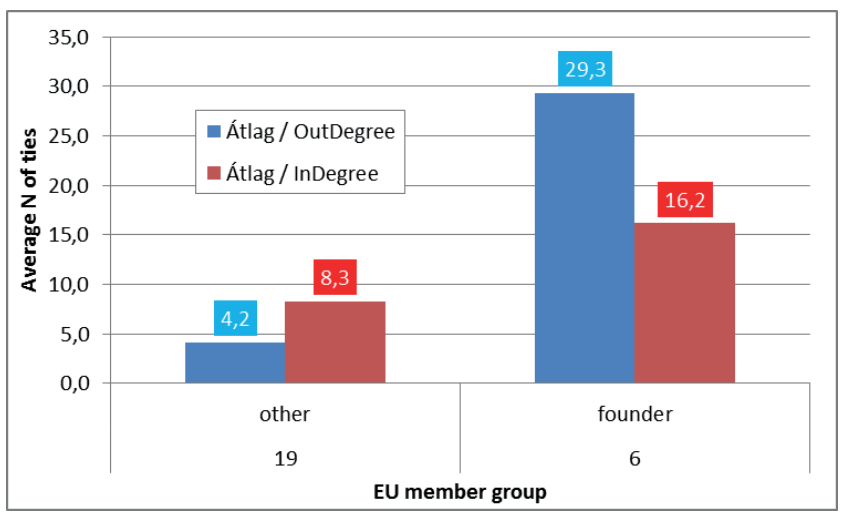


Figure 4.

However, several countries of the PESCO-projects are also NATO member countries, so this differentiation offers a similar possibility to compare.

The most notable difference can be seen – in the case again – regarding the initiations. That is, the average number of network ties based on initiated defence projects is more than fifteen times greater in the case of those EU members that arse also NATO member countries (see Figure 5.). Furthermore the states with NATO membership prove to be also more desirable or more frequently "targeted" partners.

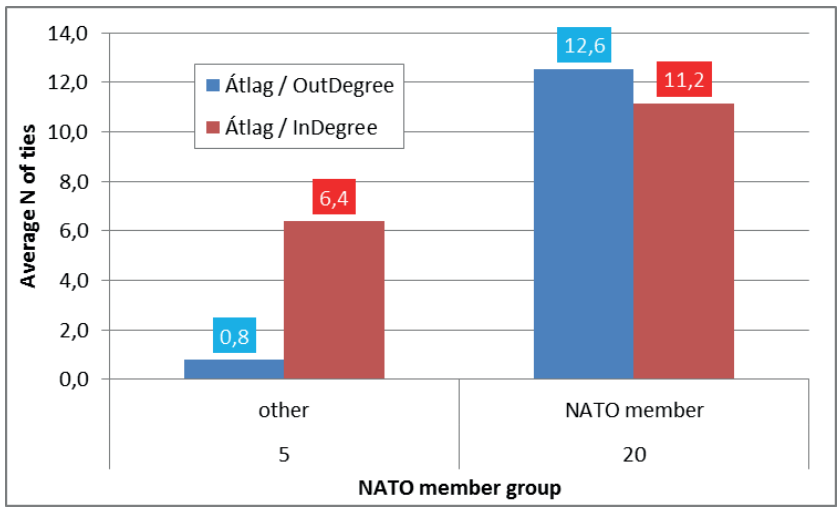


Figure 5.

It can also be added, that based in the data, an identical pattern can be seen regarding the institutional learning (see Figure 6.): the in-degree values are less notably related to membership duration, but the values tend to be higher with long-term membership, and defence partnership initiations show a more remarkably positive connection.

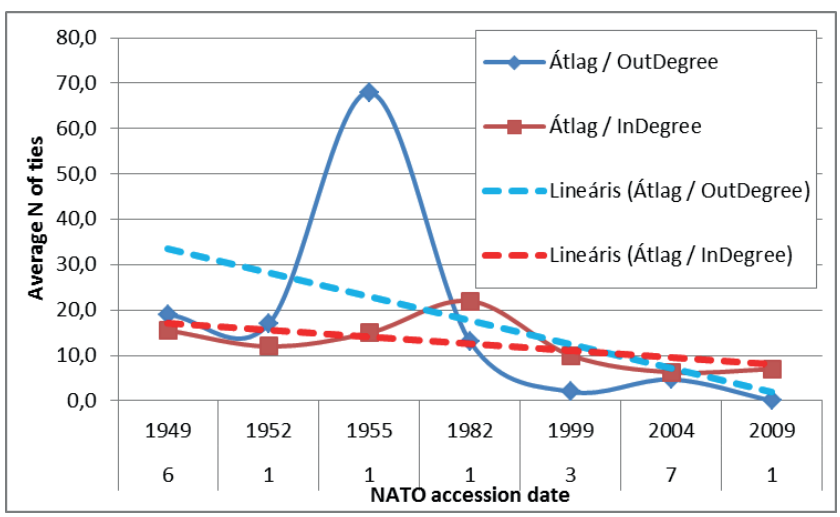


Figure 6.

In this sense, both EU and NATO membership figures corroborate that a longer, more significant experience in a multi-player, cooperative institutional environment increases the activity and partnership potential in a rather specific domain of defence investments as well.

4.3. Arms transfers in the PESCO countries

As for the overall volume a total of 21958 trend-indicator value (TIV)[7] arms procurement has been carried out among the 25 PESCO countries between 2010 and 2021. Italy has the highest share of the weapons transfers (see Figure 7.): nearly 16 percentage of all the investments has flown there, which is followed by the Netherlands with its share of 13,6 percentage. In the case of Greece still a share above one-tenth of the overall arms procurements can be measured (11 percentage), furthermore Poland, Spain, Finland Germany have a portion exceeding five percentage (9,0; 7,3; 6,7 and 5,3 percentage respectively). France, Romania, Sweden and Belgium all belong to the countries with a share above two percentages, and the rest of the PESCO-states accumulate less than one percentage of the defence investments in the investigated period.

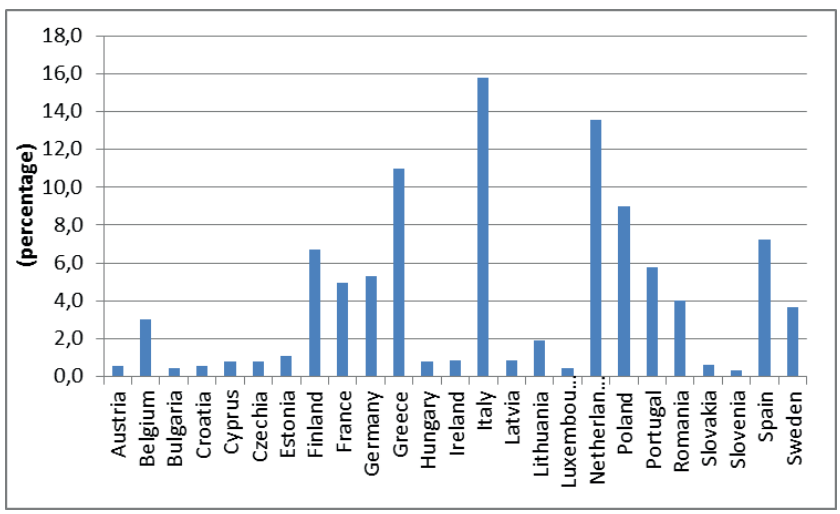


Figure 7.

If we investigate the number of partners providing the arms transfers towards the investigated EU countries, a positive pattern can be explored (see Figure 8.): the more numerous the selling partners are, the higher the share of the overall arms procurements tend to be. This pattern is corroborated also by the correlation estimate (R=0,435), and Poland proves to be the country that has the highest position regarding both the number of partners and the share of arms transfers, while Luxembourg can be found on the opposite pole of the data, and Greece, the Netherlands and Italy occupy a position characterized with the highest shares of the weapons acquisitions among the PESCO-members and a number of suppliers around the mean value (9,3).

[7] Trend-indicator value is the measurement of arms transfers introduced and calculated by Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. See: Holtom – Bromley – Simmel (2012).

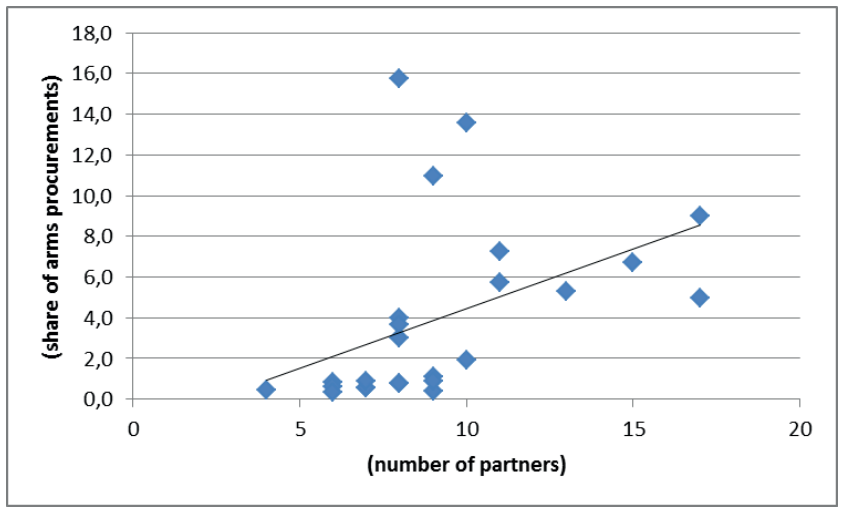


Figure 8.

The six founders of the European Union cover only 43 percentage of the overall defence investments of the PESCO-members between 2010 and 2021 (see Figure 9.), in the case of the number of partners there cannot be measured a remarkable difference compared to the other, not founder states, however the average values of the arms transfer volumes prove to be approximately two and a half higher in the case of the EU-founder countries.

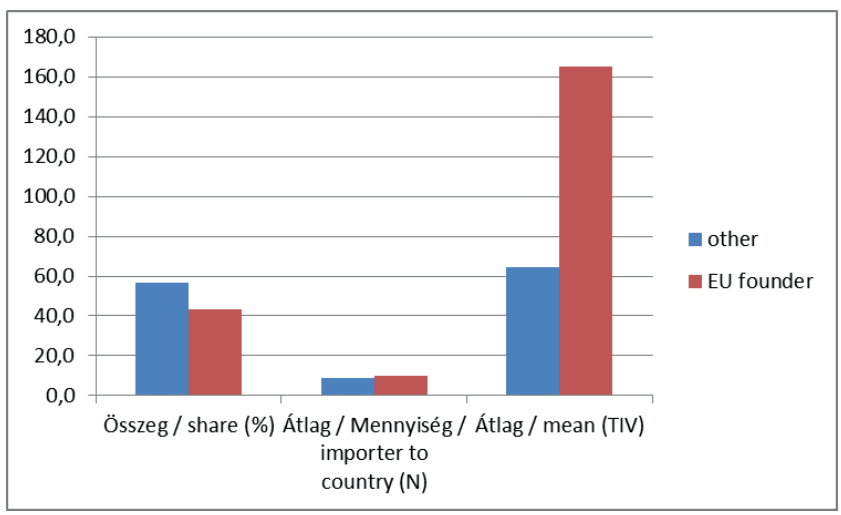


Figure 9.

Military alliance however proves to facilitate weapons procurement processes as the twenty NATO-members of the PESCO-states dominate the distribution of the arms transfers in the investigated period (see Figure 10.): nearly 90 percentage of the defence investments can be found in this category. In regard to the average number of suppliers a similar pattern can be explored as seen in the previous data analysis comparing the EU-founders with the other members: only negligible differences appear – in contrast to the average values of arms transfers. Almost twice as high value can be measured in the case of the EU countries with NATO membership than the states out of the military alliance.

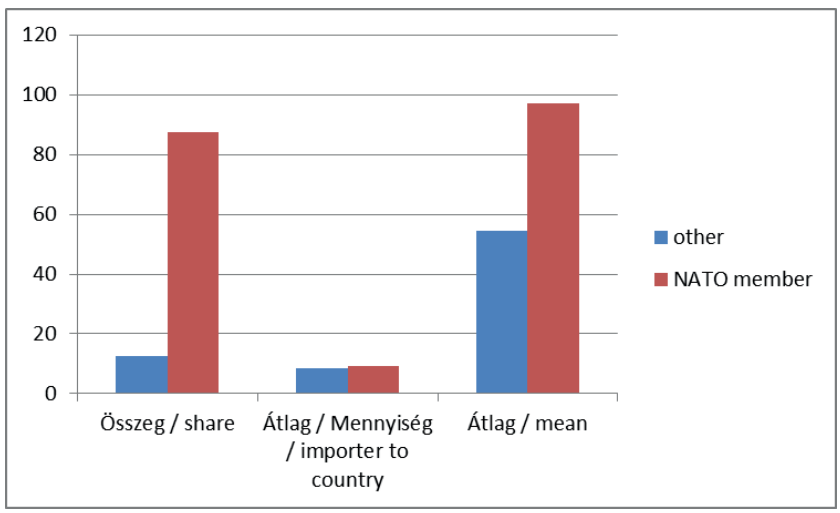


Figure 10.

The network of the PESCO-countries suppliers is made up of nearly half a hundred countries (see Graph 2.): besides 27 European Union members and – with a noticeable overlap – 26 NATO member states, further countries of the European continent (e.g. Switzerland, Ukraine) and also states from rather distant regions of the globe (e.g. Oman, Thailand) played certain role in the weapons investments of the cooperating states of PESCO between 2010 and 2021. In light of the applied methodological approach the non-PESCO states have a position of initiator, that is, in the network structure these countries have exclusively out-degree values, while the EU-members cooperating in the investigated defence projects have primarily inward ties, but also the arms transfers between two arbitrary PESCO-members explore the inner ties among this segment of the European Union states. The network structure evolving from the arms transfers relation of the PESCO-countries illustrates different segments of the states. First of all it is important to highlight that among the countries characterized with a central position in the network several out-of-the-investigation countries can be found: besides Germany, Spain, France, Italy, Poland, Sweden, Finland the United States and Israel occupy central position. Furthermore it is also worth to notice that the United Kingdom – a former EU member state, not participant country of the PESCO initiations – is also positioned in this central section of the network – where Norway could also be added. These actors of the network obviously can only play supplier roles, and accordingly they seem to be the most

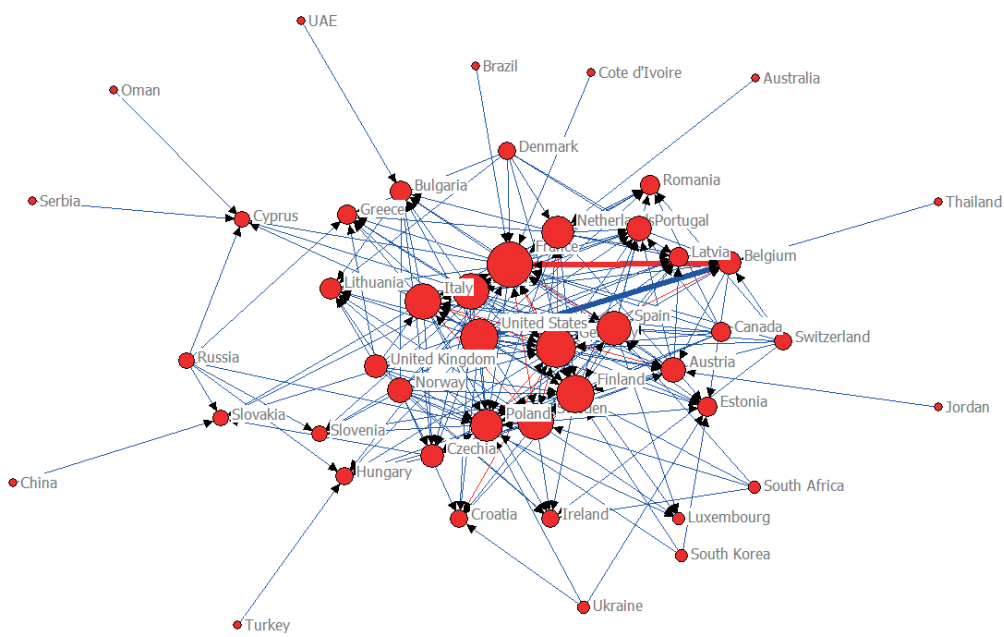
significant ones in this aspect. On the other hand, the central weapons investors of the network prove to be the above-mentioned countries: Germany, Spain, France, Italy, Poland, Sweden and Finland are most remarkably integrated into the arms transfers network.

In this rather dense section of the network another interesting pattern can be explored: among some central countries – supplemented with some further states with less central positions, e.g. Belgium – several reciprocal ties exist (highlighted with red colour). In this regard Germany or France can be illustrative examples as these countries have seven and six partners (reflectively) from which Paris and Berlin procured and for which they also sold weapons. In the French case these mutual links seem to be directed towards dominantly countries with central positions, while Germany have some partners form the intermediate segment of the network (e.g. Poland, Croatia).

A seemingly more separated portion of the network is positioned on the left side of the graph and essentially can be considered a sub-graph – at least partially – created by countries which (also) have ties with Russia. In this arms trade sub-network geographical background seems important as the countries included are dominantly from the Eastern and Central regions of European Union.

Considering the V4 countries the Czech Republic seems to be more integrated in to the arms trade network, and Slovakia is the most distant from the core of the structure – and also the only country with weapons supply from China.

The notable disproportionalities among the states of the PESCO-countries' arms investments can be highlighted if we investigate the strength of the ties and the relative difference in size illustrated by the number of ties (Graph 3.). In this regard we can add that Belgium might be also considered a highly integrated and important actor of the structure as it has intensive relation with both the United States and France – in this latter case in the form of a mutual connection.



Graph 2.

As mentioned and illustrated above, the arms trade network of the PESCO-countries contains states out of the European Union as well – in both rather central and also peripheral positions. Accordingly if we consider EU-membership, all of the in-degree ties can be found in this category (see Figure 11.), and the majority of the out-degree (58,1 %) also belongs to the European Union countries, and the rest – approximately two-fifth of the relations – can be linked to the states out of the EU. That is, there seems to be a relatively high rate of ties distributed among the inner group of EU-affiliated countries, which pattern implies a greater cooperation between EU-member states regarding the arms procurements.

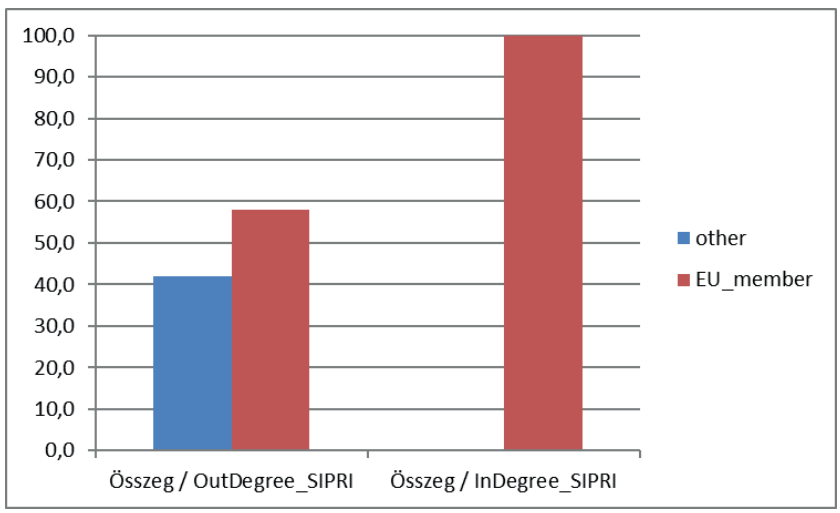


Figure 11.

A similar pattern can be explored if we investigate the mean values of inward and outward tie (see Figure 12.): the in-degree is higher than the ties signifying supply relations in the case of the EU-members, although there cannot be measured substantive difference between non-EU countries and the members of the Union. As the data shows, the EU states and the countries out of the organization prove to be equally active in the initiative aspect of the arms transfers, but dominantly the EU members are characterized with higher rate of weapons procurements.

The distributions of the relations in a comparison between European Union members and the countries out of the organization illustrates that the arms investment network of the PESCO states is open and remarkably affected by other supplier countries.

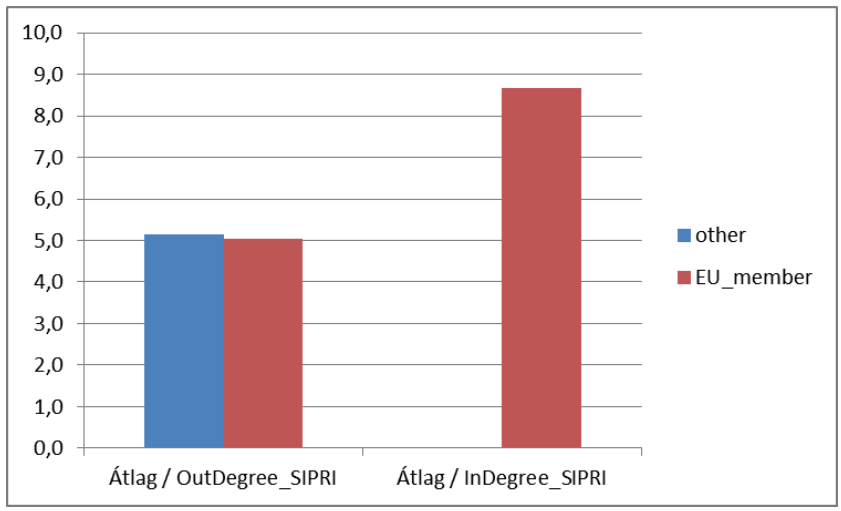


Figure 12.

Military alliance can also be considered an important factor of arms transfers: both the initiative and the receiving ties are dominated by NATO member countries (see Figure 13.). Almost two-third (63,7 percentage) of the out-degree can be linked to NATO states, and a remarkable four-fifth share (81,2 percentage) is concentrated in the 27 NATO members contained in the investigation. That is, military integration noticeably increases the intents and expenditures allocated for defence investments.

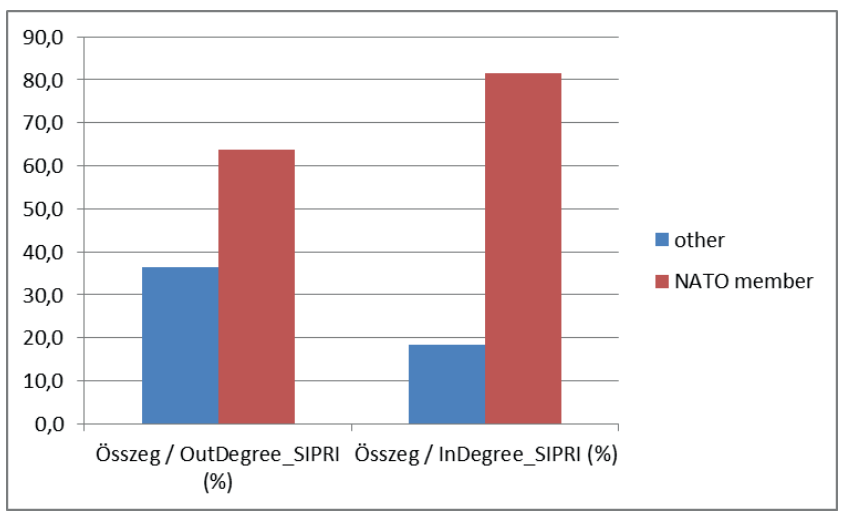


Figure 13.

It can also be added, that the significance of NATO membership in regard to arms transfers relations can be corroborated if we consider the average values of weapons selling and purchase ties (see Figure 14.). Countries of the defence alliance have a 1,4 higher rate of arms supply relations, furthermore a more than three times higher rate of average links can be explored in the case of the NATO-member PESCO countries.

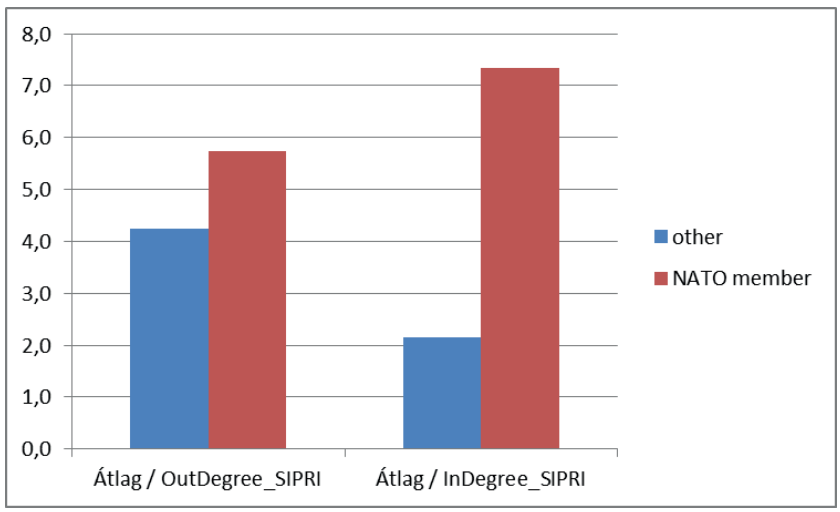


Figure 14.

Considering the above introduced comparisons NATO countries tend to be more active and more integrated in the arms transfers network of the PESCO states. Both in supply relations and investment ties the military alliance countries exhibit higher share values and more connections.

4.4. The possible role of trust and embeddedness – comparison of cooperations

One of the initial objectives of this analysis is to investigate whether there can be explored a connection between the network positions of the investigated countries regarding the PESCO projects and the arms transfers. Accordingly in this final part of the paper we make efforts to compare the networks derived from the PESCO development projects and the arms transfers of the countries.

In this regard we consider the positions of the states involved in both data matrices and investigate the connection between the positions in different aspects of the network status quantified by the degree values or number of relations attached to the countries in the database. The comparison is illustrated in reference to the positions in supply dimension of the arms transfer network and implies that the least remarkable relation can be seen in the case of the positions regarding the arms transfers network costumer data: in light of the data distribution the positions of the countries regarding arms transfers inflow proves to be almost independent form the arms selling aspects (see Figure 15.). However there can be seen a positive relation between the positions in the

cooperation network: the pattern shows that the higher the embeddedness of a country in the arms supply network, the higher number of ties can be measured regarding the participation in PESCO projects as a cooperative partner. However an even stronger positive relation can be explored if we investigate the connection between arms transfers supply and PESCO projects initiations: as a trend it can be stated, that the higher the potential of a country to initiate arms transfers, the higher the willingness to coordinate different defence projects. That is, the technological and economic potential and opportunities embedded in the actual defence sectors of the states seem to enable them to be more active in the field of other cooperative defence investments.

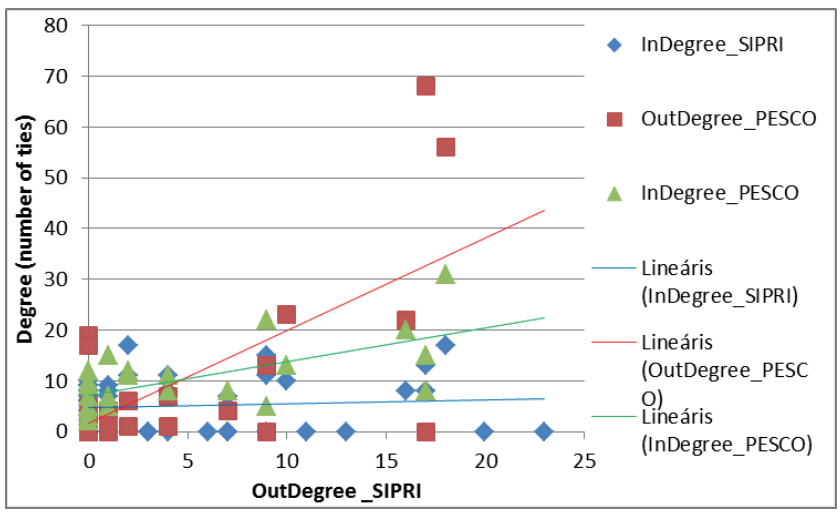


Figure 15.

Trust is a rather subtle phenomenon thus the question whether there can be measured any role of trust in the defence cooperations in the light of defence investments through arms transfers from a quantitative approach is rather difficult to answer. There would be some possible methods and procedures to investigate the connection between the two data matrices – for example matrix correlations could show the similarities of the ties, a 1-sample Chi^2 test might quantify the (lack of) differences of the distributions in the tables – but we find pairwise correlation an appropriate and the most illustrative method. Accordingly after a dyadic transformation of both matrices and merging the two tables we investigate the distribution of the relations or number of ties regarding all the possible pairs of the countries in the dataset[8]. As for the data it can be stated, that there is a positive relation between the country-to-country cooperation relations (see Figure 16.): the pattern implies that those country-pairs that have (higher number of) relations in one aspect of the investigation, tend to have (higher number of) connection in the other aspect as well (correlation coefficient R=0,383). That is, those countries that handle arms transfers between each other, also tend to cooperate more intensively with each other in PESCO defence projects[9].

[8] Obviously during the data organizations the tables had to be limited for the PESCO countries so the arms transfers supplier countries out of this sphere has been excluded from the analysis.

[9] It should be noted, that the reverse relation can also be a relevant interpretation, as this is a correlation measure, not a causal effect.

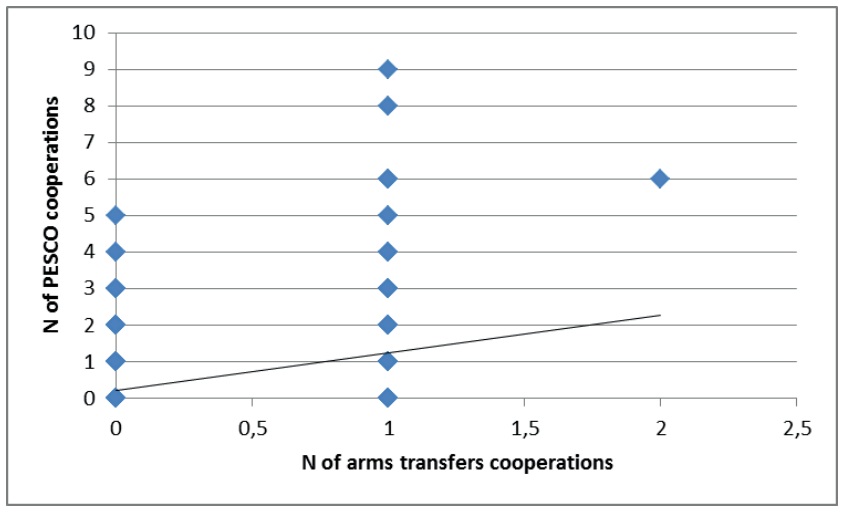


Figure 16.

Although at this point it is necessary to refer to the possible limitations of a quantitative approach when trying to explore the role of trust in the context of this specific area of international relations, the outcomes of the analyses imply that there seems to be a connection between the cooperation patterns of the PECSO countries, which might be interpreted – at least partially – as a result of longer-term evolvement of trust between them.

5. Summary and conclusion

Based on the research outcomes it could be stated that (1) cooperative EU defence investment projects evolve into structured, dense and embedded networks. Contrary to possible initial presupposition, (2) high level of fragmentedness could not have been explored – the relations among the investigated countries create a wholly integrated network. However (3) the states in the network have different inner positions of course – based on their ties they occupy more central or rather marginal status, but there cannot be found isolated segments or clusters. The (4) differences among the positions of the countries and the embeddedness of the networks could have been illustrated by the reciprocal ties between certain states as well. Institutional background – primarily the length of membership in the European Union and in the military alliance of NATO – have been (5) identified also as a differing factor in the PESCO projects, which might be – at least partially – explained with the potential to accumulate skills and experience in collaborative patterns of decision-making and in cooperative reaction to evolving challenges. In the case of the arms transfers towards PESCO countries (6) a significant role of other, non-regional countries could be explored, resulting a structured network of weapons procurements with significant differences among countries. The (7) founders of the European Union and NATO member countries played – in this case also – more significant role in arms transfer relations, occupying more central

positions in the network. Finally, as for the role of mutual cooperations and former state-to-state interactions in other aspects of the defence sector, (8) a positive connection could have been explored: those country-pairs that cooperate with each other more intensely in the arms transfers network tend to be more active in PESCO-projects as well.

It seems that the various forms of connections among the investigated countries and the differences illustrated in institutional and regional affiliations all imply the *emergence of a highly structured and embedded pattern of relations* among the studied segment of the European sphere both regarding PESCO and arms transfers connections. The differences indicate an *inner central-periphery pattern* with some long-term significant EU-members and NATO countries in the core of the defence cooperation network, and the distributions imply that this pattern proves to be correlated with the relations in the arms transfers network as well.

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Gardening for the change of society

Abstract

The ecological dislocation of modern era clearly presents the dependence on the living ecosystem of our society and questions the present profit-oriented, individualist economical system, which drastically exploits the natural environment. In the context of an accelerating global environmental crisis that disproportionately affects the world's poorest, an environmentally sensitive approach to social work practice has never been more important (Boetto 2016). In this paper I am analyzing the connection between the ecological and social ideologies within the opportunity provided by community gardens. I am introducing the consequences of a socially sensitive regeneration project that occurred in one of the most disadvantageous parts of the 8th district of Budapest. One of the elements of this project was to turn the urban courtyards of this Quarter into "Green Courtyards"

Keywords

community development, urban community, community gardens, ecology, environment, green social work, eco-social work, social pedagogic,

DOI 10.14232/belv.2023.1.14
https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2023.1.4

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:
Horváth, Eszter (2023): Gardening for the change of society. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 35. no. 1. pp 39–51.

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)
ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

Introduction

Nearly all of our present ecological problems arise from deep-seated social problems therefore these porblems cannot be neither clearly understood nor resolved, without resolutely dealing with problems withing society (Bookchin 1993). The ecological dislocation of modern era clearly presents the dependence on the living ecosystem of our society and questions the present profit-oriented, individualist economical system, which drastically exploits the natural environment. The change can only be possible if the humanist ideology transfers to an ecological philosophy of life, in which humans need to take responsibility for the surrounding flora and fauna. In this paper I am analyzing the connection between the ecological and social ideologies within the opportunity provided by community gardens. I am searching for the answer to the question of whether there is a place for community gardens in the facilitation of eco-social transition. Could the community gardens be the space for the practice of eco-social work?

In the first part of my study I am introducing the present socio-economical processes that heavily affect the living conditions of different social groups through the toughts of Byung Chul Han German philosopher born in South-Korea. Han deep philosophically and interdisciplinarily demonstates the basic problems of our social value system in opposition to the modern and postmodern vision of man (Gyöngyösi 2020). His philosophy was formed by the experiences from his own garden. He goes beyond the idea that man is superior than the flora or fauna, he presents a vision of man living within limits, which is in stark contrast to the idealised vision of man in today's world.

The current social structure is based on economic growth, and this phenomenon can be seen in social work practice as well since client care is based on improving their material situation and integration to the current structures of society (Ranta – Tyrkkö 2021; Boetto 2017). In social pedagogy and social work there is an increasing need for a paradigm shift supporting the eco-social turnaround. In the second phase I am presenting those socal work practice trends, that promote the ecological transition placing the natural environment at the center of this profession (Boetto 2017; Rambaree et. al. 2019).

The poorest citizens bear the burden of environmental disasters caused by human. In the third part of my writing I am introducing the consequences of a socially sensitive regeneration project that occurred in one of the most disadvantageous parts of the 8th district of Budapest. During the social work, we faced some challenges that exposed some dilemmas regarding the ecological vision. The poorest residents have to face several problems. Their flats are scarce, damp and musty. For these people satisfying their basic needs can be a serious problem, they live day by day, their position does not allow them to look into the future. In this living situation, environmental protection is not the most pressing issue to address. In this contradictory environment we tried to create a livable environment and help them to build a supportive community.

Neoliberalism[1] as the crisis of liberty, back to the nature

More and more, we seem to be living in a world where excessive freedom and unchecked surveillance are intertwined, where the promise of technology backfires into eternal labor and exhaustion, where time is infinitely accelerated, where desires and anxieties are reaching their boiling point (Shiqi Lin 2020) Neoliberalism an unusual but effective method to exploit freedom. People volunteer to work overtime to satisfy their artificially generated consumption needs while exhaustingly escaping into the freedom of media publicity. Neoliberal psycho-politics does not make people obedient but addicted, it attracts instead of prohibiting, explores more and more sophisticated forms of exploitation. It also directs free time through a variety of workshops, motivational weekends, and team building activities. We become addictive and harmful to each other and the natural environment (Han 2020a, 2020 b).

The society of the 21st century is no longer a society of discipline, but a society of performance. The projects, the enterprises and motivation take the place of prohibition, mandate and law, there is not a gap between duty and ability, but a continuity. The continuous self-optimization will lead to a mental breakdown. Due to failures the person blames himself instead of blaming the society. Human life cannot be affected only positively in fact, negativity keeps life lively, without the exciting effect of negativity only dead positivity remains (Han 2020a; Shiqi Lin 2020).

Our societies today are characterized by a universal algophobia a generalized fear of pain. We strive to avoid all painful conditions even the pain of love is treated as suspect. This strong fear of pain separates us from each other, makes us lonely as the connection to others is accompanied by vulnerability. Pain had a cultural significance in society, it is a tool of domination. The immeasurable pain of martyrs solidified domination. In this postmodern world the body is equal to value, therefore pain is to be avoided at all costs. Lately power has replaced pain with motivation and self-actualization (Han 2020a, 2020b,).

As suffering[2] represents our own weakness, happiness became a private matter, everyone has to take care of their own happiness and thus the current concept of happiness separates people from each other. This leads to a lack of empathy and solidarity within humans, and they become more and more isolated. Loneliness enhances the pain, which becomes so unbearable that humans start to grind themselves. According to researchers, aggressively presented content in digital media, such as films and video games, serves as a painkiller however, it does not make users aggressive. The constant presence of pain and aggression makes today's man insensitive to the suffering of the outside world, whether it is a defenseless animal or the natural environment itself. The same can be true for programs depicting natural disasters; the tragedies seen in the media happen somewhere else, to someone else, and if they are already being addressed, then surely someone will do something. Media separates us from the real world so much that we also become neutral to natural disasters happen in our neighborhood (Han 2021b; Lányi 2010).

[1] Neoliberalism: a variant of economic liberalism, the declared goal of which is to restore the conditions of capital accumulation and the power of economic elites. It demolishes welfare subsystems by citing that they reduce the efficient functioning of the market and thereby economic growth (Kotz 2009).

[2] For details, see: Sarah M. Coyne, Laura Stockdale: (2020). Growing Up with Grand Theft Auto: A 10-Year Study of Longitudinal Growth of Violent Video Game Play in Adolescents, https://www.liebertpub.com/doi/10.1089/cyber.2020.0049

Byung Chul Han explored in his garden that Earth is magical, a sensitive talkative living creature and it is human responsibility to protect it, however now we are exploiting it mercilessly. Natural disasters are the consequences of absolute human action. Today we do not respect nor see or listen to the nature however it wasn't always like that (Han 2021b, 2022). According to the worldview of ancient nations, human and nature relationship appeared differently than in the modern culture. In the beginning of time human was connect to nature spiritually instead of economically (Gowdy 2007; Hamvas 2015). This mentality can still be seen in action among the indigenous cultures that have survived to this day. The ancient natural nations believed that humans, like animals and plants, are part of nature. They were in a mutually dependent relationship with nature and its living creatures. From the 17th century as a consequence of the development of science, people became able to manipulate nature for their own advantage, and it became natural that they were no longer mere observers but active parts of the processes of nature without fear of the consequences of their intervention (Kutovátz et al. 2009, Heller 1967). There is a mutually influencing relationship between a person's mental health and the state of the earth, and as a result, a significant part of the mental and social problems of the present age are rooted in man's alienation from nature. Protecting nature equals protecting ourselves, we are depend on nature, we have to protect it to survive (Chalquist 2009, Lányi 2010, Han 2022). Han experienced that gardening takes him one step further away from his own ego and teaches him to take care of others. Gardening gives back reality it is rich in sensuality and materiality. The garden provides an intense experience of time, since the garden has its own time, the plants grow according to their own rhythms, it is impossible to influence it, the time of the garden is the time of another that must be respected. The garden reciprocates the work, it gives existence and time, teaches patience in exchange. Exploring a garden presents us with love and happiness, we can experience real emotions through it. Back to the nature means back to the happiness because Earth is the source of happiness. Protecting the earth entails allowing it to exist in its natural state (Han 2022, Lányi 2015).

How could the social work contribute to the eco-social turnaround?

Nowadays we must face heavy environmental and social crises. These crises collectively affect the lives of individuals and communities and challenging them on an economic, social, emotional, and ecological level. As a result of the exploitation of the Earth we are facing environmental endangerment, the social and economic disproportions are extending and the formal social systems have been heavily decreased (IFSW 2022). The economic damages and their consequences caused by human activities have a more severe negative effect on the poor and marginalized social groups than on the wealthy layer of society, which is in fact the source of the actual problem. Moreover these disadvantaged groups are unable to advocate for their interests or to move in order to improve their living standards (Boetto 2017; Kosztka 2021; Panagiotaros et al. 2022; Dominelli 2013).

The social work as a dynamically improving science reacts to the actual economic contexts, therefore unsurprisingly a massive need appeared for the social working methods to reduce the

environmental damages, to support the sustainable activities (Stipsits 2022). As a result an environment-focused social work trend started to expand, reflecting on environmental changes, highlighting the importance of the integration of the natural environment[3] into social work (Ramsay – Boddy 2016). According to the concept analysis of Ramsay and Boddy, most of the environmental social work studies criticized neoliberalism, highlighting the necessity of promoting economic and social changes within social work as well (Ramsay – Boddy 2016).

John Coates assets the importance of a paradigm shift. Social workers should explicitly value environmental and ecological justice and engage in a change process to create a sustainable society (Besthorn 2002; Coates 2003). This transformation appoints the importance of understanding that Earth is a holistic entity with an enormous system of connections among living creatures (Coates et al. 2006, Boetto 2017). This holistic understanding of the natural world promotes the development of ecological awareness (Besthorn 2002). The eco-social work emphasizes the social and cultural-ecological concern of social work, which requires social workers to focus on interdisciplinary teamwork in order to harmonize the scientific knowledge with the indigenous ecological knowledge (Wang et al. 2022).

In the center of green social work stands environmental justice, a practice that promotes the wealth of individuals and the environment (Dominelli 2013). All the eco-social work, the green social work, the environmental social work and the sustainable social work express the same concern whether the ecosystem collapse no human will survive (Boetto 2017; Rambaree et al. 2019). The eco-social transition is a slow process full of theoretical ideas and conjectures (Christof, Mauch 2019). The eco-social transition means engaging in a process of re-imagination, whereby we create, develop and enact alternative ways of being that accentuate cooperation, ecologism and operate a neoliberal business ontology (Panagiotaros et al. 2022; Boetto 2017; Rambaree et al. 2019). Humans cannot exist without their living environment, therefore the everyday social work tries to start where the difficulties for the person concerned have developed, in the complexity of the given everyday life. Within given social references, i.e. in families, in peer groups in the neighborhood or in associations as well as within given life situations, i.e. in the elderly, in men or women or in young people, the addressees are understood in their living space. However, it is only possible to help a more successful everyday life if social work in its concrete work also tries to help the addressees out of helplessness, poverty and entanglement in everyday life. At the same time, attempts are made to change the situation in socio-political conditions (Thiersch 1986 43.; Reimann 2009).

Action for eco-social transition must be unequivocal to the population to succeed in practicing- There is a need for a clear resource-oriented paradigm based on people's abilities. It needs to awake the personal responsibility need to aware that our actions effect not only ourselves but others too. The education of sustainable development should teach individuals to make decisions with consideration for future generations and the natural environment (Halbritter – Tamáska 2022). Additionally alternative action opportunities need to be given, to make them live in communities with others sustainably and self-directedly (Stipsits 2022).

[3] For the purposes of this paper, the natural environment refers to an organic environment consisting of relationships within and between living organisms, including humans and any single element of the natural environment (Boetto 2017)

Community gardens as sites of environmental care

The essence of posthuman turnaround, that there is a need for a new ecological paradigm instead of the renaissance vision of man from the 15th century. Therefore the importance of community gardens does not built of the concept of human wealth but how we can create a living environment where humans get place however they conform and take sacrifice for other living creatures.

Gardens have been defined as the mirrors of society, they are considered as microcosm, where the broader relationships between nature and culture are played out on small scale (De Kam – Cluitmans 2021). Nature and society are inseparable from each other, for that very reason the current separation from nature phenomena affects negatively the individuals' everyday life, health, wealth and cognition (Massy 2017; Han 2021b; Han 2022).

Community gardening can provide a solution to restore one's connection with nature and with other individuals. Community garden refers to an open space managed and operated by local voluntary communities in which crops and ornamentals are cultivated. There are privately owned community gardens, there are gardens laid between houses, created in the gaps of demolished buildings, gardens established in sidewalk islands, they can be created in the courtyards of hospitals and schools (Guitar 2011; Rosol 2018; Bende 2021). Social workers working in fields of practice such as health, corrections, elderly care or child protection can use community gardens for professional matters (Bailey et al. 2018). Community gardens provide an ideal site for the social work practice of listening to others narratives, moreover, educating and learning. They are ideal places where individuals can connect to nature and each other as well. Additionally social work practitioners can develop reflective communities of practice with the methodology of collaborative auto-ethnography (Bailey et al., 2018). Human connections built in community gardens expand to other areas of life (Guitar 2011).

Gardening, including urban gardening, implies a connection with nature. The special virtue of community gardens is that they contribute to environmentally aware thinking, serving as a space that contributes to understand the connection between environmental protection and community food security (Taylor 2022). Community gardens are spaces where people can act local, think global and provide sites for local collective activities (Ghose, Pettygrove, 2014). Community gardens can serve as a space of prefigurative social change by promoting in the gardens the changes they want to see in society (Lewis 2022).

The small actions of gardening occur in social, ecological and socio-ecological aspect in different urban and natural areas. Changes in natural habitat that occur in different gardens contribute to conserving biodiversity. The appearance of wild animals connects human beings with the ethics and practice of responsibility towards other living creatures (Mumaw – Mata 2022). The community gardens can serve place for social and political learning processes. This unique ability lies in the fact that the practice of gardening can promote low-threshold forms of learning through non-verbal forms of communication and interaction between social groups (Corcoran – Kettle 2015; Rosol 2017).

Yard landscaping, social work with an ecological approach in Budapest

In the framework of an integrated socially sensitive regeneration project called: Versenyképes Közép-Magyarország Operatív Program (VEKOP) occurred the rehabilitation of Magdolna-Orczy Quarter of the 8th disctrict of Budapest[4]. One of the elements of this project was to turn the urban courtyards of this Quarter into "Green Courtyards". During the rehabilitation, eight municipal owned building refurbishments occurred involving the local community. The public involvement process has included local meetings as well as community actions e.g. community planting (Rév8 Zrt. 2020).

As the project coordinator, I was involved in the processes. The continuous collaboration provided me with an opportunity to get to know the environment, living conditions and problems of the participants and moreover to help them with social pedagogic methods. The rehabilitated area in question is one of the most disadvantageous parts of the district: with critical substandard quality historic housing stock built at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries (Alföldi et. al. 2019). Two main goals were set in this project. The first goal of the project was to transfer the narrow, dark, unhealthy living environment of local communities into green courtyards which can serve place for free time activities, social activities and contributes to improve the climate and green areas. The climate of areas covered with plants is cooler and healthier with more humid air as a result of the plants evaporation in contrast to the areas covered with concrete and asphalt. The second goal was to build a loyal, careful social community with the contribution of social workers with the help of common gardening activities (Rév8 Zrt. 2020). During the program as social pedagogists we helped the participants understand the goals of the rehabilitation, tried to win their trust and expanding their knowledge. All of the buildings had their own coordinator who kept in contact on daily basis with the participants.

The creation of green courtyards was a part of a complex rehabilitation in which old, unrepairable windows and doors were replaced with modern ones in order to turn these old buildings into more energy saving. The satisfaction or dissatisfaction of the participants regarding to the courtyard gardens depended on their attitudes towards the work of refurbishment. However the dissatisfaction brought together the participants more, as a result of this they formed communities. The frustration became even greater when the gardens were completed and the task of subsequent care aroused. As the coordinators of the project, we had to motivate the participants to action and moderate the conflict by widening their knowledge and analyzing their opportunities. It is really challenging to talk about environmental protection to poor, disadvantageous people. For these people satisfying their basic needs can also be an ordeal. This situation is a contradiction itself, since the consumption of these people should be raised, moreover nowadays in this utilitarian world environmentally friendly things are way more expensive than their traditional alternatives. It was important to have them understand that they should not wait for the improvement of their financial situation from sustainable innovation but for the improvement of their everyday lives. We had to find the areas where they could develop despite their poor living standards. Their consumption of fruits and vegetables is usually low, consequently few showed

[4] For details, see: http://rev8.hu/magdolna-orczy-negyed-programelemek/ Horváth 2022.

interest in their cultivation. Their socio-cultural factors and economic constraints contribute to the disproportion of their diet (Martin et. al., 2017; Pourias 2020). Actually, we can say that the Program was successful since in every building some green spaces were established which resulted in a more comfortable, healthier and aesthetic living environment.

Some local communities refused to maintain the green courtyard; one of these courtyards was lawned and planted with shrubs that were maintained by local municipal employees. In two other courtyards ornamental plants with low maintenance were installed. Despite the resistance all the residents participated in the planting. In the last more than one year we observed that the residents started to use their new garden. Some of them tend the gardens on their own, others are still waiting for the help of the local municipal government however in common all of the courtyards were full of people on summer evenings, they watered the plants and enjoyed the cooling mist they got in exchange.

Conclusion

The estrangement from nature environment strongly connect to the ecological crisis of the modern era. If we were able to restore the connection and harmony between humans and nature, it would have a positive effect on the condition of the Earth, since the one who is close to the natural environment protects it (Roszak 1992). Transformational change can include moving towards institutions based on value rather than profit, which bring people together and nurture the better propensities of humanity (Panagiotaros et. al. 2022).We have to redefine the concept of wealth in such a way that it does not mean the satisfaction of artificially generated consumption needs but includes the possibility of a more meaningful life close to nature (Boetto 2017; Han 2020a.).

The clients of social pedagogy are the members of those defenseless, disadvantageous groups, who are the most exposed to the result of the global ecological crisis of the modern era. The more the environmental problems, such as earthquakes and other natural disasters in the lives of the clients, the more the social pedagogists get in contact to the natural environment (Boetto 2017; Kosztka 2021; Panagiotaros et al. 2022; Dominelli 2013).

The history of community gardens[5] claims that these gardens can mean a solution to urban problems such as poverty, segregation and provide space for the re-exploration of the nature additionally they advance the health environment (Panagiotaros et al. 2022; Rosol 2018; Lewis 2022). More and more social pedagogists think that community gardens can serve as a place of eco-social work practice, we can find several examples where community gardens give place to social pedagogical activities (Bailey et al., 2018; Lewis 2022; Rosol 2018; Panagiotaros et al. 2022; Ranta – Tyrkkö 2021).

During the presented socially sensitive regeneration project called: Versenyképes Közép-Magyarország Operatív Program (VEKOP) occurred the rehabilitation of Magdolna-Orczy Quarter of the 8th disctrict of Budapest, we faced with a serious dilemma that how can we win poor, disadvantageous people for the natural environment. How could we get them to accept the green courtyards and make them tend on their own will. It can be said that the Program was

[5] For details, see: Grown from the Past: A Short History of Community Gardening in the United States, https://communityofgardens.si.edu/exhibits/show/historycommunitygardens/intro

successful since in every building some green spaces were established, and the fact that the local residents participated in the planting and enjoyed their new gardens in the hot summer weather proves that they did not completely isolate themselves from nature. Even if they do not actively participate in gardening activities, their sense of isolation diminishes simply by watching abandoned places become meaningful places and their neighborhoods come alive; in this way, increased interaction with community members will reduce their sense of alienation (Hoh et. al. 2022) The biggest problem in this matter is the isolation from the natural environment, most of the people have no connection with the nature, and we have to build this connection from the very basics. Once they can keep a potted plant alive, they can continue with something bigger, but most importantly, they have to experience the natural values. The one who gets in touch with nature will never think of it as a commodity and will search for the opportunity to have a deeper connection with it. The program was a learning process for all of us however it lasted for too short period of time in order to reach more meaningful results. The experience proves that even a small green courtyard can move individuals towards nature and each other. We experienced that these gardens are community spaces where social pedagogist can develop the understanding of eco-justice and the fight against unsustainability.

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Adoption/adaptation of universal principles and mutual influences of organizational models among ethno-nationally biased cooperative networks inside inter-war Romania

Abstract

This paper identifies those elements that were common in all cooperative networks around the world by presenting the process of adoption of universal cooperative principles inside the provinces that were reunited in interwar Romania, while observing the mutual adaptation of organizational models among different ethno-cultural entities defined as minorities and the actual ethnic national majority. We operate methodologically according to a methodic circle that helped us to distinguish the historical sources of nationalist/nation-building rhetoric and the pragmatically achieved goals (balances). In case of cooperatives, we observed that constructive/interactive community-building goals and routine overwhelmed negative, reactive or even destructive nationalist goals. The latter did not reach the cooperative sector effectively or only remained dead letter on political manifestos and propaganda (boycott or sabotage) both in the prewar constituent period and the interwar era. Nevertheless, there was a continuous mutual (incongruent) influence among the neighboring networks, both in strategies, technics, architecture and organizational forms. This study tries to contribute to the research of the economic institutionalization and mobilization phase of nation-building as theorized by Anthony D. Smith and Miroslav Hroch by identifying those modern institutions, including savings banks and cooperative networks that assembled ethno-national entities into modern economic and market economy framework, while verifying the legitimacy or anachronism of using national 'bias' in case of these modern financial-economic institutions and cooperative networks.

Keywords
nation-building, economic nationalism, modernization, clusters, cooperative movement, federations, unions, embeddedness, Saxons, Suabians, Romanians, Hungarians, inter-ethnic relations, public goods, public investments, unification of legislation, economic-financial crisis, Great Depression, East-Central Europe, Transylvania, Austria/Hungary, Romania.

DOI 10.14232/belv.2023.1.5
https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2023.1.5

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:
Hunyadi, Attila Gábor (2023): Adoption/adaptation of universal principles and mutual influences of organizational models among ethno-nationally biased cooperative networks inside inter-war Romania. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 35. no. 1. pp 52–76.

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)
ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

Five historical provinces were reunited inside the interwar so-called 'Greater Romania' between 1918 and 1940: the 'Old Kingdom' was completed by Bessarabia, Bukowina and greater contemporary (20th century) Transylvania (comprising historic Transylvania, the southern half of Maramureș, Crișana and the Banat).[1] Each region brought a typical pre-existing juridical, institutional system, including several cooperative movements and financial networks, as well.[2] The country became a middle power along with neighboring Poland and as such their geopolitical and military role inside the anti-Russian "cordon sanitaire" overwhelmed their economic weight. Each of the newly reunited historical provinces' area were great enough to be compared to a Western-European state such as the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, to quote only those countries that sociologically were multinational even if they did not practice multilingualism as Switzerland. Romania, too, even if she signed the Treaty for the protection of national minorities on December 9th, 1919, did not practice language multiculturalism, the autonomy rights promised in the Treaty were not enforced by inner laws. On the contrary, a severe economic and political nationalism was used by all the political wings in order to homogenize the country.[3]

The aim of this paper is to present and analyze those cooperative networks that were inherited by interwar Romania together with her new provinces which at their turn comprised many other sub-networks all of them characterized by an own development-history. The official

[1] TBCM 1929.

[2] Docan 1943.; Ionașcu 1942.

[3] Livezeanu 1995, 1998.

cooperative statistics inside Romania regarding the twenties and the thirties registered all these networks separately as 'Romanian networks' comprising regional branches, and 'minority networks' under these main subtitles.[4] As narrated in our former publications, these minority or regionally clustered 'Romanian' networks all belonged to and were inspired by the universal cooperative movement adopting its values and principles, but in the same time adapting them or more specific paradigms (the German Raiffeisen or the French models) to the local circumstances and they were whether initiated by the modern state administration (ministries or state-offices) or by other pre-existing institutes. Methodologically, we call them 'promoter' or 'parent' institutes. It is astonishing that we can observe a synchronic mutual influence of organizational models among the separately organized networks in a large Austro-Hungarian[5] and even in a wider East-Central European area.[6]

In retrospective we can say that all these networks appeared and developed in parallel and simultaneously in these 5 main historical provinces (Old Kingdom, Transylvania, Bukowina and Bessarabia during pre-war period (until 1913/8) and most of them maintained their organizational autonomy even during the interwar period (1918-1940).[7] The change of regimes and switch of roles altered some components of these organizational paradigms, but typical features remained the same: cooperative movements appeared and developed inside a wider institutional system inherently reproducing and disseminating its value-system. The spectrum of relationships the cooperatives sustained with their 'promoter institutes' comprised 'self-help', 'help to self-help', 'state-help' or 'state-control'. These characteristics subsisted even under the interwar Romanian constitutional system that was permissive in offering a 15 years of transition period for all cooperative networks biased as belonging to a specific national minority.

The promotion of the cooperative movement by the pre-existing (elder) nationally devoted organizational system explicitly or endowed these cooperative movements spontaneously with a more or less ethno-nationally crystalized national character. Typically, five categories of institutions were consequently participating in the promotion of the cooperative movement: 1) commercial or savings banks, 2) agricultural societies, 3) ecclesiastical or cultural associations, 4) political parties or movements and finally 5) state or administrative authorities. As they usually existed before or in some cases appeared in the same time period, they eventually were not only donors but beneficiaries of the cooperative as well in the sense that cooperatives and agricultural circles by definition were to be an ideal school of grassroots democracy and as such were genuinely belonging to the people. That time, the slogans of 'by the people – for the people' kind were showing towards self-administration and self-government of little traditional communities that had for centuries their own group rules inside the territorial or village community, mainly in Transylvania, where – especially in Szekler village communes, the communitas in general, or more specifically the 'commons', the collective property rights were enshrined in early-modern archival documents assessing the pasture, co-ownerships, wood and forest administration, local habits, cleaning of valley or street channels inside the village and many other aspects of

4 ACR 1935; ACR 1939.

5 Szász 1994.

6 Lorenz 2006.

7 Hunyadi 2016.

the local community norms. The economist historian Imreh[8] gathered and published all these Szekler village rules, norms of co-proprietorship comparing them to other traditional and historical group norms still used in 20th century Romanian provinces (as collected by interwar Romanian sociologists, Gusti, Herseni, Stahl around the *Sociologie Românească* review and the rural sociology school of Gusti).[9]

This paper focuses on identifying those universal principles and organizational models that were adopted and adapted by the cooperatives and their networks functioning inside interwar Romania. We also essay to distinguish 'labels' or 'bias' of cooperative 'nation-building' or 'economic nationalism' as well as the differences and nuances of these two terms as observed in prewar Austria-Hungary[10] and in interwar Romania. The distance between nation-building and nationalism comprises thus the 'ethno-national help to self-help' character of cooperative movements integrated in cultural national programs, on a side, and the administrative-state efforts to develop under its tutelage a cooperative productive and manufacturing branch along with the administration that would help any (i.e. the proper) national economy to diversify its mono-cultural (grain and corn) external agri-commerce and be more resilient in case of global commercial and financial shortages. Cooperatives of land lease and land/use were also destined to managing and equipping the newly distributed peasant plots after the Land reform executed since 1921 in all Romania.[11] Before reaching a national economy importance as a whole, on local level the units of the cooperative system proved to be adequate tools or channels for adult training. The movement as a whole at its turn seemed or proved to be a very adaptive network for any other functions the state (or the communities) actually needed.[12] These 'national' majority and 'minority' cooperative networks from interwar Romania's provinces reproduced similar features in their internal structure. While state influence and competition for administrative resources reproduced inter-ethnic political conflicts, at the level of both the cooperative member- and leadership, there was a continuous intra- and inter-ethnic communication and mutual influence of organizational paradigms.

Besides these ethno-cultural and ideological similarities and confluences, part of them rooted in the same universal cooperative ideology, the cooperative networks were and important part of the state-system due to their commercial-manufacturing-processing and adult-training functions. Exactly for these polyvalent functions fulfilled were they more tolerated than other politically more exposed alternatives that did not have their own economic pillars and were not as deeply rooted in society as grass-root cooperatives had been.

Interwar Romanian sociology tried to identify those channels where the cooperative networks could contribute to the positive balance of commerce and export of the Romanian agricultural products, or at least to the adequate food supply of growing urban agglomerations. Regarding the economic and social impact, the social and geographical distribution of cooperatives together with the people's banks ("banques populaires"- type credit unions, 'bănci populare' in Romanian), and the other type of cooperatives (agricultural processing and marketing)

[8] Imreh 1973, 1983.

[9] BSSC-ISR; SR.

[10] Good 1977.

[11] Mitrany 1930.; Cartwright 2001.,

[12] Brucmüller 1977.

economic or industrial cooperatives on the everyday life or their contribution to the Romanian national economy, economic historians rely on four type of sources: 1) registers of companies; 2) official statistics, annuals; 3) contemporary rural sociology; 4) memories of the organizer personalities, leaders or members.[13]

One can rarely find precise data regarding the market involvement of cooperatives in interwar Romania, the few exceptions remaining some papers of A. G. Galan, A. Golopentia and Gr. Mladenatz.[14] All the other authors usually betray ideological perspectives or offer only macro-analyses above the whole system. That is why we must enter some specific local rural or urban communities in order to see how one, two or three cooperative units lived together in the same place while serving different ethno-linguistic or denominational-ideological communities cohabitating the same town or village.

If we take into account the official labels as used by the *Annual*[15] *of the Romanian Cooperation*, both editions, Romanian cooperatives were ordered in different types of cooperatives (I. credit coops or people's banks; II. consumer, collective purchase or selling and agricultural coops; III. production coops, IV. forest exploitation and finally V. land-purchase (obşti de cumpărare) and VI. land-lending (obşti de arendare) cooperative communities), subsequently sub-clustered in regional divisions according to their historical province or geographical region of which their official names came from: Ardealul (Transylvania), Banatul (the Banat), Basarabia (Bessarabia), Dunărea de Jos (Lower-Danube), Moldova, Moldova de Nord (Northern-Moldavia i.e. Bukowina), Muntenia, Oltenia. What is surprising is the lack of Maramureş and Crişana in denomination.

The second part of the annual listed the so-called Minority Cooperatives as following: 1) Hungarian cooperative societies affiliated to the "Alliance" Union of economic and credit cooperatives from Cluj; 2) Hungarian cooperative societies affiliated to the "Ant" (Hangya) Consumer and Marketing Cooperatives' Union from Aiud; 3) German cooperative societies affiliated to the Federation of German Agricultural Cooperatives from Bukowina in Cernăuți/Cernowitz; 4-5) Saxon credit and consumer cooperative societies affiliated to the Federation of "Raiffeisen"-type cooperatives in Sibiu German Agricultural and last 6) Agricultural Cooperatives affiliated to the German Cooperatives' Union from Timişoara/Temeswar.

The next edition of the *Annual* kept the same clustering of the so-called 'minority cooperatives', subsuming all the Hungarian (I.) and the German Cooperative societies (II.) in a common chapter dedicated to all minority cooperatives while maintaining the sub-clusters according to the Unions or federations. The I. A. and I. B listed the Hungarian cooperative societies, while the II. A., B. and C. subchapters listed all the Saxon and Suabian cooperatives, respectively according to their type: a) credit; b) common purchase and marketing; c) production subdivided in c1) forestry and c2) dairy coops; d) other diverse. The Suabian cooperative societies were listed in the same subdivisions. Subchapter C. listed the credit cooperatives affiliated to the German Cooperative center from Cernăuți.[16] Romanian cooperatives of first grade (local coops) were listed in the first Part of the Annual according to the new 1938 administrative divisions (ținuturi,

[13] Golopenţia 1939.; Manuilă 1940.; Roberts 1951.

[14] Mladenatz 1928.; Galan 1935.

[15] ACR 1935, 1939.

[16] ACR 1939. 507–616.

administrative regions) of Romania, that transcended the traditional boundaries of the historical provinces (for example the Szekler county of Trei-Scaune and the multinational Brașov county was drawn into the Bucegi Region (Ținutul Bucegi) along with 8 other counties including the surrounding of the capital-city, the ILFOV county, too). Thus, since all the Romanian traditional provinces were dismantled iny the administrative centralization of 1938, the cooperative unions were also suspended in the case of Romanian cooperatives and all of them started to belong to the INCOOP, the National Institute of Cooperation. Minority cooperative federations paradoxically were exempted from this administrative centralization in this case, too, as a prolongation of the 15 years of tolerance they were granted earlier in 1923 by the Law on the Unification of Cooperation and the subsequent legislative acts, too.

We can state that ethno-national cooperative organizations were more resilient to the very frequent administrative reforms practiced by the even more frequently changing Romanian governments or they were not in the frontline of the political fighting regarding the governmental/administrative influence ('tutelage') or dominance above mass-organizations as fiefs of different political parties. As the foreign experts (Charles Gide[17], Marius Gormsen[18]) and critical economists and sociologists (Galan, Golopenția. D. Gusti, V. Madgearu, I. Mihalache, Gr. Mladenatz, Șt. Zeletin) observed: the immense political infiltration and direct influence over cooperative organizations in prewar and interwar Romania was characteristic for both periods and was inherent since the state participated –at least and mainly in the Old Kingdom – in the creation, financing and training, coordination-control of its cooperative quasi-administrative sub-system since its beginning and as a consequence the Romanian governments and the public sphere remained always concerned about the exaggerated political exposure of the cooperative sub-system. Since new provinces brought their own legal, institutional system inside the so-called Greater Romania, it proved very hard to unify all these different legal and institutional systems.[19]

Interwar Romania gained a lot of natural and human resources by reuniting Bessarabia, Bukowina and greater Transylvania: the country's surface/area more than doubled. The number of cooperatives on the territory of Romania (Old Kingdom in 1912, Romanian all in all in 1921) also almost doubled, rising from 3813 in 1912 to 5032 in 1921, out of which 2942 (75.1%), respectively 3211 (63.8%) belonged to ethnic Romanian credit cooperatives having 563.270, respectively 705.150 members. These numbers peaked in 1928 to 8165 (out of which only 58.1% were belonging to ethnic Romanian credit cooperatives summing up 1.013.970 members). Due to the economic and financial crisis and the subsequent policies (moratorium, conversion of debts) the number of credit cooperatives in Romania decreased to 6566 (4525 Romanian coops) in 1938 and 5831 (3731 Romanian credit coops) in 1939 (respectively 975.130 and 801.822 million 'Romanian' members).[20]

The overall Romanian total for all types of cooperatives belonging to Romanians and minorities as well fluctuated between 8053 in 1936 with a total membership of 1.437.216 distributed on historical provinces as such:

[17] Gide 1927.

[18] Gormsen 1945.

[19] Sachelarie – Georgescu 1968.

[20] ER IV. 1943. 638.

Name of region	Absolute number of coop. members	Proportion to 1000 inhabitants	Whole population (thousands)
Old Kingdom	898.649	94	9.833
Bessarabia	114.437	37	3.148
Transylvania	387.611	67	5.852
Bukowina	36519	40	917
Entire Romania	1.437.216	74	19.750

Even if manipulated statistics tried to show that the highest level of cooperation was in the Old Kingdom, an error (a vitiated number, the total for Romania figuring 3766 instead of the real 8053) helped the editor to make a distribution of the total population of Romania by this error number, 6.766, thus resulting 2.919 inhabitants for a cooperative, instead of the real 2.452 inhabitants (that would have shown better) on average computed for the total population of Romania. The Romanian Encyclopedia published also a map with the Proportion of cooperators to the total inhabitants of the counties in Romania in 1938; one of the densest cooperator rate was in Odorhei/Udvarhely county, a vast majority Szekler inhabited county, the same proportion interval (13.6-18%) shown by Vâlcea and Argeș counties, too.[21] Suabians populated Timiș/Temes county were also densely cooperatively corporatized (11.1-13.5% of the population).

Name of region	Whole population (thousands)	Nr. of members	Number of Cooperatives	Proportion of members for 1000 inhabitants	nr. of inhabitants for a coop	By error/ vitiated number in the ER IV, p. 638.
Old Kingdom	9.833	898.649	4673	94	2.104	
Bessarabia	3.148	114.437	764	37	4.120	
Transylvania	5.852	387.611	2274	67	2.573	
Bukowina	917	36.519	342	40	2.681	
Entire Romania	19.750	1.437.216	8053	74	2.452	2.919

Compared to other states, Romania occupied almost the lowest ranking together with Hungary and Bulgaria regarding social penetration and geographical distribution of rural cooperatives as against the number of rural exploitations/farms/.

[21] ER 1943. 637.

Country	Rural cooperatives			Credit coops	Peasant exploitations	
	Nr. of coops	Nr of inhabitants/ coop	Prod and marketing coop percentage	Capital on coop member	active capital/ per hectare	Brut income per hectare
					In Golden francs	
Switzerland	8363	482	93,3	5883	7748	1258
Denmark	6725	523	100		3247	1115
Germany	36359	1749	45,8	1264	2750	676
Czehoslovakia	11029	1318	46,9	1152	2699	
Poland	16349	1860	59,9	232	2253	340
Yugoslavia	6294	2111	36,9	428	n.d.	n.d.
ROMANIA	3879	2618	29,9	220	756	266
Hungary	2905	2952	65,1	496	n.d.	n.d.
Bulgaria	1944	3936	20	328	n.d.	n.d.

Source: ER IV 1943. 638.

In this European comparison the analyzer was able to see the worse situation of Eastern-European peasant societies (see the books of Daniel Chirot) in their market integration tools and capital directly proportional with their scale of cooperative distribution and social penetration in rural areas.

The main motivation for the leaders of cooperative movement in Romania in the prewar era, especially for Spiru Haret, minister for Cults and Education at the turn of the centuries, was to offer a tool and create a forum for the peasants to raise their awareness, their training, cultural and agricultural knowledge on local grassroots level, while on the second upper level, cooperative units could cooperate in order to organize themselves collectively for joint procurement of equipment (machinery), inputs (seeds, fertilizers) and most of all, credits for which the members were to be responsible collectively, too. During the application of the 1921 Land Reform cooperatives gained a new 'idealized' but empirically very rarely well-functioning role: that of collectively administering rented land-parcels, or at least collectively purchasing (if not using, since it approached Communistic or softer National Peasant Party ideals) inputs, and equipment. In this perspective, contemporary analysts, economists approved that collective work did not fit the peasant mentality and work habits. Even in the USA and later in Western Europe, it was only after the Great Depression, during the Agricultural Adjustment Act New Deal and after WWII due to the European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan) that agricultural machinery using cooperatives (CUMA, Coopératives d'Utilisation Matériel Agricole) appeared (in France, the Netherlands), mainly due to governmental and Marshall plan funds awarded, but this happened in a chronic food-penury post-was period when it was salient to solve the problem of urban

alimentation by targeted investments in food production agriculture.[22] Back in the prewar and interwar period the most collective investment used to be the cooperative buying and collectively running a steam threshing machine. Other (rare) best practice was buying out a sold/bankrupt business and taken off in a cooperative format. This happened for instance in Székelykeresztúr/Cristuru Secuiesc) where the Friedler company was bought by the neighboring Szekler population and continued to function as a cooperative flax and hemp processor plant. Romanian population owned the biggest Forestry cooperative from Romania, the Regna in the Carpathian Mountains (in Bistrița county). Bigger investments like pools in Canada remained a state task that was hardly accomplished due to the continuous financial shortages and mainly because of the Great Depression's effects on East-Central agrarian states. Yet, there were governmental plans to build silos and warehouses not only in the main maritime port, but in the most important railway crossing points, cargo stations.[23] An example of this kind remained Nagyenyed/Aiud where in the proximity of the railway station several logistic centers were built already before WWI (ice factory sleeper soaker), a cooperative modern (Jugendstil) functional warehouse, all of them connected with operational wing railway to the main station for a well-oiled fast operation. Nowadays, more than 110 years since their building, only the cooperative warehouse exists again in the property of a local consumer cooperative, after 40 years of communist usage after 1948 nationalization and after 33 years of sinuous privatization process since 1990.

Along with crisis adjustment acts, moratorium and conversion of debts, the states tried to invest in large and efficient public goods such as ports, logistic hubs, transportation channels, especially in agrarian states to raise the national economies' resilience. New warehouses built in the neighborhood of train/stations should have exercised a catalyzing power in the direction of little farmers pooling in bigger associations, like 'pool' cooperatives in order to raise their purchasing power and revenues.[24] These warehouses were especially conceived and architecturally planned in a pragmatic technical style in order to be able to receive or to send different goods, wares on train, chariots and later trucks. Cooperatives thus were reached directly from the trains-stations and their nearby warehouses and served local coops at lowest prices by delivering goods to more remote destinations, too, on the wheels of chariots or soon by the proper car fleet of the network. Distribution of consumer goods, including exotic trades (coffee, cane sugar), combusting materials, kitchen tools and clothing, just like the expedition of heavier tools and equipment (harnessing, threshers, ploughs) was made via the regional warehouses distributed proportionally in the country located mainly in bigger infrastructural centers, crossroads, cities, thus available for the geographic surrounding, too.

Most of cooperatives functioned in villages, fewer in towns, since towns were traditionally and previously supplied by the surrounding farmers, then by commerce. The urbanistic modernization plans, including the building of modern market-halls in the capital city or the public investments in municipalities (public slaughterhouses in almost all county centers) encouraged farmers to organize themselves in joint marketing cooperatives (ex. Magyar Gazdák Vásárcsarnokellátó Szövetkezete, the Market-Hall Supply Cooperative since 1898, but that was owned mainly by big and middle landowners).

[22] Tracy 1989.

[23] ER IV. 1943. 642–650.

[24] Macpherson 1979.

Regarding the legal forms and the liability issues of cooperatives, it varied definitely almost in every region and was mainly framed by national legislations. What went well according to the Raiffeisen principles in the Western areas (unlimited liability), did not went well every corner of Eastern and Central Europe: here the legislation maximized the liability to five times the capital subscribed in the credit union or in the popular bank.[25] That was meant to safeguard cooperatives from free-riders and the whole juridical system from trials and problems as the communities were not strong enough to exclude free-riders. State was interested in social peace and put emphasis on the revenue-multiplying potential of cooperatives and as a second effect the raise of tax base or employment, before reaching the national economic level of raising the external commercial balance of the state, yet this third public good goal was too far from Eastern European agrarian state realities and remained only ideals of government programs.

Liability issues were only important from the perspective of credit potential and warrant offered by members collectively. Only Transylvanian Saxon communities and some Suabian agricultural credit cooperatives were able to practice unlimited liability inside their Raiffeisen'schen Spar und Vorschuss-vereine (Savings and Advance Credit Unions). Their membership belonging to a relatively homogeneous ethnic and denominational community permitted them to approve only those credits that were asked for by their kin-persons belonging to the same confessional group, parish or neighborhood ('Nachbarschaft'). Embedded in a financial-economic cluster, these cooperatives had the potential to raise more money (savings) locally or apply for more credit inside the cluster, from the parent financial institute (HAS, Albina) which in general promoted the creation of a credit cooperative network. Most of these parent institutes appeared, created and promoted cooperatives as their grassroots almost in the same years or decades in the case of Saxons, Romanians and Hungarians (around 1885/1886 and in the aftermaths). Agricultural societies, too, expanded their cooperative propaganda also quite in parallel. Thus, after each national minority entity in Transylvania had – apart from pre-modern ecclesiastical and schooling system – a proper modern scientific, cultural, touristic, agricultural society, the time arrived to build a proper financial and a connected cooperative network, as well. This financial and cooperative network promoted by the preexisting stakeholders was destined at its turn to donate for similar (national or cultural targets) and contribute financially or by other means (employment, subsidies, social mobility) to the well-being of the national community.[26] There was a trend towards reaching a holistic institutional system disregarding of being in a national majority or minority situation. This nation-building ideal met the cooperative universal idealism of having reached the highest possible level of cooperative social penetration and geographical density. Contemporaries assumed that their organization would attain the optimum when reaching the most of their ethnic fellows and building up each sector (agriculture, finances, cooperatives, commerce) of economy interrelated inside "our own institutional organism". This holistic proper organism could develop such national programs that in case of Saxons replaced state-institutions in the field of land-buying and parceling, colonization, beware of war-orphans and widows (during WWI), or more general duties, like representation and defense of interests, adult education, raising welfare (sanatoriums, baths) or diversification of urban and rural economy, food-supply for tourist centers (Borszék, Tusnádfürdő) or cities with dairy products ('Transylvania' branded butter). The most long-standing achievements were the

[25] Ieda 2001.

[26] Dogan 1993.

urbanistic projects: so-called Vereinhaus-buildings, polyvalent People's Houses ('Népház') were erected as joint investments of different local cooperatives, the parish, the forest or pasture coownership and the agricultural circle, sometimes together with the political-administrative commune, each of the parties signing and holding approximately 20 to 25% of the total investment. These versatile buildings (e.g. Talmesch, Nagytalmács) housed thus not only the consumer cooperative together with its warehouse and the cooperative shopkeeper's service apartment, but the credit cooperative's office, too. The a Vereinhaus in an another Saxon village was built to house a theater or dancing house, too. A usually offered rooms for the credit pulpit, a consumer cooperative together with warehouse and or another People's House in Homoródszentpál was compartmented in more than ten pieces, each of the commune's NGOs (besides the already mentioned ones, the youth organization and the library, too) receiving at least one functional room, while the trapezoid corner building's middle was reserved for the theatre circle and the village choir. Shortly, cooperatives participated in the process of urbanization of villages, too.

Mutual influences among cohabitating national elites and communities in Transylvania

The Romanian community living in the neighborhood of the Saxons adopted several organizational models both from the universal cooperative principles and from the neighboring communities. Szekler and Hungarian speaking communities too seemingly paradoxically from political point of view, but from a social bottom-up perspective in an understandable way always watched the organizational models of Saxons, adopting and adapting many tricks, methods, technics. On eof the agrarian clerks who served as a consultant officer in Udvarhely county during the Szekler/Transylvanian rural development program coordinated and financed by the Agricultural Ministry of Hungary in the prewar period (1902–1918) wrote and published a book about the agriculture of the Transylvanian Saxons.[27] Study trips were organized from Szeklerland and other counties to visit best-practice small/holdings, farms and agricultural schools and plants run by Saxons (farmers, cooperatives or the Saxon community in general). Rural farming buildings' architecture and technics (manure pit) were also emulated and 'stolen' 'imported' to Hungarian, Szekler and Romanian holdings.

Why were the Saxons so paradigmatic for the neighboring people? Saxons benefited of collective autonomy since the early 13th century (Andreanum) and this autonomy was enshrined in royal decrees since the 15th century by King Matthias in form of Universitas Saxonum that survived 4 centuries in form of 'Nationsuniversität'. During the Reformation, the whole Saxon community coagulated a single protestant church called: 'Ecclesia Christi Nationis Saxonum' based on reformer Honterus' work: *Kirchenordnung aller Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*.[28] More than half of the pastors who learned at German Universities had a second diploma next to the theological university, in more practical fields like medicine, law, science, agricultural or veterinary studies. All these characteristics along with the commercial and tariff monopolies awarded to the big Saxon cities favored the very early integration into the market economy of that time.

[27] Dorner 1910.

[28] Myss 1993. 236–237., 469–478

The Sierbenbürger-Sächsische Landwirtschaftsverein established in 1845 had also a very decentralized structure (Bezirksvereine and Orstvereine) and was very active in intensive adult training, organization of fairs and exhibitions. After the Saxons lost their collective autonomy in 1876, the political frustration was transformed into a proactive political strategy oriented towards the self-government by self-organization of the own entity: so-called 'Sachsentagen' and 'Vereinstage' were held, where all the Saxon organizations met once a year, including the 'Spar- und Vorschußvereine', too. More specifically, some personalities interconnected most of the important institutions, thus it was easy to mobilize. Karl Wolff for example was the lawyer and politician (Member of the Parliament) who in the same time was the Curator of the Evangelische Landeskirche, the general director of the biggest Saxon Bank, the HAS (Hermannstädter Allgemeine Sparkassa, General Savings Bank from Sibiu), and the initiator-founding father and president (Anwalt) of the Union of the Raiffeisen-type Cooperatives (Verein Raiffeisen'schen Spar- und Vorschußvereine').[29] Saxons also administered three famous agricultural schools in Transylvania and many of them were very well trained. All these features destined them to be a model for the other cohabitating neighboring nations almost in all fields of life.

All this emulation was thus a regional adoption of universal or more specifically Raiffeisen-type cooperative principles and both a process of adaptation to the local context and target public.

Transylvania, the principality and historical province which adopted a law on confessional tolerance and self-government, was thus anthropological laboratory for the intercultural confluences, for observing processes of cultural adoption and adaptation, mainly on economic and civic organizational terrain. The cooperative movement itself consisted of a human community centered ideology moving a whole toolbox of human and material resources managed in a specific way to be utile not only for a narrow circle of shareholders but for a larger community of stakeholders. Not only declaring, but practicing cooperation among cooperative units and other civic organizations, this movement proved to be a social organizational paradigm that fostered win-win situations and strategies rather than win-lose or on the long term lose-lose conflictual behavior. Was it true for the interethnic relations, too? – should the researcher ask himself by looking at those cooperative institutionalized networks that developed throughout Transylvania and Romania before and after WWI in a multinational-multiethnic context. We suppose that while political fight manipulatively accentuated interethnic conflicts, everyday commercial life and the 'Alltagsgeschichte' of bottom-up, grassroots movements as the cooperative networks fostered instead of conflicts mainly the parallel peaceful civic connections and relations both inside local communities and the more distant commercial and financial exchanges between communities belonging to different cultural or ethnic origins. In this perspective, we would like to distinguish between interactive or constructive nation- or community building and reactive-reactionary, destructive nationalism. In order to be as objective as possible, we proposed a methodic circle to be used during the historical narratives over the subject and during the process of identification, analyzes and interpretation of historical sources. If we adopt this economic sociological method we certainly would not run into anachronism when using notions like "economic nationalism", interactive or constructive nation building, reactive or destructive nationalism. These kind of terms were not only used by contemporaries but details were given and strategies were designed and sometimes even implemented in order to give life to all these socio-economic policies.

[29] Schuller 1910.

The influence of the Raiffeisen model on whole Europe, including Central and Eastern Europe, too, including Austrian peasant communities, Polish, Romanian, Hungarian rural communities, as well. Economic and social historiography shows that each region had a person who personally visited or corresponded with Fr. W. Raiffeisen until his demise in 1888, like Micha von Merheim in Lower Austria.[30] Raiffeisen's economic writings, his main book was translated already during his lifetime both in Hungarian and soon in Romanian, the latter being done by a Transylvanian Romanian agrarian economist, Aurel Brote.[31] At the Agricultural Congresses of the mid-eighties, including the Budapest 1885 agricultural congress, greetings were transmitted to Raiffeisen and his letters were read for the plenary of the congress. Above all, Raiffeisen principles were adopted by some entities without changes, others adapted them since the legislation was more sceptic with the unlimited liability of members, thus most of the cooperatives were only permitted to function with liability five times the shares

As a swallow does not bring alone the spring, thus a cooperative or some don't bring well-being, but embedded in a former or pre-existing institutional network (e.g. the local neighborhood called Nachbarschaft) the whole network could become more resilient in face of crises. I call them promoter or parent institutes, just like the contemporaries did, when they designated a savings bank (e.g. the HAS) as "Mutteranstalt" since "she" promoted the creation of local savings and advance cells in form of cooperatives.

Similarly, based on cooperative principles and the logic of economy, for instance, from the perspective of risk, the larger the basin of the cooperative network, the better assured were the savings sources or the lower the risk of natural phenomena hitting synchronically the whole area/basin of that insurance network. Thus, there were years when the amount of savings deposits was higher than the credit asked and taken by the membership. The same happens in case of insurance risks comprising insurance of produces, buildings (houses, stables) against fire, lightning, hailstone. The first local "fire- and hailstone insurance union" was established early in 1840 in Tordaszentlaszlo/Săvădisla in a Hungarian community but it was not embedded in a larger network so it remained weak until it was integrated in a larger network. On higher, regional level, general insurance companies were established on the basis of this logic. The earliest of these insurance companies, the Transsylvania Versicherung Aktiengesellschaft was initiated and established by the Saxon elites and institutions in Sibiu in 1868. Romanian employees working as agents of this company succeeded in adopting and adapting these ideas and organizational model, establishing one of the first "Romanian" bank-institute 4 years later, in 1872, called the Albina (the "Bee"). We can nominate Viasarion Roman who started his career as a rural teacher but after a 4 years apprenticeship at the Transylvania Versicherung he became the director general of the Albina Credit and Savings institute founded in 1872. Later this financial institute became the strongest "Romanian" bank and a kind of Mutteranstalt for many other local institutes in form of stock companies ("Aktiengesellschaft") or having cooperative statutes.

But now, methodologically, may we use ethnic or national bias in case of banking or savings institutes, cooperative movements? As stock companies in theory stock owners are anonymous but this was not the case in that time, since the public opinion knew well who were the main shareholders in these banks. In a cooperative unit finally all the members were nominated

[30] Stöbritzer 1986.; Baltzarek 1986.

[31] Brote 1895.

shareholders and all members of that local or confessional community. Annuals also published the whole name-list of directory board and supervisory board and the director general's name, too. Thus, methodologically[32] we can aggregate a whole cluster of persons who personified the interlocking of different institutions (civil, ecclesiastical, political, administrative or other type) on a side. On the other side, these network of banks and cooperatives themselves created their own published official organ declaring themselves as belonging to the same ethno-national group explicitly by entitling their own annual as *Romanian Compass* early in 1893 and later on the *Annual of Romanian Banks* 1900-1918/20. This ethnonym designated thus the Romanian affiliation of all those banks, cooperatives and other commercial companies that were described in those annuals. The language used primarily or exclusively in these units, both banks, cooperatives and reviews was also ethno-characteristic. Since this network decided collectively to sponsor ethno-national, cultural-educational goals, we can already determine the target public and the target-goals of them and once the target public is determined as 'Us' ('We') Transylvanian Romanians or the Romanians from Hungary and Transylvania, and the target goals at their turn are formulated in the way that: the bank directors decided (since 1899) to offer 1% of their annual profit for publishing a common Romanian financial review, materialized in the *Revista Economică*, two years later another 1% for sponsoring the ASTRA, I think it is obvious that these bank leaders were proud to be Romanians not only declaratively, but practically, too. Later on, these banks and the cooperatives assisted by them registered in 1907 at the court of justice a proper self-auditing center, the "Solidaritatea" cooperative that had three official denominations but it used the Romanian as an inner communication language. Saxon institutions, too, registered their own audit union as a cooperative under the name: Revisionsverband der Provinzkreditanstalten earlier, in 1903. Even if there are not ethnonyms at this level, that would be redundant and unusual to deliberately and explicitly add a German or Romanian ethnonym to a professional-financial union. "The most important things are invisible for the eyes" would say the Little Prince. What seemed important in 1893 or 1900 became self-understood a decade later or we could say that the function became more important than the ethno-cultural aura. On the other hand, the field was already saturated by national institutions, mainly on literary and cultural level, a sector that was efficiently not only declaratively sponsored by all those banks that were interconnected first, since the 1890s in an informal Conference of Bank directors (Austrian inspired "Direktorskonferenz") and by common commitments (1+1% Kulturprozent since 1899/1901) and other common projects, finally by this common audit center registered officially. One can observe thus a clustering of institutions, persons and elites interconnecting them. Personal unions and interlocking directorates, shareowners can be thus designated as stakeholders belonging mainly to the following subsuming community of interest or values: Transylvania, Germans or Romanian from Transylvania or Hungary. Cleavages were surely there inside a Romanian community of almost 3.5 millions: Greek-Orthodox and Greek-Catholic church, passive and active politicians were the major distinguishing lines that seemed to separate symbolically the Romanian ethnic community, but there were more general principles and interest, values that bridged these cleavages. The Saxon community not only bridged such intra-ethnic cleavages, but also started to build strong affiliations towards the Suabians from Banat.

[32] Hunyadi 2009.

What is important that inside this civil and economic/financial network the main concern was on intra-ethnic constructive programs that can be identified as interactive economic nation building strategy. Destructive, chauvinistic economic nationalism was very rare and remained only in written form, so it can be designated as rhetoric economic anti-Semitism or anti/foreigner discourse.

Here we must mention that each national entity betrayed a specific eponymy, a name-giving specific culture. Most or all of the Saxon savings and credit unions had had a local name and very rarely an abstract name. Hungarians were also very severe and pragmatic in name-giving Adversely, Romanian banks and cooperatives loved the symbolism of names: besides the classical locality name, the "Ant" and other interesting names of economic institutions express different concepts: mainly that of thriftiness (Economul, Sârguința), productivity, others adopting historical concepts: Dacia, Ulpia, etc. The majority of names were neutral, classic or eponymous in the local patriotic sense, referring to the place where the cooperative or the banks functioned, there were names referring to thriftiness, success (Victoria/victory) or cooperation, some to ethnography (Vatra, the cradle) or some to a wider or narrower local patriotism, especially transilvanism (Transsylvania, Ardeleana). Some names referred to historical or typical national heroes (Decebal, Traian, Horea). The abbreviation of their literature and cultural association, too, had an astral name: ASTRA.

Romanians proved to have an ideological vison above their economic sphere too, seeing it as part of their national emancipation program. That is how cooperative ideology of peasant emancipation went hand in hand with national emancipatory programs. While on the side of the actual majority nation building was mainly based on state-power, actual minority status entities could rely only on themselves. Thus, cooperative principles, like self-organization, help to self-help, cooperation among cooperatives inspired both the peasants and their leaders. Thriftiness and the percentage offered annually for community according to cooperative principles world-wide in principle, materialized in Transylvania in 1% + 1 % awarded for a common financial-economic review and for the Cultural and Literature association, respectively, sponsored from the annual revenue of all the Romanian Banks gathered into an informal Bank Directors' Conference. This Director conference reunited every two years together, since 1901 synchronically with the Annual General Meetings of the ASTRA whom they offered the second one percent of the Romanian banks benefit.

Saxon banks, too, offered in average more than 40% of their profit for community and cultural goals. This model, adopted by Romanian banks, too, besides the already mentioned 2 percentages, sponsored youth or student organizations, as well. Institutionally some high schools and student organizations were sponsored on longer term by some high ranked banks.

National pride without being directed against others was expressed by those national community fairs and exhibitions with substituted their participation at word fairs (organized since 1851) or countrywide exhibitions. Greater families with lot of children were presented and were given prizes. These ethno-national fairs were organized together with other kind of organizations: ecclesiastical, cultural, political. German organizations as well organized their so-called "Sachsentag" in different towns, district/centers cyclically, reuniting all kind of associations at the same time and same place.

Both the Romanians and the Saxons published jubilee-publications for these venues: besides the traditional literature or history, several publications were proud of the economic and financial success of that national community or in a narrower sense, of that financial/commercial/cooperative network. 25 years of existence were celebrated mainly around 1909-1910 by all

three Transylvanian bigger national entities. Saxons published two volumes honoring 25 years of leadership (1885–1910) of Karl Wolf, director of Hermannstädter Allgemeine Sparkassa (HAS). The director of the largest Saxon bank out of 42 existing became almost simultaneously the leader of the Saxon cooperative movement, too. On that occasion, a celebration volume was published in the same year.

The Săliște Savings and Loan Caisse in 1909, the Romanian 'Ardeleana' bank also celebrated 25 years of existence in Orăștie by editing a brochure and a richly illustrated and thick volume dedicated to these events. Hungarian owned banks were not enthusiastic enough to edit such economically interactive nation building volumes. They only published a 25 years jubilee volume celebrating the quarter-century of the EMKE's existence. Next year, the Romanian ASTRA celebrated its half of century (50th) anniversary by organizing a national fair at Blaj, in the same year inaugurating a cooperative propaganda financed by a scholarship from abroad (offered by Vasile Stroescu). This meant a series of articles published by Vasile Osvada in the official publication of the ASTRA, *Transilvania*, and the employment of an itinerant teacher for adult education and training, especially on cooperative and agricultural field. That year, the Romanians succeeded in establishing a General Insurance bank of their own, sieged in Sibiu, too.

Concerning the agricultural and farmer organizations the ethno-cultural entities had, the Hungarian agricultural education, teaching and training was organized mainly by the Hungarian government (among other high school level institutions, the Agricultural High School funded in 1869 in Kolozsmonostor, later on since 1904/1906 upgraded to Academy level from Kolozsmonostor), other 3 lower mixed (public – private) educational schools (private foundation run schools in Algyógy, Csíkszereda, Szilágysomlyó, Torda) in Hungarian language. The Saxon University Foundation-like private fund also built and administered three agricultural schools in Barczaföldvár/Marienburg/Feldioara, Beszterce/Bistritz/Bistrița, Medgyes/Mediasch/Mediaș and a practicing field with German language education. Romanian did not have any proper agricultural school, at all, even if the Romanian speaking population constituted more than a half of the peasants in this macro-region. Of course, everybody had the right to follow the courses of the above mentioned schools, without any discrimination regarding the ethnic origin or confession, yet the study languages were only Hungarian and German. IN this situation, financial, agricultural, cooperative and associative reviews (*Bunul econom, Tovărășia, Revista Economică, Transilvania*) became more important as the single channel available to reach peasant and people in general.

Study trips were organized mainly by Hungarians to visit Saxon villages and agricultural schools in Transylvania. This acculturation functioned even if Hungarian language institutions and offices were run by the state or in a public –private tandem. The higher level of economic and agricultural culture and equipment of the Saxon was obvious, since the Saxon elite learned in German high-schools and universities, while more than half of the Lutheran pastors had not only a Theology diploma but a more practical one, too (mainly an agricultural high-school, sometimes a law, medicine or other faculty besides their main field). Besides intellectual relationships, commercial relations with German industrial centers also favored the better equipment of Saxon farmers. Architecturally, too, Saxon holdings were paradigmatic for Szekler visitors (mainly adults) until all the lesser utilities used in the farm-holding. All this modern equipment, farming style and thriftiness was presented as a good practice in one of the books, brochures published by the Agricultural Ministry's Provincial Office in Transylvania, as written by one of the department clerks, Bela Dorner.

Romanians, too, after translating and publishing Raiffeisen's main title, remained fascinated by the Saxon agriculture, several articles presenting their best practice models of finance, insurance, cooperation and agricultural behavioral models (see *Din pilda altora*)

In this regard, we must mention that Hungarians had just like the Germans their own agricultural provincial organization since 1844/45, Transylvanian Economic Association founded by Hungarian elites (EGE) and SSLV, while Romanians were only later able, in 1888 to constitute one similar organization, yet only for Sibiu County (Romanian Agricultural Reunion from Sibiu County, RRA) followed by other local (Economic Reunion from Orăștie, REO) and other county organizations. This handicap seemed encouraging them to ask for more help from their own promoters, pre-existing institutes, together with the newer institutes, for instance financial institutes, savings and credit banks. Thus, the reputation of the cooperatives along with the banks will raise, since they could offer added value to products and plus money for students and parents. They become efficient in commercialization of cattle, opening of rural shops and offering credit for procurement of equipment needed for a more intensive farming. In this regard, itinerant consultants, teachers were paid by them, to train the farmers. The 'Wanderlehrer' model was also inspired by the Austrian Raiffeisen model.[33]

Adaptation and resilience in the interwar period

The range of activities the cooperatives ran varied thus from region to region. It was obvious that during the immediately prewar period, around 1900-1913, there was a boom in urbanism and rural development, too, at least in Transylvania, due to economic and financial conjuncture. Adversely WWI dismantled the prewar wellbeing, military incursions and destruction lowered both the number and the commercial/financial assets of the whole movement. New successor state borders together with rising customs, tariffs and infrastructure obstacles hardened the situation of cooperatives mainly in the newly attached provinces inside Romania.[34]

In a new state context, a different administrative and political economic style, 'minority cooperatives' were constrained to try to maintain/conserve their positions, membership, belongings and based on these assets find new procurement, credit and supply markets. Romanian cooperatives were soon integrated, even absorbed by the Romanian cooperative system, mainly because of the land reform performed in 1921 which intended to give cooperatives a role in intensifying agriculture, not only in the lending of new parcels distributed to 'dwarf' and 'smallholder' peasants and political communes. According to contemporary critics, the effects of this land reform were ambivalent and cooperatives did not perform well in the direction of making small parcels more productive ever. Agrarian reform followed mainly or only political and ethno-national goals.

The fact that in countries with similar economic/social structure the proportion of credit cooperatives was also too high (80% in Bulgaria; 63% in Yougoslavia)[35] showed the fact that the cooperative movement remained in its incipient phase, when credit was only needed first of all for land-buying and for equipment in favor of peasantry, without having incentives to invest

[33] Brucmüller 1977. 75.

[34] Hunyadi 2012.

[35] ER IV. 1943. 638.

in common productive credited projects like common processing or marketing of agricultural products. In this case, the central cooperative organs under the massive influence of the state administration tried their best to create common-goods in form of public-private, public-co-operative investments like silos and warehouses in the most important crossroads of railways, roads or ports.[36] The English, German cooperative paradigm thus appeared lately in this part of Eastern Europe and would have exercised an absorption effect to coagulate common vending pools of cereal-producers. Central Cooperative Marketing Centers aimed also to find external markets for various agricultural, mainly livestock and dairy products or industrial plants thus virtually encouraging cooperatives to diversify their supply.

After the Great Depression (economic/financial and the subsequent agricultural crisis) worldwide transformed the trends of state policies in the direction of readjustment (in the sense of Agricultural Adjustment Act performed in the USA) and turning towards self-sufficiency of the developed national economies, leaving agrarian states alone in Eastern Europe. Promises were made and international congresses were held, even a Green International was formed to regroup these agrarian states, but in vain. Cooperative networks remained useful mainly internally to supply enough food for industrial and service centered urban centers, administration and population. In this sense the trend was to lower the proportion of credit cooperatives and to have more productive and marketing cooperatives.

In Germany and Czechoslovakia, the percentage of credit coops was around 50%, but in the countries with predominantly small propriety and *intensive agriculture*: Switzerland, Denmark, Scandinavian and Baltic states the proportion of credit coops became insignificant compared to pool, marketing, processing and productive cooperatives. In case of Romania's provinces, we can observe in miniature the same distribution of cooperative type: the more intensified and stable the agricultural level and the stronger and longer stability of land-propriety was, the higher the proportion of marketing, processing and productive cooperatives was.

In Hungary, the proportion of productive cooperatives attained 65%, almost the same proportion as in case of Transylvanian Hungarians. Adversely, the low proportion of productive cooperatives in the middle of Transylvanian Saxons and the Germans from Bukowina, was a sign that agricultural processing and marketing was organized in the form of commercial stock-companies which in general also belonged to the same cluster of companies belonging to the same interest groups, in other words same ethno-national or provincial/regional elites. This German-style of clustering of companies meant that the breweries, the sugar factories and the dairy or agricultural industry was established, owned and run by the same financial elites of that province. In contrast, the Suabian from Banat (Banater Schwaben) had a high proportion of agricultural processing and productive cooperatives belonging to the same cooperative center.[37] Transylvanian Hungarians showed a mixed profile: somehow between the Saxons and the Suabians, food-industry was established and owned jointly by the Hungarian aristocracy alone or together with their (spontaneously Magyarized) Izraelite or Hungarian-Armenian elite fellows, just like in case of commercial or savings banks and other industries as well. The proportion of mixed administrative and supervisory boards from the point of view of confessional origin of leading members seemed (was) thus much higher in case of culturally Hungarian elites

[36] LONAG COL 159.

[37] ER IV. 1943. 649–670.

(including aristocracy, Hungarian Jews and Armenians) than in case of Saxons, Suabians and Romanians. The same seems to be true on the profile of the administrative elites in Transylvania, yet empirical data still lack on this subject.[38]

The lower grade of cooperative social penetration (geographical density) among the Romanian peasantry in general and more specifically of Transylvanian Romanians betrays the fact that only some micro-regions were connected better to the market centers and able to produce for selling their products. Most of the Romanian inhabited micro-regions were and remained traditionally self-sufficient or practiced the barter-exchange since centuries on the traditional markets. The same was true for whole Romania as proved by the scientific articles of A. Golopenția.

Number and type of minority cooperatives

	In absolute numbers			**In percentage**		
	Credit coops	**Economic coops**	**Total**	**Credit coops**	**Economic coops**	**Total**
Hungarian	281	469	750	37,5	62,5	100
Saxon.	185	51	236	78,4	21,6	100
Suabian from Banat	69	102	171	40,4	59,6	100
German from Bukowina	60	-	60	100,-	-	100
Total	595	622	1.217	48,9	51,1	100

Source: *ACR 1939.* XI. Table 6.

The editor of the statistical table noted that the 622 minority economic *cooperatives were* distributed as following: 371 consumer cooperatives (in majority affiliated to the Hungarian 'Ant' center), 192 dairies, 28 input-buying, procurement cooperatives, 3 forestry and 28 diverse type of cooperatives.

Summing up, in a diachronic and synchronic comparison, prewar period proved to be more stable for cooperative and financial establishments. Each of the cooperative networks succeeded to form its own lucrative or non-lucrative audit center. That wasn't stable in case of majorities that switched role, at least in Transylvania, Hungarians becoming a minority, while Transylvanian Romanians becoming part of a larger Romanian majority nation. Both states tried to penetrate and influence in a way, at least by control, tutelage or indirect administrative influence the countrywide cooperative system. Those unwilling to abide to state-control were given the freedom to remain outside the state-subsidized national cooperative centers. In this war, the cooperatives belonging to Romanian population reserved their financial-audit, educational and training contacts mainly to their parent/ promoter institutes, lately creating a proper cooperative union that was anyway preceded by the donor institutions' similar functions. Saxons and Suabians once they organized their own two cooperative unions, they remained consequently loyal

[38] Hunyadi – Nagy 2020.

to them and conserved them after WWI, too. In plus, in the new Romanian state context, they had the courage to add a national/ity eponym to some of their financial or audit organizations ("Deustche", Schwäbische) early in the twenties and in the thirties. As we have seen, Romanian were already in the prewar era proud to wear the Romanian eponym, ethnonym along their financial or economic reviews, publications and used the Romanian language as their premier official language inside the organization. Hungarians who also used their ethnonym in almost all of their cultural organizations, failed to use it until the mid-thirties in case of agricultural, economic or cooperative organizations. Saxons used the Sächsische ethnonym in case of their Agricultural Society just like the Romanians, but Hungarians adopted that only in 1936 when they renamed their Transylvanian 'Hungarian' Economic Society, that was established early in 1844, yet without ethnonym but a Transylvanian eponym, which as we have seen was very common province-denominator in the circle of Romanians and Saxons, too (see the 'Transylvania Versicherung' A.G. case or the title of the ASTRA official journal, *Transilvania*). The Romanian cooperative union coagulating the Transylvanian cooperatives wore the 'Ardealul' name that is practically the synonym for the same historical province. Symbolic and eponymous names, ethnonyms characterized thus each of the national entities. Methodologically, we must just discern among the purely rhetoric nationalism or the more practice oriented nation-building. In order to do so, we created a methodic circle for the interpretation of the historical sources. We think that 1) once the promoter or donor institutes belong to the same ideological or ethno-national interconnected cluster , and the 2) target public and the 3) target groups are declared as belonging to the same group of interest or (national/cultural) value community, we must verify only the rhetorical or effective nature of these nation-building (financial/cooperative/commercial) activities or only political/cultural narratives by 4) looking at their balance using pragmatic results, contemporary press and archival sources.

Concerning the profile of nation-building or nationalism we also sketched a table in order to give concrete examples of for instance interactive proactive positive nation-building versus reactive destructive negative nationalism.

In a cooperative logic, inspired of course by the bigger western cooperative movements, the movement tried to reach or to achieve a holistic circle of infrastructure in order to avoid being manipulated by external, non-cooperative commerce. This logic of a holistic infrastructure also paralleled the nation-building logic in the sense that the nation – according to Friedrich List – should have or should build all the economic sectors (agriculture, crafts and industry, commerce, education and so on) in order to achieve its goals. This fits into the Miroslav Hroch's model of nation building intuitively.[39] If we add that both the cooperatives and the so called non-dominant ethnic communities tried to do it out of their own resources with self-help, we can understand why, after a change of regimes and borders, the Hungarian entity remaining in Transylvania that belonged since 1918/20 to Romania, reevaluated the neighbors' nation-building organizational models and looked at them as paradigmatic for their new minority situation and a model for a modus vivendi to be able to conserve their resources and cultural/educational institutions with the help of those commercial/financial/cooperative institutional networks that was not so biased or zealous regarding national goals. As a check entity, the Saxons remained a 'minority' as well, of course in a different juridical and national majority political context, but with a quite-untouched

[39] Hroch 1985, 1993.

inner-institutional system and wearing a more important economic weight in a new political economic context. What seems more difficult to approach is the local mushrooms level of cohabitation and emulation. In case of ethnically mixed villages we must rely on local documents, memories or other writings, sketches of cooperators, organizers, minutes of local or micro-regional administrative boards. This will need a closer approach on local archival sources.

Conclusions

On the basis of the analyzed ethno-national, political economic and state-building modernizing narratives, we tried to identify those factors that contributed to the modern association or clustering of the organizations belonging to the same cultural, ethno-linguistic or for a longer time to the same historical-juridical entity. The case of Saxons proved that the more liaisons they had with different preexisting 'cradle' institutions the better embedded the cooperative networks remained in the same ethno-cultural entity. Modern financial and cooperative institution were thus simultaneously promoted and promoters of national values. Thus they were asked to fulfil not only economic functions, but cultural, social and political functions as well. Embedded or not in an ideological or ethno/national cluster, cooperatives performed four 'channel-functions': 1) a primary economic (commercial-financial), 2) a cultural-ideological dissemination-channel (trainings, adult education, dissemination of universal values), 3) an upward-mobility channel (employment) and 4) a potential political instrument of mass-mobilization, while in general they were destined to 5) contribute to the wealth of nation by creating public goods (early schools of democracy and self-government, cooperation among other cooperatives on local, regional and international level). Their contribution to the leverage of agricultural and food-production level was an early step towards market economy integration of a pre-modern province or mezzo/region of East-Central-Europe along those universal cooperative principles that emphasized thrift, hard work, pragmatic thinking and cooperation on all levels instead of wild capitalist competition. Cooperative members supposedly behave more friendly and more frequently with other cooperators even if they belonged to another ethnos, yet the cooperative ethos was a common denominator that approached them, after all, despite the upper political upheavals of that time-period.

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The case of the Transylvanian and interwar Romanian cooperative movements underpins the thesis of the modern economic historiography, sustaining that state authorities tended to overtake and control mass movements in the process of state-led nationalization favorable for the actual majority or for the abstract public benefit of the state/country.[40] National or ethnic minorities, in turn, consequently opposed or eluded state control in both the prewar and the interwar periods, while the cultural character of promoter and promoted institutions and their 'nation-building target-groups' inherently conferred a cultural national or an ideological character for that more or less autonomous ethnic or regional cluster inside the great (countrywide or universal) cooperative movement.

[40] Brucmüller 1977.

The internal cohesion among institutions and organizations belonging to the same national group was paradoxically reinforced by the imminence of state-control and encouraged different 'non-dominant' national entities to create and develop mutual relations. While opposing state nationalism, the 'genuine nations' (in the sense of Anthony D. Smith theory) developed a coherent program of nation building without state-help and sometimes against the state relying on 'their proper national wealth' and its programmatic efficient allocation (determination and defense of 'national property', 'national colonization', 'self-assessment', national eugenics, solidarity among ethnic fellows, or among promoters and the promoted organizations).[41] Both historical periods presented in the paper gave arguments and facts illustrating these phenomena inside and among the national entities cohabitating in interwar Romania.

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Historical Experience of Environmental Cooperation in the Carpatho-Danubian Area

Abstract

The area of the Carpathians and the Middle Danube today is a place of highly intensive environmental cooperation. Given the importance of the questions of governance path-dependence and critical reconsideration of past experiences, this article examines the historical antecedents of the present-day mechanisms in the region with the objective of putting together an area-wide outlook and evincing practical implications. The study is based on document review and desk research. The article presents synthetically the key developments in the cooperation history, offering a handy four-tiered periodization. It demonstrates that at each stage new aspects of the collaboration potential were worked upon. Finally, it argues that the much variegated joint undertakings over the past century have been significantly beneficial for the contemporary environmental governance resources.

Keywords

Central and Eastern Europe, environmentalism, CMEA, international organisation

DOI 10.14232/belv.2023.1.6
https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2023.1.6

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:
Daria Voyloshnikova (2023): Historical Experience of Environmental Cooperation in the Carpatho-Danubian Area. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 35. no. 1. pp 77–104.

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)
ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

Introduction

The Carpathian mountainous country and the Danube basin are two intersecting geographic spaces, each of which at present extends across several state territories. In studies of cooperation the Danube and the Carpathians are traditionally examined separately (e.g. Zavádsky 1993; Niewiadomski 2004). However, there are multiple non-negligible reasons to trace region-wide environmental activity connections, namely: interrelations of the two spaces at the landscape level, commonality of ecological risks and problems, transregional economic processes and idea flows, belonging to the scope of some same institutions, coverage with the same policies. The example of the recently intensified collaboration between such formats as the EU Strategy for the Danube Region and the Carpathian Convention confirms that the necessity of a comprehensive approach has been realized by contemporary actors operating at scale. This article, in its turn, has the goal of addressing important features and trends of the environmental collaboration development across the area in the past, against the backdrop of numerous works concerned with the evolution of environmentalist ideas (e.g. Mihajlov 2009; Bergandi – Blandin 2012; Certomà 2016).

Looking from a time distance, this study is interested in institutional forms of international cooperation and leaves aside the matters of internal nature protection undertakings in the countries of the area. The analysis draws on official documents as well as publications in press and a review of existing secondary literature. The following sections of the article, structured according to a custom periodization, discuss the evolution of transborder environmentalism in the area to offer an outlook on its present-day implications.

Towards Cooperation Organisation

The efforts directed at preserving the environment are so intimately intertwined with other spheres of human activity and uses of nature, that an analytical disentanglement is sometimes challenging or cannot be complete. The origin of differences in the approaches to cooperation on nature protection for the Danube catchment area and the Carpathian foothills, on the one side, and the high mountains, on the other side, may be sought in their diverging roles in the region's economy. As far as the Danube for centuries presented a crucial (water)way for passenger and cargo transportation, the first attempt at instating a commission dedicated to the international regime over the river was stipulated in the Treaty of Paris of 1856. Thus, the body tasked with improving the navigability steered anthropogenic change to the riverbed, while the share of uses of the watercourse beyond navigation kept increasing. In 1921, in addition to the European Commission of the Danube with powers over the river's maritime part, for the navigable fluvial part (from Ulm to Brăila) and international tributaries the permanent International Danube

Commission was established (Convention... 1921) to last less than two decades. Moreover, the Paris Convention of 1923 provided for the creation of the Permanent Technical Hydraulic System Commission of the Danube. The latter recognised in 1926 the need to invite forestry experts to tackle the questions of deforestation and afforestation in the basin. Altering the river management practice (to the detriment of European economies), the Versailles System still failed to deprive the Danube of its economic and political significance (Pernot 1933. 574.).

In the montane dimension, the incipient internationalisation similarly was taking the shape of specialised functional bodies. However, unlike the Danube which was deemed a strategic shared resource by multiple polities, the Carpathians saw the appearance of smaller organisational forms having interest in their nature. Such were societies of tourism enthusiasts and mountain lovers that had nature protection among their goals: i.e. the Polish Tatra Society (founded in 1873), the Hungarian Carpathian Association (1873) with its many territorial sections, including the Transylvanian Carpathian Association (1880), the joint Club of Czecho-Slovak Tourists (1918), and the Traveller's Inn society (1920) transformed into the Touring Club of Romania (1926). There was extant as well such format of head-to-head intellectual exchange as the International Conference of Societies of Mountain Tourism. Created in 1924, the Association of Slavic Tourist Organisations (the societies from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland belonged to them) proclaimed the preservation of mountains one of its important tasks. At its meetings (e.g. Ljublana in 1928, Sofia in 1929, Prague in 1930) the role of the Association as a primary agent in the propaganda of nature protection ideas was underscored, and the respective agenda consumed a "lion's share" of discussions (in particular, the problem of natural park creation), which found reflection in the respective resolutions (B.R. 1929. 93.).

For the first time a framework for a comprehensive territorial cooperation in a part of the Carpathians appeared in May 1924 with the signing of the Cracow Protocol (for the protection of the Tatra Mountains) between Poland and Czechoslovakia (represented by Walery Goetel and Vaclav Roubik, respectively) (Szczocarz 1998. 15.). The protocol contained a recommendation to create national parks in adjacent border areas (Article II (b): Societé... 1924). In 1925, while a Polish-Czechoslovak commission was formed to cooperate on fighting bark beetle in the Tatras forests, the bilateral conference in Zakopane served to discuss the bases for national parks' organization in the Tatras, the Babia Góra, the Chornohora, and the Pieniny Mountains (Szczocarz 1998. 15.). Thereafter, bilateral scientific exchanges followed and, at the next stage, the preparatory work on the Czechoslovak side was reflected by the scientific conference of 1929 in Cracow, gathering the representatives of the hosting country, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. They developed a detailed programme of work on park establishment, and the idea was extended to borderland nature reserves in the then Romanian Gorgany Mountains as well as to a trinational park project in the Chivchina Massif (Goetel 1930. 150.).

Besides, the delegations discussed Polish-Czechoslovak cooperation in fighting poaching in the Carpathians and possible organisation of a standing trilateral coordinating commission for the protection of the nature in the three countries (W.Mil. 1930. 182–183.). The organ was supposed to steer scientific cooperation (especially in border areas) of natural parks and reserves, to work on plans for park organization and administration and to call periodic meetings of scientists interested in nature protection problems (Uchwały... 1930. 116.). For the envisioned commission it was deemed advantageous to leverage the success of Polish naturalists and to collaborate with

the newly founded International Office of Documentation and Coordination for the Protection of Nature (Uchwały... 1930. 116.). The establishment of the latter was approved in 1928 during the proceedings of the International Union of Biological Sciences (IUBS) in Brussels, whereby the Polish delegation through Michał Siedliecki, developing the idea of Paul Sarasin, had put forward a suggestion of a commission for nature protection. In December 1934, a constituent general assembly officially formed the International Office for the Protection of Nature (Büttikofer 1946. 54.). After the first borderland park was inaugurated in the Polish Pieniny on the last day of August of 1930 (Goetel 1930. 150.), the Slovak-Polish collaboration could be finally showcased at an IUBS session (Kulczyńska – Szafer 1930. 91.). Yet, the first European transboundary natural park was proclaimed only in 1932, following the opening of the Slovak Natural Reserve (Szczocarz 1998. 15.). The positive effects of the parks were not only environmental, but consisted also in the alleviation of border dispute tensions between the neighbouring countries.

Based on the cooperation rules agreed upon in the outcome of a bilateral meeting in 1932, further interaction was left to the level of park directorates and scientific commissions (Szczocarz 1998. 16.). So in 1934 a meeting was held to discuss scientific exploration and management of the park area. Importantly, the creation of parks was conceived as a way to attract a foreign tourist flow (Goetel 1930. 135.). At the time, it was a generally shared objective to pursue the development of the Tatras with nature protection in view (Grósz 1934). And one can identify in this the influence of the conservationist ideological current spread among nature management professionals (Bergandi – Blandin 2012. 111.). However, it was the bilateral agreement on fishing and fish protection in border waters (1928) that influenced the whole Czechoslovak fishery legislation (Goetel 1930. 134.), whereas the agreement on the Pieniny road (1931) curbed the disturbance of the area by motorized transport. Besides, at an international congress in Nové Zámky in 1928 representatives of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Romania became members of the organizational committee of the International Hunting Council, its key goal being to fight poaching in border areas (Ustanowienie... 1929. 92.).

Thus before World War I "two groups of people were particularly active in the field of promoting the idea of the conservation of nature": "naturalists and mountain tourists" (Dąbrowski 2013. 29.). For those, apart from common sources of inspiration, such as the first natural park of Yellowstone (1872), a few venues of socialisation existed inside and outside of the region. They included the specialized Forestry School in Nancy, tangent contact with the International association of forest research stations, international thematic meeting occasions, whereas the institutionalisation supporters were "motivated by the wish to take part in a larger re-imagination of Europe" (Roeder 2020. 29.). In particular, the idea of the Union internationale des associations d'alpinisme, an international organisation of alpine clubs "owed to the cultural, political and geographical legacies of the Habsburg Empire" (Roeder 2020. 17.), was proposed in Zakopane in 1930 and became reality two years later in Chamonix, with a major contribution of the Polish Tatra Society (Dąbrowski 2013. 30.). The Carpathian Association operated in 1922–1931 to facilitate the collaboration of geologists across the region (Szczocarz 1998. 15.). Joint visits of the mountains also gathered international participants. In 1928 for the members of the scientific community the International Phytogeographic Excursion was organised in Czechoslovakia and Poland (Rübel 1930), and the next one took place in 1931 in Romania (Rübel 1933). During their visits of the Pieniny and the Tatras the representatives of the Polish Geological Society

with the participation of Czechoslovak geologists supported the finalisation of the binational park projects in front of the both national authorities; similarly, a meeting of alpine societies (including those from Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia) and an international hydrology congress were held in the Polish Carpathians (Goetel 1930. 135.).

The Carpathians protection problem therefore acquired an international character due to "the determination to preserve environmental ideas continuity, notwithstanding the state border change" (Dąbrowski 2013. 29.). The practical problems that the cooperating parties had to deal with varied. For instance, the very border demarcation between Poland and Czechoslovakia in the Tatras was perceived to cause environmental damage: the International Commission for Delimitation was involved to address the issues of slope degradation in several areas (due to new road creation for border slab installation) and of poaching and recreation infrastructure excesses on the Czechoslovak side, all requiring international coordination (Niszczenie… 1925. 104–105.). Some notorious cases included predatory logging practice in the Podhale area (Goetel 1930. 133.) and the conflict over the project of a cable car to the Gerlach Peak put forward by the Carpathian Association and condemned by others (Goetel 1930. 150.); the very solutions to nature protection problems were subject to criticism (Domaniewski 1925).

Cooperation Orchestration Mechanisms

After World War II, the cooperation format had to be adapted to the new global and continental realities. In 1948 the Danube Commission was founded to remain till present the guardian of the river navigation status, with a general interest in the related environmental issues. Then, in the 1950s a series of bilateral agreements on the Danube's resources management were concluded among the countries of the region. The Joint Danube Fishery Commission (see Bekiashev – Serebriakov 1981. 352–366) created under the Convention on fishing in the Danube waters (signed by Bulgaria, Romania, the USSR and Yugoslavia) found within its mandate such environmental goals as scientific river ecosystem exploration, amelioration of natural fish breeding conditions, and water contamination prevention (*Convention...* 1958). Simultaneously, in 1958 collaborative efforts were directed at the problem of the fish pool regeneration.

In 1959 the Secretariat of the Danube Commission started to gather materials for assessing water quality and devising protection measures for it, while the Moscow Conference of 1960 was convened to advance waste water treatment cooperation in the member states of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) (Nagibina 1962. 37.). The following year, after the preparatory works in 1956-1961, an innovative hydrologic resource usage scheme for the Socialist Danubian countries was presented. According to the final report, it was meant to allow complex multi-purpose use of the river from Děčín to the Black Sea, including biological resource protection. A special work group was commanded in 1961 to elaborate basic provisions for water cleanliness protection in border rivers. In cooperation with the Commission CMEA looked into addressing pollution from navigation. And 1962 saw open the first international Conference of the heads of water management agencies of the CMEA members. This created the necessary conditions for the orchestration of pollution sources individuation and differentiated standard adoption for permissible water pollution levels across the basin. In 1963 CMEA adopted unified

methods for water cleanliness protection, and the discussion of a convention for preventing pollution of waters of international significance became part of the agenda (Kuznetsov 1975. 21.). A new stage in the usage of the river's potential arrived in the late 1960s and the early 1970s when attention was turned to the influence of hydroelectric power plants on the environment and its components (Kuznetsov 1975. 15.). As a result, Bulgaria, for example, was tasked with acting on a national program (until 1990) to clean the Danube basin waters. In 1965 representatives of twenty countries partook in an East-West conference cruising the Danube.

The activities of the Carpathian Association were resumed in 1956, as it added the Balkans to its organisational scope (Szczocarz 1998. 15.). In the meantime, noticeable "progress took place in the development of networks of protected areas" (Dąbrowski 2013. 30.). The idea of creating a chain of national parks in the Czechoslovak-Polish borderland remained germinal until 1948 when the Tatras National Park was created in Czechoslovakia, followed by the consolidation of the Tatra Mountains, the Pieniny Mountains and the Babia Góra Parks in Poland in 1954 (Więckowski 2004. 76–77.). Czechoslovakia mirrored the protected areas with the Krkonoše (1963) and Pieniny (1967) National Parks and the Upper Orava Landscape Park (1979). Additionally, national parks were created on the both sides of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian and Czechoslovak-Soviet borders (Dąbrowski 2013. 30.), along with the growth of the Polish-Czechoslovak network. In 1966, given that conservation experts aspired to move on from simply sharing knowledge (Boreyko 1996. 246–247.), at the initiative of Czechoslovakia the idea of a trilateral international border area reserve in the Bieszczady became the object of Slovak-Ukrainian consultations in Uzhgorod (Ružička 1975. 64.). Coordination between national park administrations was at the same time an ice-breaker for formal cross-border cooperation (Turnock 2001. 17.). Thus, in 1955 and 1956 Czechoslovak representatives were invited at the meetings of the Polish Pieniny Park Council and discussed difficulties on their side, border opening in Červený Kláštor, and dam construction on the Dunajec (Dąbrowski 2008. 159.). The last project was becoming ever more realistic, supported by flood protection concerns (Dąbrowski 2008. 160.), and the works near Niedzica actually started in 1975.

The post-war industrialization in the Socialist countries progressed at accelerated pace. Thus, between 1950 and 1972 the industrial production in CMEA member states increased by eight times (as compared to the triplication in the developed capitalist countries) so that their cumulative share in the global industrial production exceed that of the USA (Gorizontov 1975. 40.). This had two particularly noteworthy consequences. First, as far as the countries adhered to the extensive model of resource use for the sake of speedier growth, anthropogenic pressure on the environment augmented unprecedentedly, which entailed by the 1960s an unfolding of a common realization of the associated threats. Therefore, in the decades to follow, the CMEA members were "certainly aware of the environmental challenge" (Grieves 1978. 327.). Second, the collision of development ambitions with resource limitations in the Central and Eastern European Socialist countries enacted an economic logic of basic efficiency seeking in solution elaboration. Strategy of cooperation for the environment had to be part of the plan and considered within economic discussions. Already in 1969, apart from setting goals for the United Nations (UN) Conference on Human Environment, Secretary-General U Thant, emphasising the interrelation of environmental problems with social malaises, mentioned the successes of the Socialist Bloc: the endeavours of international significance on the Danube, formal ambient

air quality standards in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania and the USSR, and the control of salinization in the Danube plain in Hungary (United... 1969).

The first comprehensive international format of inter-state environmental collaboration was operated by CMEA. The Executive Committee and the directly reporting to it Committee for Scientific and Technical Cooperation orchestrated the realization of a comprehensive programme of scientific and technical cooperation among the CMEA countries. In 1971 the latter signed a cooperation agreement which added to the programme a new complex problem: elaborating measures for nature protection. It was supposed to serve the harmonization of the most important groups of areas of cooperation in 1971-1975. Coordination centres for carrying out all organizational work for domestic research tasks were designated across the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia that joined the agreement in 1973. The agenda included six distinct problems underlying a transnational "scientific research complex", eulogically referred to as "an unprecedented phenomenon in international scientific and technical collaboration" (Gorizontov 1975. 52.). In 1972 a standing agency of the Committee was created: the Council for the Protection and Improvement of the Environment, in its turn, would have councils of representatives for each problem steering coordination centres for respective directions of cooperation (covering economic and social aspects of nature use, environment assessment, protection and improvement, safe waste recycling etc.); the so-called head organizations were responsible for the level of themes, the collaborating ones – for tasks.

Having in view a better organization and higher efficiency of the joint efforts of the member states and Yugoslavia, the Executive Committee approved in 1974 the General Detailed Cooperation Programme on the protection and improvement of the environment and the related rational natural resource use through 1980 (the last regular prolongation encompassed 2010). Based on the preliminary research outcomes, it provided for collaboration on more than 160 topics grouped into thematic directions (from ecosystem protection to urban planning). Although "the aspects of central planning and coordination would appear to make CMEA a strong vehicle for dealing with environmental problems" (Grieves 1978. 327.), designing an effective system of exchanges was a long road to walk. The large number of organizations involved and the voluntary nature of participation accounted for challenges in inter-agency communication and required defining exact cooperation rules and forms. There were cases of participating organizations failing to respect their obligations (e.g. *Otchet*... 1973). Suggestion came for choosing problems of preference for countries and dividing labour accordingly (*Prilozheniye*... 1976a). In parallel to substantive activities, the scholars in charge had to devise methodologies for organizational and coordinational workflow on problems (e.g. *Prilozheniye*... 1976b). The system was bureaucratized so as to allow the geographically distributed community to work on granular tasks, whereas the forecasting and planning pipeline know-how was based on the supply of up-to-date scientific information.

The orchestration and implementation of the programme involved resources of national Academies of Sciences. There was hence a heavy focus on coordinated fundamental and applied environmental research, supported by the CMEA research programme through 2000; and it was in the Scientific Committee on Problems of the Environment (SCOPE) that the Council found its global interlocutor. Conducted by hundreds of specialized organizations, studies dealt with such matters as legal aspects of nature protection, the relationship between the environment and lifestyle, water purification and closed-cycle water use technology development, or waste

management. Joint research was also based on collectively elaborated methodologies. Thematic international symposia, seminars, and conferences (e.g. on the Carpathian flora gene pool protection in Smolenice in 1988) were regular events. Moreover, the originally developed shared information system underpinning the scientific and technological cooperation programme could benefit from computerization (Kizman 1988), so the International Centre for Scientific and Technical Information in Moscow processed data on a minicomputer also for CMEA environmental activity. Thus the cooperating parties could leverage the data and information technology advancement for enhancing their modelling and forecasting capabilities (e.g. Nováky 1988). On the other hand, the data harmonisation problem was familiar to them as well (Bassa 1993. 62.).

The piratical dimension regarded, among other aspects, environmental protection, especially in border areas: fighting pollution of air, rivers, lakes and conserving plants and animals. For instance, the ecological exploration of the Danube with the goal of preventing radioactive contamination required in 1978 a joint expedition of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and the USSR, that found no anomalies neither measured value increase (Morozov 1983. 5.). Among geographic spots to which the programme attracted attention were the Tisza and the Danube as border rivers, the Polish-Czechoslovak border area in the Carpathians as a traditional location of international tourism and recreation economy as well as the adjacent zones of industry concentration with the centres in Bielsko-Biała and Žilina, and a number of model land plots.

It is relying on the latter that a theory of rational natural resource use was being developed under Problem III concerning the protection of ecosystems (biogeocenoses) and the landscape (*Prilozheniye*... 1972). The so-called model areas presented laboratories and testing grounds for innovative environmental management in the CMEA countries. In the Ostrava region one of such territories was used by an international team in 1975 to verify in practice a new methodology of economic and non-economic human environmental impact assessment. The model area around Tata in Hungary (521 km^2) could serve another illustration for the Carpatho-Danubian space. Its development started in the early 1970s with the mapping of ecological threat sources leading to the conclusion that the only solution could be a complex area strategy (Garancsy 1979. 152.). The Tata area was approved in 1974 at a CMEA meeting to be launched in 1977, as plans were drafted for air quality and complex environmental protection (Garancsy 1979. 153.). Those were followed by a water management plan and the first regional waters protection plan relying on a network of automated water monitors as well as activities in systematic soil melioration and recultivation and fostering of environmental education (Garancsy 1979. 154–155.). In the 1980s a centre was set up in Tata to better coordinate the work underway and to realize joint Hungarian and Czechoslovak environmental plans for the border areas (Komárom... 1982. 6.). Importantly, the first organization of its kind in the country, the Komárom County Environmental and Nature Protection Coordination Association was inaugurated in Tatabánya to support the new approach of carrying out of interdisciplinary, coordinated nature protection activities with the aim of eliminating problems' causes instead of "treating symptoms" (Elsőként... 1982. 3.).

The above-mentioned Problem III had its coordination centre in Bratislava. Thus, using their status of the responsible party and pledging international friendship consolidation, Slovak scientists offered to return to discussing the trinational protected territory project ("Kremenets") as part of the scientific and technical cooperation under Theme 5 (covering the development of methods for reserve choosing, studying and protection), having obtained beforehand a response

from the Soviet Ministry of Agriculture that recommended recognising the area as an "international protected territory in the frames of CMEA" (Ružička 1975. 66.). At the same time, as its Theme 1 the problem comprised the development of a general theory of biogeocenology grounded in the exploration of different ecosystems (*Prilozheniye...* 1972). In particular, Bulgaria did not only study macrophytic vegetation on the banks of the Danube (*Protokol...* 1975. 18.), but also produced an account of change in species composition resulting from human activity (to facilitate measures elaboration for Danube wetlands protection) as well as assessed the status of the river's water in unaltered or least altered spots (*Protokol...* 1975. 19.). Natural and modified ecosystem analysis was performed over the course of the Síkfőkút Project (Bogyay 1977. 90–91.) initiated in the Carpathian basin in 1972 as a comprehensive forestry study. It implied an investigation of the country's only complex forest ecosystem with the ultimate goal of providing forecasts for landscape management (optimization of environmental components at a site for the sake of organic matter production increase) (Nagy 1979).

Bilateral cooperation among the CMEA countries of the area was administered by mixed commissions. In the 1950s-60s agreements on border water management bound the region's states. Wh1ile the development of a convention on water and air protection against pollution was touched upon within the Council (Rummel-Bulska 1984. 95.), the first in the world agreement on air protection from pollution was concluded between Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1974. Relatively novel were as well the Czechoslovak-Hungarian covenant on water source and soil protection and the Czechoslovak-Bulgarian agreement on wastewater treatment. Hungarian-Yugoslav cooperation on the water quality studies on the Drava and Mura helped to advance joint water quality protection (Magyar... 1979. 179.). In 1988 Poland and the Slovak Socialist Republic signed an agreement on border area nature protection cooperation (Szczocarz 1998. 16.). Further bilateral and multilateral efforts can be exemplified by the land recultivation research programme that among the industrial zone cases had Roamnian Pitești and Rovinari and held an international seminar in Gyöngyös in 1982 (with Hungarian, Czechoslovak, Polish, Bulgarian representatives present).

Industrial environmental innovation was embodied in Haldex, founded in 1959 as a Polish-Hungarian joint stock company and supplying the technology of coal preparation plants for mining wastes. In 1981 it opened a joint Hungarian-Czechoslovak enterprise in Ostrava. In 1977 the CMEA members agreed to set up a joint company for coordinating international efforts in developing, introducing and using advanced water monitoring and treatment equipment, Intervodoochistka. Intergazoochistka was set up as a joint company for air-polluting emission capturing technology.

The range of matters to be addressed under the umbrella of nature protection went beyond the perimeter of CMEA, especially given the need for ensuring long-term resource and energy provisioning (Friss 1977. 39.). The General Programme had a regional character, but its focus on the European part of the world could "serve as a basis for the necessary expansion of cooperation between European and other countries" (Šindelářová 1983. 485.). Síkfőkút was one of the sites for biosphere studies also within the UNESCO international scientific programme "Man and the Biosphere" (MaB; 1971) (Nagy 1979). The principles underlying MaB were similar to that of model areas in that ecosystem change was closely observed (Komárom... 1982. 5.). However the scope of the former was narrower, and the CMEA coordinating centres aimed

at creating conditions for allowing for full continuity between the two programmes in each state (Šindelářová 1983. 485.). The content of the programmes of the UN's new agency UNEP to a significant extent corresponded to the programme of CMEA and, moreover, CMEA regularly shared activity reports on its progress with UNEP (UNEP 1978. 30.). The UNESCO International Hydrological Programme (IHP) launched in 1975 served for hydrologists' exchanges also on the Danube environmental topics, while WHO, UNEP, and IAEA coordinated ecological measurement of the radioecological status in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia in the frames of preliminary studies for pollution control management. The International Institute of Systems Analysis (IIASA) was established in 1972 with the mission of seeking ways to resolve the most pressing environmental problems (Gorizontov 1975. 53.) using computer-aided system analysis methods. Unsurprisingly, the Danube basin was selected as the first case study for the IIASA project on developing a decision support system for large international river management. In 1975 the Institute hosted a workshop on the Vistula and Tisza river basins land use and ecological problems maps, which reflected the readiness of CMEA countries to share such key data with their capitalist counterparts. Joint work on regional ecological maps further exemplifies the processes of data opening (e.g. Nefedova et.al. 1992).

International community expected "significant improvements in cooperative problem solving and negotiated policy making" to be possible and "crucial for coping with worsening transboundary environmental problems" (Linnerooth 1988. 3.). In that climate, the Declaration concerning the cooperation on water management of the River Danube and especially water pollution control issues, bridging the navigation and ecology dimensions, was adopted in Bucharest in 1985 by the eight riparian countries. Notwithstanding the substantial asymmetry in negotiation positions between the upstream and downstream countries (Linnerooth 1988. 14.), a common approach to water resources continued to develop, including systematic monitoring of water quality. Therefore the UNDP/WHO European Regional Bureau prepared in 1986 a project proposal identifying goals for water quality protection of the Danube (e.g. working out a common regional strategy towards pollution control, promoting the transfer and exchange of technology in water quality control activities) (Salewicz 1991. 59.). Based on the water quality examinations performed by the five Socialist Danubian countries in the 1970s, that regional project was undertaken in 1987. Thereafter, an international water data monitoring programme was set up allowing for yearly sharing of comparable data starting from 1988 (Murphy – Bakonyi 1997. 5.). The Nineteenth International Phytogeographic Excursion of 1989 took place in Poland, and, similarly to the Fifth Excursion, its itinerary passed in the Carpathians (Wójcicki 1990. 56.).

All in all, within the Socialist Bloc international environmental cooperative work regarding the Carpathian and Danubian area, including cross-border matters, was active (Leszczycki 1965), yet challenging (especially as to nature protection) like throughout the whole XXth century (Bihun et.al. 2008. 6.). As far as the collaboration relied on virtual communities of experts and did not aim at territory integration, in the Carpathians the cross-border format of cooperation "was very much limited" (Dąbrowski 2013. 30.). The Danube nature protection problems served as a bridge between the Second and the First World.

Environmentalism and Further Institutionalisation

In the waning years of the "popular democracy" period, non-governmental forces and new intergovernmental actors stepped onto the regional environmental scene. Starting from the 1980s civil society organizations were turning more and more numerous in the region, and Western support, as described by Persanyi (1993) at the example of Hungary, was reaching the then nascent environmentalist movements as well, even if the pre-1989 national ecological activism had developed in a relative isolation from the West (for Czechia see Jehlička – Smith 2007. 201.). Environmentalism having played its role in dismantling socialist state orders (Jehlička – Smith 2007. 188.), the countries were being integrated in the "world civic politics" of Western democracies (Breitmeier – Rittberger 1997. 11.), whereby affiliates of international non-governmental organisations, along with proliferating regional and national NGOs focused on rural development and nature conservation (Werners – Matczak – Flachner 2010).

The theme of ecology was one of the threads in the transition facilitation involving a variety of organizations, from the World Bank to NATO. A case in point, following the retreat of Socialism "NATO officials realized even better the importance of keeping scientific and environmental research going because of the need to foster friendly relations with former Eastern Bloc countries" (Turchetti 2019. 10.). The Central European Initiative founded in Budapest in 1989 became a regional intergovernmental forum for supporting Euro-integration and sustainable development. Among its objectives it listed contribution to the building of a sustainable economy (in supporting the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development operation), addressing the climate change in the region, nature and biodiversity conservation. Importantly, it is based on the principle of consensual governance. Thus, after the acceleration of the post-socialist transformation processes in the 1990s, the cooperation followed the trend toward institutionalisation (Dołzbłasz 2011. 158.; Lewkowicz 2011).

The first national "aggregator" NGOs started to appear: for instance, the International Carpathian Bridge that operated in the 1990s formed a pool of public organisations interested in ecology (Turnock 2001. 18.). This was a period when independent local projects in economic or environmental cooperation across the region started to receive grants from environmental and charitable foundations (Turnock 2001. 18.) and brought together local actors from NGOs, business, academia, and government (Werners – Matczak – Flachner 2010). By the same token, channels were created for single bilateral initiative realization: smaller-scale activities can be illustrated by the transfer of the Polish education programme "The White Stork" to Slovakia and Ukraine (Gliński – Koziarek 2007. 208.).

The strategic planning in the meantime was shifting to extra-regional multilateral organisations and then was translated in thematic efforts packaged into projects with scopes subject to funding. The socio-political transformation in the region and its opening to a wider range of external stakeholders coincided with a new stage of global environmental policy tuning. This presented an opportunity for the elaboration of comprehensive strategic conceptualisations of environmental agendas. The trend found reflection, in particular, in the European Community Environment Action Programme for 1993–2000: it stipulated the adoption of a global, proactive approach having to do with different actors and activities affecting natural resources or the environment; the latter had to be integrated as a transversal topic in other policy areas (European

Commission 1992). In the international arena, the Vienna Summit of the Council of Europe (CoE) strengthened the thematic projects argument, as it called for supporting transfrontier co-operation between non-adjacent regions (*Vienna Declaration* 1993. 2.).

At the same time, one of the most obvious motivations for transboundary collaboration was the concern that leaving important resources or routes at the discretion of one country could lead to an undesirable situation. In this vein, after proposal submission in 1990, the Bieszczady transboundary reserve concept was implemented – and the first trilateral biosphere reserve in the world was inaugurated in the region in 1991 – as part of UNESCO's MaB Programme. The resultant East Carpathians Biosphere Reserve (ECBR) with the total area of 2132 km^2 "encompasses six neighbouring protected areas in Poland, the Slovak Republic and Ukraine" (Niewiadomski 2004. 169.) and counts four distinct vegetation types. However, "no joint management plan for the ECBR as an integral, multi-national unit" existed to back up the initiative, so the reserve "had little impact on actual cooperation across borders" (Bihun et.al. 2008. 12.). Coordinated scientific activities included mapping of the ECBR different bioecological zones, compiling of inventories of flora and fauna, studying effects of pollutants (in Poland and Slovakia). In order to support the reserve the Foundation for the Eastern Carpathians Biodiversity Conservation (ECBC) was established by the World Bank as part of the Biodiversity Conservation project of the Global Environment Facility (GEF) coordinated by UNEP with the co-financing from the MacArthur Foundation, WWF and other entities. It was registered in 1995 in the stable legal and banking environment of Geneva with the objective "to encourage, organise, conduct and promote activities serving to protect the overall biodiversity of the Eastern Carpathians Mountains zone" (Niewiadomski 2002. 138.). WWF lent support in "the design and legal establishment" of the Foundation (Niewiadomski 2004. 169.).

In parallel, the collaboration of UNESCO IHP Danube National Committees continued on a number of projects. UNDP, UNEP, GEF together with other donors supported the realization of the Environmental Programme for the Danube River Basin (EPDRB) initiated in 1991 with the aim of preparing an environmental Danube convention. Additionally, the Cousteau Foundation, IUCN, the Regional Environmental Centre (REC), and WWF "indicated their strong interest" in the programme (Zavádsky 1993. 38.). Thus a wealth of global expertise was involved in projects preparation. In 1992 the Task Force driving the initiative agreed a three-year Work Plan, and, in the outcome, delivered the Strategic Action Plan (SAP) for 1996–2000 suggesting infrastructure improvements and pollution containment. The plan was endorsed in the Ministerial Danube Environmental Declaration of 1994 in Bucharest. Five months before that, the Danube River Protection Convention signed in Sofia (entered into force in 1998) had incorporated the Bucharest Declaration of 1985 (via Article 19). The document exhibited the parties' intention to achieve policy harmonization and to improve ecological conditions, avoiding damage to the watercourse and protecting ecosystems based on a preventive approach (*Convention...* 1994). In accordance with it, the cooperation architecture was strengthened with the International Commission for the Protection of the Danube River (ICPDR) having an environment-focused mandate and fifteen contracting parties (since 2008). The Danube case (1991–2007) was the first International Waters regional programme financed by GEF (Enter the Black Sea 2007. 24.).

In 1996 the Commission launched its Transnational Monitoring Network for the Danube that had been designed in 1993 by the appointed by the European Commission (EC) WTV Consortium in collaboration with an EPDRB Task Force sub-group. In 1997-1999 GEF funded the

Danube Pollution Reduction Programme (DPRP) investing in eutrophication cause elimination and capacity building; the activities were subsequently continued in the frames of the Danube Regional Project (2002–2007) that supported local information gathering and knowledge-sharing mechanisms. The revised SAP, DPRP, and the Five Years Nutrient Reduction Programme were the basis for formulating the ICPDR Joint Action Programme for 2001–2005 (ecosystem restoration, wetland conservation, waste treatment etc.) which received financing from the Partnership Investment Fund led by the World Bank (Gerlak 2004).

Regardless of its basin-wide scale, EPDRB was only one component of a much broader scheme. The Carpatho-Danubian area hence experienced an approach complementing the thematic compartmentalisation. The first meeting of the "Environment for Europe" (EfE) process took place in Czechoslovakia in 1991, bringing up the question of the Environmental Action Programme for Central and Eastern Europe (EAP). It was agreed upon at the following ministerial conference in Swiss Lucerne in 1993 and put forward human health as the primary concern, productivity loss and deterioration of ecosystems being also in the spotlight (*Environmental*… 1993. II-1.). Apart from pointing to priority areas for focusing financial resources, it sketched steps for building institutional capacity and economic incentives for environmental sustainability. Such approach was advocated, specifically, by IIASA. The regional perspective on environmental protection in the form of an action plan was envisioned as an "Ecological Marshall Plan" designating distinct areas of cooperation on common and transboundary problems (Alcamo 1992. 12–14.). Besides, NATO's most effective contribution before the enlargement (apart from producing massive debris in 1999) consisted in expertise exchange facilitation through its scientific programme, such as the inclusion of regional environmental topics in the agendas of a series of advanced research workshops (on strategic approach to air and water quality, data sharing and decision support systems, mountain nature etc.) (e.g. Szaro – Bytnerowicz – Oszlányi 2002).

Instrumental in making national environmental action planning regular coordinated work, EAP had two organs: the Task Force (TF) responsible for the policy and institutional aspects and the Project Preparation Committee (PPC) focused on the investment aspect (Nordbeck 2011. 44–45.). TF was co-chaired by EC and a participating country (on a rotating basis), while the secretariat function was covered by OECD's Environment Directorate (Nordbeck 2011. 44.). The programme implementation was supported by the REC, established in Budapest in 1990 at the United States' initiative (United... 1994. 318.) as part of the diplomatic effort of using the environment theme "in pursuing a wide range of political, economic, and security goals" (Wadley 2003. 572.). The Center then received the status of observer in many regional fora. Moreover, to supplement EAP, in 1994 it issued a report on the strategic environmental problems in the region. In the framework of EAP TF activities the operational St. Petersburg Guidelines on Environmental Funds in the Transition to a Market Economy were developed in 1995, and the REC assumed the role of the secretariat of the Network of CEE Environmental Funds (REC 2003. 43.). Envisaging foreign investment (Klavens – Zamparutti 1995; REC 1994) and market-based environmental policy instruments (e.g. the REC EcoLinks project), EAP provided not only for institution restructuring, but also economic development.

The ambition of the undertakings and high number of different-level actors' initiatives moved the question of necessary investments and grants to the forefront. Project realization in each country depended on multiple sources of external financing (e.g. from the EU, Sweden,

and the USA in Poland) and the emphasis was put on such transnational priorities as water quality and air pollution (Millard 1998. 149.). International organization and non-regional government funding (e.g. Denmark, the United States, Japan) was a factor conditioning the increasingly outward orientation of regional cooperation. It must be noted, however, that beyond the narrow project outlook, the percentage of NGOs per country having direct foreign sources of support was not high, and such money rarely constituted an important share of an organization's total budget (as evinced for Poland by Gumkowska – Herbst – Radecki 2008. 73-74.). An example of a regional funding institution was the Trust for Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE Trust) that in 2001-2012 had environmental protection on the list of its priorities for the area of its operation (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia). It was a coalition of private foundations (e.g. the Ford Foundation, Open Society Institute) and the U.S. German Marshall Fund, financing NGOs, non-profit organisations, educational institutions, and individuals. Its goal was to create "sustainable groups" promoting civil society and the "public good", including cross-border and regional activities, as well as to cement the neoliberal order. A CEE Trust board member Heike Mackerron explained the challenge: "It wasn't clear that all countries would continue on the path towards democracy and a market economy" (Milner 2012).

It was much more than for EPDRB that the European Community PHARE and TACIS (in the case of Ukraine) financing was essential in the environmental domain. The PHARE Cross-Border Cooperation funding was the major instrument for the pre-accession countries within the region (Dołzbłasz 2011. 159.), and the PHARE Regional Environment Programme also permitted to extend eastwards the European CORINE land cover project concerned with standardizing environmental data. In 1998–2000 the EU supported projects on water quality enhancement and capabilities strengthening in the Danube basin. National strategies for the European Union accession preparation included strategies for mountain area development. Concomitantly, the EU called for more participatory policy-making, which in some cases tipped internal political balances (Werners – Matczak – Flachner 2010). The EU Water Framework Directive of 2000 that became the programmatic basis for ICPDR, required public participation in the river basin management planning. Consequently, the Danube River Basin Strategy for Public Participation was prepared for 2003–2009.

All but unimportant was the launch by WWF of several work streams in the area, especially the Danube-Carpathian Programme (DCP). The format implied the collaboration of the organization's country offices and fostering of local actor networks and alliances. The respective conservation plans were conceived on the grounds of the ecoregional approach. Thus, the Carpathian Ecoregion Initiative (established as CEI; CERI since 2004) introduced in 1999 within DCP was based on the "Global 200" ecoregions study. It constituted an informal network of more than 50 different local organizations from seven countries, focused on conservation and sustainable economy, and importantly, had also governmental participants. The Daphne Center for Applied Ecology in Slovakia hosted the Secretariat. Daphne and the WWF DCP Office, along with the Austrian Distelverein and the Czech Veronica, became important contributors to the creation of a trilateral Ramsar Site for the Morava-Dyje floodplains conservation and restoration, in line with the Memorandum of Understanding signed in 2001 by the Ramsar Convention authorities of Austria, the Czech Republic and Slovakia in the Židlochovice Castle (Rivernet 2001).

CEI became also an active element of the shift to community-based conservation approach, which took place in the 2000s (Meessen et.al. 2015), as in the first five years the Initiative "set up 17 thematic working groups, carried out studies and inventories on natural resources, published the Carpathian List of Endangered Species, <...> identified 30 Priority Areas for Biodiversity Conservation, developed a vision for future protected areas in the Carpathians, funded field projects, organised training" (Niewiadomski 2004. 170–171.). It was thereby captured in the process of transition from nature conservation to virtually holistic sustainability which was seen as "a more active approach" taking "into account not only ecological interactions but also economic and sociocultural aspects" (Meessen et.al. 2015).

In terms of institution building, another document adopted in Bucharest was crucial. In 2001 CEI drafted the "Status of the Carpathians" and in the Romanian capital the Carpathian-Danube Summit "Green Light for Europe" focused on nature protection and sustainable development. There, 14 states signed the Declaration on Environment and Sustainable Development in the Carpathian-Danube region, underlining their intention to use, in particular, EU funding. The summit confirmed the shared need for agreed conservation programmes in priority areas: based on the focal species areas approach, a set of priority Biodiversity Important Areas was identified comprising areas of habitats, plants, large carnivores and other mammals, amphibians and reptiles, and birds (Turnock 2001. 20.). Moreover, Ukraine put forward its proposal to conclude a convention for the region. During the intergovernmental consultations organised by UNEP in 2002 in Bolzano a framework document modelled upon the Alpine Convention of 1991 was recommended. Then, the United Nations Framework Convention on the Protection and Sustainable Development of the Carpathians was signed in 2003 at the fifth EfE Ministerial conference in Kiev. The temporary Secretariat was opened within the UNEP office in Vienna.

Besides, a Danube basin ecological convention draft was developed by Hungary. And two important CoE initiatives remained unconcluded as well: its Parliamentary Assembly could not but recommend to adopt the draft ecological charter of mountain regions (the principles were approved of in 1976) in 1995 and the draft European charter of the Danube basin in 1997. And already in June 2001 Austria, Romania, EC and the Stability Pact brought up an initiative for "giving a new political impetus to the strengthening and development of multilateral relations among Danubian countries, without creating new institutions" (Ministry... n.d.). Consequently, the Danube Cooperation Process was formally established in 2002, the participants being thirteen countries of the Danube basin, including six Carpathian countries, EC, and the Regional Cooperation Council. The process was aligned with the Euro-Atlantic integration agenda and included the promotion of democratic values.

New Spatialisation

There was an array of remarkable tendencies that the spatial dimension of regional cooperation exhibited across the area at the turn of the century. The developments were rooted in the changing configurations of mediatory mechanisms: simultaneous appearance of new actors in different parts of the region, delineation of new activity boundaries, unification of spatial forms of cooperation, new functional transnational connections between organizations.

The Carpatho-Danubian area became part of a global change in the approaches to cooperation, the so-called New Regionalism that took off in the late 1980s (for a terms discussion see Perkmann 2003. 153.). The Convention on transfrontier cooperation between territorial authorities was signed in 1980 in Madrid to usher in a spurt in cross-border cooperation (CBC), defined by Perkmann (2003. 155.) as activities between subnational public authorities aimed at solving practical problems and able to generate a cross-border region. Since then, country borders in Europe turned to be seen as sources of cooperation opportunities between authorities and citizens, the benefits counting improved governance through common economic management and the economies of scale as well as higher territorial cohesion (Kiefer 2014. 71.). The Central and Eastern European countries showed enthusiasm for the CoE borderland cooperation initiative through which historical and geographical areas could be transformed from objects into subjects "capable of articulating the transnational interests" (Hettne – Söderbaum 2000. 461.). Thus, premises for technocratic space redivision came into existence.

This was accompanied by changes in the legal landscape. The grounds for inter-regional collaboration in scientific exploration and on-site interventions was expanded with a number of bilateral agreements explicitly covering protection of nature and the environment: e.g. documents concluded between Ukraine and Hungary on environmental matters (1992) and transboundary water management (1993), on cross-border cooperation between Slovakia and Poland (1994), Ukraine (2000), and Hungary (2001). Besides, in preparing to the EU accession countries had to undergo territorial administrative reforms allowing them to meet the standard of the nomenclature of territorial units for statistics (NUTS). The "Green Carpathians" development programme was an early example of transfrontier subnational cooperation efforts: Polish, Slovakian and Ukrainian regions worked together to pursue economic development of their marginalised areas and to mitigate ecology concerns.

Under the CoE auspices, stable collaboration formats gradually would take the shape of Euroregions. For example, the Carpathian Euroregion was established in 1993 for implementing PHARE and CREDO measures. Comprising border regions of Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Ukraine, and Romania, the Euroregion stretches across 161 km^2, from the High Tatras in the North-Western Carpathians to the Ciucului Mountains in the south-east. The first euroregional initiatives between Poland, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic date back to the second half of the 1990s, and right from the outset municipalities were able to co-operate on the administration of European funds with national ministries (Böhm 2014. 45.). Some Euroregions later were used as a basis for the EU's European Groupings of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC) endowed with legal personhood. Both Euroregions and EGTCs may be members of the Association of European Border Regions, have environmental matters on their agenda and can process funding allocated. However, after the EU enlargement some of the local authorities started to "argue that the Euroregions are now redundant, especially given the lack of formal power" (Parkin 2013. 56.). Moreover, Benč et.al. (2015. 22) concluded that the participating regions of the Carpathian Euroregion "shifted their focus more to the various CBC and transnational initiatives" of the EU, so that the institution struggled to survive, being "only driven by its inertia".

At the same time, scattered geographical distribution of coordinating organizations of various environmental cooperation directions averted spatial centralisation of orchestration processes and combined with tactical uses of ambiguity leading to spatial flexibility of actor

assemblages. For instance, for the activities under the Carpathian Convention it became quite important that "[i]n the Carpathians, the precise area covered by the Convention is still unclear" (Fall – Egerer 2004. 99.). Thus, the document "defined the geographical scope of the region", but did not unambiguously define the boundaries, as far as "historical, geographical or economic criteria were not the guiding criteria" (Paruch 2016. 3.), unlike the political will. (Noteworthily, the absence of an agreement on the area of the Convention and on where the Permanent Secretariat should be located were indicated as impediments to the implementation of the document's objectives in Ukraine (Weiss – Streifeneder 2011. 38.).) Spatial imbalances were addressed by the EU Carpathian Project led by UNEP in 2005-2008, which involved participants from all the Convention member states. Financed under INTERREG IIIB CADSES (Central Adriatic Danubian South-Eastern European Space), it was aimed at setting a transnational framework for the application of EU spatial development policies throughout the region, enhancing sustainable development, building on the region's potential, while safeguarding its natural and cultural heritage (Borsa et.al. 2009. 162.). The activities within project included: gathering and harmonisation of spatial data and maps, implementing pilot activities as well as publishing a handbook for local authorities and development actors, the Carpathian Environment Outlook, VASICA (Visions And Strategies in the Carpathian Area), and the Atlas of the Carpathian Macroregion.

Several streams of cooperation came to rely on wide networked organizational connections. Carpathian countries were among the first international members of the global Long-term Ecosystem Research (LTER) collaboration started in 1993 in the USA. Its Central/Eastern Europe regional sub-network of research sites was a keystone for the growth of a Europe-wide scientific network in the 2000s. The Conference "The Green Backbone of Central and Eastern Europe" held in 1998 in Cracow concluded with the region countries' approving of the idea of the Pan-European Ecological Network (PEEN) as the means to implement the EfE Pan-European Biological and Landscape Diversity Strategy for 1996-2016. The Carpathian Ecoregion Initiative was envisioned initially as part of PEEN with, to put in WWF-biased way, biodiversity lying at its core (Turnock 2001. 20.). Additionally, networks bound together territorial units with new legal statuses. In particular, the European network of special areas of conservation (SACs), known as the Natura 2000 network of Sites of Community Interest and Special Protected Areas, started developing in the region after the accession of Carpathian countries to the EU had triggered the implementation of the Habitats Directive (Dąbrowski 2013. 31.). The selection of sites took place at the level of the nine biogeographical regions.

Implications for the Present-Day Cooperation

The contemporary picture of environmental cooperation in the area can be thought of as the product of a superposition of several historical strata. The diverse developments that have led to the formation of such picture (summarised in Table 1) definitely make the Carpatho-Danubian area stand out among environmental history loci worldwide. One then cannot refrain from raising the question of special advantages for the present-day regional governance that stem from the above-sketched past experiences. It is deemed convenient to examine the problem in terms of the governance resources framing (Stoker 2019).

Stage	Period	Key Actors	Characteristic Features
Early cooperation organisation	1870s-1930s	Associations of mountain tourists and scientists; Danube Commissions	Nature study and protection; expert commissions; specific problems and local-scale action
Cooperation orchestration mechanisms	1940s-1980s	CMEA; the Danube Commission	Systemic study of the environment and measure elaboration; international scientific-administrative complex; selected measure implementation
Further institutionalisation	1990s	EU, UN, CoE, ICPDR, NGOs	Large-scale study and action programmes; extra-regional partners and funding; specialised institutions
New spatialisation	2000s	EU, ICPDR, the Carpathian Convention, NGOs	New regionalisations; focused institutions; further network development

Table 1: Stages of environmental cooperation development in the Carpatho-Danubian area

Such resource conceptualisation is based on the understanding of contemporary governance contexts as complex adaptive systems (Stoker 2019. 95.) and consequently relies on the studies of complexity, public policy, and governance. Employing the three resource domains of the framework is helpful in grouping the regional cooperation substrate features in the following way. First, in what regards possibilities for local variation and commitment to experimentation, there is a good foundation consolidated. A repertory of approaches to choose from is provided by the combination of national schools of environmental thought and practice with ideas of extra-regional origin as well as the application of different policies to the same sites over the course of the years. There is a century-long tradition of international efforts being driven by bottom-up initiative and personal enthusiasm. It was also supplemented by NGO mushrooming and the EU's commitment to increasing public awareness and involvement. That has left the current multi-level governance format with diverse and cooperation-ready subnational-level actors.

Second, the conditions for fostering partnership have their own specificity. The post-war decades yielded a well-grounded regional approach to the area now shared by both EU and non-EU member countries. More recently, the activity of WWF was aligned with its holistic blueprint for the area, and the intensity of interconnections resulted in the moulding of DCP into a totally new multi-country organizational form, WWF Central and Eastern Europe. Since the logic of New Regionalism retains a prevalent role today, the manifold opportunities for collaboration stimulate variability among ad hoc consortia. In the Carpatho-Danubian area there are

22 EGTCs and 19 Euroregions which "have promoted cross-border cooperation in everything from trade to culture" (Parkin 2013. 56.). Partnerships have been developed not only within the region, but also with non-regional actors, and, arguably, "[e]xternal influences proved central to environmental policy" (Millard 1998. 149.).

Moreover, the normative landscape offers room for flexibility in the activities portfolio and partnerships through licensing deliberate spatial ambiguity (Walsh et.al. 2012. 3.). For example, the "purposefully-vague spatial definition" (Fall – Egerer 2004. 98.) of the area under the Carpathian Convention falls well under such fuzzy boundary type. As far as it can be assumed that "[t]he boundary encapsulates the identity of the community" (Cohen 1985. 12.), boundary fuzziness potentially spells inconsistent visions of the region across the actor spectrum, absence of a "compelling" regional identity, and the ensuing higher risk of volatile participation. Leaving substantial room for the play with inclusion and exclusion, it renders the region "politically-challenged" (Latour 2005. 20.) in the sense that – to bring further probably not the most innovative idea of the political discourse-constructing role of maps, characterized as "profoundly political objects" (Fall – Egerer 2004. 100.) – the looser the definition, the freer one can navigate and the more the whole institutional architecture is power- rather than rules-reliant.

Technocratic competence has been one of the clear strong points of the regional cooperation mechanisms. It is in part due to the long-standing transboundary scientific ties. They reached a qualitatively new stage during the CMEA systematic research collaboration which was mostly theory-development-oriented. Besides, the General Detailed Cooperation Programme was an important governance milestone for the area, also because it incorporated both academic and applied projects in one planning perspective. In the subsequent decades the research grew closer to the needs of practical environmentalism and policy. For example, the integrative approach theory paved the way for the first Danube River Basin Management Plan of 2009 for ICPDR to coordinate. The competence accumulated acquired a spill-over character, so that the REC proposed "to share its experiences with other regions in transition that could benefit from international multi-stakeholder co-operation assistance" (REC 2005).

Coordinated research has been no less essential in the region also from the point of view of legitimacy and trust building. It should be taken into consideration that "co-production of knowledge can be especially important in <...> governance settings where objectives, targets, and goals often must be negotiated among actors who lack the power to enforce their views on each other" (Armitage et.al. 2015. 361). Common values and understandings among the actors in a considerable measure have been forged by the global environmental discourse, with the mediation of multi-lateral institutions. The regional conditions have permitted the number of actors to increase, and many of them, collocated geographically, are indeed "heterogeneous in terms of their interests, values and notions of justice" (Paavola 2005. 143.). Yet, cross-border projects contributed not only to region-building in social, economic, infrastructural and tourist spheres, but also to creating a network of actors sharing interests and values (Dołzbłasz 2011. 158.). In that way transborder regions have been the "soft spaces" to hold together geographically close pieces of territories from different jurisdictions, enhancing integration and territorial cohesion (Kiefer 2014. 71.). Finally, the potential for showing quick and substantial results takes root in the operational capacity of hundreds of diverse organisations available for being involved in collaboration, though counterbalanced with serious coordination challenges (Armitage et.al. 2015. 356).

Third, the learning and adaptive capacity in governance mechanisms has been explicitly worked on over the past century. The shifting over time cooperation focus has proved the existence of an openness to exploring a variety of issues. However, the experience of coordinating institutions also setting restrictions, together with listing priorities, is not unfamiliar to the region. Decision-making processes are underpinned by defined procedures, converging administrative practice, a number of international fora, and area-wide data analysis capabilities. The tedious work on the standardization of data collecting and processing methods has been covering domain after domain, improving data quality and compatibility and increasing survey result comparability. Thus this has made possible structured overviews of complex problems and solutions, coupled with an enhanced forecasting capability. Yet, there has been a certain "overcrowding" of the political agenda due to multiple simultaneous negotiation processes (Breitmeier – Rittberger 1997. 9.) resulting in overlapping solution maps.

As far as the actor composition is concerned, since the start of the political transition in the region the EU has customarily supported "flexible strategic alliances" between local political, administrative and business elites (O'Dowd 2001. 72.). In other geographic contexts, the resourcefulness of the EU model of regionalisation was described as a tendency "to encourage a shift <…> through diplomacy and foreign policy, elite interaction, policy advice, political summits and EU-sponsored seminars" (Grugel 2004. 612.). This entails acceptability of cooperation format substitution with better-tailored solutions and new territorial configurations. For example, with the adoption of the EU Strategy for the Danube Region the DCP initiative lost its "particularity" (Ministry... n.d.). Besides, states have been put in the conditions of constant agenda harmonisation with supra- and sub-entities in the governability landscape, making them progressively become even less homogenous actors (Hamman 2014. 56.). On the financial side, the external investment and grant influx has made possible larger-scale environmental collaboration development and better programme continuity preservation.

Conclusions

In the XXth century the area of the Danube and the Carpathians was often a testing ground for a most advanced international nature protection practice. Together with the environmental thought, the cooperation system evolved from a set of institutions with narrow scopes and mandates, such as strategic agreements on the Danube or mountain tourism societies, into wider-reaching organisations and then a transregional environmental policy agglomerate. Throughout the process, conditions were created for a convergence of governance mechanisms for the two spaces. More recently, the actors in the area had to take an adaptive position. Regional cooperation in the post-socialist times has served to catch up with an alternative form of environmentalism and has supported the processes of Europeanisation.

Within the Socialist Bloc the efforts under the joint programme covered predominantly the scientific sphere and exchange of experience. With the UN guidance, they allowed to develop new approaches to ecology, in parallel to a similar work done, for instance, in the European Community. A conceptual shift in the 1970s extended the frames of the problem from nature protection to more efficient management and transformation of the environment. With years,

the role of international organizations in orchestrating environmental protection in the region was turning ever more pronounced. In the 1990s the cooperation machinery, thriving on international interest and support, became more visible, because of the involvement of many high-profile institutions. Environmental study and planning coordination at the international level reached a much higher degree.

A solid fundament has been laid for a systemic complexity of the regional ecological governance. At the same time, networked policy coordination strategies and flexibility in terms of actor inclusion and exclusion have added room for manoeuvre in difficult contexts. The contemporary stage of the environmental cooperation among the eight countries is simultaneously a continuation of the long-standing tradition of ecology-related collaboration and scientific exchanges in the region as well as an element of the transformative processes in the new and aspiring EU member states.

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Seven faces of victimhood: towards a typology of victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation

Abstract

Trafficking in human beings is one of the phenomena of our society with serious consequences which, understandably, gives rise to urgent prevention and treatment measures. The main goal of this study is to contribute to a better understanding of the process of victimization. During the analysis of the interview with 36 victims[1] we aim to map the vulnerability factors that act as markers for recruiters using different recruitment strategies, emphasis is also placed on the dynamics and environmental characteristics of the relationship between victim and offender. The study has been conducted in Romania, a country which in the last 20 years has been one of the major suppliers to the European sex trafficking (EUROSTAT, 2015). In the analysis, carried out within the theoretical framework of victimology, vulnerability was assessed on the basis of 3 main categories of analysis (the motivated trafficker, the absence of capable guardians and the victim's attractiveness) and the dynamic interaction between them. The results outline seven

[1] This research is partly based on data collected through the international project ANIMANOVA, a Romanian-Italian partnership project co-financed by the European Social Fund through Sectorial Operational Programme Human Resources Development 2007-2013, coordinated by The Partnership for The Equality Center Bucharest and in partnership with Philanthropy Federation (Romania), Associazione Ricerca e Parsec social intervention, Esprit Social. cons. Srl, Expert Italia Srl, Fondazione Giacomo Brodolini, IAL Innovazione Apprendimento Lavoro Srl (Italy), supplemented by the first author's own interviews.

clusters of victims: 1. victims in need; 2. nearby victims; 3. runaways from domestic violence; 4. social innovators; 5. abandoned, lost and displaced victims; 6. rebels; 7. the helpers (the risky altruists). The conclusion includes suggestions for intervention and prevention of victimisation.

Keywords
human trafficking, sexual exploitation, victimology, typology, vulnerability

DOI 10.14232/belv.2023.1.7
https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2023.1.7

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:
Laszlo, Eva – Roth, Maria (2023): Seven faces of victimhood: towards a typology of victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 35. no. 1. pp 105–123.

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)
ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

Introduction

Falling in the hands of traffickers, as well as buying and selling people is not a new phenomenon, but its global proportions, methods and profits have become stunning (UNODC 2014). "Increasingly human trafficking is a business, often controlled by organized crime trying to obtain maximum profit from what they consider to be their "property", the foremost principles governing their actions being "low risk-high profit" (ANITP 2013. 5). Trafficking for sexual exploitation is one of the worst forms of violence against women, with severe consequences. Gender-disaggregated data show that the vast majority of all identified victims are female: 70% worldwide (UNODC, 2014) and 80% at the EU level (EUROSTAT 2015); while 97% worldwide (UNODC, 2014) and 95% in the EU (EUROSTAT 2015) of the sexually exploited victims are female.

Against the backdrop of opening borders from Eastern to Western Europe, and in spite of the international cooperation and political conventions (*Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime – 2000;* Council of Europe Convention on Action Against Trafficking in Human Beings – 2005; Directive 2011/36 of the European Parliament and of the Council of Europe (2011) on preventing and combating trafficking in persons and protecting its victims which replaces Council Framework Decision 2002/629/JHA – 2011), the scope and scale of trafficking from Eastern Europe indicates the failure of social policies to support vulnerable people and populations (Aninoşanu et. al. 2012; Fleşner 2010; ANITP, 2007).

Based on official data, Romania is one of major suppliers of victims of trafficking among the EU countries, recent data showing the highest rates of victims of trafficking (Tallmadge – Gitter 2017, EUROSTAT 2015; UNODC 2014). Recently it has been identified as both a destination and a transit country (EUROSTAT, 2015; UNODC, 2014). This double role arises from the geographical position of Romania, a country situated on the Eastern borders of the EU, on the routes towards the more attractive Central and Western Europe on one hand, and as a result of the vulnerability of Romanian young people of the region, affected by the transition to the market economy, on the other. From the end of the 1990s, to the early 2000s several international organizations such as the IOM (International Organization for Migration) and UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) and other non-governmental organizations had created specialized services for human trafficking victims. Later, special anti-crime structures were established such as Ministry of Home Affairs through the National Agency Against Trafficking in Persons (ANITP) founded in 2006 and the Directorate for Investigating Organized Crime and Terrorism (DIICOT), founded in 2004. The National Agency against Human Trafficking has 15 regional centres and is responsible for the coordination, evaluation, and monitoring of the implementation of trafficking policies, as well as for training professional staff and for awareness raising campaigns (Aninoşanu et al. 2012).

A significant part of research examines the vulnerability factors of victimization of sexual exploitation. The systematic reviews of these identify the following factors: young age, belonging to an ethnic or racial minority, low socioeconomic status, childhood (mainly sexual) abuse experiences, family dysfunction, homelessness (running away or being thrown away from home), drug or substance abuse, juvenile justice and child protection involvements, mental problems or disabilities, poverty, risky friendships, school relationships, school drop-outs (Mapp, 2022, Jaeckl, S., & Laughon, 2020, Franchino-Olsen, 2019). The literature also shows that individual factors tend to cluster (Twins, 2019) and their effects are accentuated by the interaction with the offender (the relationship between the offender and the victim, the recruitment strategy used by the offender, the reaction of the environment).

Most of the previous studies on this topic in Romanian context captured social vulnerability factors in terms of: poverty, unemployment, low education level, homelessness, migration, family violence and drug abuse (Aninoşanu et al. 2016; Aninoşanu et al. 2012; Fleşner 2010; Arpinte – Creţu 2007; Gavril – Tămaş 2009; UNICEF 2005; El-Cherkeh et al. 2004; Salvaţi Copiii 2003; Lăzăroiu – Alexandru 2003). Some studies focused on revealing the phases of the phenomenon: recruitment, transportation, exploitation, eventual escape, and recovery of the victims of trafficking (Lăzăroiu – Alexandru 2003; Aninoşanu et al. 2012). Other studies analyzed the criminal aspects and formulated recommendations to reduce criminal access to the victims, to unravel networks of trafficking, to reduce corruption, to raise availability of support services, and to improve training of involved staff (Rosenberg – Lăzăroiu – Tyuryukanova 2004; ANITP 2011; Anghel 2012).

Theoretical framework of the research

In order to differentiate between and describe categories of victims and their vulnerability factors, this research builds on victimology theories and victim-typology studies and is rooted in the understanding of the social and psychological complexity of trafficking for sexual exploitation. Defined as the study of the relationship between an injured person and an offender, victimology has to take into consideration the characteristics of both individuals involved including their environments and their relationships. Therefore, typology research on victimisation in human trafficking for sexual exploitation has to take an integrative approach.

Typologies help in the identification of victims' needs and the design of specific treatment. If oversimplified, they may harm the victims' needs (Brunovskis – Surtees 2007). The field of victimology parallels that of criminology, accordingly, typologies in victimisation can help build up criminology typologies, and altogether can contribute to the development of preventive policies and services, better tailored to the needs of the victims.

One theory looking for individual differences that could lead to increased risks for trafficking is the lifestyle exposure theory launched back in the 1970s (Hindelang – Goffredson – Garofalo 1978). It states that an individual's lifestyle is the critical factor that determines demographic differences in the likelihood of criminal victimization. Lifestyle is defined by the authors as routine daily activities, both vocational (work, school, housekeeping etc.) and leisure activities (Hindelang – Gottfredson – Garofalo 1978). According to this point of view, persons with certain lifestyle and social expectations confronted with obstacles, are easier than others to be channelled in the traps built for them by predators/ traffickers (Miethe – Meier 1994). Lifestyles arise from routine activities that increase the probability of people belonging to specific social groups, located in specific locations to interact with others in particular ways and to be driven towards victimisation of traffickers. This theory points to the circumstantially patterned nature of victimology. The philosophy of free will as well as individual examples contradict this perspective, but erroneously imply that victimization can be limited to "accidental encounters", which, in turn, is disproved by research in victimisation situations (Gabor – Mata 2004).

The theory of routine activity developed by Cohen and Felson (1979) added three conditions for a crime to take place: the motivated offender, the congruent target (vulnerable, attractive and accessible to the perpetrator) and the absence of capable guardians. In order to commit the crime, the motivated offender must come into contact with the target or the victim in a temporal-spatial context where there is no protection. The co-existence – simultaneously in time and space – of a motivated criminal, an attractive (adequate for the criminal purposes) target, and the lack of supervision or security represent the opportunity for a trafficking crime. From the perspective of the prevention of human trafficking, a major importance must be given to profiling the target's attractiveness and her lack of supervision and protection, as their combination, in the presence of a trafficker, increase the crime rate in trafficking women for sexual exploitation (Dugan – Apel 2005).

As mentioned by Dugan & Apel (2005), the routine activity and lifestyle patterns create a "criminal opportunity structure", which facilitates the contact between the potential criminal and the victim – such as proximity and exposure. According to this combined conceptualization, there are four basic factors that contribute to victimization: target`s attractiveness, proximity

between targets and criminals, risk exposure and lack of surveillance. Based on this perspective, trafficking phenomena may be depicted using the concepts below:

1. *Target Attractiveness* is defined by Cohen, Kuegel and Land (1981) as a symbolic or material desire for the person or property identified by the potential criminals.
2. *Proximity to Crime* refers to the physical distance or closeness between the victim's home and the area with a high crime rate, where there is a relatively large number of criminals ('hot spots'), or other 'dangerous' areas, such as highways (criminals can easily and rapidly disappear from the crime scene).
3. *Exposure to crime* refers to the visibility and accessibility of the victims in a certain place and time. An increase in the victim's visibility increases the risk of victimisation. Many research studies showed that the risk of victimization increases when the environment is marked by delinquent lifestyle and the situational context overlaps (Schreck et al., 2002; Scheck et al., 2006). According to routine and lifestyle theory, the most accessible, visible and convenient targets for criminals are those with whom they spend a lot of time (Schreck – Stewart – Fisher 2006).
4. *Capable Guardianship* is expressed through the efficiency or capability to protect or prevent victimization in the case of persons or belongings (the existence of an alarm, locks, grates, etc.). Security can also be social (ensured by other people) or physical (geographic location, ensured by special equipment, architectural characteristics, or positioning). According to Cohen and Felson, competent/poor surveillance can be described by two aspects: surveillance duty, which refers to accessibility, monitoring and the existence of someone who observes and can detect problematic behaviours. and intervenes when a possible criminals about to commit a crime (Hollis-Peel et al. 2011).

Limitations, critiques and additions to lifestyle theories

The routine activity theory according to which a target is chosen based on observable opportunities combined with a focus on the victim's characteristics support the idea of a rational choice as the premise both for committing the crime, as well as for preventing the victimization by the victims themselves. However, according to Dugan and Apel (2005), these approaches have a tendency to make the potential victims responsible for taking proactive preventing measures in order to reduce the degree of exposure including messages such as: each person must make sure that they are not 'in the wrong place, at the wrong time'. Such actions suggest avoiding public places and behaving and looking as unattractive as possible to criminals. Jensen and Brownfield (1986) define the model of criminal victimization opportunities as a passive theory, because the variations of victimization are explained exclusively through the factors that make them vulnerable. Therefore, one of the major weaknesses of the routine activity theory is identified as the model with the tendency to blame and make the victims responsible for what happens to them. We have chosen the routine activity theory according to which a target is chosen based on observable opportunities combined with a focus on the victim's characteristics because

it supports the idea of a rational choice as the premise both for committing the crime, as well as for preventing the victimization by the victims themselves.

The theory of opportunity that includes both lifestyle and routine activity offers consistent explanation for committing infractions that do not imply a personal relationship between criminals and victims, and does not provide explanations for the violent acts that occur among acquaintances, family members (violence between partners) or crimes against young people and children (Finkelhor – Asidian 1996; Dugan – Apel 2005; Finkelhor 2007; 2008). According to Dugan and Apel (2005) in cases of crimes committed by acquaintances or family members, attempts to change victims' routine activities for their protection can have an unwanted effect, as it can lead to retaliatory violence by family members. After the completion of a research study on violence between partners, Dugan, Rosenfeld and Nagin (2003) emphasize that criminological policies must take into consideration strategy variations and risks of victimization through retaliatory violence.

Studying the victimization of adolescents and children, Finkelhor (2008) argues that the approaches in regards to lifestyle concepts and routine activities are not sufficient in explaining cases when the offenders are acquaintances or family members. Consequently, they try to combine the results from studies of child abuse with the lifestyle theory realizing the need to revise the concepts and elaborate the comprehensive dynamic model of victimization. In the cases of abuse committed by acquaintances, concepts of surveillance, exposure and proximity must not be seen as aspects of routine activity, but as environmental factors that expose or protect the persons from victimization. Thus, a child that is in a situation that poses a risk of sexual abuse due to violent and negligent parents cannot be considered a consequence of the child's lifestyle or routine activity. Certain personal characteristics become risks without being linked to lifestyle or routine activity (for example, being female, the state of emotional deprivation in one's own family, etc.), only because these are characteristics congruent with the needs or psychological vulnerabilities of the potential criminal (Finkelhor 2008). Therefore, Finkelhor (2007, 2008) talks about a "congruent target", which means the aforementioned congruence between the needs, motivations of the criminal and the characteristics of the victim, who can also be described through three subcategories:

1. *Target vulnerability*: some characteristics of the victims enhance the risks of victimization because they may compromise the victims' ability to resist victimization and/or enhance the probability of becoming an easy target for criminals (for example in the cases of victimization of people with all sorts of disabilities).
2. *Target gratification*: certain characteristics of the potential victims become risks because their qualities, abilities, belongings are wanted by the potential criminal, and he/she therefore tries to obtain or use them. For example, for heterosexual male sex-offenders target gratification is represented by females or, in case of paedophiles, the targets are children.
3. *Target antagonism*: this refers to situations with an induced state of anger, jealousy, or destructive impulses of the criminal against the target. This is often the case of aggressions against targets belonging to certain ethnic or sexual minorities, or abuse inflicted by parents on children (for example, a crying baby), cases of bullying etc. (Finkelhor 2008).
4. The concept of "congruence" can be used as complementary to the lifestyle and the routine activities perspective, but in varying importance from one type of infraction

to another. In relatively impersonal situations (street or school attacks) or when the criminal acts are committed by a family member with violent behaviour, the victim is chosen based on proximity. An alcoholic stepfather may involve his stepdaughter in prostitution as she is 'close at hand', or a trafficker may randomly choose a victim in a club. There are different types of acts and violent attacks in which the model of the congruent target offers a satisfying explanation (Finkelhor 2008).

5. In our present study, we adapted the opportunity theories, as described in Cohen and Felson's theory of routine activities (1979), and the lifestyle exposure theory of Hindelang, Goffredson and Garofalo (1978) with the dynamic theory of comprehensive vulnerability by Finkelhor and his collaborators (Finkelhor – Asidian 1996; Finkelhor 2007; 2008) to situations of criminal victimization for sex trafficking (interpersonal, sexual, organized crime). Thus, we build our model of typology on the concepts of the motivated offender, the congruent target and the lack of competent guardianship (see figure 1).

Methodological framework of the research

The general objective of this paper is to contribute to the conceptualization of the phenomenon of human trafficking for sexual exploitation by capturing the heterogeneity of characteristics and risk factors and by providing a typology of victims. In practice we seek to contribute to the improvement of prevention of victimization, as well as identification and assistance of the victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation.

The interviews were conducted with 36 interviewees in a total of 44 interview sessions. All the participants in this research were beneficiaries of psycho-social and legal assistance programmes offered by the organizations forming the partnership; were monitored as victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation and cooperated with the justice system.

In order to capture the large variety of thoughts and feelings of the victims, but also to allow for the smooth comparison of data transcripts among interview operators, the researchers have opted for a semi-structured in-depth interview guide, conducted face to face. All the interviews were carried out after a first conversation between researcher or a counsellor and victims in order to make sure that the victim was in a stable emotional state, capable of discussing her feelings and the facts of victimization, willing to cooperate with the interviewer and able to sign the consent sheet. The interview guide was centred on the following topics: the victim's personal history before trafficking (narrative part); characterization of themselves and their situation at the moment of recruitment; the way they came to be trafficked; the escape; and future plans.

Interviews were conducted in 10 cities (Cluj, Turda, Bucharest, Timisoara, Medias, Alba Iulia, Târgu-Mures, Satu-Mare, Giurgiu and Galati) throughout the country. The locations of the interviews were the counselling rooms or the offices of NGOs or of state institutions.

Demographic data of the interviewed persons are presented in Table 1 and 2. As data show 2/3 of them were ethnic Romanians, 27% Roma and less than 1% Hungarians. Regarding their age at the time of recruitment half of them were recruited as minors (under 18 years old) with 6 of them younger than 15 years of age. Two minors and two adults reported that they experienced a second recruitment. At the time of the interview 86% were adults.

Figure 1.
Research model: Dimensions of Victim Typology

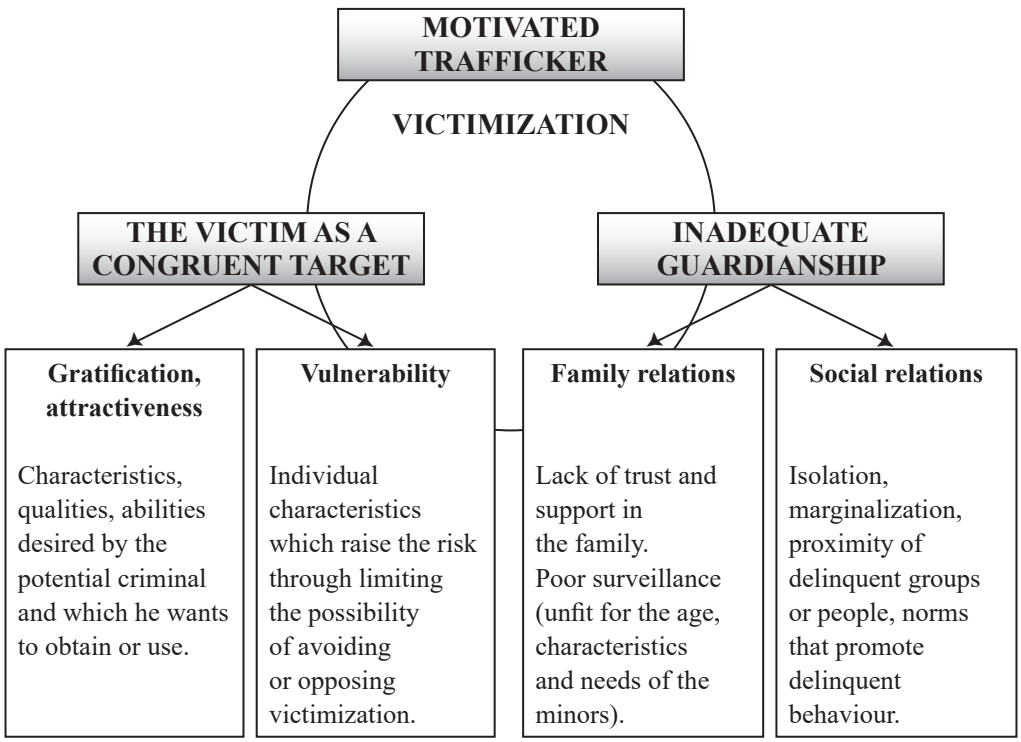

Table 1.
Ethnicity, age, number of interviews and educational level of the interviewed victims

Ethnicity	N	Age	1st recruitment/N	2ndrecruitment/N	Educational level	N
Romanian	24	12-15	6	1	No schooling at all	2
Roma	10	16-17	12	1	1- 4 grades	3
Hungarian	2	18-20	8	1	5-8 grades	12
		21-33	8	1	9-12 grades	16
					Vocational post-high-school	1
					College	2
Total	**36**		**34**	**4**		**36**

Table 2.
Destination country, location and period of operation of the interviewed victims

Destination country	**1st trafficking experience /N**	**2nd trafficking experiences** (retrafficking)**/N**	**Place of exploitation**	**N**	**Period of exploitation**	**N**
Romania	14	4	On the street	12	Less than 1 month	7
Italy	7	2	In clubs	7	1–3 months	4
Spain	4	1	Apartment	6	4–6 months	6
France	2		Customers' houses	2	8-12 months	9
England	1		Street and apartment	2	13-42 months	8
Austria	1		Street and hotel	2	Not clear	2
Switzerland	1		Bar	1		
Greece	1		Hotel	1		
Ireland	1		Shop windows	1		
The Netherlands	1		Not clear	2		
Sweden	1					
Germany	0	1				
Turkey	0	1				
Attempt	2					
Total	**36**	**9**		**36**		**36**

Regarding their level of education 5 victims had graduated from primary school, and another 12 victims graduated from secondary school. Several victims reported dropping out of school (mostly high schools) because they have been trafficked. Countries where victims were exploited reflect the variety shown in the official reports (ANITP 2011; 2012; 2013; EUROSTAT 2015) with the most frequent destination of trafficking being Italy and Spain. More than one third - 39% - of the victims had been exploited within Romania. Looking at the duration of the trafficking experience of victims seven people were exploited for less than one month, four of them up to 3 months, six between 4 and 6 months, and most of them for a period longer than half a year, of whom nine at least 8 months and up to one year, while eight people from 1 to 3.5 years. According to the number of trafficking experiences, interviewees revealed 2 trafficking attempts, 3 cases of re-victimization (victims escaped the trafficking situation and were re-captured by traffickers) and 5 cases of multiple sales, with victims who never managed to escape between two sales.

Presentation of the results of categorization

The transcripts of the interviews were subjected to a thematic analysis. Data were analysed using the software programme called Qualitative Data Miner Analysis 3 (QDA Miner 3). The advantage of using this software consists in the possibility of analyzing large amounts of data and in the rigor and transparency of the analysis.[2]

Following the recommendations of Chenail (2008), data analysis involved categorization, summarization and data reconstruction with the aim to highlight key issues and convert them into representative models. Segmentation and categorization of data were carried out through thematic coding. This consisted in identifying potentially interesting events, features, phrases, behaviours, or stages of a process and differentiating them by using labels (Benaquisto 2008). The process of analysis focused on relevant issues related to the research topics as well as on the relationship and the intensity of relations between certain categories. Regarding the codes used in the analysis, these were generated based on the aforementioned literature and were supplemented and amended by generating new codes as they emerged from the texts in a continuous process.

Narratives of victims grounded the interpretation of data according to the comprehensive dynamic theory of vulnerability, as developed by Finkelhor and his collaborators (Finkelhor – Asidian 1996; Finkelhor 2007, 2008). The cluster analysis we performed revealed seven victim types whose characteristics were described using the concepts of opportunity theory (described above): the victim's relation to the trafficker as motivated offender, attractiveness, and vulnerabilities of the victims, as well as family and institutional/social relations that define guardianship and protection.

I. Victims who need the social, material and emotional support offered by the trafficker can be described as the group of homeless victims, with mental health issues or other illnesses, without the experience of positive attachment relationships during their lifetime, whose interpersonal networks are characterized by abusive and neglectful relationships. Persons from this group did not benefit from institutional support and have low level education. They lack life-skills and report high degrees of exposure to crime, substance abuse, and risky sexual behaviour. Their attractiveness is their vulnerability. Nobody watches over them, they have a lifestyle paved with risks, which creates large opportunities for the influence traffickers.

"I was raised by my aunt. But she beat me and harassed me in every way. After that, I wanted to leave, I gathered my papers and came to the streets. I slept outside during winter and so on. Then I came to Alba, I was still sleeping on the streets and in the train station. (...) Once, a woman came (...). She said 'I'll dress you, I'll feed you, you'll wash up, take a bath, I'll give you clothes'. After that, she took me home. (...) After that, she forced me 'Go, or I'll beat you" and out of fear, I went with that man" (victim, 21 years old, recruited at age 18)

In this case the motivated trafficker's actions were usually connected to offering food, shelter and the opportunity for personal hygiene.

[2] The main issues identified were based on the research topics and on the theoretical concepts used. 7 sub-themes were identified, 11 operational categories by using 117 codes.

II. Nearby victims, exploited in their own home. In this group there are minors exploited by their own parents/tutors and adolescents or young women exploited by husbands or life partners. In the literature on child trafficking, situations where the trafficker, or at least one of them, is a family member of the child victim are referred to as family-controlled trafficking (Mapp 2022). In the case of the two minors, the mothers had abandoned the girls and left them in the care of the men who turned out to be traffickers (one of them was legally appointed as the minor's guardian). In the case of the women exploited by their romantic partners, the relationships began when they were teenagers (16-17 years of age) and which was perceived as a love relationship by the interviewees. Before the exploitation they had lived together for a period of 1.5 to 6 years, while their partners were becoming more and more physically and emotionally violent. These dynamics in the relationship between victims and perpetrators is well-known from the literature of domestic violence and child sexual abuse (Dank 2011; Reid 2010). The victims' vulnerabilities are multiplied by the burdens of ambivalence towards their exploiter, their basic mistrust of other persons, and their inability to believe in change for a better future.

"I was 16 at the time (...) He was loving, gentle and so on. Well, alright, I fell in love with him, I loved him and maybe that's how he persuaded me. (...) We moved in together. After a while, he began to change completely, he no longer let me visit my mother, only once in a blue moon (...), he was taking away my keys. He was coming home and simply got angry for no reason (...). He beat me, but not just couple of slaps (...) he enjoyed making me suffer (...). It was pure terror. In December, his alleged cousin from Spain came (...) and we were to leave with her, so that I would work there." (victim, 18 years old, recruited at age 16)

The trafficker here is the familial aggressor involved in exploiting other women or girls or in committing other crimes: stealing, robbing, and aggression towards others. Here, the victim is an easily accessible target for the trafficker. Based on the information gathered from the interviews, we could not establish whether the intention of exploiting the partner existed from the beginning, or it appeared along the way. Some of the victims came from underworld families, where one part of the family members were exploiters (men and older women) and the rest were being exploited (children and younger women).

"(...) after that I understood that all women, aunts, nieces there... were prostitutes... the grandmother and the mother were the organizers." (victim, 20 years old, recruited at age 17)

III. The group of runaways from domestic violence is formed by underage and adult victims similar to the girls and women presented above, with the most important difference being that the victims are no longer in contact with their family members, who have no connections with the trafficker's network. The lives of such victims were also marked by family violence, but they struggled and somehow managed to escape these circumstances. During their risky journey they ended up being recruited for trafficking. For this category of runaways it is guardianship that is totally lacking. Generally speaking, these victims' violent family relationships remain invisible for the social care and protection system, so they try to find a solution themselves.

"Well, I did not grow up surrounded by love. Those two were the type of couple always arguing, and arguing... that is how I grew up. I was always hiding (...), crying, so I never had a positive view on things... I never received love (...). My father was a very bad man... because he also harassed

me... harassed, so to speak... and when I told my mother, she said that my father was only playing (...). I felt, that I had to run away, no matter where (...).” (victim, 21 years old, recruited at age 16)

In this situation, the interviewed young women dream of somebody they can have a positive experience with and change their lives for the better. In the absence of any other support means, their aspirations to escape and gain freedom on their own increased the likelihood of the presence of an interested trafficker. The interested trafficker is successful in acting as a ‘trusted friend’, who approaches the victim by offering a convenient ‘job’ and emotional support.

IV. The social innovators, who are dreamers, aspiring for a better life. Lăzăroiu and Alexandru (2003) use the term “social innovator” to reflect the activism of some of the potential victims, who despite their precarious situation wish to improve their lives and take action on their own, as opposed to those who choose to accept the status quo. Here we can find the potential victims characterized by the aspiration to a find better life by migration, without knowing much about foreign countries or any foreign languages (Lăzăroiu & Alexandru, 2003; Yea, 2005). In this category there are two subgroups: those who have a relatively good financial situation, but they wish for more and those who live in very difficult social situations, in deep poverty, sometimes at the limits of subsistence. Regarding the characteristics of the guardianship, in this group we find far better family relationships and positive attachments than in the previous groups, but the family relations have not been strong enough so as to convince the victims to abandon their migration plan in hopes of a better life.

“I was alright; I had a home, a job and a child. It was hard for us, because it was not our own home and it was expensive. We did not have any realistic ways of buying our own apartment. So one day, this family friend stopped by, a man who I considered a friend (...) and he offered us the opportunity to work abroad (...), I do not know how we finally agreed that I would leave first and my husband would come with the child later.” (victim, 28 years old, recruited at age 23).

Testimonies that the members of this group consulted the family members who, did not themselves notice the signs of deceit, makes us think about the vulnerability of the family itself regarding its capacity to analyze the job offer, and their decision-making ability based on costs and benefits, as well as risks and opportunities.

The interested traffickers may come from various fields, either as “family friends” or as “job mediators” representing imagined companies and making fake job offers.

V. The abandoned, lost and displaced victims can be described through low quality family protection or supervision, with a history of several, repeated transitions from one caregiver to another, usually different relatives (the mother, the grandparents, an aunt, an older sibling) but also close and not so close friends. Often enough they tell stories about fathers who abandoned their children and mothers in new relationships where children from the previous relationship are already seen as a burden.

“My life was harder because my mother lived with someone else and my father lived with someone else and I did not like living with my mother because I had a stepfather and there was also a stepmother at my father’s, so I lived with my sisters. I lived for a few months with one sister, another few months with another sister, then I lived with some neighbours and so on, until my oldest sister allowed me to move in with her. (...) But she moved to Germany (...). I lived

alone for about a month until one night when I went to a club and someone introduced me to two people, a man and a woman. They asked me if I wanted to have a discussion and I said yes. They told me that my life was going to become easier." (victim, 17, recruited at 16)

These victims were captured in the apartments of acquaintances, they ran away, or were kicked out from their homes. The vulnerability of the young women from this group is increased by the fact that the girls dropped-out of school (mostly before 8th grade, the end of the first education cycle in Romania), they lose interest in education and have no future goals towards personal or professional development. They have lots of unstructured time that they try to fill in by "walks to town", with unreal expectations about romantic relationships and no expectations of building their own family relationships. Another risk factor is the vicinity of people or groups of people with a criminal profile that increases the exposure level of these young women. The trafficker usually responds to the girl's aspiration of a 'movie-like' love relationship or to her desire of having loving/caring parents. These traffickers offer them care, protection, and companionship. The relationship between the recruiter and the victim is like what is known in the literature as friend-type relationships (Marcus et al. 2014). In these situations, the traffickers may act alone or as a couple.

VI. The rebels' victims. The young women in this group originate from 'good families', usually with both parents present (in case of divorce, the parents have remarried), without major problems connected to the living or working environment. Regarding the level of education, the parents have a professional education (up to higher education), are employed, and valued in the community. As for guardianship, parents in this category do not give time and attention to their daughters, because of their working schedule. The rules existing in the family are either too strict or too permissive and powerless. In both situations the girls declare emotional neglect. Often in these families there is discrimination between female and male children (boys usually getting more attention, being favoured, and having more freedom). The conflicts in the family are denied or treated superficially. The individual vulnerability of the young girls comes from their desire to become 'someone' early in their lives, without the necessary financial, human or informational capital in order to fulfill their aspiration of visibility, well-being and independence. On a personal level, one could notice sensation seeking behaviour, subjective poverty reports, lack of a real support from an adult, tendency in crossing norms, drug abuse and the mirage of the 'scene'.

"(...) if my mother and father hassled me, I would leave and not return home for 2-3 days (...) I started drinking alcohol, smoking and I met that certain boy and that was when this trafficking thing started." (17 years old, recruited at age 13 and at age 15)

"(...) I was supposed to go to this teacher's house and my mother (...) gave me the money to go to the teacher's house. Meanwhile, together with my cousin, we said 'Let's go have a soda' ... and we spent the money. (...) I bought either a blouse, a pair of jeans, there was no more money and I did not dare ask my mother for money for both jeans and tutoring (...), so, together with my cousin we decided 'Let's find jobs' (...) and we somehow came across an ad for a massage parlour (...). When they said we had to do erotic massages... wow, we did not even know what that was (...), but the girls there explained it, they showed us all kinds of things (...), so we said: we are not going to see anything we had not seen before" (victim, 23 years old, recruited from an erotic massage parlour at age 18)

The interested traffickers seem to have been experienced and manipulative, who can convincingly present attractive offers to lure the young, inexperienced, somewhat educated women to be exploited in the luxury sex industry.

VII. The last group described according to the interview analysis is that of **the helpers,** or the risky altruists as described by Homant (2010). The representatives of this group come from families were helping and sacrificing oneself for the other is highly praised. In almost all these cases there was a sick family member, whose care was the responsibility of the victim. Testimonies revealed the tendency of the victims to be exploited also by the circle of close friends. Individual vulnerability comes from wanting to help the others, of being useful, and of fear to be disliked by contradicting others. The traffickers are exploiting these 'savior'-like tendencies by telling stories about, for example, a friend or someone close, who needs 'saving' from a desperate situation and thus the victim is lured to the criminal's vicinity and interests.

"I had a very good relationship with my mother, but she was always in the hospital (...). She has 87 surgeries and epilepsy (...). In the hospital, I felt like home. (...) I was always so ... considerate in taking care of others, you had to protect them, to cast yourself aside in order to please others. (...) Before everything happened, I considered her (she is referring to the girl who recruited her and sent her to the trafficker – a. n.) to be my best friend (...). We were exactly like two sisters. (...) I almost felt sorry for her because she had three younger brothers and problems (...). I used to invite her to my place for dinner or to do homework. (...) I did not know then what kind of entourage she had. I wanted to help her." (victim, 20 years old, recruited at age 14)

Discussion and limitations of the research

Further details of the victims' personal stories and data on recruitment, transportation, sexual exploitation, efforts to escape, and other details based on the victims' and some stakeholders' interviews are to be found on the project's website[3].

The proposed model - based on the concepts of motivated trafficker, attractive victim and lack of adequate supervision and protection of the victim, as adapted after the lifestyle exposure theory (Hindelang – Goffredson – Garofalo 1978) – allowed us to distinguish several of the characteristics of the victims involved in trafficking and their accounts of victimization. Incorporating the "before trafficking life stories" dimension, as suggested by Finkelhor (2007; 2008), gave a perspective on the family history that helped us understand the complexity of the cases of trafficking and the succession of events that lead to victimization. Understanding the differences in personal history, education, experience with violent and/or delinquent lifestyles, in guardianship and the failure to provide protection, can increase the capacity of professional communities to recognize victimization and intervene earlier. The analysis of the interviews shows that blaming the victims for being trafficked is neither justified and nor does it qualify as a solution. We are hoping to inspire the professional community to advance efforts for effective and proper intervention.

[3] ANIMANOVA PROJECT, http://www.cpe.ro/resurse/cercetari/14-resurse/cercetari/19-sperante-la-vanzare-cercetare-calitativa-privind-traficul-in-vederea-exploatarii-sexuale-in-romania-si-italia-2012

One of the limitations of this research refers to the selection of the researched group. The study includes only those sexually exploited people who were included in different assistance or monitoring programmes. We did not have access to explore the histories and characteristics of those who had not benefited from such post-escape assistance programmes. Another limitation is connected to the critical underrepresentation of the male victims in the research group. Even though worldwide statistics show that their number is lower than that of the female victims (UNODC 2020; EUROSTAT 2013), interviewing only one male victim in this research is not enough to draw any conclusions about males trafficked for sexual exploitation. Similarly, the study does not include sexual exploitation of migrants, a category that is well represented in the materials elaborated by the Western destination countries. Everyone we interviewed as had been trafficked for sexual exploitation abroad had been recruited in Romania, their country of origin. Another limitation is the absence of the trafficker's perspective. To enrich the description of the victim's attractiveness and motivated traffickers we need more information about the traffickers' rationale and social circumstances on how he perceives the risks and benefits of sexually exploiting human beings.

Conclusions

The acknowledgment and clarification of the heterogeneous character of the population of victims of sexual exploitation should lead professionals to a more proactive identification (and not wait for the case to be identified by police). The seven described profiles of the victim categories also emphasize the need for specific prevention and intervention activities, centred on the vulnerability factors corresponding to the respective category.

Our analysis shows that weak social cohesion and support systems are a powerful risk factor for sexual exploitation. Improving social and family connections, even in the presence of different risk factors in the families and community of young people could have strong protective effects. This provides a path for assistance and reintegration programmes needed to rebuild the social cohesion networks around the victims of trafficking. We do not have enough psychological treatment services to deal with personal therapy, counselling, and family therapy, but professionals could rely more on social networks and approach vulnerabilities from the social networking and community building perspective. On the other hand, the profound traumatic experiences, and complex vulnerabilities of the victims of trafficking require intensive and often long-term counselling and therapeutic work.

In order to weaken the vulnerability factors, we need efficient strategies aimed at reducing poverty (both subjective and objective poverty) but also to reduce school abandonment. In this respect we would like to insist upon the importance of the school programmes like "The Second Chance Programme", both in education and social development. Regarding the latter we need a legal, fiscal system that would increase the interest and motivation to finance such programmes.

The need of prevention programmes for adolescents and young people has also become evident: improving life skills, sexual education, and the promotion of safe relationships have been missing in the upbringing of the young victims.

To efficiently elaborate further psycho-social interventions, research should continue to look into the developmental history of the victims, as well as their evolution in the different

phases of victimization, escape and post-escape period in order to deduce the information both about the limits and the benefits of the assistance they received as well as the services these victims never got.

A future point of interest would also be the verification of the results (the dimensions used to build the typology, the types detected and the theoretical model) on the other categories of victims: male victims of sexual trafficking, those who suffered a different type of exploitation (begging, work exploitation, organ trafficking), those who stayed in the destination countries after escaping exploitation. The model is applicable in Romania, but it would be interesting to see how differences as the countries' social-economic level, education system, social protection system and availability of services influences attractiveness of victims, guardianship deficiencies and the interest of the traffickers, but until proven differently, we presume there are many similarities.

Another aspect that would deserve testing is the applicability of the model towards the study of the perpetrator (the interested trafficker) and perhaps towards the sexual services industry itself.

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Internet as a helping tool or does it make you a fool?

Perceptions of secondary education students about the use of the Internet for learning

Abstract

Our paper presents first results from an interview based qualitative research among students on the relationship between ICT use and learning, as well as school performance. The interviews were coducted among secondary education students in the academic year 2019-2020, which was influenced by the switch to digital education due to COVID-19 measurements. The interview explored students' perceptions about the effects of the Internet on their generation, the modes of use for learning and the relationship between ICT use and school perfomance. Based on the narratives we suggest that the Internet is mostly considered useful and helpful in learning for students, but only when being aware of how to use it effectively for enhancing learning and school performance.

Keywords

ICT use, learning, school perfomance, qualitative research, students

DOI 10.14232/belv.2023.1.8
https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2023.1.8

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:
Vincze Anikó (2023): Internet as a helping tool or does it make you a fool? Perceptions of secondary education students about the use of the Internet for learning. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 35. no. 1. pp 124–138.

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)
ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

www.belvedere-meridionale.hu

1. Introduction

For students nowadays using ICT for learning and school work is almost indispensable. However there have been contradictious results about the impact of Internet use on school performance. Some studies found a positive effect, while others revealed negative relationships or no effects at all. In their research, Eynon and Malmberg (2011) explored patterns of Internet use by young children and their impact on learning. The survey data were collected from 8, 12, 14 and 17-19 year olds in the UK. The researchers identified four usage profiles[1] based on the results, combining intensity and mode of use. The authors argue that each of these modes of Internet use can contribute to learning, just in different ways and to different degrees. Thus Internet use can have a positive impact on school activities, if teachers and educational professionals encourage and support children's ICT use and build on children's skills and knowledge by understanding their usage profiles (Eynon-Malmerg 2011).

Similarly, Jackson and colleagues (Jackson et al. 2010) have found a positive association between Internet use and school performance for some aspects. A longitudinal study in the United States measured the impact of Internet and video game use in children aged 12 and younger. They found that Internet use improved reading skills in children with reading skills below the average. For children with reading skills above the average, there was no detectable effect of Internet use. The authors point out, however, that the relationship is complex, with socio-demographic factors being a strong differentiating factor, affecting both the dependent and independent variables. Data from the PISA surveys include data on both school performance and ICT use for many countries. Analysis of the Turkish sub-sample of PISA 2006 showed that access to computers/Internet, both at home and at school, and advanced use of computers/Internet (e.g. using excel, using learning support software, etc.) increased scores in science skills. There was also a significant association between the use of computers and the Internet for recreational purposes, but this factor had a negative impact on the competences assessed (Anil-Ozer 2012). Based on international data of PISA 2006, Spiezia (2011) also found a positive association between ICT use and science scores, controlling for student demographic characteristics and social background. The researcher examined the effect of ICT use at home and at school separately and found that the use at home had a stronger effect on performance than use at school (Spiezia 2011). Delen and Bulut (2011), analysing data from the 2009 PISA survey, also found a positive relationship between ICT use and school performance in a subsample of Turkish students

[1] These were: peripherals, normatives, all-rounders, active participators.

on survey date from PISA 2009. Their results showed that access to and use of ICT at home was associated with higher mathematics and science scores (Delen – Bulut 2011).

Other studies, on the other hand, have found that Internet use alone does not cause better school performance.

Fuchs and Woessmann (2004), in their analysis of the initial PISA data recorded in 2000, found that the initially positive relationship of ICT access and use with test scores becomes negative as more background variables such as student demographics, family background and school characteristics are included in the analysis (Fuchs – Woessmann 2004). Similarly, Mominó and Meneses (2007) have highlighted that the positive relationship between ICT use and school performance is only apparent, in fact it is the positive social background that leads to this relationship. They argue that Internet use alone does not contribute to better student outcomes. They also conclude that the appropriate use of the Internet for more effective learning is not a cause but a consequence of better school performance (Mominó – Meneses 2007).

Quantitative results on the relationship between Internet use and school performance are thus contradictory, they show both positive and negative effects. But what about the perceptions of the students – who were the target group of the analyses – regarding this topic?

Ben-David Kolikant (2010) explored students' perceptions of this issue from a qualitative perspective, applying semi-structured interviews among students. An interesting result of the interviews was, that although students, as frequent Internet users, perceived the Internet as a helping tool in their studies, they mostly considered their skills, knowledge and academic performance as inferior to that of the pre-Internet generation. From the students narratives two main reasons outlined for this perception. On the one hand, students thought that schools didn't adapt to the changing world and changing competencies of students. On the other hand, they believed that the previous generation's knowledge was better because they read more books and were more interested in school and learning, since they were less "tempted" than today's "digital natives". The author's explains the students' ambivalent perception of the link between the Internet and learning, by the confusing values in education and in their everyday lives. While surrounded by digital devices youngsters access information through creativity and 'bricolage' technique (Turkle 1995) in their everyday life, in education the 'person-solo' (Perkins 1992) principle still prevails, which refers to the need for the person to acquire and possess knowledge and information. This principle is supported by the teaching and assessment methods in school. This confusion of values therefore makes students feel that their knowledge and skills, which are related to the use of ICT, are not valuable in education and thus do not contribute to a better performance (Ben-David Kolikant 2010).

More than ten years after Ben-David Kolikant's research we intend to re-explore students' perceptions of the relationship between Internet use and learning. In the last few years, there have been issues that lead to the reconsideration of this topic, since due to the COVID-19 pandemic schools had to switch to digital education. The digital competencies of students and teachers played an essential role in the success of this period. Therefore it is more important than ever to research the relationship between ICT-use and learning, as well as school performance.

In this paper we intend to reveal the opinions of students about the use of the Internet for learning. Do they consider it a helping tool for performing better at school or rather a hindering factor in their academic achievements? To find the answers, secondary education students have been interviewed regarding this topic.

2. Methods

Semi-structured interviews were conducted among secondary education students during the academic year 2019-2020. The main criterion for inclusion in the sample was being a student in secondary education. The sample included both boys and girls, from different parts of the country, different types of settlements, and with varying academic achievement. In total, 20 students were interviewed. The questions were focusing on the relationship between ICT use and learning, as well as school performance. The interviews thus explored the role of ICT use in learning and academic performance. In the qualitative research, we aimed at exploring the students' own reflections as members of the 'digital natives' (Prensky 2001) generation, and the mechanisms behind the associations.

During the interviews, first the students' educational characteristics were explored, then they were asked in detail about their ICT use and Internet usage. The answers to these questions helped to interpret further responses in a context of academic achievement and Internet use. In a following part, students were asked what effects they think Internet use has on their peers and on themselves. We also explored in detail their views on the perceived links between ICT use and learning, as well as academic achievement. Then students were asked how important they consider ICT use to be for their later life in society. Finally the interview touched upon the reflections of students on the comparison of the knowledge and learning methods of their generation and the generation before the spread of the Internet. During the interviews, we sought to understand the mechanisms through which ICT use helps or hinders students' performance at school.

In analysing the interviews, I used the method of topic coding (Mújdricza-Földvári 2018). The patterns in the responses were coded according to topics. This made it easier to interpret the individual responses. First sample composition and the characteristics regarding school performance and Internet usage are described, then each interview section is analized in detail, with quotes form the interviews to illustrate the findings.

3. Results

3.1. Description of the sample

The gender distribution of the 20 interviewees is dominated by girls, with a total of 14 girls and 6 boys in the sample. All of them are students in secondary education, therefore the age range is between 14-19 years. Most respondents (12) are 15 years old. The distribution of the remaining 9 respondents is: 2 aged 14, 1 aged 16, 2 aged 17, 3 aged 18 and 1 aged 19. The sample is heterogeneous in terms of settlement types, so that it includes respondents living in a village (2), a city (7) and a county seat (11). Most of the students are attending a high school (16), 2-2 are in vocational or technical schools. School perfomrance was assessed on the basis of two questions. First we asked the interviewees what kind of student they considered themselves in terms of school performance, then we asked them about their credit index from the previous semester. Self-ratings and credit indexes were broadly in line. Those who consider themselves to be 'average learners'

(in other words, „lazy") had a credit index of between grade 3 and 4. Those who define themselves as 'good learners' achieved a credit index above grade 4. We made a distinction between 'good students' (with a credit index between 4.0 and 4.5) and 'excellent students' (with a credit index above 4.5). The former category comprises three students and the letter eight students.

All respondents are frequent Internet users, they can be called members of the digital natives generation. Some reported that they had been exposed to ICT from an early stage of their childhood, in kindergarten or even earlier. Half of the respondents had first impressions of ICT in primary school at the age of 6-9 years. A further few had their first exposure to digital devices at „only" 10-12 years old. Most respondents date their first Internet use from school age. The Internet has become part of their everyday life, with all reporting that they use the Internet on a daily basis. While digital education did not play a role in the frequency of use, it did play a role in the duration and intensity of use. Interviewees who were interviewed during the digital education period reported much longer daily Internet use, with some spending more than 10 hours a day on the Internet during the week. Only one interviewee considered his daily Internet use to be no more than 1-1.5 hours per day on a weekday, but the others spent at least 3-4 hours or more per day online. Two trends emerge regarding weekday and weekend online time. Most of the interviewees spend more time on the Internet at the weekend, but some intentionally try to spend less time on the Internet at the weekend. As one interviewee put it:

„[I spend time on the Internet] On a school day much more than on weekends, because then on a school day you have to do your homework, then there are online classes so it takes 4-5 hours at least, therefore I try to avoid it on weekends and spend less online." (15-year-old girl, village)

The most common place of Internet use mentioned was home, but many also reported that Internet use was not a fixed activity, thanks to mobile Internet. This is also related to the fact, that the most frequently used ICT device among them is the smartphone. All interviewees mentioned to use a smartphone, but many also use a laptop, some a desktop computer or a tablet. Of these devices, smartphones are the most commonly used, with a few respondents mentioning only laptops as the most commonly used ICT device.

Internet usage was explored in several questions. Students were asked about their general Internet activities, what they spend most time with doing online, and what they like to do online the most. They do a wide range of activities online, with almost all of them mentioning social media and chatting. Many reported watching videos, movies, TV shows and listening to music online. In addition to these main activities, playing games, reading the news and shopping were also mentioned. Even for this question, the use for learning also came up, partly due to online education. The use for learning has been explored in detail a next section of the interviews. Of the activities listed, they reported spending most of their time on social media platforms (Instagram, Facebook, TikTok), looking at pictures, watching videos and get in touch, or chatting with friends. Furthermore, many of them spend a lot of time on video-sharing platforms watching videos, series and movies. One interviewee spends most of his time browsing the news. Studying and doing schoolwork was mentioned by one person as the activity that occupies most of the time online. However, she cited online education as the reason for this, despite this she also uses social media the most.

Beyond the frequency and duration of online activities, the interviews also provided an opportunity to explore students' attitudes towards online activities. We asked them what they liked most doing on the Internet. We assumed that their answers would be consistent with

the activities they spend most of the time with. Indeed, in most cases, the activities they do most often, and spend the most time with, are the ones they like best. However, there are some exceptions. Several students, despite spending most of their time on social media and with chatting, did not name this as their favourite activity, but rather listening to music or watching movies or series. These few responses therefore suggest that the Internet is merely a means of keeping in touch for young people, but this function is not the one that provides them with pleasure, but the wide range of recreational and leisure opportunities it offers.

3.2. Perception of Internet use as a resource

Many views and narratives emerged at the beginning of the spread of the Internet about its impacts on personality, social relationships etc., mainly articulating fears about its effects. Krajcsi (2000) summarised the fears expressed in the media and in everyday discourse, which were organised around the fears of loss of reliability, credibility, loss of a sense of reality, alienation, loss of identity, increased aggression, increased prevalence of pathologies and extremes, dehumanisation of communication, the phenomenon of the sea of information and negative utopias. Twenty years on, the opinions of the interviewed students reflect some of these negative aspects. The difference is that, whereas at the beginning of the millennium the fears were based on ideas and fantasies, today's students formulate them on the basis of their own experiences. This is also interesting because in the interview, students were first asked what they thought the impact of the Internet was on young people in general, and only then were they asked to explain what the harmful and beneficial effects were on their peers.

So, in case of the first question, only two of the students said that the Internet had only positive impacts. In these opinions the possibility of gaining information and making contacts is emphasized, giving a complex picture of the positive possibilities.

„Well, I think there are a lot of good things, for example, you can learn a lot of things on the Internet, you can get information, you can keep in touch with each other. So I think it has a lot of good effects." (15-year-old girl, county seat)

Half of the other interviewees reported mixed positive and negative effects, while the other half reported only negative effects of the Internet on young people. The negative effects echo some of the narratives described above about fears of the Internet at the start of the millennium. These include dependency, exposure to dangers, distraction, loss of identity and difficulty of personal communication. The mixed effects also include, on the one hand, the positive aspects of being better informed and able to obtain information, and on the other hand, the shadow aspects mentioned among the negative effects, such as exposure to dangers (data theft) and distraction. Some of the interviewees do not blame the Internet itself for the negative effects, but rather its inappropriate and excessive use.

„Those who can use the Internet in a controlled way are not particularly negatively affected. Those who can't control their use of ICT can develop distraction and cognitive impairment." (14-year-old boy, county seat)

In the next question, we asked respondents to describe the beneficial and harmful effects of the Internet on their peers. So, beyond the first reaction to the effects of the Internet that students

had given in the previous question, in this question we wanted to explore different positive and negative narratives. Most of the young people who responded, consider the Internet to be harmful because it is easy to become addicted to it through excessive use. This is not surprising given the responses on Internet time, as many spend the bigger half of their day awake on the web or at least in accessible mode. In addition to addiction, physical effects such as physical inactivity, lethargy, lack of restful sleep and eye damage, as well as mental effects such as depression and self-doubt, are also expressed as negative. The positive effects are clearly dominated by the acquisition of information and the function of keeping in touch. Overall, the interview findings reveal a paradox: while the Internet is part of their everyday lives and fills much of their time, they have a negative, or at least mixed perception of its effects on their peers and their generation. The harmful effects listed are more diverse and varied than the beneficial effects.

While in the previous questions we asked about the effects of Internet use on their generation and peers in general, in the following questions we focused on the ways in which they personally use the Internet as a resource and why Internet use is good for them. The most frequent benefit of the Internet for students themselves, according to their responses, was the ease and speed with which they could find information, find their way around, mentioned by one in two. This included a wide range of things: accessing news, finding out about world events and local happenings, and generally getting any kind of information easily. In this process, they emphasise the importance of finding information quickly and easily on the Internet, which they prefer to traditional forms of information (e.g. the library).

„ [...] and there are also a lot of ideas on the Internet that can be used for anything, even creative things. It's much easier to search and look it up on the Internet than to have to look it up in a book and see how to solve a problem." (15-year-old girl, city)

Getting information is also linked to helping people to learn, a function that was specifically mentioned as a personal benefit of the Internet by only a few. These two functions contribute mainly to increasing cultural capital and human capital.

The other type of capital which the Internet is perceived to make significant contribution to is social capital, which is manifested in the facilitation of networking. This benefit was mentioned significantly more often, by about half of the respondents.

„For me, using the Internet is mostly advantageous because I can keep in touch with people I know, who live in different cities, even with people I know abroad, [...]" (15-year-old girl, city)

They therefore benefit from the many advantages of the Internet in terms of contact, as it is faster, cheaper and easier for them than traditional methods. The social capital function is not primarily about expanding the network of contacts, but about maintaining it, according to their opinions.

Other benefits of the Internet cited by some, are recreation and leisure time.

„Because it turns you off. So that's exactly what my mother and I were talking about the other day, that she, for example, can't sit in front of a computer or laptop all day like me or my dad. For us it's recreation, for her it's not." (15-year-old boy, city)

Compared to the academic performance, as measured by the semester averages, it is clear that the recreational function of the Internet was only mentioned by the high achievers (with an average above 4.5). However, the dominant benefit among them is also the acquisition of knowledge. Respondents categorised as good learners (4.0-4.49 semester average) mentioned the use of the Internet as a non-resource-increasing use, in addition to keeping in touch

and gaining knowledge. However, it is interesting to note that for intermediate learners (average 3.0-3.99), the narratives of personal usefulness of the Internet were mainly related to acquiring knowledge and keeping in touch, while recreation was not mentioned. These correlations imply the possibility that the use of the Internet as a resource is based on a reverse mechanism, i.e. that worse performing students rely more on the Internet as a resource for knowledge acquisition, while for good performing students the use of the Internet is not necessarily an asset. This issue is explored in more detail in the next section.

3.3. Modes of Internet use for learning

The general impact of the Internet in terms of its function as a facilitator of knowledge acquisition and learning, has already been mentioned during the interview. This mode of use is explored in more detail below.

First, we asked how the respondents usually learn and prepare for lessons. In addition to the traditional way - using textbooks, notebooks, written notes - most of the students mentioned the Internet as a tool for learning. The following interview extract precisely points out that the Internet as a source of information does not replace, but complements, clarifies and updates the knowledge available for learning. It is presented as part of a complex system, which is obviously not a general opinion, but which certainly represents a group of young people.

„Well, within the normal framework, I prepare for lessons mainly on the basis of what is said in class. So I try to pay as much attention and remember as much as possible. However, there are many subjects for which this is not enough. Therefore, I have to study from class outlines at home and use the textbook. Most of the time, I study from the notebook for a lesson and a test. And sometimes I even use the Internet for help, because there are things I can't find in the textbook or that were not covered in class, but I am interested in. Or I can't find an explanation and the teacher might ask." (15-year-old girl, county seat)

The next interview question explored whether they use the Internet for learning and if they do, how they do it. The majority of students used ICT for learning. Two of them noted that they use it for learning because of online education at the time, otherwise it is not common for them to use the Internet for learning. There was only one interviewee who did not use ICT for learning, due to the difficulty of navigating between the large amount of information and the possibility of getting into misinformation. When considering academic performance, the trend again shows that while all the average learners use the Internet specifically for learning, occasional use appears among the good learners, and the use of ICT for learning due to the necessity of online education appears among the excellent learners.

After the above, we further narrowed down the topic and the next few questions aimed to explore the ways in which ICT is used for learning. First, we asked how the Internet and ICT were used for learning in general, and then we asked about three specific uses: (1) how much and how they are used for schoolwork and homework, (2) for preparing for class, for finding information, and (3) for communicating with schoolmates and teachers about schoolwork.

The interviews showed that in general, the students interviewed use the Internet to gather information, to supplement what they have learned in class or to do schoolwork. Some websites,

channels and applications were mentioned as being used specifically for this purpose. These include wikipedia, YouTube, zanza TV[2], the Quizlet application and of course Google as a general search engine. Many of the responses mention that the use of the Internet at home for school tasks is required by the teachers, so teachers are also increasingly using the Internet for teaching and homework, as the quote below shows.

„And, of course, a lot of homework is given online and something has to be done there. So I always do them there, actually." (15-year-old girl, county seat)

The extent to which they use the Internet to prepare for lessons varies, with both extremes, some do not at all, or only when really necessary, and there are others who go online for learning regularly and spend a lot of time with it.

The use of the Internet to communicate with schoolmates and/or teachers is common among students, via social media platforms or chat applications. This channel is often initiated by the teacher himself or herself.

„Actually, the primary platform, the Internet, is the one we keep in touch through, it's already preferred by teachers, it's easier to have a Facebook group with the class, it's easier for the class teacher to post there, he knows we'll see it much sooner than if he just writes it down in the notebook with us, and of course we keep in touch with classmates there." (15-year-old girl, county seat)

The amount of time spent with the learning modes of Internet use varies, most respondents spend the most time with the communication with schoolmates or teachers. Of course the context of digital education plays a crucial role in this, since school tasks, assignments are received and sent through online platforms. Only a few people report spending little time doing homework online or preparing for lessons online. Thus, the majority of young people typically spends a lot of time doing homework online and preparing for school. If we compare academic performance with the time spent on learning modes ont he Internet, we find that while most of the excellent and good learners spend little time doing homework online, most of the medium learners tend to spend a lot of time with it. However, the use of the Internet to prepare for lessons or to keep in touch does not show such a correlation with school performance.

3.4. The role of Internet in learning

The students interviewed thus use the Internet to support their learning in a variety of ways, both because of the circumstances of digital education and independently of it. They seem to be able to use the Internet to enhance their knowledge, to do their schoolwork and to learn. But to what extent do they feel that they are learning more and achieving better results? Do they consider the Internet as a resource that can help them learn more effectively and achieve better results at school?

We have explored this issue in three questions. First, we asked students' views on whether they think the Internet helps learning in general or not. The answers are split equally between the clear yes and also-is narratives. None of the students gave a clear ‚no' answer. The main reason why the Internet can be a resource in learning for both types of respondents is, that it is easy to access information in many different forms, to understand the lesson- if not fully understood in class - or to deepen and supplement it.

[2] Educational portal with videos for secondary education students. https://zanza.tv/

„The Internet is a big platform with an almost infinite amount of information available on any subject, as opposed to the limitations of textbooks. So I think it gives us more relevant knowledge." (14-year-old boy, county seat)

In the mixed narratives, distraction is primarily presented as a negative effect of Internet use, as a barrier to learning.

„Well, anyway, I think I would have to say that it doesn't really help, because the fact is, that there are a lot of online learning and teaching interfaces, both videos and websites. However, I think that not all young people use it, and therefore I can say from my own experience that it is very often a distraction from learning if there is any digital device nearby, because it is very easy to opt rather for this one. It's much more interesting for young people to surf the Internet rather than learning, because they find it much more interesting now." (15-year-old girl, county seat)

In addition, one student sees the Internet (also) as a barrier to learning because it makes students lazy, they feel less compelled to learn.

„It helps us, because we can get data and information much faster, and it also helps us to understand a subject if the teacher doesn't explain it in the way that suits us. But it makes us lazy, beacuse there are fewer things we have to incorporate. And that's why nowadays we're often like, „Why learn it if it's on the Internet anyway?" (15-year-old boy, county seat)

A comparison between learning outcomes and the types of responses to the general facilitating role of the Internet shows, that mixed approaches are more dominant among excellent and good learners, while more intermediate students consider the role of the Internet in learning as only positive.

In the second question, moving from the general to the specific, we wanted to know to what extent do respondents consider the Internet to be a helpful tool for their own learning? The answers to this question, which concerned the interviewee's own experience, show a slightly different pattern. Half of the students think that the Internet is exclusively helpful for their own learning. Again, this aspect comes from easier access to information.

Some of them gave a mixed response to the previous question, so it seems that they are able to avoid the negative effects that they usually consider as a hindrance for others in their own use of the Internet, such as distraction from learning. This is what appears as a main negative impact in the mixed effect response types.

„I would say it is about 40% helpful and 60% not. I get distracted very easily and I often take breaks during which I look at my phone and get distracted." (15 year old girl, city)

When asked about their own experiences, there were also a couple of responses that considered the Internet to be mainly a barrier to learning. One explanation for it was the plenty of time that it takes to search the web for credible information and another one referred to the misinformations on the Internet. Interestingly, when compared with academic performance, there was a tendency for more responses from the excellent students to be mixed or to emphasise the negatives, when it comes to the impact on their own learning. While only one student among intermediate students expressed a mixed effect, the rest considered the Internet as a resource or a tool to help them in their learning.

Finally, we also asked directly to what extent the Internet helps respondents to achieve better results at school. The majority of students felt that the Internet helped them to do better at school. This is mainly due to the fact that they can supplement classroom material or, if they do not understand something, they can easily look it up and understand it better.

„I think the Internet helps us to get a better evaluation, because we can read and study more information from more sources than from a single book. For example, I mean, in a given book, a topic is described in 2-3 pages, and on the Internet you will find it in 15-20 pages and you will find the information you need." (15-year-old boy, county seat)

In one or two cases it was expressed that school performance is actually independent of Internet use, i.e. the Internet does not help them to achieve better grades because the information is (would be) available otherwise. The advantage of the Internet is that it is faster to get information, but it does not change the quality of the information, which can be found in printed books also.

When the types of responses are broken down into categories based on semester averages, it reveals that ‚good' and ‚excellent' students tend to think that their academic performance is independent of their use of the Internet. However, among intermediate learners, all told that Internet use contributes to achieve better results at school for them.

3.5. The role of Internet use in success

Students were asked two more general questions about the relationship between Internet use and academic achievement, and success in life. We wanted to know to what extent the students themselves perceived the relationship between Internet use and success to be decisive, and of what direction they assumed the relationship to be. First, we asked for their opinions on the role Internet use plays in determining whether someone is a successful or an unsuccessful student.

Categorising the responses, only a few thought that the Internet plays a significant role in determining school performance. On the one hand - from a positive point of view- , it helps and facilitates learning, therefore contributes to a better performance, but on the other hand - from a negative point of view-, the Internet as a source of 'temptation' distracts from learning, therefore it contributes to a worse performance at school. The same narrative was reflected in the responses which emphasized that it is the mode of use that plays a crucial role in the relationship between Internet use and school performance. Therefore it is mainly the reverse mechanism that emerges in the responses, namely that it is not the Internet that makes someone a successful or unsuccessful student, but it's rather the acadamic performance that influences how effectively one can use the Internet for learning. This is also expressed in the following quote:

„It really shows who is a good learner, because bad learners are distracted by the Internet and don't learn, good learners are different in that they can put the Internet aside for learning." (15-year-old girl, county seat)

Those who emphasise the use-dependent role of Internet in school performance also highlight, that computer games, Internet browsing and chatting can distract attention and take time away from learning, causing these students to perform worse at school.

„[...] some people come home from school and then sit down in front of the computer and play for about six hours. And then you just obviously don't have time to study, so either you're very smart and you live off what you've learned in class and what you've heard in class and memorized, or you're a very low-performing student." (15-year-old girl, county seat)

Some of the interviewees believe that academic achievement is independent of Internet use, partly because the information available on the Internet can be learned from books, and partly

because individual characteristics such as diligence, motivation and social background play a greater role in academic success.

„I think that how someone learns does not depend on the Internet, but rather on motivation, diligence and maybe family background. It only matters for your grades if you use it for cheating, but even then it's only your grades that will be good, your knowledge won't be better." (15-year-old girl, city)

All three categories of responses (use-dependent, independent, greater role of individual characteristics), based on the semester averages of the respondents, appear in all three categories, but it is interesting that the mentioning of the importance of social background only appeared in the responses of the top students.

Internet use can be a resource not only for increasing cultural capital and learning, but also for developing human capital, which can contribute to success in later life. During the interviews, we explored the perceptions of the current generation of digital native students about the role of ICT usage, in influencing their success in life.

Half of students attribute a big role to the use of ICT in their success in life. They are largely positive about this role and offer a variety of explanations for it. On the one hand, it is important because digital competences and skills are (will be) indispensable for future work, administration and everyday life in general. So it is the context of the information society that makes the ICT competencies a source of success in life .

„It is important and it has a big role because a lot of things have to be done online and if I learn to use it as soon as possible, I can overcome obstacles more easily." (19 year old girl, county seat)

On the other hand, the Internet can be important for accessing information, getting ideas and the opportunity for self-development in order to get on in life.

„It can take many forms, those who just sit at home and play, don't get very far in life, but those who are looking into things/developing themselves, even in terms of their work, this is the attitude that leads them to success." (15-year-old girl, county seat)

A couple of respondents thought that the Internet played an essential role in their later life, but in a more negative way. On the one hand it is because of the negative influence of social media on personality, relationships and society, on the other hand the Internet takes too much of your time, distracts from more useful things. Some of the interviewees did not consider the role of ICT to be significant in life success, because they believe that other qualities such as diligence, perseverance and self-improvement are more important in this regard.

3.6. Now and then: The usefulness of ICT in learning and acquiring knowledge

Finally, building on the results of Ben-David Kolikant's (2010) study, we explored how digitally well-equipped students felt about learning and knowledge aquisition with the help of ICT to the opportunities and knowledge of the pre-Internet, pre-computer (digital immigrant) generation.

First they were asked to compare the quality of learning in their generation and the pre-ICT generation. Only one or two interviewees replied that the current generation is better at

learning. Again, this was expressed in terms of easier access to information, the expectation of more knowledge and the development of creativity through the Internet. Some respondents gave a mixed interpretation of the question, with the positive aspects of easier access to information and a wider range of knowledge through the Internet, but they believe that the pre-ICT generation was less 'tempted' due to the lack of Internet and acquired deeper knowledge. Some considered their own generation to be worse at learning. These narratives also reflect the distractive nature of the Internet. Therefore young people make less efforts to invest time and energy in learning.

The next question also referred to comparing the current and previous generations in terms of learning possibilities. The majority told that the learning is easier for the current generation, because they can take advantage of the Internet. This is mainly reflected in the speed and ease of access to information.

„Although it's harder to keep a student's attention today, I think it's much easier for us to learn because we have millions of clicks and millions of pieces of information at our fingertips." (14-year-old boy, county seat)

Those who consider that the previous generation had an easier time learning, mainly explained this by the fact that today's young people have more to learn, the requirements have increased and, on the other hand, they are easily distracted by the Internet and computer games.

Overall, it seems that the previous generation is perceived to have been better at learning, but that the current generation is mostly perceived to have an easier time of it in terms of learning methods, thanks to the Internet and ICT.

In our last question on this topic, we asked how the quality of general knowledge was perceived in comparison to the pre-ICT generation. The answers were distributed in similar proportions between those who considered the knowledge of the current generation better, and those who considered the knowledge of the previous generation to be more useful. A couple of respondents saw no difference in the quality of knowledge between the pre- and post-ICT generations. Those who thought that the knowledge of the previous generation was better, relied on the fact that older people have learned many practical things that helped them to get on in life, while the current generation relies too much on the Internet. On the other hand, there is also the distraction of the Internet from the acquisition of knowledge, which was not the case with previous generations.

„Unfortunately, I notice that the previous generation has more useful knowledge, and this I experience because the simpliest things are problematic for me to handle and as far as I see also for my peers, like how to address a letter, how to fill out a cheque, or even how to cook or whatever, and there are so many things that we have to learn, but we forget in a few days." (15-year-old girl, city)

Those who consider the knowledge of the current generation to be more useful, mostly argue that social expectations have changed, the social milieu has changed, requiring the digital competences they already have.

„Our generation has a completely different kind of knowledge, because the current world order expects a completely different kind of knowledge. What our grandparents and parents learned, is no longer expected of us. It's given to us by the Internet, by the computer, or it's a given. For example, speed typing." (14-year-old boy, city)

4. Conclusion

In this qualitative study, we aimed to explore students perceptions about the use of ICT for and its usefulness in learning. Overall, the students' opinions revealed that the Internet is mostly considered to be an important and useful tool for learning because of the possibility to access information quickly and easily. However, they also stressed that ICT use only contributes to better results if they do not let the Internet distract them from learning. Several examples were given of how the Internet can be used for learning. The responses also suggest a reverse mechanism regarding the relationship between certain aspects of ICT use and academic performance. The students' perceptions outline the possibility of ICT use being dependent on school performance and not the other way round. This means that those who are good learners and perform well in school, can use the Internet as an effective tool for learning, enhancing their school performance.

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Can the experience be experienced?

The possibilities of cultural institutions using the flow-based pedagogical model

Abstract

What makes a cultural institution modern in the 21st century? How can they adapt to a changed and constantly moving society and conditions dominated by social media? Due to the questions above, the appearance of experiential pedagogy and the flow-based pedagogical model (Dominek 2022) in the cultural institutional environment is an important area.

Keywords

cultural institution, flow, higher education, experiential pedagogy

DOI 10.14232/belv.2023.1.9
https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2023.1.9

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:
Dominek, Dalma Lilla (2023): Can the experience be experienced? The possibilities of cultural institutions using the flow-based pedagogical model. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 35. no. 1. pp 139–145.

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)
ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

Introduction

The task of experiential pedagogy is education through experiences and experience-based learning. In a pedagogical approach, experience-based learning means the rediscovery of natural human learning forms. It is important that the means of our education be the experience that can be experienced personally (Dominek 2021a). In our opinion, cultural specialists, such as museum pedagogues must teach within the framework of experiential experiences, because knowledge material of the museum is fixed much better through experiences than during passive reception. According to Csíkszentmihályi, those who experience flow more often, were more likely to show higher self-esteem and lower anxiety, used active coping strategies more often and passive coping strategies less often than their less autotelic peers. Based on these, we can describe a process in which the visitor creates, during which a novel, original and usable end result is created. These innovative tools, methods and procedures serve this purpose which, with their extracurricular application, with appropriate pedagogical methodological preparation, creativity, flexibility, result in improved performance, a sense of success, and a high degree of motivation among visitors.

Flow in cultural institutions

Constant attention, independent thinking and creativity are expected from visitors (Dominek 2021b.). This statement is also confirmed by the flow-based pedagogical model (Dominek 2022), during the creation of which Dominek brings creativity, playfulness and humour into the life of cultural institutions, among other things. If we project this onto the world of museums, then, as we can read in the study (Wickens 2012), if the students listen to a story, look at objects and do activities in the museum, and this is used by the museum pedagogues to connect the students better from the plot and characters to the authentic objects and experiences in the museum, the experience will already appear. The examination of "flow and culture" is necessary, and it is essential to better understand flow and its impact on human experience, motivation, and development.

In our opinion, if cultural institutions provide experiential education, they are able to convey a real experience connected to the sessions, thus bringing the visitors into the flow channel. However, for this establishment, it is necessary to apply the flow-based pedagogical model, with the help of which the visitors can experience the flow and are able to look at the institutions in a different way afterwards.

Presentation of the flow-based pedagogical model

According to the flow-based pedagogic model (Dominek 2022), cultural institutions must provide a transcript related to the knowledge to be transferred from the content side of the museum material, it must be developed with a positive approach, which is the baseline of experiences, novelty and excitement. If we associate the contents with this, attention and motivation are available, so with the help of these, the museum pedagogue becomes capable of competence development. This can be achieved if the visitors feel safe and during the prompting to action, as a result of the discovery and experience that comes from within, they interactively join the playful environment created in the museum class. A model is valuable, in my opinion, if it provides an opportunity to measure and evaluate, thus, this model includes all testing systems, with which the museum pedagogue can measure the effectiveness of their museum class during the application of the model. This model was used in own research conducted in 2020 and 2021 (Dominek 2020, 2021a), so it is a proven and tested model in the field of museum education.

In the practice of museum pedagogy, which forms the backbone of museum experiential pedagogy, there are methods, with the help of which we can carry out educational activities in the museum space. The success of the game depends on the activity of the participants. The 21st century museum is already introducing the use of digital tools. One of these supporting tools is, for example, AR, i.e. augmented reality. The essence of this is that some digital content is connected to a real object that the camera recognizes. A classic example of this is that the camera shows the original design and operation of an object, and to what extent it has changed during the course of time.

Presentation of research

The purpose of our research is to assess the effect of flow on student visitors in cultural institutions. The students of the University of Public Service could take the course entitled "Discovering Hungarian Culture - Csontváry Program" as part of the elective class. During this particular class, they visited 5 cultural institutions and were able to participate in the program announced by the institution. They were able to get to know behind-the-scenes skills that can be used outside the classroom to challenge the students, who at the same time enjoy the path leading to the solution. If the specialists of the cultural institutions can create this, then the student can be placed in the flow channel, thus, it is easier to develop creativity. It is important that students have this experience, for this reason, measuring the state of flow in institutions with a questionnaire serves the purpose of receiving feedback on whether cultural institutions are able to induce the state of flow.

The research took place in the spring semester of the 2021/2022 academic year and the following cultural institutions took part in the Program:

1. Museum of Fine Arts or Hungarian National Gallery
2. National Theatre
3. Hungarian State Opera
4. Capital Circus of Budapest
5. Danubia Orchestra

The Participating Institutions held a preparatory lecture for the students before the events, and a closing lecture after the events. Within two days after each visit, the students had to complete the Flow Status Questionnaire (hereinafter FSQ). During the questionnaire, the respondents encountered 20 statements, the series of questions can be divided according to two factors. The first factor is the challenge-skill balance, which includes 11 variables, while the second factor bears the summarizing name of merging with the experience, and the remaining 9 variables belong to it. The measures of the two factors are formed by assigning aggregate scores to each of them, formed from the points of the corresponding items (1-5), and then average them per factor. In addition to the scores, we also calculate a percentage of the two indicators, which shows how close the members of that group get to the flow state. According to Magyaródi et al. (2013), there are two basic factors of the flow experience: the balance of the person's skills and the challenge posed by the situation, as well as immersion in the experience, merging with it. In our present research, we used the 20-item FSQ developed by them. The FSQ therefore measures the basic dimensions of the flow experience. The internal reliability of the scales is adequate (αK-K = 0,92; αE = 0,91). The respondents report on the experiences they usually had during the nominated activity. In this study, the questionnaire refers to the experience experienced in the cultural institution.

Research question

Does the flow experience differ in the case of visits to cultural institutions of different types?

In terms of basic data, the questionnaire was filled out by students enrolled in the optional course of University of Public Service (N=321 people). The results of the institutional data can be read according to the two factors of the validated FSQ, that the students (N=321) participating in the performance of the Capital Circus of Budapest reached the deepest state of flow during the performance. Based on the data that can be read from the SPSS program, the integration with the experience was over 88 percent, while the challenge-skill balance value was over 90 percent. However, it can be stated that all cultural institutions produced similar results, see table no. 1.

Based on table no. 1, it can be concluded that the differences in terms of cultural institutions are insignificant. Cultural institutions can be ranked according to the two factors of the FSQ questionnaire, however, every institution is capable of imparting an experience and providing performances and exhibitions of an appropriate level for the age group.

	N	Average	Percentage	Deviation	Institution
Challenge-skill balance	321	51,00	92,72	6,05	Capital Circus of Budapest
Merging with the experience	321	39,79	88,42	6,45	Capital Circus of Budapest
Challenge-skill balance	268	48,31	87,83	8,58	Danubia Orchestra
Merging with the experience	268	35,17	78,15	8,46	Danubia Orchestra
Challenge-skill balance	289	48,83	88,78	6,95	Hungarian State Opera
Merging with the experience	289	37,07	82,37	7,64	Hungarian State Opera
Challenge-skill balance	289	43,58	79,23	11,01	National Theatre
Merging with the experience	289	31,47	69,93	10,41	National Theatre
Challenge-skill balance	274	47,86	87,01	7,48	Museum of Fine Arts / Hungarian National Gallery
Merging with the experience	274	35,34	78,53	8,61	Museum of Fine Arts / Hungarian National Gallery

(Source: own construction)

After each visit to a cultural institution, after filling out the FSQ questionnaire, students were asked to express their opinion in their own words about the experience they had in the cultural institutions. To the question "How did the visit affect you?" we would highlight the following answers:

"I really enjoyed the visit, the circus productions were surprising to me. I feel that I have become more open to circus performances and plan to visit again. I last went to the circus approximately 10 years ago, and I feel like it was a pity not to go."

"I experienced it positively, thanks for the Csontváry Program for the opportunity! The first opera of my life, I was a little afraid of it, but I was very pleasantly surprised! I can absolutely imagine my partner and me going together in the future or even in our retirement years!"

While to "Did you get the experience you expected?" we highlight the following from the students' answers:

"I got more than I expected. I am especially glad that I had the opportunity to listen to the information after the performance, which covered, among other things, the world of the circus, artist training, the creation of productions, and the duration of practice."

"Yes, maybe even more. I had an experience beyond my expectations, which is significant because I haven't been to a similar event for a long time, so the bar was set high. My stimulus threshold has been exceeded by a high level."

The conclusion can also be drawn from the above quotes, according to which the students found pleasure in the performance and exhibition provided by the cultural institutions. Based on the opinions of the students, it can be said that participation in these new, interesting classes that differ from traditional ones is considered important. This course also assumes the foundation of a kind of innovative, new methodology. Accordingly, a new curriculum must be developed, that the given courses, which would take place outside the higher education institution, would be able to develop the students participating in the course by knowing and mastering the flow. The use of the Flow-based pedagogical model helps in the above.

Summary

The emergence of creativity and its development are extremely important for higher education students (Dominek 2021c). By applying the flow-based pedagogical model in cultural institutions, the cultural specialist can make a great contribution to provide experience-based education to higher education students, thereby developing creativity.

If we teach through direct experiences and interactive actions in cultural institutions, the motivation base for learning can also be created. Learning requires a high level of motivation (Rubin 1975), but motivation can also be described as part of a dynamic process (Manolopoulou-Sergi 2004 cited in Barnucz-Uricska 2021).

I think it is important to emphasize that achieving cognitive flexibility among students is an innovative possibility, which can be used to develop soft skills, thus, the use and incorporation of the flow phenomenon may be the key to enhancing experiences. The flow-based pedagogical model, as a model establishing an experience-based teaching methodology, creates an opportunity for cultural institutions to provide the above opportunity to students.

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Characteristics of National Enculturation and Awareness of National Symbols among Young People in Hungary

Abstract

The civic values of a 21st century man, the acquisition of the traditions and symbols of his own national culture are changing. The sustainability of the process of national enculturation and the significant impact exerted by the media pose serious challenges for the leaders of states, the creators of school systems and methodologies, as well as the representatives of arts.

One of the most effective and dominant actors in enculturation can be the state, which maintains the institutions shaping their methodology, gives direction for and often specifies the content through funding, and provides public law definitions of the symbols that can be decisive for citizens in this process of enculturation. The younger generation's openness for cultural traditions and their historical memory are of particular interest here.

The concept of enculturation was introduced by M. J. Herskovits (1962). Enculturation is a most comprehensive learning process. This means the acquisition of basic skills which are indispensable for all human beings. These skills are gained through the help provided by the institutions and forms of activity established by the society and through education. To continue this idea, these skills are indispensable in the Hungarian society, where they are gained through the help of the institutions and forms of activity established by the society, such as language, religion, technology, art, and sport, and through education. Education is the most important means of reproducing the culture of a society in the individual and passing it on to each generation.

My study was designed to briefly represent the results of a micro-survey, which paved the way for a collection of nation-wide data. I collected the presented research data during a small sample survey to prepare a questionnaire (pending) to gain a deeper understanding of the national memory of university students. The form of the study is a research paper. It reflects a state at a given point of the research, commenting on the relevant findings of literature, and raising new dilemmas in a changing youth scenario, which I would like to analyse in their deeper patterns later.

Keywords
enculturation, national memory, civic values, national identity

DOI 10.14232/belv.2023.1.10
https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2023.1.10

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:
Balatoni, Monika (2023): Characteristics of National Enculturation and Awareness of National Symbols among Young People in Hungary. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 35. no. 1. pp 146–154.

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)
ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

Introduction

The last twenty years have seen intense civilizational changes. The phenomena of globalization and globalism have now become more pronounced (Beck 2005, Beck 2008, Jancsák 2016). Cultural and educational processes have undergone significant changes. The social institutions of socio-cultural regions and the systems of the nation-state cannot keep up with the developing global mechanisms (Bogár 2006, Harcsa 2021). Education is the most important means for a society to reproduce its culture in the individual (Pusztai 2020, Kozma 2022) and to pass it on through the generations. "The instability and uncertainty caused by the crisis of commonly agreed norms and social values is characteristic of our times. Economic and political crises, new migratory flows, the rise of political populism and technological changes have created new vulnerabilities for children and young people. There are for example the crises of the values of freedom, solidarity, empathy, autonomy, responsibility, i.e. the crises of universal humanist values, as well as the exposure to the manipulations of the post-truth era, i.e. the fear industry." (Jancsák 2020b. 1016).

The research, aiming at a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of national enculturation and its special features, highlights the specific points of the individual's national culture and the effective institutions and state-coordinated programmes aiming at its acquisition. It is stressed that it is not possible to live a civilized life without culture. Therefore, the process of learning through which one "grows into" culture is vital for human beings. Furthermore, it is necessary to narrow down our scope of analysis by focusing on how individuals "grow into", become initiated into their own national culture, and where they can find their cultural roots (Herskovits 1962).

"History is not just an invention of governments and academic institutions - it is ubiquitous. We breathe it in with the air, it is in the view of our cities and landscapes. It is not just school which teaches us about it, but also our grandparents at home, folktales, the television, public

sculptures, war memorials, public buildings, museums, and galleries" (Furtado 2014. 79). The editor of History Today explores the role of enculturation in people's everyday lives in his book Histories of Nations (2014). He claims that we are surrounded by stories, narratives, objects, and memories in our everyday lives, through which we form opinions about our own nations and others. These are the foundations on which we can build and from which a shared national consciousness is constructed (Furtado 2014). In history, it is often not how events happened that is interesting, but what and how we remember. History and national memory are shaped in the family (Jancsák 2020a), later at school (Kaposi 2020; Kojanitz 2019, 2021), but mostly in the different groups of society (Pászka 2007, Varga 2009, Gyáni 2020), whose values and ways of thinking are determined by the individual development of their members and their identification with national values.

Culture, in the Geertzian sense, refers to historically transmitted patterns of meaning embodied in symbols. It is a system of inherited concepts expressed in symbolic forms that people use to communicate with each other, perpetuate and develop their knowledge of life. and attitudes (Geertz 1994).

Human culture can only exist in community. It is in communication and feedback with others that cultural phenomena unfold and survive. The predominant medium for the spread of culture today is by the creation of symbols, colours, shapes, and visual meanings that directly affect the individual's subconscious. When a group of individuals shape the quality of their memory, through secondary experiences (social campaign or the mass media), they will establish a value order.

The scientific approach cannot leave out the conceptual system of collective memory, as this is the basis on which all memory is built. It is important to stress, however, that the human mind is only part of the memory, and that the medium, the social situation and cultural symbols are just as important. These are the means by which memory can be conceptualised. The importance of space is emphasised by Peter Burke when he says that it is images, as well as actions, rituals and collective representations, that provide the means for the experience of the past (Burke 1991). Our knowledge of history, beyond the transfer of lexical knowledge in schools, is expanding ever more rapidly today - by the mediation of visual content in videos and films rather than family stories and conversations with friends. For example, film art, for example, in its distillation of time and space, contributes to the imagination that sustains nation states (Cummins 2012).

There is a collective memory, but memory has a social framework, and our individual thinking can only remember if it is within the frame of reference of the collective memory and becomes part of it. Most of our memories emerge when we are reminded of them by our parents, friends, teachers or others (Halbwachs 2018). Jan Assmann extended the concept of collective memory by defining communicative and cultural memory within collective memory. By communicative memory, Assmann means memories that an individual shares with peers. An example is generational memory. When the bearers of this memory die out, the next generation takes their place as the bearers of the knowledge passed on to them. But this living memory fades over time. Communicative memory based on oral history can be maintained for about three generations, after which it is replaced by tradition, i.e. it merges into cultural memory (Assmann 2018).

Family or community history is rarely passed on today therefore it is replaced by the reality conveyed by culture. This reality is accepted as authentic if people can relate it to their situations and if they can override their community memory without consequences. The development of

traditions and rituals, as well as the identification and regulation of places, elements and symbols of memory, is an increasingly urgent and strategic issue for nation states. The government surveillance, cultural and commemorative content and the tasks of institutions are closely interdependent. Therefore, they must be examined together. Knowledge of national culture and traditions is an essential condition for the survival of a nation state. In the last decade, Hungarian governments have set up a number of institutions and programmes to perpetuate national themes and explore all the details of history. However, it is only in the last few years that these institutions have begun to open up to young people. They offer content based on scientific research, but this often appears an overly professional framework ('adult thinking', 'adult language') and through communication channels not used by young people. Furthermore, government communication often places the form and ritual of remembrance in a political narrative. It may provide concepts that prevent the active involvement of the younger generation in the process of acting and valuing national memory. It is true that, alongside the memory policies of national governments, global media players have opened up new channels of communication, especially in recent years. In those years historical events were presented in a professional way (accessible to young people). However, the identities conveyed are sometimes conceptual, detached from historical reality, but at the same time embedded in youthful, human and enjoyable stories (which emphasise entertainment and increase media consumption). Their impact is growing and their popularity is increasing significantly, especially among young people who are receptive to visual cognition.

Dilemmas Emerging from the Research and the Data

The notion of identity is not a definition of completion or determination, as neither the identity of an individual or a social group is a completed fact but is characterised by a type of determination which is changing, influenced by its history, experiences and social environment (Pataki 2010). Not only people, but also states have an identity, determined by their geographical location, demographics, geopolitical position, history, culture (and many other factors) (Bende – Halász 2014), and therefore we cannot ascertain a stable state, but can only examine it as a dynamically evolving factor.

I will now describe my own research findings through which I would like to demonstrate how young people's current knowledge about and attitudes to this topic can be presented: how they think about school commemorations, civic duties, historical places, holidays, and their historical past? I used both qualitative and quantitative methodologies in my research. The research was based on interviews (18 in-depth interviews and 6 focus group interviews) and a questionnaire survey of students (n=178). My research, presented here, is limited, including only a small number of cases, and does not allow for strong claims due to the representativeness-related indicators. But it does allow for the formulation of research dilemmas under "reasonable suspicion". My aim in collecting the data was both to test my questionnaire (which is my instrument of data collection for a large sample survey) and to test, on the small sample, statements that can be made on the basis of the results of national research on young people and that are described by researchers with the following terms: 1. "faceless (?) generation" (Bauer – Szabó 2011), 2. "silent generation" (Székely 2014), 3. "rationally rebellious students" (Szabó 2014), 4. "generation alienated from history". (Jancsák 2020b).

The development of traditions and rituals, the presentation of places and elements of memory, heroes and symbols that have a strong impact on national identity, is one of the functions exercised by states. To what extent is this knowledge alive in the collective memory of the young generation? In recent decades, the Hungarian government has established an increasing number of institutions, research centres and programmes to shape remembrance policy and national identity (Balatoni 2022). Can the institutional systems reach young people with their results? Can they contribute to and shape the rituals present in education? In the following, I shall present the answers provided by students in higher education in the first half of 2020 with the help of the data of the research below.

The Hungarian youth survey of 2016 showed that young people in Hungary had turned away from politics and lost their trust in democratic institutions (Székely – Szabó 2016). The survey showed activities typical of young people, and their strong desire to be included in national policies. We can read about the results of research on the life of "rationally rebellious students" (Szabó 2014) or the "new silent generation" (Székely 2014), a question posed by Nagy and Fekete (Will the new silent generation speak up?, 2020) also asked by Szabó and Oross (Silent or Rebellious?, 2017), as well as Bauer and Szabó who raised a dilemma (Faceless (?) generation, 2011) – namely that it was difficult to record the elusive rapidly changing youth scenario, or its adaptation to the changes of the social environment (Somlai 1997, 2011; Jancsák 2013, Székely 2020). There was a demand for "a stronger lens or a new camera" (Chisholm 2006), or a need for innovative methodological renewal in the tools of research. The international thematic field of youth studies has already been in the process of shaping new youth paradigms and conceptual responses for two decades (see Jancsák 2011). From my data, it seems as if the silent generation is speaking.

Our micro-survey data shows that 81% of university students consider themselves to be reasonably informed on public policy issues, while young people who consider themselves to be very informed make up one tenth of this group. In the sample, not only the perceptions of awareness, but also their interest in Hungarian politics, differ from previously published results (although here I present the results of a micro-survey!). A "reasonable suspicion" can be used as a starting point of my larger sample of higher education students, according to which the snapshot taken in 2021 shows a world of young people actively shaped in public questions, this youth is much more than the generation of "silent" and "rationally rebellious" young people. Respondents who are 'not at all interested' and 'rather not interested' in Hungarian politics make up one fifth of the sample. An explanation for the different opinions may be provided by the internal pattern of the sample of higher education students, the gender distribution of respondents (women make up more than two thirds of the sample) and the deviation from the typical responses by type of residence (Budapest 36%, county capital 11.8%, city 32%, village/town 22.5%), as young people from the capital are over-represented in the sample. Female students are also over-represented in the sample. This group is identified by youth surveys as less active in matters of public interest. Our data, however, shows the opposite picture: the majority of female respondents are also interested in politics.

According to youth researchers, one explanation for young people's reflective and contradictory opinions is that their worldview is increasingly shaped by family, peers and the media, with school and social culture playing a smaller role in this process. My data shows that the existence of national memory is part of everyday reality according to 85% of respondents, while memory politics is not a valid (not understood) concept for almost two thirds of respondents. At the same time, the data shows a surprising result about students' perceptions of social institutions in the

care of national memory. Respondents mostly identified the role of the state and the school in shaping the national memory, and in addition to these, the institution of the family. The former two were cited by half of the respondents, while the latter was mentioned by one third of the respondents as an important factor in the cultivation of national memory.

This confirms the socialization theories that emphasize the role of intergenerational value transmission processes, including the preservation of collective memory through family histories (Somlai 1997, 2011, 2013; Jancsák 2020a), in the context of the community-public socialization function of the family as a primary group. At the same time, the data strongly emphasizes the responsibility that the national (collective) memory places on schools and policy actors (Rüsén 2004; Seixas 2016). The data from our micro-research confirms these claims. Eight out of ten respondents indicated that, for them, it is the family that determines their approach to being Hungarian. Two thirds of the respondents attributed this to the school, and half of them to the state. According to respondents, their circle of friends has the least influence on their opinion about being Hungarian. So, we do not necessarily see a generational effect here, perhaps because the focus of their discussions is not on patriotic and historical issues. This raises a further dilemma, namely, the need to systematically shade the questions in my research on the identity-shaping influence of the peer group, in order to gain a deeper understanding of generational influences.

There is more uncertainty about their knowledge of national symbols. How does this uncertainty become obvious? I measured national symbols against the symbols defined in the Constitution. I.e.: the coat of arms of Hungary, the national flag, the Holy Crown, the national anthem and the poem Szózat, considered to be the second national anthem by tradition. In this group of questions, I have offered several possible answers. I see the uncertainty of the respondents in the fact that, although the symbols defined in law are marked most frequently by them, but those that are linked to a particular holiday (e.g. the cockade as a symbol of the 1848 revolution, the flag with a hole as a symbol of the 1956 revolution) are also "marked". Many people also marked the cockade and the flag with a hole or the cloak of St Stephen as symbols. It is true that these symbols have a meaning and refer to the role of symbols as "memory magnets" in preserving national memory. Based on this result, I was prompted to turn this question from a closed question to an open question.

What do you think are our national symbols? (persons, %)

Crown	70 (85,4%)
Coat of arms	66 (85,4%)
National flag	65 (83,7%)
Anthem	64 (82%)
Cockade	51 (55,6%)
Szózat	46 (50,6%)
The Robe of St Stephen	37 (37,1%)
The Holy Right	26 (36%)
Flag with a hole	21 (25,8%)
Fundamental Law	15 (19,7%)

Source: own research 2022.

This interesting dichotomy emerges when we ask young people about their views on school commemorations. Only a third of respondents consider school commemorations to be meaningful, but twice as many think they are both compulsory and meaningless, and the picture is not positive for the rest either. The majority felt that school commemorations were a pointless waste of time, boring and unnecessary. I think it is important to explore this question in my research in deeper patterns and to look for components that can support the creation of school, municipal and state commemorations that are meaningful vs. meaningless, value-laden vs. value-free, that arouse feelings for the historical past vs. without attitudes, that respect traditions vs. postmodern, that help young people to understand the present system of relations rooted in the past. All this also suggests that the phenomenon of alienation from history and the historical past described in the literature (Jancsák 2020b), the understanding of historical interpretations, the educational dilemmas and challenges of the subject area of national cultural heritage and national heritage studies (Kaposi 2020; Kojanitz 2019, 2021) and the tasks that can be derived from these should be undertaken not only by the institution of the family, (although it takes on more and more) but also by schools and communities, but also by the players of the state memory policy. If these players cooperate with professionals (history teachers, historians, museum educators, experiential educators, etc.), they can preserve the value of collective remembrance, and promote national enculturation for new generations.

Summary

The results reported in this paper do not provide a nuanced picture due to the scarcity of data, but they raise valuable dilemmas and can be considered a successful test case to guide my further research.

The study that I wrote during my research shows that the role of education, cultural institutions and family communities is becoming increasingly important in the process of enculturation. The results of my micro-research support the hypothesis that national cultural foundations can only be sustained through conscious state and social construction, which requires significant changes in the methods and channels of mediation. This is particularly important if we want to support the value- based socialisation of young people and strengthen the national identity and civic engagement of the new generation of schoolchildren.

As one young man, aged 23, put it in an interview*:"...we young people don't like to be told what to do, but we don't really have any idea of what we really want!"*

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Hungarian Cultural-Ethnic Heritage in Brazil: The Hungarian Cultural Route

Abstract

It is known that the colonization process in the Southern region of Brazil started through the immigration of several European groups that went to Brazil between the 19th and 20th centuries. In 1891 the settlement that today is the city of Jaragua do Sul began to be occupied through the arrival of many groups, from different ethnicities. Approximately 230 families, coming mainly from Veszprém County, and from Székesfehérvár region, settled down around the bank of the Jaraguá river. This paper focuses on the history of the colonization process of the Hungarians, through the review of the documentation found on the last visit to the research location. This paper describes how the Hungarian cultural road developed until today, based on the narratives of Hungarian descendants and pictures of the main architecture and the landscape found and built by the diaspora. This occupation is connected with the assimilation process with the other ethnic groups that also composed the mosaic of the occupation of Jaragua do Sul. The main question surrounding this work is about the main cultural elements of Hungary that are still present in their lives, through the architecture, the cultural landscape, and how the visual memory is helping to shape their identity.

Keywords

cultural heritage, Hungarian diaspora, cultural route, vernacular architecture

DOI 10.14232/belv.2023.1.11
https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2023.1.11

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:
Maes, Fernanda Lucia (2023): Hungarian Cultural-Ethnic Heritage in Brazil: The Hungarian Cultural Route. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 35. no. 1. pp 155–170.

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)
ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

www.belvedere-meridionale.hu

Introduction

Around 1808, policies began in Brazil, aiming to populate the interior of Brazil going beyond the coastal areas, with the encouragement of the arrival of foreign groups (Weissheimer 2016). Officially, the occupation of the lands where today the city of Jaraguá do Sul began in 1876, but it was only in 1889, with the Proclamation of the Republic in Brazil, that the phase called "Jaraguá Colony" in fact started with the subdivisions and distributions of the lands. From 1890 the settlement of these lands began with the arrival of many groups, from different ethnicities, who were brought by colonization agencies, located in Blumenau and Joinville, neighboring towns of Jaraguá do Sul. The occupation happened only through the "formation of small agglomerations along the Joinville-Jaraguá-Blumenau path, especially close to the crossing of the rivers, then carried out by canoeists" (Bertoli 2006). In the rural area, the families were settled on plots that followed the pattern practiced by the other companies. The plots ranged from 25 to 30 hectares, with approximately 200 meters in front, arranged parallel to each other and perpendicular to rivers and streams. This morphology aimed to guarantee and facilitate access to water, in addition to reducing the distance between the lots as a way of approaching the families and as a measure of defense against attacks from animals and native Indians (Bertoli 2006).

The city of Jaraguá do Sul is located in the Northeast Region of the State of Santa Catarina, and today has a total area of 530,894 km², with a population of 184.579 inhabitants, according to the census of 2021 (IBGE 2021). Its colonial identity, represented mainly in cultural manifestations of material and immaterial nature, as in the still present use of language or dialects and the culinary, and through the heritage buildings that are the biggest and oldest inheritances left by European immigrants, those are located mostly in the rural area of the city. It is also in the rural area where today are the so-called cultural routes, one of them is the Hungarian one.

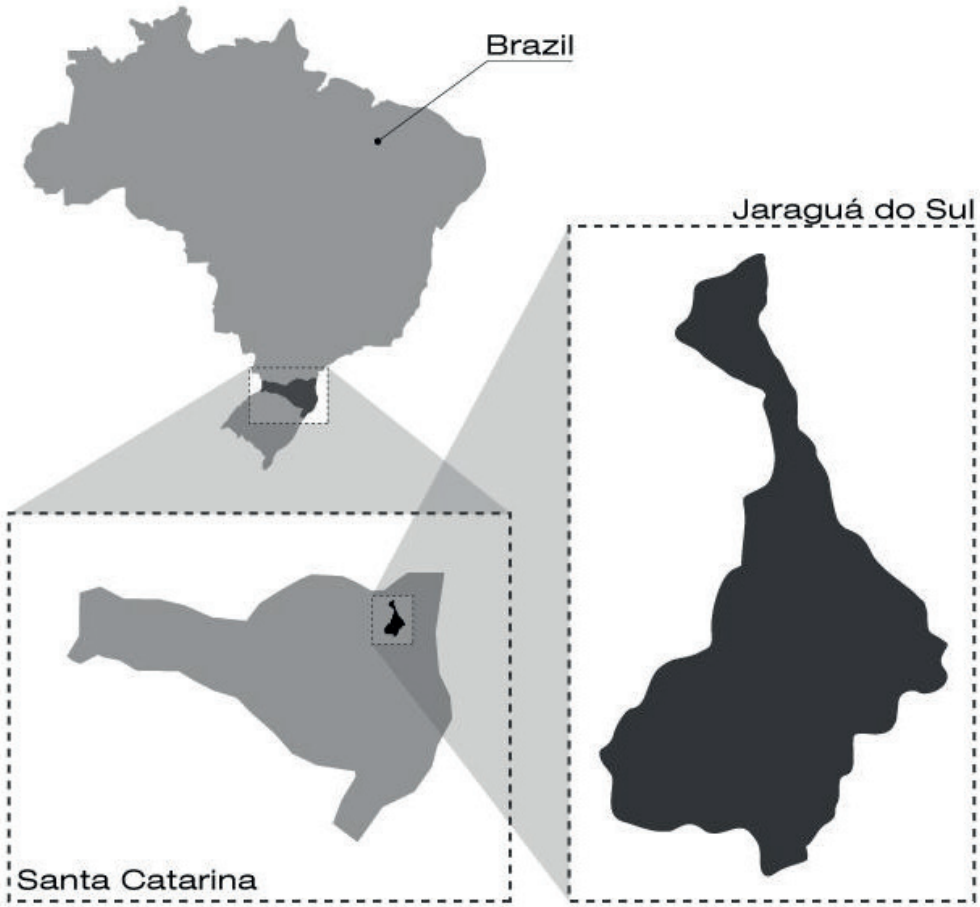

Figure 1. Location of Jaraguá do Sul. Source: by the author (2022)

According to Boglár (1997), the propaganda in Hungary about Brazil was promising a plot of 120 acres, the equivalent of about 48 hectares, in addition to equipment and animals. Kosa (1957) attributes the departure of Hungarians from their homeland to the social movement that began after the abolition of serfdom and adds "From now on emigration grew in geometric progression. In the period from 1886 to 1890 an average of 22,000 persons left the country annually for overseas, and the trend was increasing" (Kosa 1957. 504). This, associated with the advertisement about the lands offered in Brazil, contributed to many families from Veszprem start looking for a new life overseas. The Hungarians settled on the bank of the Jaraguá River, which cuts through the city. Around 200 families, from Veszprém County, and 30 families from Székesfehérvár region (Lopes 2012), settled down in "Lot 84" - which nowadays is the neighborhood Jaraguá 84. A few years later, the Hungarians built the church and also schools in the region, the first ones teaching in Portuguese. At that time, the influence of German was really

big and according to Boglár (1997), the Hungarians also mixed with Italians and German speakers from Austria, resulting in the assimilation between them, stimulated also by World War I, when they were isolated from any communication with their homeland, leading to the loss of the Hungarian language in their daily lives as well. Boglár (1997) visited the village where the descendants of Hungarians were living in 1940, 50 years later after the arrival, when there was no concrete city of Jaraguá do Sul yet. In his reports, he mentions "how much sweat (and perhaps even tears) fell on this land until, in place of virgin forest, plowed fields appeared, green meadows and the place of the first wooden shacks were occupied by houses built of stone." (Boglár 1997. 166), depicting the early years of the Hungarians, who on their arrival had to open the virgin Atlantic forests and make their way to their plot to start building their dwellings.

It is also important to mention how the development of the city of Jaragua do Sul occurred differently from the Portuguese layout in Brazil, which prevailed in Brazilian cities. In the Portuguese layout, the city was born from a central square around which buildings were organized as the seat of government and the church, which denoted the correlation of power between the state and the religious institution. But in the case of Jaraguá do Sul, as in the colonies around it, the dominant function was the commercial one. The reason why there are cultural routes today is from where the first immigrants started the occupation of the lands. The main goal at that time was to create a commercial road, connecting the bigger colonies of Blumenau and Joinville (BERTOLI, 2006). Nevertheless, the industry's development process associated with the arrival of the railroad at the beginning of the 20th century, connecting Jaraguá do Sul with the São Francisco do Sul Port and the city Rio Negro, made the possibility of product outlets fundamental to the city's development. The rapid urban growth followed, which throughout the second half of the twentieth century radically transformed the urban landscape and the rural landscapes where the first immigrants settled down.

According to the documentary "*Jaraguá do Sul Yesterday and Today - 1876-1976*" by Moretti in the 1920s, Jaraguá do Sul was a district with only 12.000 inhabitants, with eighty percent of the population located in rural areas. After the arrival of the railway and the Railway Stations in 1910, its surroundings developed very quickly, which transformed it into the main nucleus of the city and started to shape the nowadays urban form of Jaraguá do Sul. The commercial center was located around the railway station, which was the point of embarkation and disembarkation of all production in Blumenau and the region, with destinations to the port of São Francisco do Sul or bigger cities of Curitiba, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro. Hotels, houses, shops, and services started to appear around the Railway Stations. The railroad became the conditioning factor of the urban land use and occupation and after the road system as well. Along the entire railway line, industries began to establish, mainly due to the facility for receiving raw materials and the flow of their products after their production (Bertoli 2006).

The valuation of the European immigrant's heritage in the southern region of Brazil had started and gained expression in fact, in 2007 (Pistorello 2018). The project called National Immigration Routes (Projeto Nacional das Rotas de Imigração) in Santa Catarina is a joint action between IPHAN - National Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage (Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional), the FCC - Catarinense Culture Foundation (Fundação Catarinense de Cultura) and the local municipalities. This project can be understood as safeguarding the immigrant heritage of some ethnic groups considered by IPHAN as significant in the migratory

processes in Santa Catarina and which, through federal, state, or municipal protection can become tourist attractions through the institution of touristic routes (Pistorello 2018).

The city of Jaraguá do Sul today has three main cultural routes institutionalized, the German, the Italian, and the Hungarian route. Each route leads from the rural to the urban area of the city. In 1922, in the neighborhood called Garibaldi, the Hungarians built the Santo Estevao (Saint Stephen) Church, which today is the oldest church in the city. The church is protected by the local community seeking to preserve the heritage for future generations. According to information collected on the municipality, the first Hungarian immigrants arrived via the Hannover Ship, in June of 1891. On that ship were the many families previously mentioned, mostly coming from the County of Veszprém. Other waves of Hungarian immigration to Brazil took place, and these were divided into three more stages. The second group of migrants arrived in Brazil between 1920 and 1929. Then, as a result of the Second World War, from 1945 onwards. And finally, after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

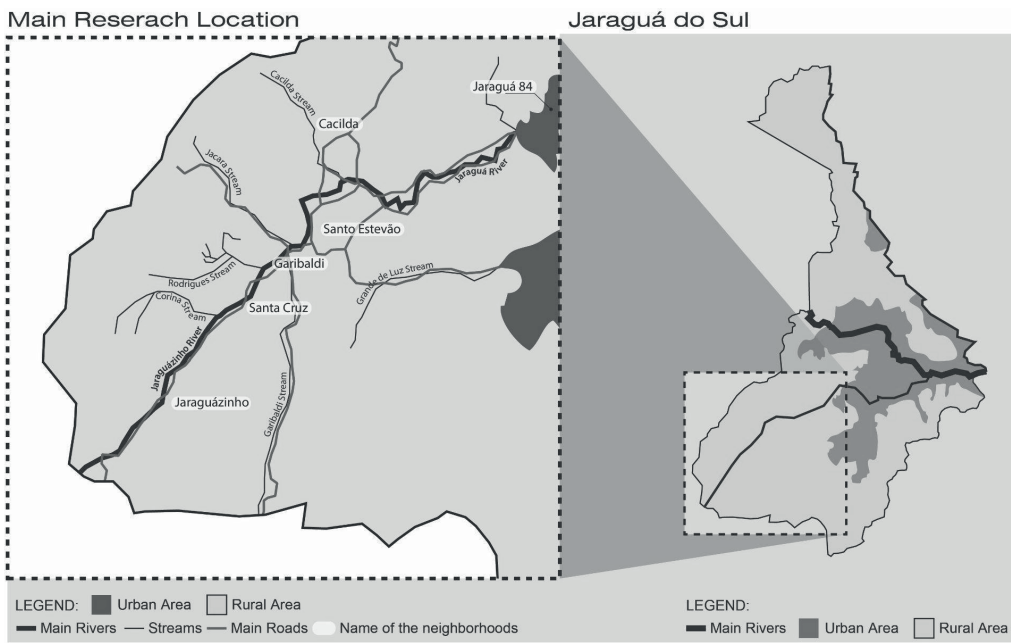

Figure 2. The Hungarian Cultural Route in Jaragua do Sul, in the rural area.
Source: by the author (2022)

The German influence in the process of colonization of lands that go beyond the coastal area in southern Brazil is vast. This can largely be seen in the previous project presented, the National Immigration Routes, as well as in other research works already conducted. Seyferth (2011) points out that the first foreigners arriving around this region were Germans, in 1836, and it was only after 1875 that immigrants from other origins also started to arrive as well. From here, the main questions guiding this work emerged, about how the Hungarians assimilated with the

other ethnicities and the role of the architectural, and visual elements of this process, and how it helped to result in the later creation of a new townscape. Aiming to answer such questions, this paper focuses on a historical review based on the qualitative documentation found in books, where the authors make narratives based on research and their memories, correlating with photographs from the historical archive in Jaragua do Sul and observations in-loco, at the Hungarian Cultural Route nowadays.

Methodology

To start looking for the answers to the questions presented above, this paper will present a review of the process of occupation, by the Hungarians at the end of the 19th century through the lands where today the city of Jaragua do Sul is located. Such historical reconstruction used a methodology based on the narrative of Hungarians descendants and other authors, found in qualitative documentation, mainly in books and old photographs from the archives in Jaragua do Sul. Through the review of this historical process, which is focused on the cultural heritage of an already assimilated ethnic group, brings to light the main material elements representing their connection with Hungary, such as the architectural elements and the cultural landscape built by them through the occupation process. Aiming to answer the questions of which are the elements based on the narratives found in the qualitative documentation. In the work of Halbwachs, he deals with the relationship between memory and place, and for him, memory can live towards in the buildings and in the social stories. But, if the architectural heritage disappears, thus the social stories lost their anchor (Halbwachs 1992). And for that, the question surrounding this paper, is how do all these material elements help to shape their identity in the rural area of Jaragua do Sul? In addition, vernacular space works as a mirror of the social characters of everyday life in the rural spaces, as in the city centers the planner professionals were dominant in the townscape. In the case of Jaraguá do Sul, much of the vernacular architecture of the dwellings do not exist anymore, making buildings such as the church and the school – the communal structures – buildings with an important role and more present as a scene of the collective memory (Nora 1989), as "the architectural elements may be of interest not only because of their aesthetics, but also because of their symbolism." (Tamáska 2014) and perhaps, working also as their *lieux de mémoire* (Nora 1989).

The in-loco visit will also be present, registering the situation of the houses and the existing material elements of the cultural landscape of the Hungarian Cultural Route today. Identifying how those elements helped in the construction of their identity, through the assimilation with the other ethnic groups and the new landscape.

Hungarian diaspora in Jaraguá do Sul

Halbwachs (1992), studied society and its relationship under the term of collective memory, also cited by Rossi in his publication *The Architecture of City,* 1984. His discussion is based on the existence of individual memory, which is part of a collective one, where memories are formed internally, to a collectivity. In other words, memories are based on the "lived past" rather

than on the "past incorporated by written history" (Halbwachs 1992). For the author, individual memory is tied to the memory of a group, which is tied to tradition. In this sense, the city can be translated by its aesthetics and collective memory (Halbwachs 1992). Memory itself is an important notion, to be understood in the context of this work, and its connection with places. The following historical review of the occupation process of the region where today the city of Jaragua do Sul was based on the different individual memories tied to a collective one.

According to some narratives found mainly in the book *Colonia Hungara no Jaragua*, by the authors, Olga Piazera Majcher, Alcioni Macedo Canuto, Sidnei Marcelo Lopes (2008), one of them is the third generation of one of the Hungarian families who arrived in 1891. The authors also present research on old records of friars' travels, mixed with old newspapers, relates from her memory, and oral reports from the community. According to Majcher, Canuto, Lopes (2008), the lands began to be subdivided in the Garibaldi region, at the bank of the Jaraguá River. After receiving the lands, the groups went there on foot, having to clear and open the native forest on the way to the new lands. This route taken by the families was described as a "dark and tenebrous forest" (Majcher – Canuto – Lopes 2008. 75). In several moments of their narrative, Majcher, Canuto, Lopes (2008) comment about the landscapes found in Brazil, describing it as mountainous, where hills and valleys are interspersed, which was seen as a challenge for farming in the beginning. The lots received by the families were divided between an area intended for agriculture and another for future pastures, in addition to the house that also had a garden. It adds to the abundance of rivers and streams of the region, helping in agriculture for them. Boglár (1997) also reports the transition between landscapes, pointing out the shift from grape and wine production to the abundance of fruits in Brazil.

Still, regarding the landscape, which began to be altered by the families who settled there, Majcher, Canuto, Lopes (2008) comment there were no roads or constructed paths. With time and the need of transit through the place, a natural path was opening and facilitating the transition and displacements through them. The opening of paths, as well as bridges, and the construction of canals, was part of the form of payment for the lands. Thus, the construction of the cultural landscape started to begin in the region of the route, made by the Hungarians who had just arrived there, probably built with the same commercial function, following the organic design of the landscape. Arising the question of native Indians' participation in the process, as they were nomads living in that region at the time.

According to the records of Emilio Silva (1975), 40 Hungarian families from Veszprém County, went to their lots purchased from the Government in 1891. Based on these records, Olga states that the start date of colonization of the Garibaldi lands by Hungarian families was in June 1891, as already pointed out by the records of the municipality. More families started to arrive, and from the end of 1891 to 1897, Hungarian families also occupied the regions in between, called Santo Estêvão and Jaraguá 84. The author also adds the presence of other ethnic groups during her narratives, such as the descendants of Italians. The second wave of Hungarians arrived at the beginning of the following year, 1892, and settled in Jaraguá 84. The region called Jaraguázinho received 22 families, according to descendants. One of the last waves of Hungarians in this first moment was in 1897 according to Berti in his book published in 2005 (Majcher – Canuto – Lopes, 2008).

In several of these reports, and narratives it is possible to identify the importance of two main elements composing this cultural landscape: the church and the school, and also that the

occupation took place not exclusively by Hungarians. The church already received friars for the religious celebration that took place in the German language, they recorded their visits, and they would later help in the composition of the history of the development of the city of Jaragua do Sul. Before the construction of the church, the moments dedicated to prayer took place in Professor Wendelin's chapel/school, as it was called by the community. The house was used as a school during the weekdays and as a church on Sundays until the lands reserved by the State for the construction of the church and school were officially granted to the Jaraguá Alto Catholic Community. According to publications found in the local newspaper, in 1902 the government applied the lands for the construction of the cemetery (7 hectares) - which were divided between the Catholic and Lutheran sides -, the school, and the Chapel for Catholics (4 hectares). Later, according to other records presented in the book entitled *From Jaraguá to Jaraguá do Sul - O Legislativo Catarinenese Resgatando a Historia da Cidade* (2006), in 1951, 10,000m2 of land was donated for the construction of a rural school.

The construction of the church began in 1922 and was completed in 1933. Celebrations in honor of the church's building were held, known today in Portuguese as "Kyritag", the Church Day – a word that probably came from German: Kirchentag. Majcher, Canuto, Lopes (2008) present in their narrative the memoirs about the rituals of the families linked to this local festivity. In the figure of the church and the celebration, is possible to see in the buildings around the church, some features that may be linked with the Hungarian style of the addition of a little house next to the main one, despite the German half-timbered.

Figure 3. The Church of Santo Estevão during the Kyritag festivity.
Source: Historical Archive of Jaraguá do Sul/Memory Fund.

The name Georg Wolf Senior is also often mentioned, as he was the leader of the occupation of the first Hungarians, his house appears as one of the important places in the process. Built in 1896, it was where the friars used to stay when they came for Mass celebrations. The same house later became an important small commerce center for the region. Emilio da Silva completes "the commercial house dated from the first times" (1975. 123). Majcher, Canuto, Lopes (2008) affirm that the house was called "Gescheft" - business from the German -, where they sold a little of everything the community needed. The place also became a meeting point for locals on Saturday afternoons to buy and sell products, or receive correspondence and news, through the newspaper, arriving only there. The architectural element porch – in Hungarian: tornác – can be seen at the commercial house of George Worf, next to the two windows, again despite the German style of half-timbered. Both together can be understood as the assimilation process with the Germans in the region.

Figure 4. The house and the commerce of George Wolf.
Source: Historical Archive of Jaraguá do Sul/Memory Fund.

Majcher, Canuto, Lopes (2008) also report the changes that were made to the houses as the family grew, parts were attached. "As the families increased, and as the needs demanded and the financial situation allowed, necessary expansions and adaptations were made for better working conditions" (Majcher – Canuto – Lopes 2008. 203). In Figure 5, we can see the presence of araucarias, the dominant tree species in southern Brazil, the author comments that a small araucaria forest was planted near the house, and dry branches were used in the stove to burn and warm the place, a connection with the landscape into the dwelling process. In the same picture of the first house, the tornác element appears again in the structure, making this characteristic a possible Hungarian influence in the cultural heritage of the neighborhood. In the following

years, more buildings were inserted in the terrain, such as a sawmill and carpentry (Majcher – Canuto – Lopes 2008). After the rebuilding of the house, the architectural elements cannot be connected with the Hungarian style, which can be associated with the second part of the assimilation process.[1] The city of Jaraguá do Sul, today has industry as its main economic pillar, to this characteristic many historians adhere to the profile of immigrants from the time of colonization, which with the arrival of the train line in 1910 and the ease in the flow of goods, also were encouraged to market their products, being marketed even in the region of Curitiba and Santos. What then led them to open small businesses in the new city center of Jaraguá do Sul, in the surroundings of the Train Stations.

Figure 5. The house of George Wolf in two moments.
Source: Historical Archive of Jaraguá do Sul/Memory Fund.

It is important to note that objects that could be used today as ways of remembering their homelands, hardly survived the Nationalization Campaign in Brazil. As a result of the New State government from 1937 to 1945, foreign languages were forbidden to be spoken or taught, and objects depicting other languages, or images that referred to other countries were taken and destroyed. As described by Majcher, Canuto, Lopes (2008) some objects were brought from Hungary by the first families, such as teapots, plates, iron pots and pans, soap dishes, books, and some records. The author is part of the third generation of Hungarian descent, and she presents in her narratives, the memory of the habit of reading books brought from Europe that still took place on Sundays.

Finally, all the documentation points out that the occupation took place not exclusively by Hungarians. Friar Aurelio Stulzer reports in the Livro II de Jaragua do Sul (Silva 1975), that he found in the records of Friar Lucinio Korte a record of the occupation of that region by Hungarians and also by the second generation of Italians from nearby regions, which suggests the process of assimilation between different ethnicities from the beginning. The interaction with the native Indians is also described by Majcher, Canuto, Lopes (2008) through feelings of fear. There was indeed a fear towards them, when the native Indias appeared, the family of immigrants would hide inside the ranches with the children. The Indians who lived in that region were the Xokleng, nomads who

lived of hunting and gathering fruit. When they passed through the region of immigrants in Jaraguá do Sul, they used to attack and looted the corn (Majcher – Canuto – Lopes 2008). The assimilation with Germans is not appearing in a very strong way during the narratives but is possible to identify it in some of the house constructions, such as the half-timbered technique (the Fachwerk), and in the use of the language, for the mass celebrations and the one taught in the first schools.

Figure 6. The school.
Source: Historical Archive of Jaraguá do Sul/Family Alfonso Schwartz Fund.

The Hungarian cultural route today

When Pierre Nora presents the concept of *lieux de mémoire,* he points out an important element that is the real intention to remember, nevertheless the appearance of what is called sites of memory happens with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory anymore, that is why we create the *lieux de mémoire,* because such activities no longer occur naturally (Nora 1989). The author also attributes the concept to three main characteristics: materiality, meaning, and functionality, connecting them with the necessity of having a symbolic aura (Nora 1989).

In *Magyar hagyományalkotás Brazíliában* (Boglár – Kovács 1999), a study stated that there is no palpable Hungarian tradition in southern Brazil. They add the Hungarian community of Jaraguá do Sul, asks a choreographer from São Paulo, stating "they said: 'the Germans and Italians have dancing parties, and why don't we?' The "we" indicates the beginning of the search for ethnic identity ". (Boglár – Kovács 1999). "The man who finds references and knows his past will not be subject to all kinds of influence in the accelerated and globalized world, however, the man who appropriates this cultural heritage and behaves as an individual

responsible for his present and aware of his history, builds the future, and maintains strong its traditions and cultural traits." (Majcher – Canuto – Lopes 2008. 258). The authors end the book with a subchapter entitled The Search for Ethnic Identity, affirming the ever-existing desire to recover the connection with their homeland, given all the assimilation between the different ethnicities that has always existed since the first moments of colonization.

Figure 7. The Church of Santo Estevão and its details today.
Source: by the author (2022)

During the restoration of the Church of Santo Estevão, in 1998, documents written in Latin were found in one of its supporting columns, translated to: "To the great and maximum God, in honor of Saint Stephen, glorious king of the Hungarians" and in these documents also there is the date of laying the foundation stone of the church, in September 1922, and a list of approximately seventy names of Hungarian immigrants and their descendants, called 'founders of the new church, which is now exposed in a frame on the church's wall.

The majestic and well-known George Wolf house presented earlier, no longer exists. However, during empirical observations, it was possible to identify other houses that followed the extension process by adding new parts to confirm the families were growing described by Majcher, Canuto, Lopes (2008), also such characteristic of tornác (gang), appearing again in Figure 9 made of stone or bricks. The element, which can be defined as a porch is an area built next to the facade of a residential building or, more rarely, an outbuilding, with a roof supported by columns, pillars, and arches, can be connected to the Hungarian architectural style in the region. The arches in the tornác of the Figure 9, is a very typical element from the region of Veszprém.

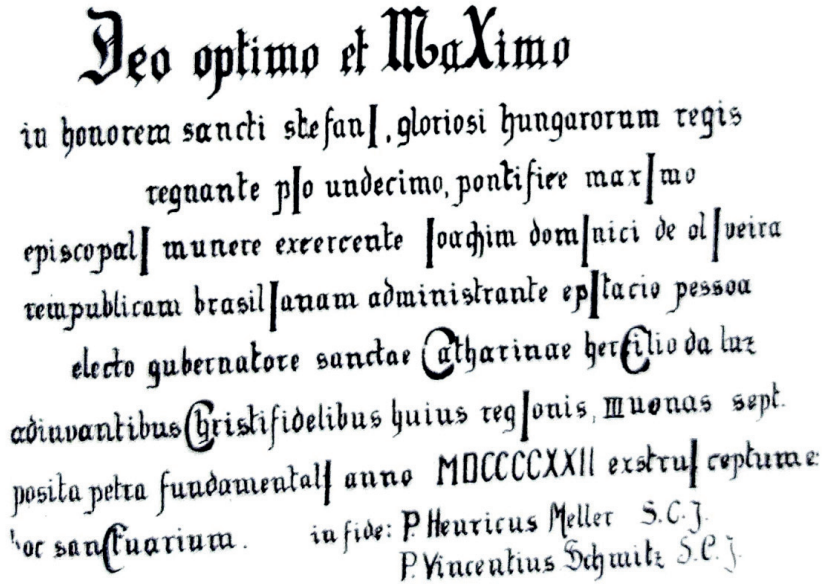

Figure 8. Document found during the restoration of the church, in Latin.
Source: Lopes - Toassi Kita (2012)

Figure 9. A house in the Hungarian Cultural Route.
Source: by the author (2022)

Conclusion

Through time and assimilation with different ethnicities, many of its characteristics today, such as the loss of the Hungarian language, can be said to have happened through the process of assimilation with the other predominant ethnicities. The church has always played an important role for the community of Hungarian descendants, as well as the pride seen by the elders in calling themselves Hungarians and for continuing to spread collective memories to the younger ones. It continues to be protected by the local community to be passed on to future generations. As said by Rossi (1984) the continuity of architecture depends on memory, it is from the permanency that the continuity of the city is ensured, respecting the forms of the past to preserve its image "they are a past that we are still experiencing" (Rossi 1984. 59). Norberg-Schulz complements as a role of the buildings "through buildings, man gives meaning concrete presence, and he gathers buildings to visualize and symbolize his form of life as a totality" (Norberg-Schulz 1979. 32).

On the other hand, many of the houses presented in this work no longer exist, remaining only in collective memory and photographs from the historical archive. In Brazil today, there is no strong relationship with historical constructions - it can be seen in the following images - many of the houses that survived time in the rural area of Jaragua do Sul, are found in neglected and abandoned states, even though they are considered historic heritage in the city. Today, there is a great challenge in rescuing the historical and cultural traces related to the architectural heritage that survived in the city's rural area.

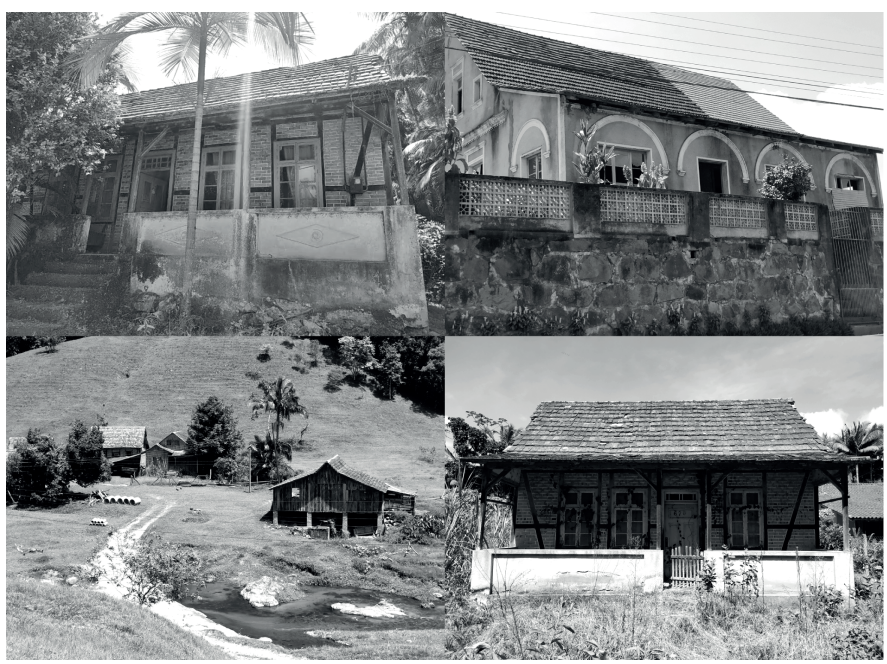

Figure 10. Houses in the Hungarian Cultural Route.
Source: by the author (2022)

Architecture is a material heritage of the relationship between man, memories, time, place, and the process of assimilation, which "make the way the world touches us visible" (Pallasmaa 2017. 33), helping also in the construction of the identity. Following this work, the next steps are focusing on the individual memory – through interviews – of the community living in the rural areas of the Hungarian Cultural Route, and the descendants who lived there. Aiming to understand how the architecture and the spatiality of the room within their houses and the cultural landscape relate to their search for ethnic identity. This work is in the beginning, but it is possible to affirm the existence of a very interesting parallel form between the Hungarian origin and the host country – only as a hypothesis for the moment. An example can be taken from the church, which is for sure Hungarian, also by its name, but not in its architectural style, however, the cultural memory on it is the anchor of this structure. The following steps for this investigation will be done through comparison methods, with the German and Italian styles of the dwellings as well, according to their periods and layouts, aiming to answer what are the elements that can be truly interpreted as Hungarians, or cultural elements they brought with them or got adapted in the new landscape, if so. Later the rebuilding, as seen in the George Wolf house, can represent the assimilation process through time.

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„Historia: Testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae”*

Research and development of history lessons that process video life story interviews. Results and theses

Keywords
history education, history didactics, oral history, ICT

DOI 10.14232/belv.2023.1.12
https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2023.1.12

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:
Jancsák Csaba et. al. (2023): History: Testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae. Research and development of history lessons that process video life story interviews. Results and theses. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 35. no. 1. pp 171–186.

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)
ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

1. Introduction

This paper presents an abstract of the subject-teaching pedagogy research conducted by the MTA–SZTE Oral History and History Education Research Group. Our premise is that the role complex that society’s expectations assign to History and Civic Education as a school subject

* Cicero, De Oratore, II, 36.

results from social, economic and technological changes as well as changes in lifestyle and civilization, which have been affecting children's and youth's world of life in recent years. The new role expectations partly appear as sensitization towards the roles of active and conscious citizenship and as civic education, and they can partly be detected in the development of critical thinking and historical thinking and in the preservation of traditional, European trans-historical values and collective memory.

Our research group developed history lessons, and then examined its effectiveness (administering questionnaires to 650 subjects before and after lessons in 39 classes, and conducting 14 focus group interviews) and its impact on the students (with respect to acquiring new knowledge, increasing content knowledge, deepening and organizing knowledge, and emotional components). Based on these findings, we further developed the content of the history lessons. This paper presents the research conducted between 2017 and 2022, highlighting our research-based development process and the most important results.

1.1 Research topic and rationale

In the new millennium, the influencing effects of the mass media have become dominant in young people's thinking. Along with the appearance of web 2.0 and smart devices, time spent on talking in the family is decreasing, thus the impact of the family on young people's thinking and value orientations is also decreasing while the role of peer groups has acquired a new significance. Real, face-to-face friendship communities have been taken over by virtual interpreting communities of youths and influencers guiding the individual. School-age children use the Internet and social media as a basic source of information, thus they become increasingly susceptible to the influence of hoaxes, misconceptions, manipulative grouping of information, and false facts. Digital vulnerability – revealed by a series of research studies – is reinforced by the phenomenon of increasing isolation, seclusion, which means that children and young people leave behind the filter system of traditional interpreting communities (e.g. the family) that would restrict the spread of misconceptions and manipulation.

With the transformation of family as an institution, time spent on conversation has become restricted to the periods of morning and bedtime routines. As a consequence, the time that could be spent on family stories – traditionally passed down by grandparents and parents – has disappeared (Jancsák 2020). This is partly due to the disappearance of the multi-generational cohabitation model, and partly to the fact that the age of childbearing has been extended since the 1990s – all of which makes grandparent storytelling out of reach for the majority of teenagers.

The "unspoken" nature of certain events of the historical past (e.g. the Second World War, the Holocaust, the establishment of the Rákosi regime, the 1956 revolution, the everyday life of the Kádár regime, the events of the regime change) between the generations of parents and grandparents further exacerbates this shortage. What is more, the majority of the parents' generation has not heard the family stories, and if they have, there is no way and no time to tell and pass on the stories in today's busy lifestyle. The loss of ground and instability – due to the lack of professional discourse – are present in Hungary's history teacher education as well (especially regarding 20th-century topics).

In the light of the above, it is of no surprise that our small-scale surveys carried out on today's 14-18-year-old youth suggest that this generation is isolated from the historical past and alienated from history. It can be assumed that as there is no discussion on the historical past in children's interpreting communities, certain elements of collective memory (which happen to be value-holding symbols at the same time) disappear, and finally, historical milestones become empty texts – without deeper background knowledge and attitudes – in textbook-centred school education.

In the most recent years, as a result of social, economic, technological, lifestyle and civilizational changes affecting children and youth, the role complex articulated with respect to the subject of History and Civic Education has been forming (Dárdai 2010; Kaposi 2017; Jancsák 2019; Kojanitz 2019). The latest role expectations included sensitization towards active and conscious civic roles in Civic Education, partly through developing critical and historical thinking and partly through the preservation of traditional, European trans-historical values and collective memory (Rüsen 1994; Seixas 2016; Metzger – McArthur 2018; Kojanitz 2019; Chapman 2021; Jancsák et. al. 2021). Public education was unprepared for the new expectations towards history education. For this reason, it can be assumed that history education, in the light of social expectations, cannot fully fulfil its function to develop competences and live up to its educational function of socialising and preserving values.

In the global world, economic and political crises, increasing poverty, new migration flows, technological changes (smart devices, web 2.0), and the increasing influence of the mass media create new vulnerabilities for child and youth generations. Our assumption was that this instability increased Hungarian young people's exposure to the crisis of trans-historical values and manipulations of the mass media.

Comparing interpretations of the past raises the issue of the nature of obtaining historical knowledge. It is both a prerequisite and an objective of developing historical thinking to facilitate that the picture learners can form should be increasingly nuanced. It may seem cliché to say that the importance of knowledge in the 21st century is unquestionable, however, processing the continuously growing amount of information– as a result of the systemic functioning of the Internet – poses a constant challenge to both students and teachers. To navigate the complexity of the information tsunami, effective epistemic knowledge is indispensable (e.g., Maggioni – VanSledright – Alexander 2009; Maggioni 2010; Kammerer – Stromso 2016; Stoel et al., 2017; van Boxtel – van Drie 2018; Sakki – Pirtillä-Backman 2019).

The questionnaire on epistemological beliefss piloted by our research group was well suited (due to its abstract statements, independent of historical topics) to be used in the Hungarian context and allowed for large-scale surveys (Kósa 2019.2020).

Our small-scale micro-studies (Jancsák et. al. 2021) prove that social value dimensions are prominent in oral history narratives of lessons with video interview excerpts and conducting such lessons in accordance with the perspectives of subject teaching methodology supports the processes of the values transmission of trans-historical social values between generations. The underlying patterns of these processes, however, are yet unknown, which justifies the need for conducting exploratory research.

The main objective of the lessons developed by our group and then examined in our research was to support young people in recognising what questions various historical interpretations could answer and how this might be related to the authors' situation, intentions,

etc. Research findings can ensure (through Open Access scholarly publications) that such history lessons are realised in the future which develop students' ability to critically approach accounts of the past or how the past is processed. The aim is that students find it natural to encounter various (sometimes contradicting) interpretations of past events; that they are equipped with patterns of historian/researcher thinking that navigate them when turning to sources; and that they are able to distinguish between interpretations based on to what extent these interpretations are rooted in facts, how deeply they describe reality and how open they are towards future debate.

Our premise is that a fundamental condition of historical awareness is that students encounter various primary sources. Such sources include video interviews with victims and actors of historical events. Life stories of individual people make historical situations that are hard to reconstruct and rather complex more relatable, imaginable and understandable. Video interviews with eye-witnesses make it palpable for students that historical knowledge is not a mere collection of information and facts but it rather resembles research requiring problem-solving activities.

Video interviews in history education may be a valuable innovation (and a novelty in the eyes of students) which can be applied effectively – if it is linked with strategies that develop historical thinking. However, we can state it as a premise that using oral history sources in the lesson cannot be considered such a strategy in itself.

In our research, we intended to investigate how research-based learning could be connected to the development of historical thinking while applying interviews in the lessons. The audio-visual presentation of personal micro-history could support this process, while processing the interviews helped students distinguish between the three levels of historical memory: personal, social and historical.

According to our premise, most of today's youth regard history as something they have nothing to do with. For this reason, new research facts that reveal how it can be shown to young people that events of the past influence our life and have consequences on the present are important, and students can search for explanations for present affairs by examining the historical antecedents

1.2 Objectives of the research

The most important objective of the research was to contribute to the deeper understanding of certain social phenomena concerning the new generation's historical awareness and civic competences. We expected to contribute to the formation of the research area in international research and development as well through our findings and the development and effectiveness check of new research methods that improve historical thinking and historical awareness effectively and facilitate understanding and knowledge application.

The objective of the exploratory research was to understand – in relation to accounts of the past, family histories and life stories – historical awareness, historical thinking, attitudes towards the past, narratives of the past compiled in the present and the underlying patterns of personal value orientations in young people's world, their way of living and lifestyle. A further goal was to reveal how personal narratives being processed in the classroom impacted young people's opinions and the structure of their value orientations.

In our research, we examined the opinions of young people and history teacher, applying both quantitative and qualitative methods, and then, based on our findings, we developed history lessons that used video life interviews, which were then further analysed.

Our research design was built on the premise that the task of modern history teaching is to prepare young people for a holistic and conscious role as citizens who embrace social values, know and creatively interpret elements of our past and culture.

1.3 The educational/pedagogical issue to be resolved and its significance for the Hungarian Society

In recent years, factors suggesting that we are living in a world risk society have been strengthening. Economic and political crises, increasing poverty, new migration flows, political populism gaining strength and technological changes (ICT, web2), in addition to the intensifying European youth vulnerabilities specified at the beginning of the century, create new vulnerabilities for child and youth generations both in Europe and in Hungary, such as the crisis of freedom, solidarity, empathy, values of autonomy (crisis of universal humanistic values, crisis of European values), furthermore, exposure to manipulations of the post-truth era, the fear industry. The influencing effects of the mass media have become dominant on young people's thinking. Along with the appearance of web2 and smart devices, time spent on talking in the family is decreasing, thus the impact of the family on young people's thinking and value orientations is also decreasing. The role of peer groups has been revalued. In most recent years, real, face-to-face friend communities have been taken over by virtual youth interpreting communities and influencers guiding the individual. As a consequence of all this, in Hungary, school age children use the Internet and social media as a basic source of information, which thus become fertile grounds for hoaxes, misconceptions, manipulative grouping of information, and claiming false facts. This vulnerability is reinforced by the phenomenon of increasing isolation and seclusion, measured among Hungarian youth, which means that children and young people leave the filter system of traditional interpreting communities (family, peer friend communities) that would restrict the spread of misconceptions and manipulation. The Hungarian educational system is not prepared to provide answers for this phenomenon. This applies for the school subject of History and Civic Education, which provides civic education within the frameworks of educational documents (National Core Curriculum), with its key task to sensitize (educate) students in grades 8 and 12 of public education (14- and 18-year-olds) into conscious, active citizens. Our earlier studies reveal that history education, due to its textbook-driven nature, performs its democratic education function to a lesser extent, contents reflecting on civic education issues are absent from history teacher education, and teachers do not feel prepared for this task (Dárdai – Kaposi 2021, 2022; Kojanitz 2021; Kósa 2019). Youth research conducted in the past five years has proven that less and less time is spent on talking in the family circle, while children and youth devote increasingly more time to using their smart phones, computers or the Internet. (Vincze 2019; Fekete 2021)

As a consequence of this, the transmission of social values between older and younger generations has been disappearing, and – as our findings have revealed – elements of collective (national) memory are fading away among primary and secondary school age youth. It can be stated, therefore, that today's youth, due to the lack of family stories, can be characterized as

living in a world "outside history", and this present-orientedness and value crisis (which is supported and exacerbated by consumer capitalism) create new vulnerabilities, for example, with respect to receiving fake information circulating on the Internet or due to the deficiency of the value transmitting (educational, socializing) function of family discourse. As in the "interpreting communities" of children (family, peer group) there is no discussion about certain elements of our collective memory, the elements of our historical past (which are at the same time value transmitting symbols as well) are fading away, and they become highlighted, albeit empty sentences in school education without deeper background knowledge or attitudes. At the same time, it is important that we utilize the info-communication technologies available for today's screenager generation in the world of education as well, and the opportunities offered by these devices and technology should support the mission of the 21st-century modern school.

1.4 The international subject-teaching pedagogy relevance of the research

In the international dimension of history education research, essentially two approaches have become dominant in recent years. According to one, it is the development of critical thinking and the analysis of sources that are to constitute the core of history education, while the other approach views history education as the preserver of collective memory. With its research, the research group argues that the two sets of views may create significant added value, regarding the future life of those in school now, if they are applied jointly, when preparing learners for the role of conscious citizens, committed towards trans-historical values arching over generations, towards our past and culture.

The research group contributed to these pedagogical, educational goals by making video interviews and applying interview extracts in history lessons in the partner schools – in case of those historical milestones that are missing from family stories (the above three topics) – where witnesses and survivors of historical events tell about what happened, how their personal stories intertwined with history. In this respect, the research group also connected to international and Hungarian studies investigating the connectedness of personal and micro-history and history (Life story – History). Besides developing teaching materials, the focus of the OHHERG's mission was to investigate how these digital contents could be applied, what methodological innovation and values accompanied history teaching when ICT materials and tools were used. The research group also cooperated and shared its findings with others within the international research community having the same interests, also reflecting on the research results produced in other countries (Silva 2018, Vajda 2018, Haydn 2019).

2. Methodology

2.1 The basic hypotheses of research

1. The premise of our research was that the value socialisation function of the family had transformed as time spent on conversation was decreasing. Historical milestones, which are elements of national enculturation, are disappearing from the collective memory of the new generation.

Due to the disruption of value transmission processes between generations, some trans-historical values are being replaced by postmodern social values. This process is further amplified by online immersion and influencers in virtual realities, which increase young people's vulnerability to mass media manipulation. This leads to new role expectations towards history education: value socialisation, historical thinking, critical thinking and interpreting digital content (sources).

2. Oral history sources (video life interviews) – which are the outcome of research-based development – are suitable for improving young people's social value orientations and historical awareness when used with appropriate educational strategies.

2.2 The research tasks

The research group investigated the opportunities, methods and impact of integrating video extracts with participants, witnesses and survivors into history education. In the first phase of the research group's work, questionnaires and focus group studies were conducted among history teachers, and questionnaires were administered among students finishing elementary school and students graduating from high school. The focus of the studies was to obtain deeper knowledge of what image youths have about the events in our historical past, what discussions they have on these events in the family and in peer groups, and to discover how ICT tools can be applied in history education, what views teachers have concerning the world of values of history education, the application of ICT tools and digital contents and their experiences regarding ICT competences. The studies conducted among teachers aimed at exploring their world of values concerning history education and their experiences with applying ICT tools and digital contents in lessons. Having completed these preliminary studies, we started to set up a network of partner schools, and we involved elementary and secondary school teachers of history in the work of our group, who participated in developing lessons in three work groups formed on the basis of our three topics (Hungary's participation in World War II, the Holocaust in Hungary, the 1956 Revolution and War of Freedom). The contents of the lessons were revised by historians specialized in the field and university instructors specialized in the methodology of teaching the content area humans and society. From the fall of 2017, school-based piloting of teaching materials commenced. After the analysis and integration of these first experiences, from the spring of 2018, data collection in lessons also started. During the first phase of piloting and examination (in case of the topics of the Holocaust and the 1956 revolution), both in primary and secondary school, questionnaires were administered in classes, before and after the application, in a lesson with video interviews and in a lesson following traditional "textbook driven" instruction (the latter is considered to be the control group in our study). In case of the video interview lesson, focus group interviews were also conducted with the students. The collection and analysis started in the late spring of 2018. During the second phase of piloting and examination (in case of the topics of Hungary's participation in World War II, the Holocaust and the 1956 Revolution), in primary and secondary school, questionnaires were administered in classes, before and after the application, in a lesson with video interviews and in a lesson following traditional instruction; furthermore, in case of the video interview lesson, focus group interviews were also conducted with the students. The first collection and analysis of these data started in 2019.

Our research group developed history lessons, and then examined its effectiveness (administering questionnaires to 650 subjects before and after lessons in 39 classes, and conducting 14 focus group interviews) and its impact on the students (with respect to acquiring new knowledge, increasing content knowledge, deepening and organizing knowledge, and emotional components). Based on these findings, we further developed the content of the history lessons.

In 2020, the history lessons revised in the above-described method were recorded on video and analyzed in terms of the effectiveness of the applied methods and the teachers' and students' utterances and speech acts. Through the interview extracts with witnesses, some of the lessons aimed at evoking the values of empathy, responsibility, solidarity, freedom, democracy and tolerance, and sensitizing towards related attitudes. Another group of lessons aimed at developing historical thinking; in this case, personal history appeared as a narrative form and as a source.

3. Main findings

1.

In the most recent years, as a result of social, economic, technological, lifestyle and civilizational changes affecting children and youth, the role complex articulated with respect to the subject of History and Civic Education has been forming. The latest role expectations included sensitization towards active and conscious civic roles in civic education, partly through developing critical and historical thinking and partly through the preservation of traditional, European trans-historical values and collective memory.

As in children's interpretive communities there is no ongoing discourse about the historical past, certain elements of the collective memory (which are value-holding symbols at the same time) are fading away, and thus – in education in schools – historical milestones become empty texts without background knowledge and attitudes. The reason for this is not only the disappearance of the multi-generational family household, but also the fact that since the 1990s, generations postpone parenthood to an older age, so teenagers who would be open to hearing about the events of the past have no grandparents around to hear stories from. This hiatus is further amplified by the tendency that events of the historical past are "unspoken" of among the generations of parents and grandparents. The three teaching material topics our group was conducting its research on, Hungary's participation in World War II, the Hungarian Holocaust and the 1956 Revolution, are historical events that have been unspoken of even though quite a few of the sufferers, victims, participants, and eyewitnesses are still here, or were here until the recent past, as great-grandparents or parents. This unspokenness is further amplified by the lack of professional discourse and expert dialogue, the lack of discussion. Furthermore, many people in the generation of parents haven't heard the family stories either, or if they did, they have no opportunity – in this rushing world – to find the time for telling their stories. Our exploratory studies conducted among 14-18-year-olds reveal an image of a generation isolated from their historical past and alienated from history.

2.

Young people's way of life and lifestyle are strongly determined by ICT devices and virtual spaces, their thinking by social media and virtual interpretive communities. In our research, we found that nine out of ten have a smartphone, two-thirds have a laptop, more than half of the students use a desktop computer at home and one-third have a tablet. 94% have Internet access at home. On an average day (both on weekdays and weekends), our respondents spend three times as much time on the Internet as on having family conversations; half of the students are constantly online. With the appearance of web2 and smart devices, the family's impact on children's thinking and value orientation is decreasing, while the role of peer groups and virtual youth communities is increasing. Real friend communities are replaced by virtual reference groups and reference people, i.e. influencers, guiding the individual. This digital vulnerability is strengthened by the phenomenon of isolation and reclusiveness as a consequence of the COVID pandemic, as a result of which children and young people leave the traditional interpretive communities (i.e. family and school) and become susceptible to the spread of misconceptions and manipulation these communities could filter out or limit before.

These emerging problems have led to new role expectations expressed towards history education and history teachers. The expanded role expectations encompass socializing tasks beyond the traditional roles of schools (in our case, beyond history education). While in case of earlier generations socializing happened in spaces outside schools, typically in the family and in communities of relatives or friends, today society expects schools (and teachers) to take over the role of family or relatives in providing socializing functions. These are educational tasks aiming at preparing children for social roles such as developing skills and competences of personal responsibility, tolerance, empathy, solidarity and cooperation. Further social roles, beyond the above and with the spread of web2, have also appeared, such as those preparing children for collecting, selecting and interpreting information and arriving at informed opinions, sensitizing towards social values and norms and developing historical awareness and civic competences.

The Hungarian educational system is not ready to respond to these phenomena: history education, due to its textbook-driven nature, does not see its function of developing competences and transmitting or forming values. In history teacher training, historical and critical thinking and content reflecting on the issues of civic education are absent; teachers do not feel prepared for developing the historical mind or historical thinking and performing the tasks of civic education.

Without the solid knowledge of subject matter (discussed and proofed by historian-researchers and serving as the basis of source criticism) which depicts the social/historical environs, the interpretation of historical milestones and sources becomes uprooted; without historical awareness and critical thinking founded by subject-teaching methodology, manipulative content and misconceptions are entered in the collective memory. Based on our findings, we argue that history education is supposed to prepare young people for their conscious civic roles, knowing and creatively interpreting the elements of our past and culture and social values in a holistic way.

3.

Comparing interpretations of the past raises questions that give importance to ideas on the nature of historical inquiry. It is both the condition and objective of developing historical thinking that learners form a more and more nuanced picture. It is a cliché that the significance of knowledge in

the 21st century is unquestionable, however, due to the operation of the world wide web, processing the growing amount of information poses a constant challenge to students and teachers alike. The complexity of the information tsunami makes it indispensable to have efficient epistemic knowledge acquisition. Our research group's questionnaire, developed by Stoel and his colleagues (2017), examining epistemological beliefss (due to its abstract, topic-independent statements) can be well applied in our Hungarian context. The questionnaire adapted and tested by members of our research group makes large-sample testing possible. (Due to its fast administration, not only researchers but also practicing history teachers can gain a nuanced picture of students' history-related views, which have an impact on the quality of drawing conclusions from the past.) Our study could conclude that there was a definite distinction between the naïve and nuanced statement concerning how developed epistemological beliefs are. The data suggest that there is a connection between history grades and the highest level of education students aim at with how nuanced their views are concerning historical knowledge acquisition: the more somebody deals with history (e.g. conversations on such topics or participating in school projects) and the stronger inner motivation and more positive attitudes they have towards historical topics, the more crystallized their beliefs on epistemological processes are and the more critical observers they become.

4.

Social value dimensions are markedly present in the oral history narrative of history lessons with video extracts. Applying them in ways founded in subject-teaching methodology supports the transmission processes of trans-historical social values between generations. Young people who have discussions on historical topics in their interpretive communities (i.e. in their family, school or peer group) consider it more important to respect traditions as a traditional value, ensure democracy, accept other people, provide equality before the law and accept religious beliefs. On the other, in nearly one-third of families, there is no discussion about any historical event. Half the students graduating from secondary school could not mention any family involvement in any historical event. In their case, video interview lessons were especially important in creating added pedagogical value.

5.

The premise of subject teaching methodology in history education is that the basis of forming the right view on history is to make learners aware that the past and history are not the same. The most important objective of the lessons we developed was to support learners in recognizing what questions various historical interpretations can answer and how it is related to the situation and intentions of the author. Our data reveal that developing teaching materials based on subject-teaching methodology research results in lesson plans and realizations that support learners in becoming able to approach historical accounts and interpretations critically. They find it natural that events in the past are interpreted differently (even in contradicting ways) and are presented with models for how to use historical/researcher critical thinking when examining sources, thus being able to differentiate between interpretations based on how well they are supported by facts, how deeply they depict reality and how open they are to further discussions.

6.

A fundamental condition of efficient history education is for students to encounter various primary and secondary sources and learn how to apply them for gaining information as effectively and creatively as possible. Video recordings of the accounts given by sufferers and active participants of historical events belong to the former. Life stories of individuals make historical situations that are hard to reconstruct or especially complex easier to understand, imagine, or access. Sources of oral history are effective tools in history education in the sense that they involve students in microhistory and in critically evaluating stories created about the past. The recollections recorded in eyewitnesses' video interviews make it possible for students to understand that acquiring historical knowledge is not so much about collecting information and facts as it is a problem-solving activity similar to doing research.

7.

The lessons with video extracts relating to the three topics our research group was working on contain oral history sources that present conflicts and contradictions which – as our research findings prove – make students reconsider their earlier views and encourage them to explore a more nuanced picture of the topic. Consequently, oral history lessons raise those issues that call attention to the dangers of oversimplification and unfounded statements.

8.

The appearance of video interviews in history education is a valuable innovation (and a fun novelty in students' eyes), which can be applied in an effective way – if linked with the application of teaching strategies that develop historical thinking. What is considered a teaching strategy is when selecting and realizing a subject-teaching methodology solution in practice support the effective realization of any of the general objectives of history education or the specific educational goals. Our research findings suggest that applying an oral history source in the lesson in itself cannot be considered as such a strategy. However, editing them from the aspect of subject-teaching methodology can provide promising solutions, which can be built into various history education strategies (e.g. research-based learning and developing thinking aiming at deepening knowledge linked with historical metaconcepts such as evidence, cause or interpretation).

9.

The students participating in lessons on Hungary's participation in World War II, redesigned based on the test lessons, found the historical events more accessible and could gain deeper knowledge, which supports their preparation for the new form of the matura (secondary school leaving exam) much more. Based on our data, we can conclude that apart from gaining new information and encountering morals, students were also involved in interpreting history, which made the lessons significantly more effective. The social values the video interview lessons intended to transmit (loyalty, patriotism, responsibility, solidarity, courage, risk-taking and self-sacrifice) markedly appeared among the values the students perceived. The findings of the research show

that lessons with video extracts can be realized efficiently if issues of subject-teaching methodology are taken into account and students are actively involved in the lesson.

In the lessons we developed on the topic of the Hungarian Holocaust, our findings reveal that video interview lessons transmit values such as responsibility, solidarity and the respect of human rights. They are effective because the application of multimedia devices in the course of processing video interviews containing personal narratives and perspectives develops empathy, critical thinking, multiperspectivity, opinion forming, democratic functioning and other affective and cognitive skills necessary for functioning as responsible citizens. As a result of our research running for several years, it became apparent that the topic area and sources of oral history also facilitate longer (3-4-lesson long) timeframes either for projects or for the analysis of parallel life stories in a comparative way (e.g. applying a cross-curricular approach and subject synergies or using life interview extracts again at a later stage for further teaching materials), thus making it possible to apply them in education using more complex pedagogical strategies.

In the case of our lesson on the 1956 Revolution, we concluded that lessons with video interview extracts made it easier for students to process the teaching material, understand the information and deepen their knowledge. The interviews became a useful tool for understanding and processing, and at the same time, the lesson created opportunities for raising questions or discussing dilemmas. Video interviews supported group work and made it possible to form and compare opinions, which helped to develop critical thinking. Our post-lesson research showed that after the lesson nearly half the students talked about the 1956 Revolution with their classmates and one-third talked about it with their family members. This result means (although we can claim that it is not the actual task of history education) that video interview lessons encourage value transfer in the family; and involvement in national history as appearing in family stories facilitates its preservation in collective memory. If history lesson knowledge is repetitively discussed among family and peers (as the two most important interpretive communities) in educational spaces (i.e. spaces of free time), the internalization of social values represented by history education is supported.

10.

Learners' skills and thinking can be developed most effectively if several types of objectives are considered when designing a topic. Then, while processing the material, we should facilitate that learners' tasks should interact with and complement each other in achieving the required effect. The realization of our lessons reflected on how research-based learning can be linked with the development of critical thinking while applying interviews in the lessons. Meanwhile, other modern methods of history education can also be applied (e.g. comparing and contrasting, debate and discussion, group work or project work).

In order to create a connection with history, we need to provide the conditions in which the teaching material used in the lesson addresses students both emotionally and intellectually. Personal microhistory presented with audio application can efficiently support this process. At the same time, processing the interviews can help students differentiate between the three levels of historical memory: the personal level, the community level and the level of historical science.

The lessons applying video interview extracts could support history education by making the past relevant, an aspect in teaching methodology. The majority of students regard history

as something they have nothing to do with. Consequently, history education needs to provide opportunities for students to perceive that the effects and consequences of past events are still here with us. Educational innovation resulting from the renewal of subject-teaching methodology and teacher education should encourage students to learn about historical antecedents and find explanations for current affairs, because in this way they more easily find interest in social issues and problems.

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Cooperatives in multi-national context

Hunyadi, Attila Gábor (2016): C*ooperative networks in Transylvania belonging to Hungary and Romania. Nation-building a modernization by cooperatives in Transylvania as part of Hungary (1867–1918) and Romania (1918-1940)*. LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing, OmniScriptum, Saarbrücken.

DOI 10.14232/belv.2023.1.13
https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2023.1.13

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:
Balogh, Péter (2023): Cooperatives in multi-national context. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 35. no. 1. pp 187–190.

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)
ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

The book offers a longer-term historical investigation about the different forms, characteristics and organization of cooperatives in Transylvania, applying a several disciplinary perspectives. The Author[1] has divided the work into four major parts, although only two of them – the longer ones – have been explicitly nominated as chapters of the book.

[1] The Author, Attila Gábor Hunyadi was born in Turda, Romania in 1977. He finished History studies in Cluj in 2000, earned a PhD in Economic History at the Pázmány Péter Catholic University in Hungary in 2006 and accomplished Habilitation also in History at the Babes-Bolyai University Cluj in 2015. A former teacher of history, since 2007 the Author works as a lecturer at the History Department of the university in Cluj. Research topics include economic history of Transylvania and Romania in the XX. century, specifically the history of banks, insurance institutions and cooperative movements, self-organization movements of Central and Eastern European minorities, minority rights and societies, and international and regional studies as well.

The first part of the book is labelled as Introduction, which also incorporates a description of the methodological background and the theses and findings of the research. The Author briefly outlines the history of the research area, referring to Transylvania as a historical border region inhabited by ethno-national entities, where a development of sovereign banking and cooperative system could have been witnessed during the 19th century with patterns and examples primarily from Germany, Denmark, Britain and France. A specific dimension of the research problem stems from the fact that Romania in the times of the investigated period consisted of several – at least partially – different traditions and ethno-national entities, and the unification under one single legal system proved to be a remarkable challenge for the country. Accordingly the cooperative networks, the movements – that are in the focus of the investigation – could be interpreted as being in s kind of intermediate situation: on the one hand the leading and coordinating centres of the networks have dominantly gained autonomy regarding for example economic and financial issues, however – on the other hand – they have also had to work under the actual rules of general Romanian policies. Undoubtedly this specific constellation complemented with the diverse cultural and traditional backgrounds of the participating ethno-national groups could have raised the attention of the researcher to make a detailed description of the patterns and historical forms of cooperatives in the region, and to better understand the issue.

In light of this, the researcher has carried out a comparative, interdisciplinary study of the formation, change and restructuring of cooperative networks, which, in addition to exploring the individual forms, can also provide lessons on the mutual effects ('confluences'), the arrangements and relations of the social actors involved - specifically elites -, and also on the economic agenda followed. This is done in a double temporal division, i.e. by looking separately at the period of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the times when Transylvania belonged to Romania.

Three main research theses have guided the extensive research. On the one hand, the author assumes that the cooperatives that emerged in the meantime were not organised on an individual basis, but rather collectively, embedded in the operational framework of several different institutions. The book identifies a total of five such institutions, ranging from state administration actors to various non-state institutions such as financial institutions, professional economic associations, political organisations and programmes, and specific non-economic institutions such as churches and cultural institutions. The author refers to this diverse range of actors as promoter institutions.

The second thesis concerns the function of cooperative networks. The author argues that these cooperatives served other non-economic purposes in addition to purely material and financial functions. Such functions, the research suggests, include cultural-ideological channelling, the need for social mobility and the creation and empowerment of an active peasant middle class, and the political mobilisation of the social groups concerned. The research shows that these economic, cultural, social and political functions are interlinked in several cases.

Last but not least the third thesis of the investigation proposes a kind of interaction again – as seen in the case of the former one – but in a different segment. The Author has assumed that there could have been explored a mutual influence between different regional actors and groups regarding the networks of the cooperatives, the leading persons and members of the elite groups, furthermore the national segment in the connected area.

In order to empirically investigate the theses introduced above, the Author follows a historical approach – purposely strictly building on and adhering to the objective facts about the

investigated materials – but also elaborates a specific methodological tool. This methodological model has been created around four elements and is represented – and also applied – in a circular pattern[2]. The *promoters*, the *owners*, *sponsors*, *cadre institutes* and *ruling elites* can be found in the initial phase of the methodological circle – that is, the first step towards the historical investigation of the ethnic-cultural embeddedness of Transylvanian economic institutions is the identification of the key groups of actors. In this stage the historical auxiliary science of prosopography, furthermore elite research and network analysis are to be applied. The next stage of the methodological circle focuses on the study of the self-image of the *firms* and *statues* through the investigation of the names and the languages used inside the boards and assemblies, assigning the methods of database collection and stakeholder analysis. After getting familiar with the essential characteristics of the economic actors, in the third phase the methodological model their targets are to be explored. This process includes the study of the target publics, national identity and PR of the firms in order to illustrate both their explicit and implicit target groups while using qualitative discourse analysis. In the fourth stage called '*balance*' the methodological circle envisages both qualitative and quantitative research methods when investigating the effective activities, and this phase also leads further towards the initial one including the promoters[3]. The four-stage methodological frame has also been complemented with further methodological assumptions, including the potential of self-coordination of the networks through their inner organizational elements, the consideration of their possible sub-national – intra-national or regional – and supra-national – international, transnational – connections, and an essentially comparative approach. From a methodological perspective the Author does not forget to also emphasize the role of mezzo and macro-level circumstances of regions, and introduces some following consequences in the example of Transylvania. Built on several disciplinarian impressions the research includes perspectives and viewpoints from – among others – sociology, law, economics, internationalism studies, historical ethnography, which provides an interdisciplinary approach[4].

Based on the conceptual and methodological considerations and framework introduced in the first part of the book – and briefly summarized above – the Author organizes the rather thorough and extensive research results into two chapters. These chapters have been divided along the time-periods of the investigation, so the first chapter covers the economic networks and cooperation in Transylvania in Austria-Hungary. In this part of the book the Reader meets – among others – the Hungarian cooperative system in the Monarchy, the programs of the nationality cooperatives and the roles played by them in the national economies, detailed descriptions and illustrations based on the examples of Romanian, Saxon and Hungarian cooperatives, with a specific attention on the rural areas and peasantry, nationalist theories in economy, target groups and official picture of these processes as reflected in stat authority reports.

Chapter 2. titled Economic networks bearing ethnic label (national bias) in interwar Romania includes on the one hand certain further methodological reflections and conceptual considerations regarding cooperation primarily from the perspectives od Romanian economic

[2] The graphical illustration of methodological model can be found separately also in the first part of the Annexes, in page 100. of the book.

[3] The Author of the book assumes that in cases when the four segments illustrate a converging pattern, ideological or ethno-national bias can be assumed of the networks.

[4] From this perspective the most interesting and also rather relevant approach for the writer of these lines proves to be the economic sociological concepts, as the Author alludes J. Coleman and M. Granovetter.

sociology which make it easier to investigate the research topic and interpret the findings about the patterns of this time period. On the other the second part of this section of the book introduces the economic and cooperative networks and movements with Romanian background and of the national minorities of the country, with an emphasis on the characteristics and patterns of the Hungarian cooperatives, and a further rather interesting sub-chapter can also be found here about the thoughts and relevant consideration of a many-sided scholar, Francis Balázs[5].

Both chapters are closed with sub-chapters including the concluding remarks related to the investigated period, and the Author decided not to include a further closing chapter of the book about an overall summary and conclusions of the research, but rather has collected and described the research outcomes in the final sub-chapter of the first part of the book containing the introductory conceptual and methodological considerations. In this sub-chapter the outcomes and experiences of the investigations have been reorganized and summarized, where –among others – it has been argued, that there could be explored a pattern of parallel and simultaneous development of Transylvanian national movements, and the changes in times and regimes do not prove to be decisive factor as the typical characteristics remain unchanged regarding the importance of embeddedness into a wider institutional- and value system. The research outcomes imply four different relationships and five different institution types while considering the similarities and specific features of the investigated cooperatives, and it can also be added, that the most remarkable difference could have been found in the relative political status of the groups involved and – accordingly – the way they were connected to the state and authorities. In this summarizing sub-chapter again three theses have been mentioned – referring to the initial theses of the research –, arguing that the national character plays an important role in the cooperative movements, the cooperatives prove to have several functions while 'channelling' not only financial, but cultural-ideological, mobility-related and political resources as well. In a state-relations context the study confirms the assumption of modern economic historiographical research about that cooperative movements of minorities are to be controlled by the dominant state, and the examples introduced in the study – particularly the case of Transylvania – illustrate that the cooperative movements served as an area of opposition to state control while developing coherent programs also important from the perspective of nation-building.

The study incorporates rich historical data collected and investigated in a thorough and methodical approach, the results of the studies are frequently illustrated by different graphic methods – tables, figures, maps as well – installed partially in the closing sub-chapters regarding the two different periods, and in dominantly the Annexes following the second chapter. It should also be highlighted, that the numerous sources used during the investigations are presented in the – 34-pages long (!) – bibliography in a divided manner where lists of different kinds of sources – e. g. archival sources, editions, legislations, press documents – can be reviewed and studied in light of the proper interest of the Reader.

Those who wish to gain deep professional insights into the historical development, patterns and wider social embeddedness of cooperatives in inter-ethnic and trans-national contexts definitely find an excellent work if they choose the book by Attila Gábor Hunyadi, but scholars from different other related disciplines and even any interested ones might also encounter relevant parts in the book and research findings worth to be considered.

[5] Francis Balázs (1901–1937) was a Transylvanian poet and writer, philosopher and social reformer with significant international experience who had his ideas about cooperative also realized in practice.

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Transylvanian Hungarian Youths (2001–2016)

Veres, Valér (ed.) (2020): *Erdélyi magyar ifjúság. Szociológiai jellegzetességek* és *változások 2001* és *2016 között.* [Transylvanian Hungarian Youth. Sociological characteristics and changes between 2001 and 2016] Kolozsvár, Max Weber Társadalomkutatásért Alapítvány – Kolozsvári Egyetemi Kiadó.

DOI 10.14232/belv.2023.1.14
https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2023.1.14

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:
Jancsák, Csaba (2023): Transylvanian Hungarian Youths (2001–2016). Belvedere Meridionale vol. 35. no. 1. pp 191–195.

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)
ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

Today's world may be characterised in various ways. We may refer to it as the network society (Castells 1996), the experience society (Schulze 2000), or the era of scarcity following the affluent society (Galbraith 1958). We may highlight the phenomenon of global world risk (Beck 2008), call it the era of instability (Szabó 2014), the brave new world of work (Beck 2009) or

the age of industry 4.0. Economic and political crises, increasing poverty, new migration waves, strengthening political populism and technological changes in Europe all carry new vulnerabilities for the age groups of children and youths (Gábor 2012; Jancsák 2013; Sortheix et. al. 2017).

In case of young people, certain factors occur earlier and earlier in their life: they join the information society already in their early teens (e.g. using smartphones, Facebook or TikTok), they are becoming an increasingly valued target group in consumer society sooner, and they decide how to spend their leisure time and have their first sexual intercourse at a younger age. At the same time, the traditional factors of becoming an adult (taking the first full-time job, moving out of the parental home, getting married and having children) are delayed to a later stage of life, to their thirties.

The frame of reference for young people is the world of life in which they exist. The above-mentioned economic and social phenomena also require that researchers studying the rapidly forming world of youth need to be updating and refreshing their research methods to gain a deeper scientific insight. As Chisolm (2006) puts it, "a sharper lens or a new camera" is needed, that is, the rapidly changing subject of research requires the development of new tools and methods. At the same time, in addition to sharp snapshots, analyses spanning over a broader spectrum in time are also needed to create a nuanced picture. The volume edited by Valér Veres is intended to contribute to this.

The book *A perifériából a centrumba – Erdélyi fiatalok helyzetképe az ezredforduló után* [From the Periphery to the Centre – The Situation of Transylvanian Youth after the Millennium], published in 2006 (see Gábor – Veres 2006), may be considered a scientific and specialist precursor to the volume. The authors of both volumes are members of the sociology workshop of the Babes-Bolyai University (BBU) of Cluj-Napoca. The writers of the seven studies analysed the data obtained from surveys (Mozaik [Mosiac] and Magyar Ifjúság [Hungarian Youth]) conducted between 2001 and 2016 among Transylvanian youths aged 15 to 19.

The first paper in the volume, „Az erdélyi magyar ifjúság társadalomszerkezetének és iskolai mobilitásának változásai (2001–2006)" (p. 15–67.) [Changes in the social structure and educational mobility of the Transylvanian Hungarian youth (2001–2006)] is authored by Valér Veres, professor at BBU. In the first part of the study, the author discusses the position of Transylvanian Hungarian youths in the social structure and the patterns of their social stratification based on the 2001 and 2016 data and then analyses the relationship between social mobility and education in the fifteen-year period. The study states that the youth had to face several challenges in the examined period (educational, language and labour market hardships arising from ethno-demographic structure and settlement patterns; the preservation of Transylvanian Hungarian identity in addition to the new challenges and opportunities accompanying EU accession).

The educational attainment of Transylvanian youths improved considerably in the examined period (e.g. twice as many young people obtained a university degree), however, the number of youths with low educational attainment and unskilled youths continued to be significant, and the proportion of unskilled employment remained similar to the previous period.

In the second chapter of the book, Réka Geambasu (senior lecturer at BBU) and Emese Vitai (doctoral candidate at BBU) examine Transylvanian Hungarian youths' ideas about work–life balance (pp. 69–108). The authors' objective was to discover Transylvanian Hungarian youths' opinions and plans about establishing a family, the effects of having children on their private life and the financial conditions of having children. The main finding of the study in terms of values is that there has been little change in young people's normative family-centeredness and in the consensus

on non-material values related to private life. At the same time, the authors highlight that Transylvanian Hungarian youths "put a price tag" on having children in addition to its positive impact on personal happiness, and a significant group of them see it as a disadvantage in their efforts to establish their social status. "This view is more prevalent among young women and young people with lower educational attainment, while young people who already have a child or children or are religious constitute a higher proportion of those worrying less about this issue." (p. 100.)

In the third paper in the volume (p. 109–145), the author, Valér Veres, examines the manifestations of Transylvanian Hungarian youths' national identity, and the formation of their cultural national and civic identity, based on the data obtained from the Magyar Ifjúság Kutatás 2016, Mozaik2001 and Kárpát Panel [Carpathian Panel]. As a result of the political and social changes that took place during the period, changes in national identification patterns and attitudes are also emerging. "Perhaps the most significant of these factors was the social impact of (Hungary's) Hungarian national policy." The author also notes that the possibility of acquiring Hungarian citizenship for Hungarians living abroad and the increasing number of new citizens "has also had an impact on how young people perceive belonging to Hungary and how they define group boundaries". (p. 142.)

In the following study, Dénes Kiss analyses the main features of the religiousness of Transylvanian Hungarian youths growing up after the regime change and the changes in their religiousness. (pp. 147–162.) A senior lecturer at BBU, Kiss finds that a substantial majority of young people identify as religious, and those regularly practising their religion are in the majority as well. In the observed 15 years, there were no major changes in the proportions of Transylvanian Hungarian youths' belonging to historical churches. The author highlights: "Being religious is considered to be »normal« among Transylvanian Hungarian youths, a basic attitude that does not need to be explained, a »self-evident« one, even if those who consider themselves religious »according to the teachings of their church« are a minority, a quarter of the age group surveyed." (p. 161.)

The paper "Erdélyi magyar fiatalok szabadidős szokásai és értékorientációi" [Transylvanian Hungarian youths' leisure habits and value orientations] was written by Júlia Szabó (p. 163–183). A researcher at BBU Qualitas Institute and a doctoral candidate, the author presents Transylvanian Hungarian youths' value orientations and leisure habits according to the youth sociology surveys Mozaik2001 and Magyar Ifjúság 2016. According to her findings, among the young people surveyed, "there are no signs yet that young people would have radically broken with their parents' values in their value choices [...] The most important value in 2016 was the importance of human relationships (family security, true friendship)." (p. 177.) This finding is identical to the results of studies conducted among youths in Hungary. Similarly, there is a kind of parallelism between Hungarian and Transylvanian youths with reference to how they spend their leisure time: in cultural consumption, there is a new consumer group, that of the "omnivores". According to Szabó, "These youths are characterised by a more colourful and versatile leisure consumption; similarly to the high culture-oriented consumer group, they have higher educational attainment and their parents have higher status." (p. 177.)

Botond Dániel, senior lecturer at BBU, examines the patterns of Transylvanian Hungarian youths' participation in organisations (pp. 185–206.). In his analysis, Dániel presents what proportion of secondary school and higher education students belong to organisations in various fields of activity, and what factors determine whether they join an organisation. Examining the

differences in geographical localities, he finds that the proportion of organizational participation is highest in middle-sized towns. A seminal finding of the study is that as age advances, there is a change in joining organisations as well: "while high school students are most affiliated to youth, cultural and religious organisations, the proportion of affiliation to cultural and religious organisations decreases in case of university students and the proportion of membership in youth organisations increases." (pp. 203–204.)

The last paper in the volume is authored by Szidónia Rusu, a doctoral candidate at BBU. In her paper, entitled "Digitális megosztottság és médiahasználat az erdélyi magyar ifjúság körében" [Digital divide and media use among Transylvanian Hungarian youth] (pp. 207–222.), the author, similarly to other authors in the volume, analyses data from Mozaik2001 and Magyar Ifjúság 2016, and seeks to answer the question of how media and Internet use has changed and what gaps exist in terms of digital inequality among Transylvanian Hungarian youths. For the analysis, she created a digital index consisting of several dimensions and indicators and tested this by including different control variables. The study shows that "among the sociodemographic, social and employment background variables included in the regression model, education, gender, type of settlement, age and subjective income, as well as certain indicators and variables related to cultural consumption and values, showed significant associations with the intensity of digital inequality." (p. 221.)

The excellently edited and beautifully typographed volume of studies is useful not only for sociologists but also for a wider readership interested in the life of Transylvanian Hungarian youth.

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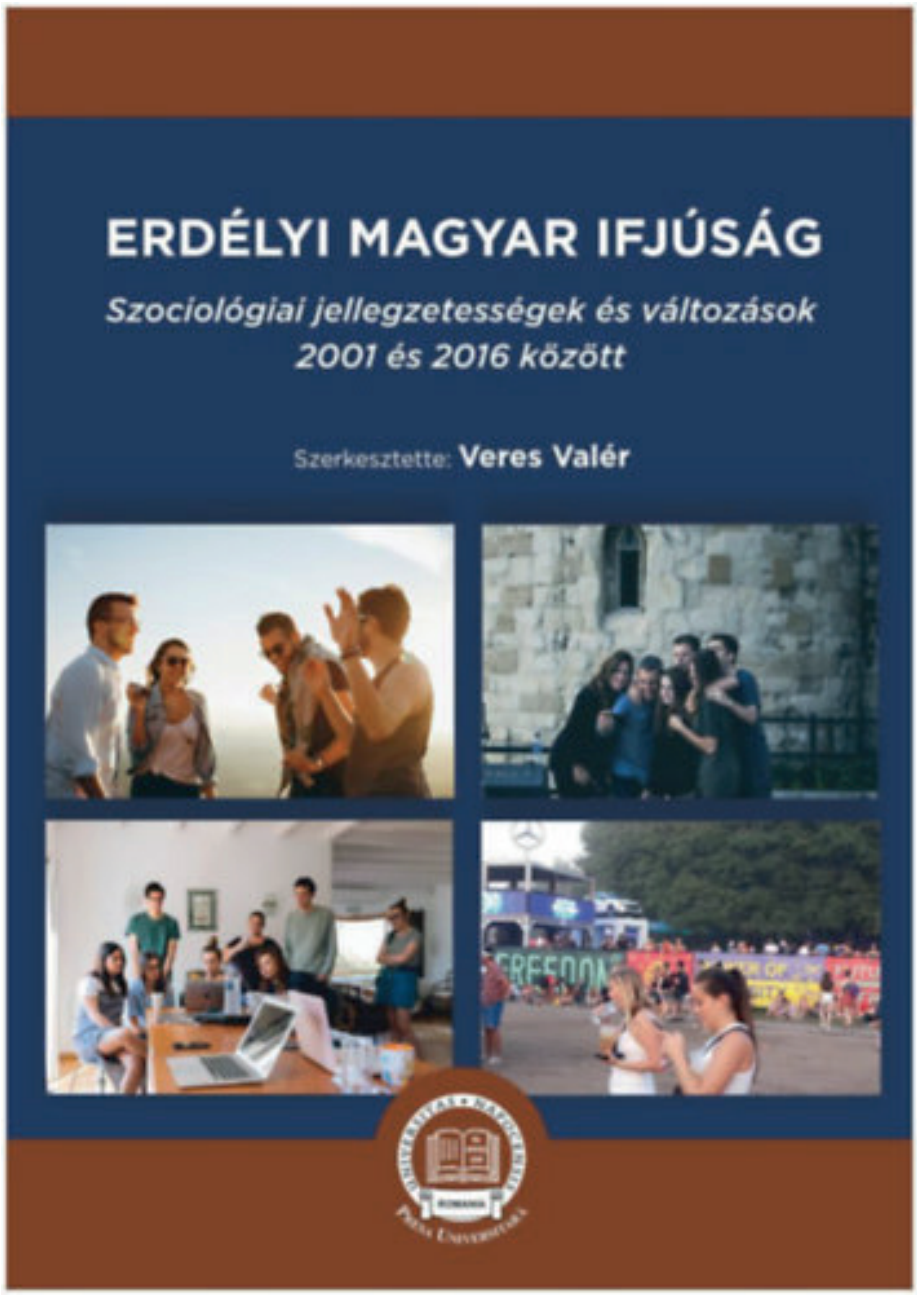
MEGJELENT!


ERDÉLYI MAGYAR IFJÚSÁG
Szociológiai jellegzetességek és változások 2001 és 2016 között
Szerkesztette: Veres Valér