

Zsuzsanna Agora & Virág Rab (eds.)

IDENTITIES IN CONVERSATION

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Grastyán Endre College for Advanced Studies
University of Pécs

Science–Community–Social Responsibility



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Contents



Foreword	7
Introducing Grastyán Endre College of Advanced Studies at University of Pécs	11
University Students of Pécs in the USA during the Cold War	14
CHAPTER I. IDENTITIES IN CONVERSATION	
Research Seminar Report: Identity and Locality	27
Attachment and Identity in Rural Pennsylvania: A Case Study	38
Patterns of National Identity in the Ustaša Movement: Ante Pavelić in the Political Correspondence and his Daughter's Memory	58
Rebel Propaganda and Self-Image in the Beginning of the 18th Century. The Case of Ferenc II. Rákóczi's War of Independence	66
„The Hajdana (in olden days) living among us” or in the footsteps of the memoir entitled “Lived” and “was”	75
Ervin Sinkó: A Hungarian Writer in the Diaspora	79
CHAPTER II. CONTRIBUTIONS OF GEC-MEMBERS AND GEC-PARTNERS	
Hungary: Gazelle Companies and Scalability Issues in Sustaining Business Inertia and Growth	89
Men or Women Are Better Leaders? – Gender Differences in Leadership Styles	96
Methodological Trends in Teaching Legal English with special regard to ELP Courses for Law Students in Hungary	109
Discourse Skills and Social Cognition – Pathology in Neuropragmatics	140
Decoding Emotions in Nazi-Propaganda Speeches	152

Foreword



This book aims to provide the reader with an overview of research conducted in Grastyán Endre College for Advanced Studies. As our College does not specialize in any particular field of knowledge, its members have the chance to enter into interdisciplinary dialogues. Although the relevance of inter- and multidisciplinary research has not been called into question, common experience shows that scientists and scholars engage in monologues rather than dialogues, in other words researchers rarely cross the borders of their own discipline. Those few who nevertheless do so often encounter several problems in their special field. Even so, borders must be crossed if we really want to understand and resolve a problem since this cannot be accomplished without the knowledge of others. Dividing the world into specialized areas of science may erroneously provide researchers with the illusion that the knowledge accumulated in their own field is enough for explaining a complex phenomenon. We want to change this belief.

However deeply a historian knows the sources of the past, however good she is at analyzing economic, political and social phenomena, she cannot give a comforting explanation of why millions of people go to war, why they sacrifice their children in the name of an ideology and why history is not the teacher of life as Cicero claimed. It is frequently asked why history should be taught at all, why we should know what happened in the past, what impact all this can have on our lives. Nowadays, in Hungary, the teaching of history focuses on the great events of Hungarian and world history and on the decisions made by great persons who shaped history, in other words it focuses on the story of the political élite. Children have to memorize a lot of data and learn a lot of concepts the essence of which they quite often do not even understand. Acquiring factual information outweighs understanding connections and reflecting the events of the past, this is a part of the heritage of East-European education.

The aim of one of the ongoing projects of the College (Identity and Locality) is to give children knowledge of the past which they can experience. We decided not to give children this knowledge in books but in a playful way, and instead of teaching about stories of the élite we want to teach them about stories of the place where they live. In our view history is not a heap of data but the stories of people like you and me. However, these people were our ancestors. We smile at them because they did not bathe and admire them because they were brave. At the same time, not only heroes but we all have stories about ourselves as well. How does our story match with the stories of others? Sometimes we have to rewrite the story of our life because it is forbidden to tell it. Sometimes we have to put special emphasis on something which did not use to be important at all. In other words, we live in stories and by stories, as Paul Ricoeur suggests. Bad stories make us sick but good stories can even heal us. Thus, it makes a difference what stories we tell about ourselves and about others we feel we belong to. Stories ground and maintain communities. Would religion and nation exist without common history? These groups became communities through a common story. However, there are groups which live together, yet cannot be called a community since there is no dialogue between the members and they do not have a common story.

Hungary is a post-communist country, which has an impact on our everyday lives. What I mean here is not only that infrastructure had to be installed in flats converted from former soviet military barracks, personal income tax had to be introduced and non-profitable state-owned undertakings had to be privatized, but also the fact that political dictatorship had a negative effect on people's trust in each other and in institutions. The dramatic loss of values occurring in local communities has only made the situation worse. The continuity of identities has been disrupted by demolishing the former systems of values. People living in small villages leave their homes and move to towns or passively wait for the state to improve their situation. In the region of Ormánság, which lies south-west of Pécs, the children's vision of their future is often determined by public works. They do not have alternatives and do not think, they might once study at university. Personal interviews made with them show that many of them think they will not live in their village when they grow up.

Attachment to the place of residence is now overwritten by the issue of livelihood, which can be regarded a global trend. Nevertheless, mobility is only one way for people to find better livelihood. Nowadays one of the greatest problems in Hungary is the emigration of skilled labor force though this is a problem several countries in the world have to cope with. Let me ask the

question, “What would have happened if Swiss people had emigrated because they could not grow corn in the mountains?” We would definitely miss milk-chocolate. Although Hungary has a more favorable natural environment than Switzerland does in the Alps, the development of the two countries has not primarily been determined by this. Several other reasons can be named: different history, differences in the modes of production and political systems etc. Still, there is a factor we rarely pay attention to and this is man himself, the effect of mentalities on economic and social processes.

A historian may think she can do only little to make people’s future better. We firmly believe, it is not so since teaching history may serve to preserve the remembrance of collective traumas and also to make children reflect past events and decide on what kind of future they want to have. Although knowing national and world history is important and also expedient, our everyday lives are determined by the place we live in and the communities we belong to. Local history should have an important role in education not only because children can better understand historical processes through the stories of their grandfathers, but also because these stories ground a community and strengthen the awareness of cohesion and solidarity. Local communities helping each other are capable of strengthening social trust and creating awareness of values, which affects rural development and people’s well-being. If this is true, it is likely to reduce emigration.

Our research seminar entitled Identity and Locality was launched in 2015. We assumed to work out a method of teaching history in a disadvantaged region which could bring grandparents and grandchildren together, create opportunities to share local and own stories and at the same time make them think about what they themselves could do in the interest of the future of their villages. Instead of writing books on history, we together with the pupils worked out the concept of a board-game. Our primary goal was to improve the personality and thinking of pupils, besides conveying knowledge about their localities. The aim of the board-game Identity and Locality is to make children recognize their own values, get to know other children’s system of values and discover together the assets of the natural and social space where they live and get to know the story of their place of residence and its surroundings. In short, we aimed to improve their local identities (knowledge and emotional attachment) and their personal identities.

We managed to find partners during the years of the project. Linked to the In Between project, we visited the small villages in the region along the southern border and collected material for further developing the board-game for the

German minority. The method has been presented at several conferences in Hungary, at the conferences of GASI (Global Awareness Society International) and at the conference of ENRS (European Network of Remembrance and Solidarity) in Warsaw as well. Research is going on in two directions at present. One group is testing the game in around forty elementary schools of the region. The other group, in collaboration with teachers and students of Bloomsburg University, is working on adapting the method to America. The article by Christopher Podeschi et al. describes this joint project. During the years, a positive and fruitful relationship has been developed between the two universities. Lecturer and student exchanges have made this cooperation even stronger. Research has thrown light on the fact that the two universities had links even during the time of the cold war. Petra Fehér collected materials about this connection and presents her findings in an article. Further articles are written by teachers and students of the College and by its collaborating foreign partners (Jay Nathan and George Deak). The topics of some articles are related to the issue of identities, while some others represent the wide range of research topics.

The editors and members of Grastyán Endre College for Advanced Studies hereby express their thanks to the Ministry of Human Capacities for making the publication of this volume possible in the framework of the National Talent Program. By doing so, the Ministry has substantially facilitated the popularization of our work.

Please note that the footnotes may vary according to the rules of the field of science the article represents.

Pécs, 06 06 2018

Zsuzsanna Agora

Introducing Grastyán Endre College of Advanced Studies at University of Pécs



VIRÁG RAB PH.D

Head of Grastyán Endre Collegium for Advanced Studies
University of Pécs



The College for Advanced Studies was established in 1998 upon the rector's initiative. Its members and their research are not tied to only one branch of science as our College has a truly interdisciplinary character. This means that students from all Faculties of the UP can join us. The only essential condition is that students have their own, independent research. Our aim is to promote the students' professional development and the dissemination of their scientific achievements and to strengthen student autonomy.

Mission

The College is named after prof. Endre Grastyán (1924-1988), who was one of the most successful Hungarian neurophysiologists in the 20th century. In his research he focused on the neurobiology of games, on homo ludens and claimed that all basic research is nothing but a game in which the main impetus is the unknown itself. He stressed the importance of promoting the talented, disseminating scientific knowledge and employing an interdisciplinary approach to problems. In his view research is not an individual achievement; genuine results are yielded by joint thinking. We firmly believe that his human-centered attitude should serve as the basis of all scientific research. His thoughts are the pillars of the mission of our College: the joy of conducting research, cooperation, nurturing the talented and the wide-range dissemination of scientific findings.

Activity

The main objectives of the annual work plan adopted by the College are to establish a scientific dialogue between the acknowledged experts of the given field; inspire individual research; provide young researchers with professional reinforcement and feedback on their work; promote their methodological development, broaden their knowledge; and facilitate the networking of researchers.

Annual programs

Students have every opportunity to present their research findings, establish new professional contacts, get feedback on their work and enhance their knowledge. We annually arrange an International and National Grastyán Endre Interdisciplinary Conference, where any university student from Hungary and abroad can present their papers; an In-House Conference, where only members of our College can present a paper, though the presentations are public; public evening lectures to enable our members to present their scientific achievements, help them prepare for conferences and provide feedback on their work; methodology courses to promote the professional development of our members; and English and German language courses to improve their language competence.

Projects and Partners

Our College takes part in four large-scale international projects to which research seminars are attached. One such project is called History on TV, in which our partner is the University of Vienna Institut für Publizistik und Kommunikation-swissenschaft. Another project is Identity and Locality with the Bloomsburg University (Department of Sociology) as our partner. The third one is Growing Up in a Globalized World, in which work is carried out together with Global Awareness Society International as our partner. The fourth project is called Historische Identitäten with two partners, one of them is Gesellschaft für Psychologie und Politische Psychologie (Heidelberg) and the other one is the Research Group for Cultural Archaeology of the University of Debrecen.

Pillars of the Activities of the College

The activities of the Grastyán Endre College for Advanced Studies of the UP are centered on three major areas. The first pillar is science. The uniqueness of our College lies in its interdisciplinary nature which means that in our approach science centeredness is replaced with problem centeredness. Research work is implemented in two sections, in a science and in a social science workshop but in close cooperation. Research activities are integrated into international projects.

The second pillar is community. The College is built on the principle of student self-governance; the implementation of all decisions needs the consent of the general meeting. Establishing friendly connections between young researchers is of high importance in the view of the College since it promotes better cooperation, ensures a supportive environment for their work and develops their critical thinking and debating skills.

The third pillar is social responsibility. Improving the social sensitivity of students has a top priority among the objectives of our College. Mentoring high school students on the one hand helps finding new talents, on the other hand develops the mentoring skills of the students of our College. This area also involves improving science ethics and cooperative skills in the spirit of Howard Gardner's Good Work project. Disseminating scientific knowledge and presenting research findings constitute one of the main pillars of our conviction as science is the property of everyone.

University Students of Pécs in the USA during the Cold War

■
PETRA FEHÉR

Member of Grastyán Endre Collegium for Advanced Studies
University of Pécs



In this research paper I would like to discuss the context of the scholarship program whereby ten university students of Pécs could spend two terms in Pennsylvania mostly financed by the Committee of Soros Foundation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1986-87 during the Cold War.

In the following I will describe how I found the research topic and how continuity plays an important role in my exploration. Grastyán College for Advanced Studies (Grastyán College), which I am a member of, started to collaborate with Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania (BU) in 2016. This university is a member of the Pennsylvania's State System of Higher Education together with 14 others. Dr. Mariann Nagy, one of the teachers of Grastyán College, was being told about the new relationship between the University of Pécs (UP) and BU when she realized that she participated in a study abroad program almost 30 years ago where the partner organization was in the same consortium as BU. She shared her American experiences gained during the Cold War and encouraged me to do research on this topic contextualized in a historical point of view. As you read the next part of the introduction, you will get an overview of how I started my research.

Ten university students were selected from many to travel to the USA in 1986 and to spend a whole year on the imperialist side of the world. The broader context of this partial training program is the Cold War; the proper setting is the socialist era in Hungary. It is important to know that the countries of the world were differentiated based on their relations with the two antagonistic world-powers: the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Hungary was under Soviet authority from 1944 to 1989 hence the research question was raised almost automatically: How could ten Hungarian students spend a

whole year in America even though there was a mutual conflict between the two members of the collaboration (Hungary and the USA)?

First, I collected, and then analyzed the acts on the topic of tertiary education passed by the Hungarian Socialist Labor Party. I looked into documents and passport procedures required by law for those who wished to travel abroad in the 1980s. The case of traveling to the USA was special since the target country and Hungary were opposing participants in the Cold War. I needed to study the documents of the Archives of the Rector's Office as well, including correspondence between the faculties of Janus Pannonius University (JPU) and institutes from all over the United States, records of scholarships made by lecturers and agreements on study abroad program with many institutions of higher education. I would like to emphasize the importance of the method of oral history in my research. Semi-structured interviews were made with two of the participants: László Komlósi and Adrienn Gálosi via email and personally with Mariann Nagy. Furthermore, the participants have many objects and souvenirs from that period as well such as photographs, letters, diaries, and even pullovers with the logo of the partner institute. I could analyze the interviews objectively using these objects as support instruments. The letters of the correspondence between Mariann Nagy and László Katus¹ were available for me thanks to Mariann Nagy. They kept writing to each other during the period of the study abroad program thus many significant and useful pieces of information were detailed about the two terms spent in the USA. I read those letters and collected the most essential data from them, and then I drew conclusions. The research is an ongoing qualitative research which is social science research since I collect and work with non-numerical data, and I seek to explore meaning from these data. I try to reveal the details of a program which took place in Pennsylvania and included two participants: Hungary and the United States of America during the Cold War. The connections between international and national policies and local reflections and decisions are also in the focus of this research as much as the connections between the macro- and micro-levels of history.

Historical background

Hungary lost two-thirds of its territories after World War I pursuant to the Treaty of Trianon signed on June 4, 1920. Twenty years later, Hitler asked for the support of Hungary in his invasion of Yugoslavia. In exchange, the leader of Germany

¹ László Katus, historian was a lecturer of the JPTE

promised to return some former Hungarian territories which proved to be a pressure on Hungary. To prevent Hungary's participation in the war alongside Germany was impossible. Nearly at the end of the war, Soviet forces crossed the Hungarian border, and the Hungarian government signed the armistice in Moscow in October 1944. The Soviet Army occupied Hungary from 1944 to 1945, and a Soviet-style dictatorship governed the country until 1989. Under the Soviet regime in Hungary, it is common knowledge to talk about two sub-periods: the Rákosi-era (1949-1956) and the Kádár-era (1956-1989), both named after the name of the leaders. The Rákosi-era was totalitarianism, most significant characteristics of which were the one-party system, the cult of Joseph Stalin and Mátyás Rákosi (the communist leader of Hungary 1949-1956), the terror and the controlled society based on the communist ideology. The Regime was relaxed in 1953 after Stalin's death. The answer of the Hungarian people to the terror was the Revolution in 1956, which started with a peaceful student demonstration and ended in a violent and armed-conflict. The Post Revolution era is equivalent to the Kádár-era from 1956 to the regime change in 1989. This period started with the attack against the revolutionaries, but in the 1960s, János Kádár announced a new policy under the motto "He who is not against us is with us". By the late 1980s, counter-oppressors had achieved some limited political liberalization.²

Sources and conclusions

Acts and Laws

The following section overviews as much of the sources as possible, and I summarize the conclusions I could draw from the documents. As noted earlier, the laws and acts of the Hungarian Socialist Labor Party (HSLP) and the decrees of the different ministries from the late socialist era were available for me to analyze. I focused on the decrees issued by the Ministry of the Interior (MI) and the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC), particularly in the 1980s. The documents in connection with the university system of the time were considered important to browse as much as the papers of the opportunities and conditions for traveling abroad and passport application. Putting the useful data together, I assume that the process started in 1973, when an act was codified about the modernization of the Hungarian educational system. In the following period, the parliament made plenty of laws in regard to the Hungarian education. Let me share some examples non-exhaustively:

² Romsics (2005)

- Decree 15 of 1976 on the Libraries
- Decree 6 of 1979 on the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
- Decree 37 of 1982 on the Institutes of Higher Education
- Decree 24 of 1983 on Academic Degrees and Qualifications
- Decree 4/1983. (V.4.) on the Issues of the Employment of Scholars
- Decree 1/1984. (I. 17.) on Foreign Studies with Cultural, Scientific, Engineering and Educational Purpose
- Act I of 1985 on Education
- Decree 13 of 1986 on the Institutions of Higher Education of the People's Republic of Hungary
- Decree 20/1986. (VIII. 31.) on the Structure and Operation of the Institutions of Higher Education

As we can see, this period was legally prolific; the modernization of the education system was in progress. In the socialist area, going abroad was hardly imaginable. People were not allowed to cross borders, and they could leave Hungary only for other countries under Soviet rule. Based on the information collected from the statutory instruments made by the Ministry of Interior, it is essential to add that in the 1980s people were getting more and more opportunities to travel abroad, as Görgy Gyarmati, the former director of the Historical Archives of the State Security System of Hungary also mentioned in an interview³. However, as we will see later, applying for passports and permits was still not easy.

Documents of the JPU

The publications of the JPU revealed the changes that occurred in the Teacher's Training College and the Faculty of Humanities in Pécs in those days. These publications also broadened the numbers of the available documents and sources. In 1982, the Teacher's Training College became a faculty of the University of Pécs hence changes were introduced into the structure and operation of the institute. The first term of the new faculty started in 1983 under the administration of Zoltán Vastagh, dean. The whole year was divided into four terms; the exam period was cancelled and the students were allowed to take the exams during the semester. From my perspective, the best idea of

³ Czeferner, Dóra. „A Levéltárát a Lehető Legmesszebb Kell Vinni a Politikától’ – Interjú Gyarmati Györggyel.” *Újkor.hu*, 29 Mar. 2018, ujkor.hu/content/leveltarat-leheto-legmesszebb-kell-vinni-politikatol-interju-gyarmati-gyorggyel. Accessed Apr. 5, 2018.

this reform program was that students majoring in different languages had to spend three months in a country where people spoke the target language. This is how I discovered the reason for the partial training program taken place in the United States of America: the study-tour was included in the curriculum.

Most of the documents of the Archives of the Rector's Office were pieces of correspondence with the faculties, letters of inquiry received from different institutes of America, response letters and reports about American scholarships written by lecturers. For instance, contacts were initiated by the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, the Indiana University of Pennsylvania, the University of Virginia, the University of Washington, the Montclair State College and the Oregon State System of Higher Education. (The list is incomplete.) There is a correspondence between the acts and the documents of the Archives of the Rector's Office of JPU. Most of the papers concerning the decisions of the university reflect the nature of government policies in Hungary. To illustrate, the Ministry of Education and Culture enacted a regulation in 1983 about the salaries of scholars participating in study abroad experience for more than three months. It prescribes the following: Section 2 (2)

*"In the case of a study trip accomplished in the framework of a scholarship scheme longer than three months, the upper limit imposed on the remuneration payable to the participant at the discretion of the leader of the employing organization shall be the amount equivalent to the full average salary in the case of a stay in a territory of Transferable Ruble settlement, and seventy percent of the average salary in all other cases, unless provided otherwise in an agreement pertaining to domestic remuneration."*⁴

In the Archives of the Rector's Office, I found that Dr. Mária Ormos wrote a letter on September 19, 1986 in which she informed the Director-General for Economic and Financial Affairs of JPU (Dr. Márk Szilovics) about Dr. László Komlósi's scholarship. The rector asked for an arrangement to reduce Dr. Komlósi's salary to 70% because he was going to stay in the United States of

⁴ Translated by Marietta Pókay; Original version of the regulation: 4/1983. (V. 4.) MM számú rendelet az ösztöndíjas tanulmányúton résztvevők munkaviszonyának egyes kérdéseiről: „(...) 2. § (2) A három hónapot meghaladó időtartamú ösztöndíjas tanulmányúton résztvevőnek, ha az egyezmény a belföldi díjazásra eltérően nem rendelkezik, a munkáltató szerv vezetője által személyes hatáskörben megengedhető díjazás felső határa rubel elszámolás körébe tartozó területre történő kiutazás esetén a teljes átlagkereset, egyéb esetekben pedig annak hetven százaléka.”

America (which was a non-ruble country) from September 1, 1986 to June 30, 1987⁵. Dr. László Komlósi was the attendant teacher of the ten participants whose study program I am discussing in this paper. As the example above demonstrates it, the local arrangements were in compliance with the national decisions.

Furthermore, in this collection of the archives, I found an entry written on October 1, 1984 about the new program of the Faculty of Teachers' Training of the JPU, and the planned partial training program abroad. In this document, Dr. József Bognár, the senior lecturer of the faculty, detailed the antecedents, the current situation, the specific aspects of the partial training program, also the future potentials. He mentioned a blueprint that had been sent to the Committee of the Soros Foundation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Soros Foundation) on 26 June 1984. In this blueprint the Faculty requested financial support for encouraging research work, publications and conferences, and for making the study abroad experience feasible. George Soros visited Dr. Mária Ormos, the rector of the University, on October 24, 1984. There were three main topics covered in the conference: book support, video-linguistic programs (Linguex) and the importation of the essential devices for this program, finally, the students' trip abroad. He suggested that the Foundation might be able to cover 50% of the travel expenses, which, indeed, happened later on. To sum up, the JPU went through modernization within which they tried to create an opportunity to send their students abroad for three months; and they turned to the Soros Foundation to obtain financial support. I will come back to this point later.

Open Society Archives (OSA)

The collection of the Archives of the Soros Foundation is equally important. Although it is not researchable yet, fortunately, one of their colleagues shared some useful pieces of information with me. I managed to collect the names of the participants, and I ascertained that the Soros Foundation promoted the study abroad program financially. Probably, the undergraduates' tuition fee was 3,000 USD/ students, but they did not have to pay it due to the generosity of the host institutes of Pennsylvania. In a letter dated August 27, 1986, the Soros

⁵ Original version of the document: 97-4/1986.R. Komlósi László munkabércsökkenése: „(...) Kedves Szilovics Elvtárs! Dr. Komlósi László egyetemi adjunktus ösztöndíjas tanulmányúton az USA-ban tartózkodik, 1986. szeptember 1-től 1987. június 30-ig. Kérem szíves intézkedését, hogy ezen időszakra fizetésének 70%-át kapja. Pécs, 1986. szeptember 19. Elvtársi üdvözléssel /Dr. Ormos Mária/ egyetemi tanár, rektor.”

Foundation Inc., New York informed the administrator of the Indiana University of Pennsylvania (IUP) that they were sending the check for 15,000 USD attached, which was the total amount of the support of the foundation. Overall, we can see that the foundation sponsored the study abroad project of the JPU.

As a factor of the research, I would like to add that the Soros Foundation started its work in Hungary in 1983. The memorandum and articles of association indicated the democratic way in which George Soros wanted to support the artistic, scientific and academic activities. At that time, endowing by foundations was impossible within the framework of the Hungarian legal system because the Hungarian Communist Party had nationalized all of them and prohibited to establish new ones. To eliminate the difficulty, George Soros came up with an alternative solution: the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the Open Society Foundation - New York established a joint committee in May 1984. This status of the institute allowed him to start donating and achieving the target goals. In 1984, the Soros Foundation launched several calls for participants and organized many open competitions; moreover, they invited applications from individuals. To cut a long story short, the Foundation could start its operation hence the ten university students traveling to the USA in 1986 could receive financial support.

In conclusion, the elements I have listed before seem to accord with each other ready for the international program. The national government made allowances in the fields of internal affairs and travel abroad. They also started a modernization process of the educational system which was reflected in the structural changes of the Teachers' Training College and the new guideline of the English Department. Simultaneously, the Soros Foundation entered Hungary, for this reason, scholarship opportunities were available for the JPU. The program fitted in very well with the moderate national policy, the steps of the modernization of the education and the aims of the Soros Foundation.

The study abroad program in 1986-87

The next section of the present study attempts to crystallize the antecedents, circumstances, and the details of the American program. Based on the pieces of information analyzed and the interviews (or little conversations) I made with some of the participants, it arose that the initiator of the project was not the JPU as it seemed first from the documents of the Archives of the Rector's Office. In this respect, Dr. László Komlósi told that the main idea came from Ede Chaszar, who established the Hungarian Coalition in America and who was

one of the scoutmasters of the Hungarian Scout Troops of Cleveland. The Scout movement was abolished in Hungary in 1948 by the Hungarian Communist Party, which replaced it with other youth associations governed by the state, for example, Hungarian Democratic Youth Association (Magyar Demokratikus Ifjúsági Szövetség: MADISZ). The plan was not rejected immediately despite the banned position of every scout organization. Furthermore, Mariann Nagy added a significant data, talking about the role of the scout movement, namely that the ten travelers' accommodation was arranged thanks to the intervention of different scout troops. It was not allowed for the participants to write about the assistance of the scouts or to inform their parents about it because probably the letters were read by the people of III/III⁶ and if it had turned out, they might have had to come back. I would like to emphasize the extraordinary nature of the situation, viz., the ideology of the communist regime was antagonistic to the creed of scouts. The crucial thing is that the problem of the accommodation was solved by Hungarian cooperation, in which ideology did not matter.

At the end of the research paper, you will see some details of the scholarship program taken place in Pennsylvania. The participants were chosen by a committee from among many candidates based on their English language knowledge. After it, the State Security System conducted interviews with the applicants individually to collect the needed information about them, their families, and their future plans. The staff of the III/III System analyzed the participants' personalities to check the loyalty and the reliability of the youth. The Ministry of Interior needed a person who was willing to report about the whole year and the activities of the mates. There were some who refused to take the role of informer, but it is sure that somebody wrote notes and sent them to the government of Hungary. Only this made the travel possible and imaginable. Without sharing the news from America, they could not have left the country for such a long time. The 1980s are said to be a kind of moderated socialism, but the described process shows that certain aspects of life were considered dangerous and handled seriously. Afterwards, on August 30, 1986, the group of the ten university students and László Komlósi (attendant teacher) left the country for the United States of America. They travelled from Budapest to Zurich, and then they flew to Pittsburg, PA through NYC. J. F. Kennedy Airport. The students were hosted by three universities of Pennsylvania: the California State University, the Clarion University of Pennsylvania and the Indiana University of Pennsylvania. From one of the colleagues of the Open

⁶ III/III was part of the Political Police Force of the State Security Service.

Society Archives, I obtained the list of the participants with their faculties. This list revealed that the opportunity was open not only to English majors but also to other faculties as well. Among the members of the scholarship program, there were three undergraduates from the Faculty of Economics, three from the field of Literature, three who learned History and one girl who applied from the Faculty of Law. As a summary, the candidates went through different examinations and analyses, and those who met the requirements of the state could start their whole-year program in different cities of Pennsylvania.

Relying on the narratives of Mariann Nagy and László Komlósi, the beginning proved to be difficult. When the UP group arrived in Pennsylvania, the host institutes were not ready yet for their arrival. The partners (UP and Pennsylvania's State System of Higher Education) misunderstood each other to the extent that there were no bed linens provided in their quickly arranged accommodations. Furthermore, the partners did not have the chance to discuss the level of the training program so the students were thought to be undergraduates though they had graduated from three-year bachelor's degree courses. Although the level of the training program was not as advanced as they had expected, they profited from the classes. They could learn the BASIC programming language or read about religions and different fields of psychology that were not available in Hungary. Dr. László Katus advised Mariann Nagy to read those books she thought were not accessible in Hungary. From the interviews and letters, I know that Mariann Nagy and her mates made mini copies of books which they wanted to bring home, for example, about the scouts but they tore their cover pages. What is more, the participants could learn and practice English language in an authentic environment. The students' aim was also to collect the essential readings and materials for their theses.. Not only should the vocational improvement be under discussion but also the changes occurring in the attitude of the students. They got familiar with a new culture with its traditions and customs while they were traveling through the country and visiting many cities of the USA. The group could discover other states of America because Hungarian families living there hosted them during the holidays. The experiences gained caused a shift in their attitudes since most of them returned home with a braver and more confident personality. Mariann Nagy gave her view on this issue like this: "When I arrived home, I felt that I owned the World." All things considered, the participants came home with a lifelong experience, no matter how many difficulties and problems they encountered.

Conclusion

Answering the research question, I can suggest that the Ministry of Interior permitted the 10+1 people to spend two school terms in the United States of America because they wanted to prove that Hungary was a democratic country from which citizens could travel abroad. I think it was propaganda toward the western world; however, it is known that the 1980s' policy was under moderation and opportunities to cross the border were increasing. Analyzing the happenings retrospectively, I would like to add another hypothesis: this first American program of the University of Pécs can be interpreted as a pre-sign of the regime change of Hungary in 1989-90 as well. We also know that the relationship between Pennsylvania and Pécs lasted for 6-8 years after 1987.

Today, students can travel across the world and collect many experiences without any confinement. Historically, it is important to know about the method, the time, the location, and the participants of the first study abroad experience between the UP and Pennsylvania's State System of Higher Education. From the interviews and reports, it is clear that a program like this educates students about life and develops an open attitude. The partial training program of 1986/87 is considered to be a model in front of our university students. I strongly believe that students who read about their lecturers' or tutors' participation in this scholarship will be encouraged to try similar ones as well.



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CHAPTER I.



Identities in Conversation

Research Seminar Report: Identity and Locality

■

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This research seminar report presents the experiences of a three-semester project seminar. The authors aimed at developing personality and widening the inventory of methods to teach local history both in and outside the classroom. The goal of the project work was to develop the concept of a board game which helps children in a playful way to recognize their own values, get to know their fellows' world of values, and discover together the values of the geographical and social space where they live, in short to positively develop their local and their own identities. The research was of an interdisciplinary nature, the students and colleagues came from different special fields so in addition to the psychological aims, local history, archaeology, ethnography, anthropology, environmental studies and of course gastronomy were also involved. The first semester was devoted to field research and in the second semester we developed the concept of a board game together with the students of a research seminar. The game was first tested in a school and then a survey was conducted by the monitoring system of model STEP 21. Finally, some necessary corrections were carried out on the basis of its findings. The research is going on in the 2015/16 academic year as well; we are going to make the game ready for print and on the basis of our experience would also like to adapt the idea to a village with German ethnic minority population.

The first part of the report will deal with the issues constituting the basic concept (premises) of the game. Then the research work performed during the semester, together with its results, will be described in detail and the board game itself briefly.

Identity and locality

The questions, “*Who am I?*” and “*Who are we?*” can be answered in a number of different ways. We have a personal identity and a social identity including our local identity. It means we can identify ourselves by affiliation to an ethnic group, by naming our profession or trade, religion or social roles and also by a geographical location. In the case of someone from Paris, Provence or Budapest, it is more likely than in the case of someone from a small Eastern-European village like Vajszló in Hungary. At least this is what our experience shows. The value ideas which are the attributes of the settlement indisputably play a role in this self-identification based on space. When developing our concept, we started from the hypothesis that the residents of disadvantaged small regions in Hungary do not know or rather do not reflect on the values which might otherwise be the key to their future. The lack of financial means together with the thought of their own worthlessness creates the view that they cannot expect positive changes. Although EU projects offer several possibilities for making small regions catch up, this is not only a question of finances but also a serious mental problem, which if neglected, causes that the effectiveness of the financial sources arriving there is lagging far behind the possibilities. The *space where we live is also the shaper of our identity*, be it assessed either positively or negatively. Does research pay sufficient attention to this issue nowadays?

We do not get identity (by birth) but we develop it and this effort takes a long time, several decades (Marcia, 1966). Our modern world allows a lot of freedom for making choices (freedom to choose one’s occupation and partner etc.) but the burden of choice is often oppressive as the individual must find out which is suitable for him or her: this often causes an identity crisis. Going through a crisis can improve or even strengthen the individual because if one can find a constructive solution to the crisis, this person has good chances to step further into the next, more mature phase of his life. Identity has a social aspect, too, so it is important to reflect on where and who we belong to (in respect of nationality, religion and other communities, family etc.). In Ágnes Bálint’s wording, in the case of the development of personal identity the person “feels comfortable about himself” and in the case of developing social identity he “he feels himself at home in the world” (Bálint, 2014, Marcia, 1966). The concept of local identity can be derived from the concepts of personal and social identities.

Several forms of place attachment are described by researchers (Low et al., 2011); despite mobility and globalization, place continues to be an object of strong attachments. Of the three components of the tripartite model of place

attachment, the Person component has attracted disproportionately more attention than the Place and Process components (Scannell, Gifford, 2010). We should keep track of all these attachments because the quality of these links is often unrealistically cast upon the judgment of broader geographical spaces, particularly in Hungary. In the geographical place we can be attached to the settlement and the countryside where we live, to a county, a region, a country or the cross-border 19th century cultural nation, to which spatial ideas can also be linked. These spatial attachments can have emotional and cognitive components just as national identity has spontaneous and conscious elements, since ideological identity manifested in national attitudes assumes a kind of intellectual consciousness in Hungary. (Murányi & Szoboszlai, 2000).

When defining the concept of local identity, our starting point was the social psychological term of national identity, according to which national identity is a feeling which links the individual to the group of the nation, it is a cognitive and emotional identification. (LÁSZLÓ 2012: 83) Local identity, as derived from the concept of national identity, is *a feeling which links the individual to a geographical place (e.g. his village), it is a cognitive and emotional identification with the group of persons living there and with their world of values.*

Research into local identities

The issue of identity appeared in scientific discourse only with modernism. Although historical identities kept being shaped permanently, self-identification arose as a problem for the individual only in the last two centuries. In Hungary, among the historical collective identities, national identity meant the pattern to identify with as it was acceptable for almost everybody regardless of political beliefs and affiliation. The Soviet system expected another kind of identity, it placed emphasis on the so-called internationalism, traditional community identities dissolved, and religious and local identities were regarded deviant. (Murányi - & Szoboszlai, 2000, 27) However, the concept of internationalism actually meant Soviet nationalism (Lukacs, 2002), in other words the Soviet-type “internationalism” cannot be brought into harmony with cultural plurality offered by the European Union, the salient feature of which is community building without enemy images.

The possibility to choose national and European identities began to leak back into the “identity vacuum” after the political transition and local identities did not represent a competitive alternative. Politics and the fact that identity mainly became a matter of personal choice after the change of regime have

indisputably been playing a part in the revival of national identity in Hungary. (Dessewffy, 1996) This preference has been shown in empirical research in the field of social sciences as there are only few examples of research conducted into identities based on historical-geographical attachments. (Murányi & Szoboszlai, 2000, 28) Research into local identities in Hungary started only in the new millennium, while for example in Germany study articles treating this issue were published even in the 1970s. Nowadays issues such as European identities and community associations in modern societies are more in the limelight; however, thorough research on local identities is still a debt of Hungarian science.

Local identity and national history

Every group has a story (narrative) and this story has an essential role in forming the group identity as it creates continuity. Although a central feature of identity is adherence to constancy that is to continuity, identity itself keeps being shaped and is a process. It contains our past and our present as well. Our social identity is the result of a permanent dialogue conducted with our social environment. We may be attached to more than one group, be it a nation, a region or a village. Still, national identity, even if it could be placed among attachments to a geographical space in respect of its character, markedly differs from local attachments. The elements of national identity may not integrally build on traditional local identity (partly based on value elements) and may be shown primarily in the system of political symbols, see the different definition of Hungarian national identity, views on the Trianon Treaty after WWI (1920) or the European Union. (Murányi & Szoboszlai, 2000)

The National Core Curriculum highlights the development of a positive attitude towards a settlement, emphasizes the importance of developing a sense of responsibility and accepting and respecting common values grounding community affinity. (MK 2012/66: 10641) Nevertheless, this idea has not been given an adequate place in the teaching materials on history. As the leading historians of the project *Identity and locality*, we would like to draw attention to the fact that the history of localities should also be included in teaching history. It is local history that can transform the chronology centered concept of history found in textbooks into a living world that can really be experienced. The main danger of syllabuses built on the “imagined community” (Anderson, 2006) of the nation is that the very essence is lost, namely the actual community and man itself. History, although many think so, is not the story of a “lost

world” where, saying with some sarcasm, the “common man” only acts as an assistant to the game of the “big ones”. History is a totality which is present everywhere and which links together millions of past lives. The history of the locality, the destiny of the grandfathers and grandmothers living there are all parts of this totality and the factual presentation of history textbooks can come to life just through their stories. As historians we usually deal with the history of localities because we are interested in the history of a place or because it played an important role in the life of a historic person. *Locality as a factor creating identity* gains importance in this project.

The importance of developing local and personal identities

However, local identity as any other social identity is inseparable from the personal identity of the individual and from the maturity of the personality. Reversing the above cited explanation of identity given by Ágnes Bálint, he who does not feel comfortable about himself, will not feel himself at home in the world, either. The National Core Curriculum also specifies the objective of a healthy personal identity, “*Constructive participation also entails a supportive attitude towards civic activities, social diversity, social cohesion and sustainable development, as well as respect for others’ values and privacy. Personal and social wellbeing requires knowledge of one’s own physical and mental health and the application of such knowledge*”. (MK 2012/66: 10656) Thus, fostering the development of personal identities is an important objective. All the more so, as local identity – even national identity in an extreme case – can be excluding, can build on an enemy image and can even urge aggression against foreign people. These problems can be rooted in a weak/under-developed identity which can primarily identify itself through others or rather by delimiting itself “from others” and not by reflecting on its own values. This problem is often accompanied by glorifying the own group and demonizing out-groups. This project reflects on this issue as well.

Research seminars of the project Identity and locality

The research seminar project *Identity and locality* originally had two essential objectives, one of them was to develop – within the framework of the higher education talent development program – the *mentoring skills and social sensitivity* of students; and the other was to make the people of a region living in difficult circumstances be aware of the values inside and around them and

On the second day of the workshop the university students taking part in the project worked out special programs for the pupils of the school attending the secondary school section. *Ibolya Vörös* and *Sarolta Zala*, archaeology majors, delivered a joint presentation entitled *Knowledge of the locality – archaeological relics* and then took the pupils to perform some fieldwork in the vicinity of the village. They gathered finds on a plough-land most of which were from the Arpadian age and the Turkish rule according to an expert opinion though there were several finds from the end of the 18th century. Children could gain vivid experience of the fact that history literally “lies in front of our feet”. *Boglárka Herke*, sociology major, organized a competition entitled Experience-based learning for second-year secondary school pupils. The aim of the workshop was to help children get a deeper knowledge about themselves and thus find more easily the area of specialism where they feel comfortable and can be successful. *András Tóth*, Slavicist major, delivered a presentation, the aim of which was to mobilize the linguistic creativity of the children. *Dánial Pintér*, history major, and *Krisztina Szűcs*, ethnography majors, organized a playful activity about the knowledge of the locality with the title “*Explore your place of residence*”.

The natural environment of the region are extremely valuable. Bükkhát forest reserve in the vicinity of Vajszló is now a nature reserve situated on the Drávamenti plain. *Barna Szabó*, Germanistics major, gave a presentation entitled *The living world of the River Dráva* about the values of the natural environment, and then took his enthusiastic audience for some field survey. *Zsuzsanna Pulszter*, ethnography major, and *Marianna Török*, Italian major, conducted a playful interactive development exercise entitled *Value-game*, in which they drew the attention of the children to the importance of values determining our lives. The final part of the program was a folk dance program managed by *Marianna Török* and her folk music group. They played songs from the region and taught some local folk dances to the students and the pupils. The values of the kitchen of Ormánság were also explored, the grandmother of a teacher helped the enthusiastic schoolgirls to cook and bake. The raw materials left were given to a family with six children where students could gain first-hand experience as to what life is like for a family with six children in a disadvantaged small region. In this way the days of the workshop became days of genuine common experience for teachers, students and children alike.

The concept of the community board game was elaborated in the second semester of the project. We wanted a board game which could be played not only by children, but also by grandfathers and grandchildren or even by the whole family. There has been only one criterion for the scope of players, they

must live in the place which the game is about, in our case, it is Vajszló. The conception of the game is built on co-operation and not on competition. This means that there is no single winner as the goal is, in the wording of Ferenc Mérei, the experience of togetherness (Mérei, 1949). The game combines the advantages of a board and a card game, which means, it is cheap and can permanently be developed. The prototype of the game, which was piloted in the school, was ready by the end of the semester. (The second seminar workshop was held in December 2014.) The game was piloted in three age groups, with pupils of classes four and six of the primary schools. We played two rounds with the pupils of the secondary school and then we mixed the age groups. The game was always conducted by a referee and two observers took notes. This task was primarily assigned to psychology majors.

The complex elaboration of the prototype of the game began on the basis of the practical experiences concerning the game and the feedback from the children participating in the experiment (semester 3 of the seminar: the spring of 2015). Due to the constraints of this paper, the game cannot be described in detail here; still, we would like to give the reader some insight. Puppets represent the players in the game and the players can move them on a board divided into colored squares (designed by János Csontos, psychology major) depending on what number the particular players have made by casting the dice. Whichever square the player steps on, he has to draw a question from a pack of cards and answer it. The questions were arranged into four thematic packs:

1. The aim of the pack of cards *About me* is to motivate the player to share his or her personal experiences or thoughts. For example, 1) “What is the most wonderful experience of your life? Tell us about it, and say why this has been your most wonderful experience.” 2) “What do you think you are good at? Name at least two things. If it is difficult to answer, ask your fellow players for help.”
2. The pack *The world of values* contains questions making the players aware of the human and material values of their environment. For example, 1) “Do you have an ideal? If yes, tell us about him or her; if no, say why not.” 2) “Is there anyone you look up to in Vajszló? If yes, say why.”
3. The topics of the pack of card *The history of Vajszló* are based on local history, the source material was provided by Lajosné Dani, the widow of Lajos Dani, local historian. For example, 1) “Do you know what Batthyányi street was called formerly and how it got its former name?” (If the player does not know the answer, he or she can have recourse to the “Book of

answers”. In this case the answer is Magosdi street, the name coming from the fact that it is the highest point of the village.) 2) “There used to be a granary in the village. Do you know what a granary is? Make a drawing about what you imagine it to be like and guess where it could have been situated.” (Answer: Grain was stored in a granary. There is a huge system of vaulted cellars at 26 Batthyányi street in Vajszló. Grain (tithe) was collected there and in the granary built on the edge of the slope. This building cannot be found there any longer as it was demolished at the beginning of the last century.) (Dani, 1993)

4. The pack of cards *What would you do?* sets tasks related to the everyday life of the community living in the village. They motivate players to think and act together. For example, 1) “What measure would you first take if you were the mayor of Vajszló from tomorrow on?” 2) If snow cut off the village for a week, how would you survive these days? Who would you join hands with and why? Make a quick plan.”

These questions actually generate a conversation but the topic is determined by the “game” itself, and the conversation has no pre-determined end only a beginning. Although several “brakes” help avoid becoming “shoreless”, actually it is the players who can decide about the duration of the game. During the game, children talk about topics which are rarely discussed in everyday life but which should be discussed on lessons with the class master, on history lessons, in day-care centers and even outside the classroom. The game can be played but it can also be developed further, which can even be the subject matter of the game. In order to improve the efficiency of the idea, a diagnostic survey was carried out. In addition to the feedback from students, we needed some professional control; this is why we examined the operation of the game from a professional aspect by the help of the lesson diagnostic model called STEP 21 (developed by Sarolta Monoriné Papp in Hungary).

The elaboration of the game, the common work and common thinking provided a lot of experience, joy and success for all the active participants of the project. It set in action the creativity of the students, improved their debating skills and independence. In May 2015, three of our students presented the results of their research in Philadelphia thanks to grant of Campus Hungary (Herke, Bordás & Mayer, 2015). We firmly believe that students should actively be involved in research as this is the way how they can learn and develop a liking towards the profession, the experience can make them devoted and they might understand what science means in practice. It is important to shape our students

socially and mentally more sensitive – through this they may become better teachers and more devoted researchers. However, pupils participating in the project should also be mentioned here. If pupils of class six of a primary school say this game is good because “we haven’t had such a good conversation so far”, this means the amount of dialogue is insufficient, *space should be opened up, chances should be provided*, this is also important. If children are asked, “What are you good at?” and the majority of them become unsure and say, “Well, actually at nothing.” then it means these children do not feel they are valuable, so *we must show they are valuable* and this is of utmost importance as perhaps there will not be anybody else in their life to tell them so. This can also be the task of science.



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Attachment and Identity in Rural Pennsylvania: A Case Study

■

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Introduction

During the winter and spring months of 2018, an upper-level undergraduate sociology course at Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania, in partnership with a parallel course at the University of Pécs in Hungary, studied issues of “identity and locality.” This involved learning the sociology and psychology of identity as well as about how place shapes identity. Lectures and discussions of this material were held during teleconference sessions with our partner class in Hungary.

As an additional way of exploring identity, the Bloomsburg group launched a research project exploring place attachment and identity in the nearby rural town of Benton, Pennsylvania. We administered a questionnaire in Benton that covered a variety of topics. In addition to asking basic demographic questions (e.g., age, gender, annual income, etc.), we asked about people’s roots in and connections to Benton and also about their opinions about quality of life in Benton. We also included sets of questions that measure the strength of their identity as Benton residents and their degree of attachment to the community and the broader environment. The resulting data set allowed

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us to describe identity and attachment to Benton and ask if any individual social characteristics serve well as predictors or causes of Benton-based place identity or attachment.

This chapter will describe the community and environment of Benton, Pennsylvania and review sociological theory and research related to identity. We will then discuss our methodology before sharing the results of our analyses. We conclude with a discussion of the implications of our findings.

Site

For the project, we needed a small, rural community that was relatively convenient to access from our university. Benton seemed like an ideal choice. Approximately fifteen miles north of Bloomsburg and only twenty-five minutes away by car, Benton is situated in the Northeastern part of the state of Pennsylvania, in the region of the eastern half of the United States known as the “Mid-Atlantic States.” Within Pennsylvania, it is approximately thirty miles east of the city of Williamsport, twenty miles west of the city of Wilkes-Barre, and 100 miles northwest of Philadelphia. New York City is approximately 130 miles to the east.

Benton is also considered part of what is known as the Appalachian region of the United States. Geographically, Appalachia is defined by the Appalachian Mountains that extend from the southern part of New York state southwest to the northern part of the U.S. states of Alabama and Mississippi (Appalachian Institute, 2018). Beautiful mountainous landscapes, wilderness, and rurality are key characteristics of this part of the United States. Historically, logging, coal mining, heavy industry, and agriculture were central aspects of the Appalachian economy. Unfortunately, economic development in Appalachia has been a challenge and it remains an area of the U.S. known for poverty, though conditions have improved recently (Appalachian Regional Commission, 2018).

Benton itself sits in an agricultural valley and is surrounded by nearby hills and small mountains. Fishing Creek, a substantial stream, flows from north to south through Benton and connects to the Susquehanna River in Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania. Areas of land that are not farmed are forested. To the north of Benton is a considerable amount wilderness dotted with very small towns. In this area lies Rickett’s Glen State Park, a state park well-known for its waterfalls and hiking. Given this mixture of forest and farms, wildlife is abundant. Hunting and fishing are common pastimes among people who live in the area.

Benton was founded in 1850 and had a population between 900 or 1,000 people between 1860 and 1890 (Freeze, 1883). Since its founding, the population has hovered around this amount. As of 2016, the population is estimated at 982, is 98% white, and has a median age of 35 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2016). While this population is relatively small, it is one of the larger boroughs in Northern Columbia County, and many people who live near but not in Benton itself think of themselves as from Benton. Despite its small size, Benton has numerous assets for residents and people who live in the surrounding countryside. Within the borough there are shops, banking, restaurants, and a vibrant community and recreation center known as the Northern Columbia Community and Cultural Center. It is known in the area for antique stores and for hosting an annual rodeo at the permanent Benton Rodeo Grounds.

Theory and Literature

Our work is grounded in a symbolic interactionist framework for understanding identity. Symbolic interactionism, one of the primary paradigms in sociology, was heavily influenced by the work of George Herbert Mead (see Mead, 1934). This perspective emphasizes how human action and interaction is profoundly shaped by humans' symbolic capacity. This refers not only to the importance of language or what Mead called significant gesturing, but to the fact that all manner of objects and phenomena, including people, are meaningful and that these meanings matter in social life. According to Blumer (1969, p.2), the first principle of symbolic interactionism is that "human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them."

Further, with minds equipped by a wide array of symbolic meanings, human imagination and guesses about the future are central aspects of human conduct. According to Mead (1934, pp.117), "The mechanism of the central nervous system enables us to have now present, in terms of attitudes or implicit responses, the alternative possible overt completions of any given act in which we are involved . . . More specifically, [the mind] enables the individual to test out implicitly the various possible completions of an already initiated act in advance of the actual completion of the act – and thus to choose for himself [sic] on the basis of this testing, the one which it is most desirable to perform explicitly or to carry into overt effect." In other words, humans distinguish themselves for their significant ability to engage in "reflective conduct," i.e., our minds provide the possibility of delay between stimulus and response, and during these delays, we imagine different futures, consider possible outcomes, and choose our next act.

Our symbolic capacity of course also means we ourselves are symbols. We have self-awareness, i.e., among the meaningful things we encounter in our lives is our self. For Mead, the self has a dual nature: we are simultaneously an aware subject, what he calls the “I,” and we are aware of ourselves as an object in the world, what he calls the “me.” What then is identity? According to Scott (2015, p.2) identity refers to a person’s “set of integrated ideas about the self, the roles we play and the qualities that make us unique.” Additionally, she emphasizes that identity is relatively stable, consistent, and is used to distinguish ourselves from others. In short, for being a set of meanings attached to the self that makes it object-like, our identity can be seen as an aspect of Mead’s “me.”

Symbolic interactionism further recognizes the self and identity as social constructions. Blumer’s (1969, p.5) second principle of symbolic interactionism is a good starting place for thinking about this: “. . . symbolic interactionism sees meanings as social products, as creations that are formed in and through the defining activities of people as they interact.” Put simply, the meanings of things, including the self, are products of interaction. And since interaction is a continuous feature of social life, meanings will not be static, but will continuously emerge and be altered by our interactions and reflections. Charles Horton Cooley (1902) captured this notion well with his concept of the “Looking-Glass Self.” Looking-glass is an old-fashioned term for mirror, and Cooley draws our attention to the way that other people, in their reactions to the things we do and say, serve as a sort of mirror that shows us what they think of us. These responses are an essential source of information that we use to arrive at conclusions about who we think we are, i.e., social life has the power to shape our sense of self and identity.

Scott’s (2015) wide-ranging review of identity theory shows the importance of a distinction between two broad forms of identity: social and personal. According to various thinkers, social identities stem from meanings we attach to ourselves based on a feeling of connection to a socially defined group or category of people. Social identities emphasize what we have in common with some set of others. Things like national, racial, ethnic, gender and even occupational identity fit this category. Personal identity, by contrast, stems from meanings we attach to ourselves based on differences from others. The particular roles, characteristics, and experiences of a person’s life comprise their personal identity, though we should emphasize Cooley’s understanding and remember that even these idiosyncratic understandings of the self emerge in social interaction.

Of central importance in the current research, identity also partly depends on the communities and physical environments in which we find ourselves.

Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff (1983) rely on Mead's thinking about the development of the self with their concept of "place identity." They assert that as interaction with others contributes to a child's sense of self, so too does interaction with physical things and settings. Proshansky et al. (1983, p.59) define place identity as "memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings and conceptions of behavior and experience which relate to the variety and complexity of physical settings that define the day to day existence of every human being." More commonly known, however, is the term place attachment. Combining the ideas of place identity and place dependence (i.e., the degree to which a place meets a persons needs), place attachment focuses on the bond people feel with a place (see Kyle, Graefe, Manning, & Bacon, 2004).

Milligan (1998) emphasizes how both future expectations and memories (interactional potential and interactional past) combine to generate place attachment. Bell (1997) focuses more on the past. He notes how diverse theoretical traditions – not only symbolic interactionism – have each observed that for human groups objects can gain a special sort of meaning similar to sacredness, i.e., they can become "imbued with spirits and personified sentiments" (pp.816-817). In other words, some objects are just objects to us; others, perhaps because they are associated with a special event or memory, we treat as having something akin to a soul. Bell then applies this thinking to places and emphasizes how places to which we are bonded are populated with the "ghosts of place." He is not making a supernatural argument, he is simply using this metaphor to point out how spaces evoke memories of ourselves and of others we care about that transform those spaces into meaningful places. Our attachment to place is in large part social via these ghosts that "animate" spaces.

One last theoretical issue needs to be addressed, the distinction between place attachment and community attachment. Obviously there is overlap or a relationship between these concepts and phenomena. Place attachment gives more weight to physical spaces and community attachment gives more weight to social connections. But the former is very much also a social phenomenon as Milligan's (1998) or Bell's (1997) arguments make clear. And the latter is very much about place as well since communities are in physical environments (see Theodori, 2001). Here we emphasize the similarity between the ideas.

A growing body of empirical work examines issues related to place or community attachment and identity. Some work examines the effects of these things (see for example Scannell & Gifford, 2010; Zhu & Fu, 2017; Podeschi & Howington, 2011; Stefaniak, Bilewicz, & Lewicka, 2017), but in much of the

literature the primary question addressed focuses on the causes of place-based identity or attachment. Our empirical work here examines the same question. And since ours is exploratory research, a brief review of selected empirical literature similar to our own provides some sense of the breadth of work in this area.

Some research on the causes of local identity focuses simply on the role of social location in the community (i.e., demographic predictors). Gender appears to have received limited attention, e.g., serving as a control variable rather than a variable of interest (see Gattino, Piccoli, Fassio, & Rollero, 2013). Age is more prominent. Summarizing important work in this area, Smith and Cartlidge (2011, p.542) note that “children develop longer-lasting ties to place than adults, yet the emotional connection people have with a place tends to increase with age.” Socioeconomic status has also received attention. Dey (2017), for example, finds that higher income and education predict stronger place attachment.

Other characteristics of individuals and communities have been studied by researchers. Length of time that a person spends in an area, as they form greater social bonds, leads them to become more attached (see Kasarda & Janowitz 1974; Theodori 2004). Researchers also look at roots in the form of family connections (Dahl and Sorenson, 2010; Clark, Duque-Calvache, & Palomares-Linares, 2015). Another important area focuses on social capital or network connections in communities, i.e., where these networks are stronger, place attachment is stronger (see Crowe, 2010; Sunblad & Sapp 2011; Jennings & Krannich, 2013). Mesch and Manor (1998) find that social connections and positive perceptions of the community’s physical environment predict place attachment.

Methods

Survey Administration

Survey administration was done face to face with paper and pencil surveys. Before asking for participation, we spoke with and obtained support for our project from Mayor George Remphrey and Police Chief Fred Westover. We also had support and cooperation of the directors of the Northern Columbia Community and Cultural Center, Athena Aardweg and Jess Farr. We then distributed pre-notice flyers explaining our project. Some were posted prominently in local businesses, but most were hung from residence’s door knobs. Approximately 2/3rds of the residences received a pre-notice flyer. The police chief also posted a description of our project on the town’s Facebook page. The hope with both efforts was that residents would be less reticent to answer a knock at the door from strangers if they were expecting us.

Administration of the survey relied on a random spatial sampling approach initially. A map of Benton was divided into 48 blocks to track sampling. Groups of two or three students traveled to sets of assigned blocks making contact first at every third residence on any given block after a starting residence was chosen randomly. Early in this work, concerns about response rate led us to change this skip pattern to every other residence. Requests to complete questionnaires were made of adults eighteen years of age and older and standard questionnaire protocols were followed (e.g., potential participants were told that participation was voluntary and that all information would be kept confidential, etc.). Each block was given a tracking form to record responses and facilitate recontact if no one answered the door or if researchers were told to return. Every house that was contacted had their address, house description, time and day of contact, and results of contact recorded (i.e., no answer/no one home; no adult available; told to return; refused; or accepted. If a completed survey was obtained or if the adult that answered the door refused to participate, no recontact was attempted.

Complete sampling attempts were made on 46 of the 48 blocks in the community (96%). Recontact attempts were made on 34 of the 46 blocks where initial contact was made (74%). In all, contact was attempted at 161 residences. 54 complete questionnaires were obtained from these contacts for a response rate of 33.5%. Since this total number of completed questionnaires was well below expectations, it was augmented with a convenience sampling approach. For this, sets of researchers were allowed to visit meetings of community groups at the Northern Columbia Community and Cultural Center and request that members complete questionnaires. This approach yielded an additional 48 completed questionnaires, for a total N of 102. Many of these convenience sample participants were older adults, something increased the average age of participants.

Dependent Variables

Our questionnaire allowed for four suitable dependent measures. We relied on a modified set of questions commonly used to measure community attachment (see Theodori & Mayfield 2008). Here we refer to these as the community place attachment questions. Ten statements were presented to participants and they were asked to respond with their degree of agreement with each statement. Five responses were possible, from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The items included:

- Overall, I am very attached to this community.
- I feel like I belong in this community.
- The friendships and associations I have with people in this community mean a lot to me.
- I feel loyal to the people in this community.
- I like to think of myself as similar to the people who live in this community.
- If people ask, I speak highly of the people of Benton.
- I have everything I need living in this area.
- I get more satisfaction out of living in this area than I would from any other place.
- This area is the best place for doing the things I like to do.
- Other than my home, there is a place (or places) in Benton where I regularly spend time (e.g., restaurant, sandwich shop, pub/bar, or park).

We also utilized a set of six questions modified from Brehm, Eisenhauer, and Krannich (2004) that ask about the broader environment in which Benton is found that serves as a measure of natural place attachment. For these questions, participants were asked how important a set of features of the local physical environment were to them. Participants could answer on a seven point scale ranging from 1 (not important) to 7 (very important):

- Views/natural landscapes (ex: mountains, forests, streams)
- Presence of wildlife
- The fact that the area is not heavily developed (it's mostly farms, forest, and mountains)
- Opportunities for motorized recreation (ex: ATV riding, motorboating, etc.)
- Opportunities for hunting and/or fishing
- Opportunities for other outdoor recreation, ex: camping, hiking, canoeing

Both the community place attachment and natural place attachment variables were summed into single index measures (reverse coding items as needed beforehand). The community index yielded scores ranging from 0 to 40, but the distribution of responses was not sufficiently normal. As a result, before using this variable, we recoded it so that it was usable as a two category ordinal variable grouping participants with above and below average community place attachment levels. The natural place attachment index variable had a possible range of scores between six and 42, but the actual range was eighteen to 42. This

variable was also non-normally distributed, so before use it was recoded into a three category ordinal variable, capturing weaker, moderate, and stronger degrees of natural place attachment.

Our third dependent variable is a narrower measure of social identity. We presented participants with a series of seven items framed by the following question: “Please select the number that represents how important these different aspects of your personal identity are for you. In other words, how important is it to you that you are a part of the following things?” As with the natural place attachment questions, participants could answer on a seven point scale ranging from 1 (not important) to 7 (very important) with the middle value (4) representing feeling neutral. The items included:

- Being a part of your extended family (e.g., “Being from the Smith family”).
- Being a person from a rural area.
- Being a person from Pennsylvania.
- Being someone who does your occupation (e.g., being a teacher, a welder, etc.)
- Being someone with a certain leisure activity (e.g., hunter, gardener, athlete, etc.)
- Being a person with your religious beliefs (e.g., being a Christian)
- Being a person from Benton.

We used the last item, focused on Benton identity, recoded from seven to three categories (feeling neutral about Benton identity, feeling one’s Benton identity is less important, and feeling one’s Benton identity is more important). We also created an interval level variable by subtracting the average score on the other identities from the Benton identity. This was meant to provide a relative measure of Benton identity. As with the index variables, we hoped to be able to use this in parametric testing, but it was also distributed non-normally so we recoded it into a three category ordinal variable as well. Moderate relative Benton identity grouped respondents who were close to the mean. Weaker relative Benton identity grouped respondents below the mean, and stronger relative Benton identity grouped respondents above the mean.

Independent Variables

As our approach was exploratory, we conducted numerous bivariate analyses to see if any demographic or other factors served as significant predictors of

our measures of attachment or identity. Considering demographics, we tested the following variables with each dependent variable: age, gender, household income, and level of education. Our questionnaire also asked questions that could be understood to measure a person's "roots" in Benton: number of years lived in Benton (Years in Benton), proportion of life in Benton (Proportion of Life in Benton), number of previous family generations in Benton (Generations in Benton), and whether or not other family members currently lived in Benton (Family in Benton). Another group of questions could be viewed as measures of social capital or network connections in Benton. One variable (Involvements in Benton) provided a score measuring a person's attendance at community events or involvements in clubs or organizations. In the same vein, two variables measured the amount of contact a person had with 1) close friends and 2) family members (Contact with Friends and Contact with Family respectively). A final social capital variable asked participants to estimate the percentage of people they knew or recognized when they were on the streets or in businesses in the area (Percent Recognized in Benton).

A final variable focused on asset and on quality of life in Benton (Quality of Life in Benton). Like two of the dependent variables, this was an index variable. Statements were presented to participants, sixteen in this case, and they were asked to respond with their degree of agreement with each statement. Five responses were possible, from strongly agree to strongly disagree. These statements asked about a variety of issues from the amount of crime and drug use in Benton to the quality of the roads and school and even whether or not participants felt there were enough restaurants in the town. Responses were summed to create one interval level variable. This was then recorded into sensible but coarse categories.

Results

As discussed previously, our interval level dependent variables had non-normal distributions, ruling out the use of parametric statistical tests. Faced then with a set of ordinal and nominal variables (both dependent and independent), we elected to conduct bivariate chi square tests. As is evident in the results discussed below, our variables often had to be recoded into coarser versions of themselves. This stemmed from the fact that our sample size (N=102) was relatively small. Chi square tests rely on cross tabulations and if the calculated expected frequencies for too many cells in the cross tabulation are lower than five, the validity of the results of is suspect. Recoding sacrifices the quality of

the measure by combining variables' response categories, but this reduces the number of cells with low expected frequencies.

Descriptive Statistics

Our difficulty obtaining completed questionnaires is reflected in a number of differences between our sample characteristics and the actual characteristics of the community.² In terms of age, the average is 61, older than the local population (median 34.6). Females were also more likely to complete our questionnaire than men (65% of our respondents were female). The average household income level in our data is between \$35,000 and \$49,999, approximately equivalent to the actual median (\$42,917). Descriptive statistics for these variables, our other independent variables, and for the dependent variables used for this study are found in table one.

Table One: Descriptive Statistics³

Independent Variable Name	<i>range of values</i>	N	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.
Age	23-96 years	95	61.31	65	17.76
Gender	0 = male, 1 = female	99	0.65	NA	0.48
Annual Household Income	0 (<\$15k) to 6 (\$100k or more)	87	3.18	4	1.76
Education	0 (<H.S. diploma) to 6 (Master's degree or higher)	99	2.31	2	1.38
Years in Benton	0 to 96 years	97	24.07	17.5	22.37
Proportion of Life in Benton	0-100%	92		26.19%	0.30
Family in Benton	0 = No, 1 = Yes	99	0.41	NA	0.49
Generations in Benton	0 (none) to 5 (5 or more)	96	0.96	0	1.46
Involvements in Benton	0 to 6 (types of groups or events)	96	3.0	3.0	1.69
Contact with Friends	0 (rarely) to 4 (weekly or more)	92	2.52	3	1.46
Contact with Family	0 (rarely) to 4 (weekly or more)	84	2.19	3	1.59
Percent of People Recognized in Benton	0 (none) to 10 (100%)	101	4.29	4	2.51
Quality of Life in Benton	9 (dislike Benton) to 34 (like Benton) ⁴	87	20.53	21	5.08

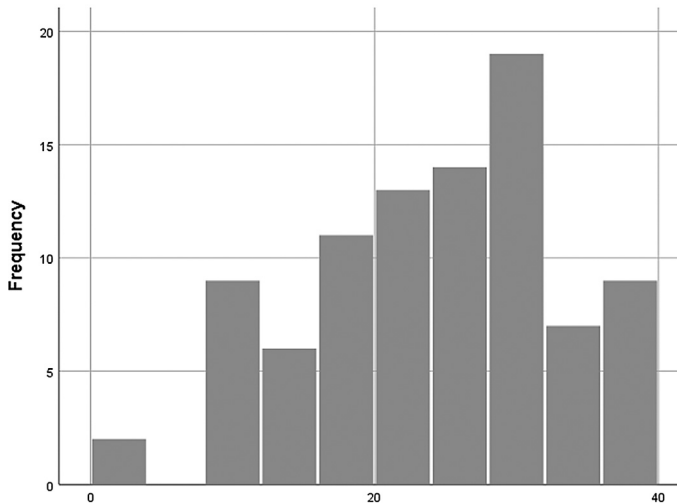
² Population characteristics data obtained from DATA USA (2018).

³ Unrecoded versions of these variables were used to generate descriptive statistics for these variables. In most statistical testing, recoded versions were used.

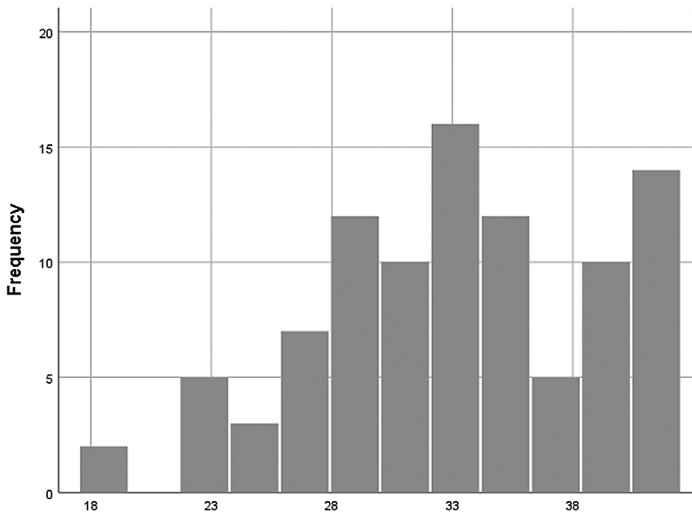
⁴ 0 to 48 was possible; actual range in our data shown.

Dependent Variable Name	<i>range of values</i>	N	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Std. Dev.</i>
Community Place Attachment	0 (very weak) to 40 (very strong)	92	24.07	25	9.03
Natural Place Attachment	18 (very weak) to 42 (very strong) ³	96	33.43	33.50	5.87
Benton Identity	1 (not important) to 7 (very important)	100	4.47	4	1.75
Relative Benton Identity	-5.6 (weaker) to +4.83 (stronger)	100	-0.55	0	1.52

Descriptive statistics for our four dependent variables suggest that Benton area residents are attached to their hometown and broader environment. The mean for community place attachment is above the mid-point in the range of possible values and the distribution has leftward skew (see figure 1a). The same general pattern of a high mean relative to the possible midpoint of the range of values along with leftward skew holds for the natural place attachment variable (see figure 1b). Likewise, the mean for our ordinal Benton Identity variable (4.47) is above the midpoint of possible responses for this variable (4). Notably, however, the mean of the relative Benton identity variable (-0.55), derived by comparing the Benton score to the average of other forms of identity, shows that for many Benton residents, other forms of identity are slightly more important than their Benton identity. This difference is so small, however, one could argue that Benton identity is approximately equivalent to other forms of identity.



⁵ 7 to 42 was possible; actual range in our data shown.



Chi Square Tests

Table two shows an overview of our chi square test results. Each independent variable was tested with each dependent variable. Given the exploratory nature of this research, *p* values at the 0.10 level or lower have been highlighted (cells with dashes had *p* values above .10) as significant. Surprisingly, none of the basic demographic variables (i.e., age, gender, income, and education) predict values on our measures of attachment or identity. Among the remaining independent variables, each of which in some way measures specific and concrete forms of connection to the Benton community, all but two – amount of contact with family and proportion of life in Benton - serve as significant predictors of at least one form of identity or attachment. In each case, the nature of the correlation fits the general expectation that measures of concrete connection to Benton predict stronger identity or attachment to Benton.

Table Two: Overview of Chi Square Results

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables			
	Community Place Attachment	Natural Place Attachment	Benton Identity	Relative Benton Identity
Age	-	-	-	-
Gender	-	-	-	-
Annual Household Income	-	-	-	-

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables			
	Community Place Attachment	Natural Place Attachment	Benton Identity	Relative Benton Identity
Years in Benton	-	-	$p=0.058$	$p=0.099$
Proportion of Life in Benton	-	-	-	-
Family in Benton	$p=0.067$	-	-	$p=0.056$
Involvements in Benton	$p=0.072$	-	-	-
Contact with Friends	$p=0.001$	$p=0.108$	-	-
Contact with Family	-	-	-	-
% of People Recognized	$p=0.030$	$p=0.004$	$p=0.037$	-
Quality of Life in Benton	$p=0.009$	-	-	-

Community Place Attachment

Considering community place attachment first, we can see five of our independent variables are correlated with it. What patterns in the data drive the correlations? For those who answered that they have family in Benton, 62.5% of them had higher levels of community place attachment and 37.5% of them had lower levels of community place attachment. That pattern is reversed among those who answered that they do not have family in Benton: a majority of them (56.9%) have lower levels of community place attachment and a minority (43.1%) have higher levels of community place attachment.

The data on involvements (belonging to clubs or organizations and attending community events in Benton) shows that for those with lower levels of involvement only 36.1% have a stronger community place attachment score. Among those with moderate and higher levels of involvement, the proportion with a stronger score on community place attachment goes up considerably – 68.8% and 54.3% respectively.

Having regular contact with close friends reveals a starker relationship. Among those who see close friends more often, 79.3% of them have a stronger degree of community place attachment; only 20.7% of those who see close friends often have a weaker degree of community place attachment. Among those who see close friends less often, the pattern is less dramatic but it is as expected, i.e., the majority of them have weaker community place attachment (58.9%) and a minority has stronger community place attachment (41.1%).

As shown in figure two, participants' estimates of what percentage of people they recognized when in public spaces in Benton predicts stronger community place attachment as well. Those with stronger place attachment scores were much more likely to respond that they recognized at least 40% of the people they saw in public when in Benton. By contrast, more than 60% of people with weaker community place attachment reported recognizing a low proportion of the people they saw in public.

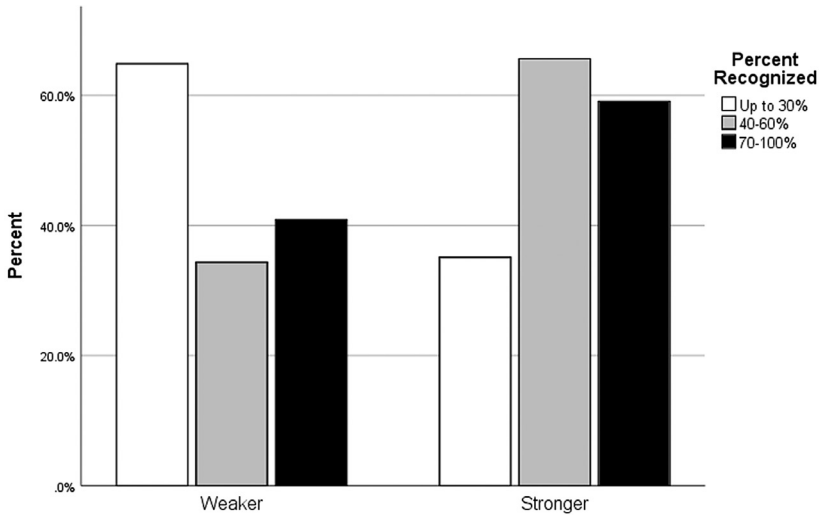
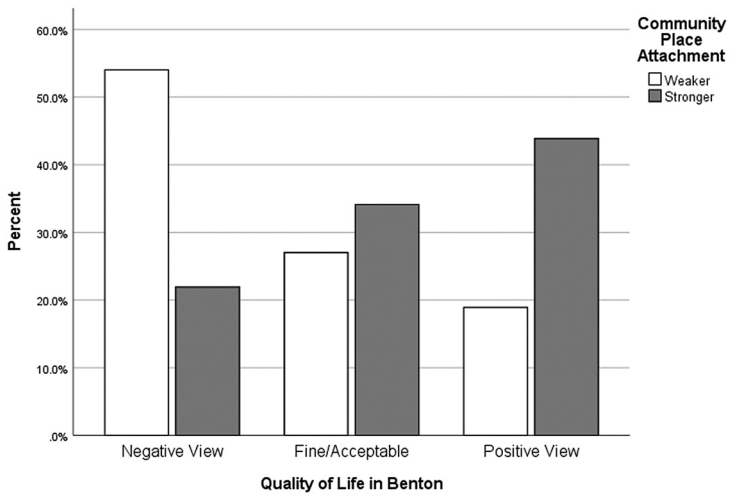


Figure three shows what is behind the correlation between quality of life in Benton and the community place attachment scores. Restricting one's view to those with weaker community place attachment, it is clear that most of them (54.1%) have a negative view of quality of life in Benton, and as views of Benton's quality of life improve, people are less and less likely to have a weaker attachment to Benton. By contrast, among those with stronger attachment to Benton, these people are most likely to have a positive view of quality of life in Benton (43.9%) and as views of Benton decline, so does the likelihood of having a stronger score on the community place attachment variable.



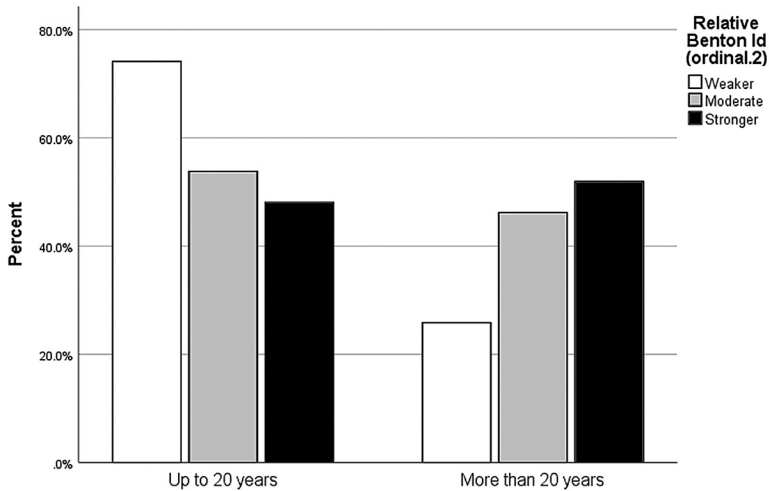
Natural Place Attachment

The levels of natural place attachment were predicted by only two independent variables. One of our clearer measures of social connection, amount of contact with close friends, is one predicting natural place attachment. Driving this correlation is the fact that among those who often spend time with close friends, 59.4% of them have a higher degree of natural place attachment. Only around 20% of these same people report weaker or moderate levels of natural place attachment. Similarly, among those who say they recognize a high proportion of people they see in Benton, 66.7% of them have higher levels of natural place attachment. Less than 20% of people at moderate and lower levels of recognition have stronger natural place attachment. Also supporting the pattern, more than half of those who recognize the lowest number of people have weak levels of natural place attachment compared to others in the sample.

Absolute and Relative Benton Identity

Participants' responses about the importance of their Benton identity is our last dependent variable, coming in two forms – an absolute and a relative measure, as described above. As with community place attachment, four independent variables predict the importance our participants place on Benton identity. Years in Benton was recoded into a binary form, splitting those who have lived up to twenty years in the area and those who have spent more than twenty years in the area. As figure four shows, those with less time in Benton are

more likely to have a weaker relative Benton identity, i.e., 74.2% of those with a weaker relative identity have been in the area for twenty years or less. By contrast, around half of those with a moderate or stronger relative identity have been in the area for this amount of time. If we focus on those who lived in Benton longer, they are more likely to have a strong or moderate relative Benton identity than a weak Benton identity. The same pattern is apparent for the absolute or the relative form of the Benton identity variable.



Having family that currently live in Benton predicts only relative Benton identity. In this case, people with moderate or stronger relative identity were more likely to have family in Benton than not and people with weaker relative identity were less likely to have family in Benton. Specifically, more than 80% of those with family had moderate or stronger relative Benton identity while only 17.5% of those with family in Benton had a weaker level of identity.

Finally, recognizing people around town predicts the absolute measure of Benton identity. This version of Benton identity was reduced to three responses, less important, neutral, and more important. The contrast that drives the correlation is between those who find their Benton identity to be more important compared to those who are neutral about it or find it to be less important. As expected, those who report recognizing a higher proportion of people in Benton (70% or more) is associated with attribution of stronger importance being placed on Benton identity, i.e., 63.6% of them see their Benton identity as more important. For those who are neutral or find their Benton identity less important, only 22.7% and 13.6% of them report recognizing 70%

or more of the people they see around Benton. Those who report recognizing 40-60% of the people they see have a similar but less dramatic pattern.

Discussion and Conclusion

Our measures of attachment and identity show that, overall, the Benton residents we surveyed feel connected to their hometown and their home environment. However, it must be said that the strength of this connection is not striking. Furthermore, our relative measure of Benton identity shows that for our participants, the importance of Benton identity is about the same as other kinds of identity (e.g., regional or occupational).

Demographic predictors make no contribution to understanding either form of attachment or identity. This makes some intuitive sense given that they do not measure people's tangible day to day social contacts or feelings about life in Benton directly. However, factors like income affect quality of daily life and so it is somewhat surprising that there is no evidence of correlation (see Dey, 2017). In short, with lower quality of life, one would expect lower levels of attachment to or identification with place. Age and stages of life may have a more complex relationship to our issues of interest. On the one hand, with age comes familiarity and emotional connection (see Smith & Cartlidge, 2011), but at the same time, increasing age can mean increasing isolation (see Wenger, Davies, Shahtahmasebi, & Scott, 1996), something that could impact ones feelings of attachment to a community.

By contrast, where we did discover correlations, our findings generally fit with expectations about local identity and place attachment. Overall, one might say that concrete measures of social connections in Benton predict levels of attachment and identity. This corresponds with the literature that focuses on the role of social and individual characteristics. Years in Benton and having family in Benton both predict Benton identity, but our data seems particularly good at predicting community place attachment. Having family in Benton, being involved in organizations or events, having regular contact with friends, knowing numerous people, and thinking highly of quality of life in Benton are each correlated with community place attachment.

Our independent variables suggest less to us about natural place attachment, i.e., only two serve to predict the levels of natural place attachment. Perhaps this is not really a surprise. As mentioned, our independent variables measure concrete forms of connection to the community, and this is something quite distinct from one's perceptions of the natural world. It is, however, also reasonable

to imagine that being socially connected to a place would lead to experiences in that place that would generate positive feelings about the environment (see Bell, 1997; Milligan, 1998). Further, it is worth noting that some of what we included in our natural attachment index were questions about outdoor activities, and these are generally social rather than solitary activities.

Apart from the limited role of demographic variables, a number of other results are surprising. Family matters, but not time with family. With regard to time, it is notable, especially since the literature says otherwise, that years in Benton do not predict attachment. Likewise, though it does predict Benton identity, it is interesting that only stronger levels of Benton identity are found among those who have lived in Benton for twenty years or more. This seems long. That proportion of life plays no role is likewise curious, unless higher proportions of life in a place mean having no basis for comparison and/or that one's home environment is taken for granted. Finally, given that having family currently in Benton impacted community place attachment and identity, it is also strange that that having multiple generations from the area does not predict attachment or identity. However, fewer participants than expected responded that multiple generations of their family were from the area. Perhaps with a larger sample it would become evident in the statistics that roots like this really do matter.



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Patterns of National Identity in the Ustaša¹ Movement

Ante Pavelić in the Political Correspondence and his Daughter's Memory

■

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The Ustaša movement – Ustaša Hrvatska Revolucionarna Organizacija – founded in 1929 by Ante Pavelić was a separatist organization, which aimed Croatia's independence from the Yugoslavian Kingdom. The members of the movement approached to those states that had been interested in weakening Yugoslavia, and, without doubts, their main supporter was Italy, where several ustaša camps could be found. These were coordinated by the inspector of Pisa, Ercole Conti, whose archival inheritance, among the official documents on the Ustaša's international relations, conserves precious private correspondence of the organization's members as well.²

In my paper – after a brief summary of the Ustaša Movement's foundation and principles – I present the attitude towards Ante Pavelić through some of these letters. If I examined just these, than I would be able to make examples of the attitude of ustaša members, which would lead to an unilateral analysis. That is why I think interesting to examine the opinion on Pavelić's activity of his own daughter, Višnja Pavelić as well.

¹ The word „ustaša” means insurgent. With majuscule (Ustaša), it refers to the name of the movement, while with minuscule (ustaša), it is an adjective (e. g. an ustaša man). The prular is „ustaše”, which is used for speaking about the members of the movement in general.

² Archivio Centrale dello Stato di Roma (hereafter: ACS). Ispettore Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza. Carte Conti. Busta 16. Controllo corrispondenza Ante Pavelić e famiglia.

The Ustaša's aims

The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was proclaimed on 1 December 1918 under the Serbian Karađorđević dynasty, as the unification of the South-Slavs of the Austro –Hungarian Monarchy collapsed in the same year to Serbia. The empire was ethnically heterogenous, as more than a dozen different nations were living together in the country. These folks were different not only by their ethnicity, but also confessionally, culturally, and historically. Since the dominant Serbian nation formed only 40% of the total population and the Croats made 24% of it, the ethnical conflicts meant mainly Serbian–Croatian disagreement (Ormos, 1984, 16).

As a consequence, the idea of separatism immediately diffused among the Croatian population of the state. The moderated way of it – which was the most popular in the Croatian society – was represented by the Croatian Peasant Party – Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka – led by Stjepan Radić, who was wounded by a member of the Serbian People's Radical Party, Puniša Račić on the preliminary session of 20 June 1928 of the Yugoslavian parliament, and in August, Radić died from his wounds.³ After the assassination, the Croats left the Skupština and they decided to boycott the decisions of it, until the situation would have been resolved. The most radical person among the Croatian politicians was Pavelić, who wanted the utter independence of Croatia (Gobetti, 2001, 21). The separatists searched for support abroad, and they found it in Hungary, in Italy, in Germany, in Austria and in South-America. Hungary and Italy collaborated in helping the Croatian aspirations, as both were interested in the disintegration of the Yugoslavian State.⁴

A turning point in the history of Croatian Separatism was the introduction of the dictatorship in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes on 6 January 1929. As King Alexander I made this decision to resolve the inner, ethnic conflicts, the name of the state, in October, changed to Yugoslavia in order to express the unity of its nations. As a response, Ante Pavelić emigrated in Italy where he found the Ustaša movement, which aimed the independence of Croatia at whatever cost, not excluded a causal armed conflict (Sokcsevits, 2011, 492–494.). On 1 June 1933 Pavelić summarized the ustasha principles in

³ Hrvatski Državni Arhiv (HDA). 1451 – Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka. Kutina 4. Without number. Nepoznati – Stjepanu Radiću. fol. 4.

⁴ Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri (ASMAE). Affari Politici, AA. PP. 1919–1930. Jugoslavia. Busta 1341. Fasc. Rapporti politici. Telegramma n. 5801. Galli to Mussolini, 24 September 1928.

17 points, which emphasized that the Croatian nation had a history of 1400 years old, and that is why it could not be a second factor in a foreign state. As a consequence, according to the document, the Independent State of Croatia would have unified all of the territories inhabited by Croats. To be a good Croatian, citizens of the independent Croatia imagined by Pavelić had to follow some principles in their everyday life, such as having a balanced familiar life, following the Catholic religion, having military virtues, and paying attention to the cultural development of the nation. Pavelić thought that Croats with such qualities could gain the independence of the state, and the leader thought on the peasantry to be able to hold its territory by working on it. So, the lands – together with other, material and cultural heritage of the country – were in the propriety of the state, and the Croats – whose individual will should have been subordinated to the national interest – could only use them for the benefit of the Independent Croatian State (Krizman, 1978, 117–119).

In 1932, after a failed attempt of an uprising in Lika, the Ustaša attracted the attention of Italy and Hungary, which prime ministers, Benito Mussolini and Gyula Gömbös decided to give practical support to the organization, and establish refugee camps for its members within their states' territory (Hamerli, 2015, 2017). In Italy there were several Ustaša camps in all of the regions of the country, and the Hungarian one was settled down near to the Hungarian–Croatian frontier, in Jankapuszta (Ormos, 1984, 79.). These lagers caused embarrassing moments to both of the two states after the regicide of Marseille of 9 October 1934, where the Yugoslavian king Alexander I was murdered, and it was committed by the Ustaša. As the movement was supported by Italy and Hungary, they both were accused with playing part in organizing the assassination (Ormos, 1984).

After the regicide, Italy paid much more attention to the ustaša camps established on Italian territory, which meant that the ustaša correspondence was strictly controlled as well. That is why the archival fond *Carte Conti* includes mainly letters written between 1935 and 1941, the year when the Independent State of Croatia was proclaimed. My paper focuses on the correspondence of Ante Pavelić and his wife, Marija Pavelić (born as Lovrenčević). Both the political letters of Ante and the private ones of Marija contain good examples of the Croatian national identity.

The National Identity's Appearance in the Correspondence

Among the Ustaša members, the Pavelić family was respected as a model of the ideal family, and Ante Pavelić was considered as the best father of his

children. Nevertheless he was said by his enemies to have a love affair with Ivka Budak – wife of Mile Budak, who also played an important part in the Croatian separatism – and Olga Zannoni – an Italian friend of the family –, he was seen by the Croatian society as a model of the faithful husband. Beside this, in the letters written by the ustaša members Pavelić often appears as the father of the whole Croatian nation (Bitunjac 2013, 61). A good example for that is the letter written by the members of the ustaša camp of Lipari to Pavelić on Christmas of 1937:⁵

„Poglavnik! Merry Christmas!

Far from you and from our houses, on the Holy Night of the eternal memory of Baby Jesus' birth, we are thinking on you and on our poor homeland. (...)

We are thinking on you, even though we do not know where you are! We are waiting for the midnight's sound of the bell, and waiting for your words, Poglavnik, (...) as you [are to] encourage us, ustaše, with your words, and you [are the one who] gives benediction to us with your sacred hands and who called us for the sanguinary battle to count down with the enemy of the Croatian nation. (...) There is no peace for the Croatians, because even now, at this sacred moment, the enemy does not permit to them to confess their fathers' belief. (...) Poglavnik! Call us, because you are our unique leader! You are called to bring the liberty for the Croatian nation.”⁶

The letter contains more aspects of the Ustaša's main principles, such as the respect of the leader, the willing of gaining the independence of Croatia at any costs, and, beside these, a less known factor appears as well in these words, which is the importance of the religion. Though after the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia the Ustaša borrowed many ideas from the German Nazism – like the system of the regime and the persecution of the „enemies”, so the Jews, the Serbians and everyone who were against the ustaša state –, Pavelić and his followers were usually religious persons, and Pavelić himself thought the Catholic belief to be an important element of the Ustaša movement (Krizman, 1978, 117–119).

The concept of sacrifice for the homeland appears in the letters as well: *„We are greeting you and we make you sure that we are ready for acting for the liberty of*

⁵ ACS. Ispettore Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza. Carte Conti. Busta 16. Controllo corrispondenza Ante Pavelić e famiglia. Without number. Letter of the ustaše from the camp of Lipari to Pavelić. 16 December 1937.

⁶ Ibid. Poglavnik is the ustaša nomination of Ante Pavelić, which cannot be translated literally into English. The best sinonime for it is „Captain”.

*Croatia. (...) We are prepared for any sacrifice, and ready to die for our homeland's liberty. Nothing is difficult for us.*⁷ – the ustaše from Lipari wrote to Pavelić to ensure him for their willing to follow his orders.

The ustaše often sent their greetings and good wishes to the Pavelić family as well, as the respect of familiar life, as it mentioned above, was another elementary principle of the Ustaša movement.⁸ The main reason of it was the fact that Marija Pavelić actively took part in the politics, and she helped his husband in the struggle for the Croatian independence. By the ustaše she was often called the custodian angel of Ante Pavelić (Bitunjac, 2013, 102–103,). She often got letter from that Olga Zannoni who was mentioned as the possible lover of Ante,⁹ and who, much more probably, was a friend of the family and did spying activity for their benefit. Olga, according to the letters, often travelled to Yugoslavia where she collected informations on the Government's plans to obstacle the Ustaša movement's aspirations, and, usually, she wrote the news to Marija.¹⁰ This reveals that the ustaša women had an important role in the movement's activity, and they were let do deal with political affairs and cooperate with their husbands. This latter is also verified by the fact that many of them accompanied their men into the exile (Bitunjac, 2013, 101).

An Interview with Višnja Pavelić

The latter mentioned informations reveal that the ustaša women were actually proud of their husbands, fathers and brothers that they made for the independence of Croatia. Maybe this can be verified the most by the daughter of Ante Pavelić named Višnja (1923–2015), who spent most of her life in Madrid, and who was often interviewed in order to share her experience on her father's political activity. From an interview of 2015 we can get precious informations on the family's life in exile as well.¹¹ In 1929, when Višnja had six years old,

⁷ ACS. Ispettore Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza. Carte Conti. Busta 16. Controllo corrispondenza Ante Pavelić e famiglia. Without number. Letter of the ustaše from the camp of Lipari to Pavelić. Without date.

⁸ E. g. ACS. Ispettore Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza. Carte Conti. Busta 16. Controllo corrispondenza Ante Pavelić e famiglia. Without number. Letter of ustaše to Pavelić. 2 March 1938.

⁹ See note no. 5.

¹⁰ See e. g. the letter of Olga Zannoni to Marija Pavelić on 14 June 1940. ACS. Ispettore Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza. Carte Conti. Busta 16. Controllo corrispondenza Ante Pavelić e famiglia. Without number.

¹¹ <http://www.maxportal.hr/vijesti/intervju-visnja-pavelic-da-nije-bilo-ndh-ne-bi-bilo-ni-danasnje-samostalne-hrvatske/> (Last download: 31 March 2018.)

the whole family – Ante, Marija, and the children (Višnja, Mirjana i Velimir) – moved to Italy. Their first location was Rijeka (Fiume), and the family lived there until the Yugoslavian agents made an attempt of assassination against Pavelić in 1930, or in 1931. Than the family had to leave the city, but they remained in Italy. As Višnja tells in the interview, they often moved from one location to another.¹²

The children – except Mirjana, the youngest one – began to attend the school in Modena, and Velimir frequented a Jesuit school, which confirms that the Catholicism was important to the ustaša leader. Višnja Pavelić remembers that her father educated the children in the nationalist spirit, so they were early got acquainted with the Croatian history, and they knew exactly the ideas of their father as well. She, though, at least as a child, did not identified them with the theory of Italian Fascism: *„With the Fascism I had nothing to deal with, neither in the school (...) I was not told anything on it. (...) We spoke on the bombardments, but not on the Fascism.”*¹³

Martina Bitunjac, author of a book on the ustaša women, also made an interview with Višnja Pavelić, where the daughter of the *Poglavnik* firmly expresses her opinion that his father and the ustaše did not committed any crime with their actions that aimed the liberty of Croatia. When she already lived in Madrid, she founded the *Domovina* [Homeland] Press in order to publish his father’s books, ideas, and the documents that she could find on the Ustaša movement’s activity. The aim of the foundation was to draw a realistic picture on the Independent State of Croatia and on the Ustaša ideas (Bitunjac, 2013, 167). This attitude towards the Ustaša is verified also by the interview examined by me, where Višnja said that the informations on the Jasenovac lager – where the enemies of the Croatian state were executed – were completely exaggerated by the communist regime that followed the Independent State of Croatia. Višnja – saying that the death is a natural consequence of a war – also expressed her solidarity towards those who had died in Jasenovac innocently, but she insisted on her statement on the exaggeration of the number of the victims.¹⁴

The activity of Višnja Pavelić show that the family life of Ante Pavelić could be really as good as it was seen also by the ustaše members, and it also reveals that being a dictator’s child can be difficult. In the case of Višnja Pavelić the sense of obligation to purify the acts of the father can be revealed as well. As she

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ <http://www.maxportal.hr/vijesti/intervju-visnja-pavelic-da-nije-bilo-ndh-ne-bi-bilo-ni-danasnje-samostalne-hrvatske/> (Last download: 31 March 2018.)

said in the interview, she did not hear about Jasenovac as a young girl, but she got the informations on it just later, after the failure of the Independent State of Croatia.¹⁵ These informations could have caused a trauma for her, and that could be the reason for publishing the Pavelić's works and for doing research in archives on the father's activity as the leader of the Ustaša movement.

Summary

To sum up, it can be said that both the cited letters and the interview with Višnja Pavelić shows a strong nationalism and patriotism of the Croatians who were members of the Ustaša movement. Ante Pavelić was a respected leader and a beloved father. In my paper I aimed to present an example of the attitude of the ustaša members towards their leader, and the letters examined verify that they completely agree with the *Poglavnik* on the way of realizing the independence of Croatia. The interview with Višnja Pavelić shows that the leader's daughter does not really believes in the crudelty of her father, and, beside being proud of him because of creating the Independent State of Croatia, she thinks important to make a research based on primary sources to get to know the reality on the Ustaša movement led by Pavelić.



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¹⁵ Ibid.

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Rebel Propaganda and Self-Image in the Beginning of the 18th Century

The Case of Ferenc II. Rákóczi's War of Independence

■
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Between 1703 and 1711 the longest uprising of Europe took place in Hungary led by Ferenc II. Rákóczi. Although he has an ambivalent role in the Hungarian historiography his goals remained untouched for many years. Despite the fact he had no legitimate reason to stand up against the crown of Hungary, Rákóczi and his followers made their own legislative and administrative system of the country. His “propaganda” system consisted proclamations (informing both domestic and European scene as well); own diets with laws and diplomatic correspondence with foreign powers like England, Netherlands, Russia, Prussia and Sweden as well.

In my paper I would like to show the different roles of the “unruly” Hungarian rebels through three types of historical sources. I will analyze the proclamations of Rákóczi and Nicolaus Bercsényi from 1703 to 1706 to inform the domestic scene of Hungary. After that I will analyze a couple of the international documents (2) and in the end some letters to different foreign powers (3). My goal is to introduce the various views of the events showing the common characteristics of them.

Historical background

After the Hungarian “Reconquista” between 1683 and 1699 the Habsburgs gained power in the old Kingdom of Hungary. After the Treaty Karlóca (or Carlowitz in 1699) they had the territory in their hands. The Diet of Pozsony

(1687) withdrew the famous "*ius resistendi*" - the right to revolt, caused a legitimate problem to Rákóczi and his companion later. The new administrative system of the acquired land made the local nobility disappointment from the Habsburgs and they held meeting about the issue (Slotman, 1997, 298-300).

The Hungarian nobles - mainly the circle of Rákóczi - decided to go on a large offensive war with great expenditures and they had to start getting the old legitimation back. Although they fought a long war against the Habsburg, the country became more and more devastated and spoiled and Rákóczi had to give up his dream and move into exile in 1711. At the Treaty of Szatmár (1711), two Hungarian noble commanders made the peace: *János Pálffy* (representing the Habsburg King) and *Sándor Károlyi* (representing the *Kuruc* State). The war did not achieve the original goals but actually saved the country from the direct absolutist control by the Habsburgs (Gebei, 2009, 98-107).

Informing the domestic audience

Acquire trust and legitimate their actions in the country, the kuruc army had to prove their gravamens. They wrote proclamations and charters to the political scene and they also launched their own newspaper called "*Mercurius Hungaricus*" ("Hungarian Mercurius") to inform the public about their goals. The paper consisted seven parts from 1705 to 1710, wrote by Pál Ráday Rákóczi's secretary in Latin language (*Mercurius*, 1979). Although the Hungarian historiography has quite amount of historical analyses about the documents covering the kuruc cause, here I would like to analyze the following documents. The first is called the proclamation of Brezan (Brzezany, Poland, 12nd of May, 1703) where Rákóczi promised the local farmers that he would lead their movement. The second is a decree from Nicolaus Bercsényi, who wrote about the peasant soldiers.

After the new Habsburg administration took control over the country two major oppositions were formed. The first was a peasant movement against the new administration and the growing income and revenue system. The second was Rákóczi's political circle in Poland, who wanted to connect their movement to the upcoming European war and tried to get in touch with the French King, Louis XIV. These two different movements met at Brezan, when the representatives of the peasants found Rákóczi and told him about the upheaval situation. The noble circle faced a different question: if they leave the peasant alone, they might lose their sympathy in the future, but the political opposition did not have enough resources (military personnel and arms) to

offer. Rákóczi solved the situation with the proclamation of Brezan, where he made an offer for help the rebels later (Gebei, 2009, 26-32).

This document was full with promises and gravamen of the Hungarians nobles and peasants together. The preamble entitled to the: “honest Hungarians, who love of his country and the ones, are who want to old liberty back, both ecclesial and laical, nobles and peasants. Main reasons to rise up can be found in the document as a foreign nation (Habsburgs, referred in the text as “Germans”) violated Hungarian law of order many times with its policy. Stealing, plundering from the Hungarian nobles and peasants, breaking old rules, violating the “old liberty” of the Hungarians. They tried to convince the people about their cause with the help of God against the cruel Empire of the Habsburgs. But the ending warned the rioters about plundering their own leaders’ territory and belongings (churches, castles, domains) and also the merchants and vagabonds as well (Tarpa).

The second document was written by Nicolaus Bercsényi, general of the Rákóczi’s war of Independence. The decree also contained warnings about plundering and keeping the new (kuruc) law in order to achieve victory. Bercsényi talked about their cause by alluded the old mighty kings of Hungary and the “good old times”, where everyone was safe from German harasses. His title gives the next step in the kuruc legitimization: “...I, *Nicolaus Bercsényi, general of Ferenc Rákócz II, who fight for the liberty of the Hungarian Fatherland...*”. He mentioned the old spirit of the Hungarians who always fight for their liberty against nearly every odd. This time the enemies are the Germans (Habsburgs), an alien element in the country’s body. This xenophobic tendency could be traced through the kuruc argument in the entire war like the French protestant camisards reasoning and the 17th century Catalanian rebels as well (L., Frey & M. Frey, 1987). We can say that these “domestic” documents had their own reasons: to inform the larger public about their fighting, to convince the Habsburg loyal elements of the country and also to threaten them with both words and arms. In connection with this we should turn our attention to the diets of the kuruc state (Várkonyi, 1958).

Rákóczi and his circle gathered new diets in the country even though only the King would have assembled it. They referred to the troubles of that period when “necessity knows no law”. These diets made their own decisions about tax-revenue system, religion conflicts, also on supporting militias around the country and so on. Three of them were held in kingdom: in Szécsény (1705), in Ónod (1707) and in Sárospatak (1708). From the borrowed state form they made their own leaders: Ferenc Rákóczi II became the “Dux-Princeps” of

Hungary (and Transylvania as well) and in 1705 they elected a plenum near Rákóczi (called the Senate). This system was not stable: it lied only on pikes and swords of the kuruc army (Kiss, 2017).

The *kuruc* state had two separate systems. From 1703 to 1705 Rákóczi's leadership was based on a consensus of the eastern Hungarian nobles who joined his cause. As the war became larger and longer, this one-headed structure had to be legitimated with a congress (or diet) and changed to favour the nobles who hesitated and would like to join. From the strong power of the Prince it turned to a collective of rebelling nobles with well-trained advisers (like the Senate or the *Consilium Oeconomicum*), devolving the power of Rákóczi after the Diet of Szécsény. But as the times went by the *kuruc* state had lost its basis by executing cruel orders and requisitions in the Hungarian Comitats, destroying any oppositions by force. It was proved that a peasant movement can form a state within a short period of time but this historical experience showed that it can collapse in a blink of an eye as well. In 1707 the Hungarian inhabitants did not know who the enemy is: the authoritative "Germans" (Habsburgs) with their harsh actions or their "kuruc allies", who are Hungarians but sometimes as cruel as the Habsburgs.

Communications with foreign powers in Europe

Diplomatic views of the war faced difficulties. The kuruc army and Rákóczi were rise up against the legitimate king of Hungary, Leopold I. Despite the lack of legitimating force Rákóczi and his political circle tried to get in touch with numerous foreign powers. The maritime powers (England, from 1707 Great-Britain and the Netherlands) were involved in the conflict for two reason. First their allies, the Habsburgs were in a bloody war in their own country, so they could not send any additional military force to the West against France. The second one was about protestant faith and the actions of counter-reformation in Hungary. These characteristics made the maritime powers to arrange meeting between the two opposing forces, the Habsburgs and Rákóczi. After the two big peace conference (1704 and 1706) the Anglo-Dutch diplomacy turned their attention away from the conflict and kept their resources minimum on this scene (Vatai, 2011).

The biggest allies were the French and the Bavarian kings. Rákóczi and his assistants tried to rely on this connection through the entire rebellion. They also wrote letters to the Sun King, Louis XIV of France and his ministers as well. His allies gave a great amount of money, military personnel (for example

artillery officers) and connections to buy weapons as well. The latter was crucial because the Hungarian Kingdom did not have any large weapon facility so they had to buy arms to their own (Köpeczi, 1966).

After getting no useful help Rákóczi turned his attention to the east, where Russia was fighting its war against Sweden. He tried to get in touch with both of the leaders, Peter I. of Russia and Charles XII of Sweden to negotiate between them. The Russian-line became serious as in 1707 they signed a treaty in Warsaw about the upcoming Polish succession. Although the agreement did not take any effect on the war but it was the one and only legal act that Rákóczi made (Márki, 1913).

As I mentioned before Rákóczi and his political assistants tried to connect their mission to a higher cause, to the raging war for the Spanish succession (1701-1714). The most famous and most cited document of the Hungarians was the manifesto called "*Recrudescunt*" which was written in the beginning of 1704. It was written in Latin by Pál Ráday, secretary of Rákóczi, but the whole political circle had their acceptance in it. The manuscript had many translations (English, French, German and of course, Hungarian), because they tried to inform the actions to the European politicians and states. At the beginning they offered the document to the Christian World, to every state, republic or noble people to gain their trust (Köpeczi, 1970).

The manifesto introduced the rebel point of view about the events from 1683 to 1699, focusing on violation of former Hungarian laws. The legitimate king, Leopold I of Austria broke his promise to keep the Hungarian State intact – he annexed Transylvania directly to the Habsburg territory. The Habsburg administration forced the decision about the withdrawal of the "*ius resistendi*" – a law which gave legal basis to many previous uprisings. They also accepted the new emperor, Joseph I at the age of nine, which was illegitimate in the Hungarian laws. We could read further violations of laws, but these were remained the basis of Rákóczi's concept (Gebei, 2009, 10).

The proclamation consist deeper information about the new bureau of the newly acquired land (*Ofner Cameral Administration*), which threatened the basis of the nobility income and revenue system. They even mentioned the disastrous Habsburg religion policy against every protestant in the country saying that their lives in great and imminent danger. Rákóczi mentioned the "liberty of the nobility and the right of free religion practising, which proved to be a valuable reason with the mediation of England and the Netherlands.

The second document to the world was written in 22 of June 1707 to inform the diplomats and states about the kuruc diet of Ónod (1707) and dethronement

of the Habsburgs. This made the Hungarian throne vacant and free from the Habsburg influence. Rákóczi and his political allies stated that the kingdom of Joseph I is illegitimate, because the acts in the diet of Pozsony (1687) was forced by the military council by executing innocent civilians of Eperjes at that time. They also mentioned the breaking the Hungarian law of the free king election and stated nobility did not have other choice but to elect Joseph. They did not change the reasons from the original document mentioned earlier: this is a clear and nearly straightforward translation of it. But these documents, especially the latter did not take effect on the diplomacy of the rebellion as none of the maritime powers accepted them as a sovereign state and lose their assist then on (Köpeczi, 1970, 249-259).

There are many other different documents which tried to inform the European political scene about the rebellion. The most famous British ones were written by the author of Robinson Crusoe, Daniel Defoe (1660-1731). In his journal – the Weekly Review of the Affairs of France – he introduced the Hungarian events through the glasses of the British diplomacy. Sadly he tried to blacken Rákóczi's movement with their connections with the Ottoman Empire, mentioned that only the Habsburgs were able to save Europe from this threat (B., Köpeczi, 1970, 75-188).

Diplomatic correspondences

Despite the fact that Rákóczi was led a simple uprising it did not hold him back to write personal letters to other leaders and kings. The Hungarian historiography has a two volume series about the diplomatic communications with the Anglo-Dutch allies by Ernő Simonyi (1871-1877). Here I will examine a couple of the large number of foreign documents found in these books. The letters are part of a bigger collection of George Stepney's correspondence about diplomacy and status of the Hungarian events. He leded the British mediation between the Habsburgs and Rákóczi in the town Gyöngyös and Selmec (both in 1704) and later with his Dutch colleague, Van Hamel Bruyninx in Nagyszombat (1706). These peace negotiations did not any effect on the rebellion because the both side's stubbornness. After the three assemblies failed both maritime power ceased their action as mentioned before. The letters were written in English, French and Latin as these were the main communicating languages of the diplomacy that time.(Simonyi, 1871, V-XII).

In the first letter Stepney informed minister Hedges about two insurrections: in Lower Hungary towards Mohatz and in Upper Hungary towards Caschaw

and Epersis. After counting the gravamens of the rebels he pointed Rákóczi's rule as he might be the leader of the actions there. He said that Prince Rákotzi was involved in these actions because his Estate lies in Mongatz (maybe Munkács in Hungarian) and by the violent processes of the Habsburg Court. Foreseeing the events Stepney mentioned the French connection and was aware of the military situation it made. He refers to the rebellion as a "Back-Door, or the Diversion" which could stop the Habsburg continuing the war in the West (Archivum Rákóczianum II/I., 17-18).

The meetings of Nagyszombat took from 27th of October 1705 to 22nd of June 1706 with the mediation of the Anglo-Dutch diplomacy. From the collection I chose a single letter from Stepney to Minister Harley in 26th September 1705, Vienna informing him about their journey to Hungary. The text represents three interesting words to describe the diplomat's point of view about the rebels. He stated that the "*...Malcontents had given signals thereof by beacons...*" (AR II/I., 214-215). The word he used (*Malcontents*) is from a character type from early modern dramas. It means a person, who is discontent with the social structure and always rebellious (Malcontent). Later he refers to them as "*Rákóczi and the rest of the Confederates*" accepting Rákóczi's position as the leader of the Kuruc State (or Confederacy). Finally there is a simple word which can be interesting if we look closer to the primary sources. "*The Hungarians have been so civil as to send an Officer with 500 horse*" (Archivum Rákóczianum II/I-. 215.). The word "civil" could refer to the old pictures of the Hungarians as barbarians and rude people, not to mention the Austrian propaganda as well. We can find out that Rákóczi and his companions were not brutal peasant rebel leaders but nobles, who wanted to gain the trust of the greater powers of England and the Netherlands and fight for the Hungarian freedom.

Queen Anne also wrote letter to Rákóczi himself in before the peace negotiations at Nagyszombat (1706) to assure his peace seeking approach later. But she wrote to a Hungarian (and Holy Roman) prince, not to the leader of the Hungarian Confederate! This statement is true for nearly every diplomatic letter Rákóczi and his circle wrote, because they did not have enough justification and legitimate reasons to be a member of a sovereign state (Várkonyi: 1993, 149-161).

Conclusion

In my paper I would like to represent the different images of the Rákóczi's War of Independence in Hungary (1703-1711). The rebel communication (or

propaganda) lied on two major columns. One had strong connections with the domestic opinion (to those who were afraid from the rebels and who were still loyal to the Habsburgs); the second linked the rebellion to the wider diplomacy of Europe and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). Rákóczi and his political advisors made several proclamations and diplomatic letters to convince the European Courts about their cause, especially England and the Netherlands. Although the Anglo-Dutch diplomacy where interested in the conflict after two unsuccessful negotiation they left Rákóczi and Hungary behind, made the Hungarian rebels to look for another ally, Russia. But the latter is out of this papers focus – may the following research clear this uncertain connection.



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*„The Hajdana (in olden days) living among us”
or in the footsteps of the memoir entitled
“Lived” and “was”*

■

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Humanity, since its existence has been formulating the individual primarily about the history of their own and his family. The stories went round in previous centuries and then they wrote them down so that the next generations would also learn from their mistakes and draw a conclusion. Those who write memoirs describe their own narratives when describing stories. Modern social science has long sought answers to the question of how to use historical memoirs as a historical source, and to analyze them historically. To this question Zsuzsa Bögre sociologist found an answer, which she defined in three aspects to be examined. These three aspects are necessary to look at a memoir as a historical source. These are: family relationships, workplace / school environment and role in local society. I would like to demonstrate in my paper how the theoretical analysis method set up by Zsuzsa Bögre works in practice, that is, why and how this memoir can be used as a historical source. In the followings, I would like to present the source itself and ultimately, briefly, how the theory of Zsuzsa Bögre (2003) works in practice.

Magda Mészöly (1934-2005) wrote her memoir entitled „Lived and was world“. She is the most important character in documenting family history, as she left 246 pages of memoir for her offsprings. Neither such extension, nor a similar style has been created by any family members. Magda Mészöly was born in Budapest in 1934, as a daughter of Dr. László Mészöly, veterinarian, mill owner (Ilona-cylinder mill in Biatorbagy) and dr. Magda Feltóthy a paediatrician. In 1952 she made her final exams at Baar-Madas Reformed Grammar School, in the last year before nationalization. She continued her studies at the Faculty

of Humanities at the Eötvös Lóránt University, in Hungarian language and literature and later at the library faculty. She was a colleague of the library at the Polytechnic university, then worked at the Vörösmarty Grammar School and at the Metropolitan Pedagogical Institute. Around the change of regime, she was a member of the committee that re-launched the Baar-Madas Reformed Grammar School. She was one of the first classmasters of the re-starting grammar school. Three daughters were born of her marriage with Dr. Trócsányi Zsolt (1961), and she knew six grandchildren. She retired in 1994 when her first grand-daughter, Borbála was born. She died in November 2005 in Budapest.

She wrote her memoir in Budapest between 2003 and 2005. One of her goals was to document the history of her family, and their way of life and the effects of the social changes of the 20th century and the legacy of all these.

As another goal, she clearly expressed her will to inform her offsprings about the family's story and even entertain with it. She was able to finish her writing. She died shortly afterwards. The task of binding remained for the offsprings. The theme of the memoir is the story of two large families. On one side the Mészölys and on the other side, the Feltóthys. The two families united with the marriage of her parents as well as through her birth. All this is accompanied by the fact that in the marriage of her parents, two centuries meet. László Mészöly was born in 1873 and Magda Feltóthy in 1898. The 25-year age difference between them resulted in the two centuries being connected with them and between them. Their daughter is a child of the twentieth century, who at the end of her life could live in the 21st century.

The structure of the memoir also focuses on the fact that the two families are united in her. The central part of the 246 page document are those 146 pages that she is writing about the two families. Of which, 39 pages were given to her parents. The other 107 pages are about the earlier stories of the two families. These pages outline where these families started. She goes back to the first sources where the family members appeared in written sources as well. In the next 75 pages she presents the lifestyle of the gentle middle class, the structure of their homes and the further fate of the family. The focus of these 75 pages is the home and homelessness. It begins with the house belonging to the Biatorbagy Mill and ends with Magda Mészöly's different homes. Lastly, the apartment of Liphay Street, that I also visited plenty of times as a grandchild. The frame of this section is that the last paragraph of the memoir recalls what has remained from the mill, through compensation the Liphay Street apartment and nothing else.

The first issue of the memoir was written in third person. Her tone becomes more personal when she writes about her close relatives, or her personal

anecdote, commemorates. In cases where she outlines events that affect her own life, she usually writes in first person. This is very characteristic of the second large part of the memoir, as here some of the events of her own life are contextualized, such as the frequent occurrence of moving itself or the discription of one or two remaining objects, tools. In the latter case, one should think of something like some tablecloths, cups, vases, paintings. Together with these events, life style and all its components are also presented. It gives a detailed description of the construction of the Biatorbágy house and its furnishment that she remembers.

Unfortunately there is no picture about these things in the memoir, but in one of the newspapers of the settlement, as an illustration for an interview, some pictures were found. Not only about the house, its saloon, but also about the mill and its workers, that was still operating when the picture was made. The memoir contains a list of anecdotes as well. These were, during the writer's life periphrastic in the family, and some of the anecdotes are still in use today. Most of the anecdotes deal with serious moral and way of life thruths, teaching. It cannot be claimed that all of these happened this way and in this form. We cannot doubt the credibility of the description, but some of its reality may be questionable. True, it is no longer my honor to judge that. However, it is certain that these stories have spread because of their messages and truths, formulating all the beauty and sometimes the difficulties of the era and of the social position.

Interestingly, at the end of the memoir there is an index. In short, every person in the memoir, not just a family member, was given a place, besides the list of years, spouses and offsprings. This list has changed since the birth of the memoir, as more than one person died in the last 13 years. The list in the memoir is based on the 2005 situation. The writer of the memoir can also be found in the large camp of the deceased, who is now with two years, the last one. The list itself is in alphabetical order, regardless of the role played in the family, the nickname, task, or even age.

The theory formulated by Zsuzsa Bögre, where the most important and central part is the three aspects to be examined, can be applied to the above source, as these three factors appear in the memoir. The 19 persons about whom there is detailed description provided by the author, in the description of all three, we can find the three aspects. Each description contains the family's relations with the person, the role of the person in society and the status of the school / job position are discussed. The three parts meet at the point that László Mészöly had a mill in Bia. Bia personifies the local environment, he fulfilled his social position here, as mill owner, who gave work for 30 people in the village

and as an elder of the Reformed Church. The school/work environment also mixes with the mill, because László Mészöly worked as a veterinarian in the surroundings and besides the mill, he dealt with animal breeding as well. The family relations come into the picture in a way, that the family, and this way the writer of the memoir, also lived in Bia, in one of the houses next to the mill. From the establishment of the mill (1912) until its final nationalization (1952). Most of the facts written in the memoir, like the economical role of the mill or its taken into state ownership, can be certified with official historical sources. So because of the presence of the three aspects in the memoir, it can be used as a source, among others, for the rebuilding of the story of the Ilona-cylinder mill in Bia.

The reason why the theory formulated by Zsuzsa Bögre whose most important and central part is the three analyzed aspects is usable in the case of the above mentioned source is that these three factors appear in the memoir. In the description of all the 19 people who were portrayed detailed by the author, the three aspects appear. In each description, the given people's relationships in the family can be found, in addition, it is also about the person's role in the society and his/her position at school/in the workplace. The three parts cross each other at the point that László Mészöly owned a mill in Biatorbágy. Biatorbágy embodies the local environment; he filled his social position like a mill-owner who employed 30 people in the village and like a Calvinistic presbyter there. The environment at school/in the workplace interweaves with the mill because László Mészöly worked as a vet in this region, furthermore, he dealt with stock-farming a little bit next to the mill. In the point of the relationships in the family, its members and he lived in a house next to the mill from its functioning (1912) until its final deprivatisation (1952). Most of the information written in the memoir like the economic role of the mill or its takeover by the state can be supported with official historical sources. Therefore, the three aspects can be used due to its attendance in the memoir among others as a source by the reconstruction of the Ilona- cylinder mill in Biatorbágy.

Translated by: Márton S. Kurdi



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Ervin Sinkó: A Hungarian Writer in the Diaspora

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One of the many tragedies of the short twentieth century for Hungary is that many of its talented writers were forced to flee and become a part of the Hungarian diaspora. They were hindered in publishing their work in Hungary as well as in the countries of the successor states. This situation was true for Hungary in the Horthy era and even more so in the Communist Era following World War II. It is less true today, but the threats to a free press are ever present.

Ervin Sinkó was one diaspora writer of the Hungarian language whose struggles to published formed a major problem in his life, both emotionally and financially. His two major works, and the works for which he is best known, are *Optimisták, Történelmi regény 1918-1919-ből*, that is, *Optimists, Historical Novel from 1918-1919*, and *Egy regény regénye, Moszkvai naplójegyzetek 1935-1937*. The latter, tells of his attempt to publish *Optimists*, the former work, in the Soviet Union. I have recently translated the *The Novel of a Novel* into English. Keeping with the topic of our conference I will discuss a question raised by the history of this work: namely, the struggles that a Hungarian writer in exile waged to reach his intended audience.

Ervin Sinkó, was born Ferenc Spitzer in Apatin, a village in the Bácska, about 70 km from the thriving agricultural city of Szabadka. His father was a merchant, involved in the agricultural trade that was the engine behind the booming economy of the region. The Spitzers were reformed (Neolog) Jews, which, in a place like Apatin, meant that Sinkó grew up rather isolated from his neighbors, most of whom were either Swabian or Hungarian peasants. The young Sinkó was subjected to anti-Semitic taunts, rock throwing, and other physical abuse by other children, which made Sinkó uncomfortable with his Jewishness.

Around the age of ten, the family moved to Szabadka so that the Sinkó children could continue their education. As a teen-ager, Sinkó rebelled against the middle class proprieties of his family, against his father's commercial occupation, against their identification with Judaism (light as that already was), and against the idea of a formal gimnazium education. He refused to attend classes. Instead, a year or two before the outbreak of World War I, he became involved with the Social Democratic Party through a local Workers Home, where he was invited to create a library for the laborers. The Workers Home provided for Sinkó a multi-ethnic community in which his background was not stigmatized.

At the outbreak of World War I, Sinkó was disappointed that the Social Democrats lined up behind the government in support of the war. During the first two war years, Sinkó became an adherent of the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche. He also published his first book of poetry under the *nom de plume* of Ervin Sinkó. His style and concerns were inspired by Endre Ady. He read widely in Hungarian and European literature. During the war, he also made contact with the circle around the modernist editor Lajos Kassák, who published some of his early works.

The experience of combat on the Eastern Front and fraternization with Red Army troops in spring 1918 turned Sinkó again towards Marxism, but this time, towards its Leninist form. Upon returning to Budapest from the front, he befriended members of the radical socialist group around Ottó Korvin and was also deeply influenced by György Lukács, whom he met in the first months of 1919.

Sinkó participated in the Hungarian Soviet Republic which came to power in March 1919. Despite his young age of 20, and lack of experience, but with Lukács' patronage, he gained a seat on the Budapest Workers Council (Az út, 86) and was later appointed City Commissar of Kecskemét.

The exercise of power and the observations of its omnipresent abuses provoked a moral crisis in Sinkó. While continuing to fight for the revolution to the end, he secretly turned against Communism and became an adherent of a Tolstoyan, pacifistic Christianity. He strongly opposed the violent and arbitrary methods of the Red Terror. In dealing with an armed uprising against the revolution an April 1919 near Kecskemét (Az út, 106, 430), he obtained a pardon for most of the participants, although he was recalled to Budapest for his leniency. Similarly, at the end of June when the cadets of the Ludovika Military Academy participated in an uprising, he convinced Korvin, then head of the internal police, to forgive the young cadets (Az út, 446). Rather than having the students jailed, Sinkó was allowed to devise and deliver a course

to them that utilized not only socialist literature but also Tolstoy and Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians.

When the Soviet Republic was overthrown at the beginning of August, Sinkó escaped to Austria to avoid arrest and probably execution for his participation in the Soviet Republic and never returned to live in Hungary. He went back and forth between Vienna and the Bácska, but was arrested in 1923 there at the request of the Hungarian authorities and would have been extradited to Hungary had his father not bribed the authorities to deposit him across the border in Austria instead. Yet, he was in Yugoslavia again between 1927 and 1934, in the small town of Prigevica-Sveti Ivan where his wife was the doctor. He wrote the bulk of *Optimists* during that time.

A *bildungsroman* and a *roman à cléf*, the lengthy *Optimists* recaps Sinkó's personal experience (through the main character Báci) as a member of the generation of young radicals who, full of millenary expectations, expected and fought for the immediate World Revolution. It traces Báci's transformations from a rebellious student and Nietzschean to a Communist agitator, journalist and official, to his rejection of Communism in favor of an incipient, somewhat vague Christian ethical and spiritual stance. Woven into this story is Báci's love affair with Czinner Erzsi. Sinkó married Irma Rothbart, the model for Erzsi, in 1920. Sinkó's story is really the life-long couple's story.

When Sinkó was near to completing *Optimists*, he realized that a novel about Communist Budapest intellectuals, most of them of Jewish origins, could not be published in either the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, or in Hungary. In *The Novel of a Novel* he catalogs the list of places that he considered for finding a publisher:

What about Hungary? ... In the 1920s, at the time of the so-called consolidated counterrevolution, Ernő Osvát and Zsigmond Móricz were courageous enough to find a place relatively frequently in the Nyugat for my novels, short stories, and articles. But since then, under the influence of the events in Germany, the "consolidated" counter-revolution has become the "dynamic" counter-revolution and has moved in the direction of a fascist dictatorship. But even if this hadn't been so, even if Osvát had not committed suicide in 1929, even if Nyugat had continued to be willing (as it had long ceased to be) to publish my work, there was no chance that a novel about the Hungarian revolution like Optimists could have seen the light of day in Horthy's Hungary.

So, he moved to France, but failed to find a publisher there as well. But, through Count Mihály Károlyi and the anti-fascist author and friend of the

Soviet Union, Romain Rolland, he was invited to Moscow and encouraged to have his book published there.

The *Novel of a Novel* tells of Sinkó's second infatuation and disappointment with Communism and of his frustrating, ultimately failed attempt to publish *Optimists* in the Soviet Union. The two years that the gregarious Sinkó spent there gave him a glimpse of Soviet life that few foreigners were able to see. For a month, the Sinkós lived in relative comfort in the Lux, the main hotel reserved for Western guests whom the Russians wished to impress. When a publisher's reader judged *Optimists* to be counter-revolutionary, the Sinkós were ejected from the hotel and found a room for the summer of 1935 in a communal apartment in the seedy Trubnaya district where they fought with bedbugs for several months. Forced to vacate even those premises, they were rescued by an Austrian émigré friend, the engineer Bruno Steiner, who shared a comfortable apartment with the Soviet writer Isaac Babel and which he offered to the Sinkós while he returned home to arrange some personal affairs. Steiner was never allowed back into the Soviet Union. In the interim, the Stalinist state had moved from the relative openness of the Popular Front Era to the xenophobia of the Great Terror. Thus, Sinkó and his wife ended up sharing the apartment, and a phone, with Babel and his common-law wife for about a year and a half. During this time the Sinkós and Babel became friends, though the friendship ended in a tragic falling out which revealed just how little Sinkó understood the dangers of life in Moscow despite his keen observations on the deteriorating cultural, political, and psychological situation that characterized the Great Terror.

But Sinkó was in the Soviet Union with a purpose: to find a publisher for his novel and to function as a writer. There is a passage in *The Novel of a Novel*, dated January 1936, that clearly expresses the frustrations of the writer unable to find an audience for his insistent personal and social message. Sinkó contrasts his own situation with that of Babel, who had the opposite problem. Babel refused to present his work to his publishers because he knew that if he did so it would be fatal.

The satirical magazine Krokodil, as well as the Literaturnaya Gazeta, repeatedly ask: Where is Babel, what is with him, why does he not produce anything? Sometimes jokingly, sometimes in the tones of indignant scolding, they ask for an explanation for his silence. And since our telephone is shared, whether I want to or not, I am witness to how he is called, entreated, indeed chased after by various publishers who would not have a word with me even if I begged. And Babel plays hide and seek with them: he denies

being at home, sometimes he promises a manuscript only to later ask for another extension; he makes new promises, then gives premeditated excuses or improvises new ones, or he deploys his humor... But I, a Hungarian writer, am as unnecessary to everyone in Soviet Russia as I was in France or Prigrevica-Sveti Ivan and Vienna. I have no place, because where I would have had one, in Hungary, well, my Hungary does not exist any more.

Or, as he says in the initial and final lines of the poem *Epilógus*, one of the poems in *The Novel of a Novel*:

Költő szerettem volna lenni,
Szüretre érne, szüretre hívni
Öreg koldust és ifjú lázadót
S meg még a gazdag svihákat is,
Lányt, asszonyt, minden földlakót
Meghívni dalra, vendégelni,
Jók, rosszak, tessék szüretelni,
Hisz született tékozló a szív,
S megrészegít, ki részegem!
Mint tőkén a duzzadó fürtök,
Eseng, esenget nehéz gazdagságom:
Hát nincs, nincs nekem kegyelem?
Hol késtek, jertek, szedjete meg!
Ez az a segély, amiért fájok...
Költő szerettem volna lenni,
De nincs, ki jönne szüretelni,
S arany levél sötéten fonnyad,
Dudva, gaz veri fel a nem használt utat,
Ívó nélkül kiszárad a kutad.
Sorvad,
Huny a tűz, ha nincs, ki melegedvén szítja.
Mi leszek, mi lettem?
Se lant, se parittyá,
Csak kóbor jómadár. (Stop)
Kinek nincsen hova menni,
Kinek nincsen miért lenni,
Világ annak kalitka.

Of course, compared to other tragedies of the mid-twentieth century, Sinkó's may be considered rather light. After all, Babel, whom he so envied, was executed under trumped up charges as a Japanese spy in 1940. Sinkó and his wife were merely expelled from the Soviet Union in April of 1937. Though the couple endured many hardships and lost many relatives in the Holocaust, they survived World War II in Croatia, she as a doctor in Drvar, he, much of the time in hiding, and both of them in Italian concentration camps at the end of the war as Jews on the islands of Brač and Rab.

It was in Tito's Yugoslavia from 1945 until his death in 1967 that Sinkó found a home, and for the first time in his adulthood, an escape from poverty. His reformist socialist message found an echo in Yugoslavia. With the help of the Croatian writer Miroslav Krleža, he became a member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, and in 1959, the head of the newly created Department of Hungarian Languages and Literatures in Novi Sad. He was finally able to publish *Optimists* in Hungarian in two parts between 1952 and 1955 in Zagreb and Novi Sad. *The Novel of a Novel* was published first in a Croatian translation in 1955. The original Hungarian language version was published in 1961 in Novi Sad.

The publication of these works occurred much later in Hungary proper. Prior to the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, Sinkó was seen as an enemy of the state for his criticisms of the 1949 show trials of László Rajk and others. Even during the first decades of the Kádár regime, *The Novel of A Novel* was deemed too radical a critique of socialism to be published. *Optimists* came out there only in 1979 and *The Novel of a Novel* had to wait until 1988. But both works were widely read by intellectual circles as the books made their way across the border from Yugoslavia. To their eager readers in the Kádár era of the 1960s and 70s, *The Novel of Novel* seemed a bold critique of the Soviet Union's brand of Communism.

The modern reader of *The Novel of a Novel* who is aware of the horrors of Stalinism might be surprised and disappointed in the difficulty that Sinkó had with fully turning his back on the Soviet Union, despite condemning in ascerbic prose many of its hypocrisies in social and cultural policy, its bureaucratic idiocies, its economic inequalities, its deification of Stalin, and its disregard of legality in the show trials and purges. But Sinkó's almost incomprehensible failure to turn against the Soviet Union is a measure of the fully warranted fears and horrors with which people like Sinkó observed the spread of Nazi German power and of fascism throughout Europe. Sinkó's memoir of his Soviet stay is of value for this historical lesson in itself. It is also worthwhile

because Sinkó's elegant Hungarian prose reminds us of the dream of a world based on universal human values, a dream and a diction that Sinkó inherited from Hungarian prewar progressives like Ady and Kassák, as well as from the European humanist traditions of his favorite writers from Cervantes and Montaigne to Dostoyevsky and Pasternak.

CHAPTER II.



Contributions of GEC-members and GEC-partners

Hungary: Gazelle Companies and Scalability Issues in Sustaining Business Inertia and Growth

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In today's chaotic markets, established companies are constantly facing assaults from start-ups and other agile competitors around the world. Hungarian companies do confront similar environments, both at home and abroad. Agility and scalability strategies are needed, even to Gazelle companies in Hungary. This paper provides an overall approach to Hungarian gazelle companies in dealing with scalability issues and how to sustain business inertia and growth.

"The fundamental impulse that sets and keeps the capitalist engine in motion comes from the new consumers, goods, the new methods of production or transportation, the new markets, the new forms of industrial organization that capitalist enterprise creates."

Joseph Schumpeter

Introduction

For centuries, Hungary had entrepreneurial business culture, so, recently, such companies as *WizzAir*, *LogMeIn*, *Fornetti*, *Ustream*, *MasterPlast*, *Prezi*, *Docler Holding*, and *Tresorit* are few examples of global gazelle enterprises (Laszlo, 2015). These companies were once start-ups, then grew domestically and in international sphere as well. What is a gazelle company? A gazelle is an extremely fast-growing company, which maintains consistent expansion of both employment and turnover over a prolonged period. There is no single

definition of what constitutes an “exceptional” growth rate, but 20% and more per annum is a common definition. Yes, according to this definition, these eight Hungarian companies are qualified to be called “gazelle” companies.

Gazelles are quite scarce in most economies, comprising about 5% - and at the most 10% - of all new entrants in a given cohort entry. They are of major political and economic interest because they are seen as potential large employers and wealth creators of the future. However, research shows that most gazelles have a major problem sustaining growth over more than five years. The Hungarian government has taken an active interest in startup ecosystem, especially since 2013. Recently, regional countries under the state level cooperation in the Visegrad Four framework – Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland and Hungary, are holding cooperative conferences and market access tours in Silicon Valley in the United States.

High-tech and internet companies furnish many examples of gazelles such as Microsoft, Apple, Dell, Yahoo, Google and Cisco were all gazelles in their earlier days. More recently, social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter have grown their user bases very fast, exhibiting a gazelle-like performance, but they have famously struggled to leverage this into spectacular turnover and profit growth. Amazon is an exception. How is it that Amazon able to move from one-level of success to another higher level? Among other factors, Amazon has made a transition from a traditional hierarchical organization to an agile enterprise. In today’s Internet and e-commerce world, being a gazelle company is great, and one can reap the benefits for a few years, or so. But to sustain inertia and growth, these great companies need agility and scalability.

Hungarian Startup Ecosystem

Historically, in Hungary there has been a lot of focus on energy and medical sciences and it certainly reflects even in today’s startup statistics. The latest trend is that many join in from considerable corporate and agency background. For example: Trezorit (cloud security), Synetiq (neuromarketing), Enbrite.ly (admetrics), Neticle (metrics). The biggest information source for the Hungarian entrepreneurs is the Startup Entrepreneurs Facebook page, that has around 8,000 members. The ecosystem also needs incubators. The first one, was started in 2007 was Kitchen Budapest, a Hungarian Telecom funded incubator, followed by Colabs in 2011, which formed the first hybrid co-working-incubator space. Later, it was followed by iCatapult in 2012, which focused on making startup initiative international. Others followed: Oxo

Labs, WS Labs (both focusing on early stage), iGen (social entrepreneurship), Traction Tribe (special focus on US validation and market access) and Digital Factory (Laszlo Csepregi, 2015).

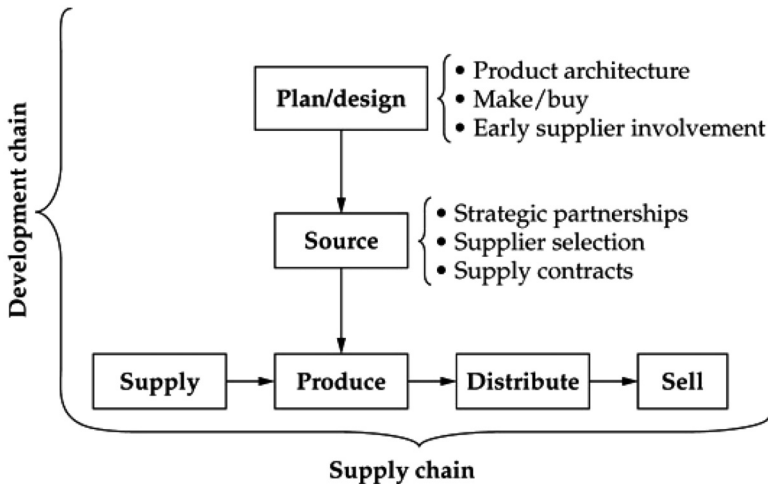
Dynamics of International Business

The startups begin with an ambitious entrepreneur who sees a market opportunity (or, gap) locally, improves or modifies existing product or service, and develops or improves his/her skills in making and delivering to meet that demand-niche. After a few failures or limited successes, he/she refines the process of making and delivery to customers, which include effective distribution in local areas; then moves onto regional distribution. As the business grow substantially, the owner-entrepreneur uses franchising and international partners for further market expansion and growth.

In Central and Eastern European (CEE) economies, especially, the local subsidiaries of efficiency- seeking investors from advanced economies and multinational companies, account for a large share of manufacturing production, value added and exports (Jindra et al., 2009; Soós, 2015; see also: Pavlínek (2015) for the automotive industry, and Sass (2015) for electronics). However, the CEE economies are particularly vulnerable to investors' massive withdrawal decisions (Szalavetz, 2016). So, in the context of Hungary, a close look at the global supply chains in the dynamics of businesses has become relevant.

Global Supply Chain Framework

In today's business world, due to Internet and E-commerce, globalization of business transactions are pervasive, and people and resources, including capital are mobile and move across national boundaries. This phenomenon impacts Hungarian businesses as well. It is important to mitigate this challenge and create new opportunities for Hungary. All businesses, worldwide, are subjected to—one way or another, local, regional, or, global supply chains. The basic definition of supply chains, involves a global network, which is used to deliver products and services from raw materials to customers through an engineered flow of information, physical distribution, and cash (APICS, 2014). Many startups start with local supply chains, and after they move into, perhaps, SMEs need to understand the management of global supply chains—and the following figure (Levi, McGraw-Hill, 2008) is an illustration.



Agility and Scalability

To move beyond initial 2-5 years of development, stability, successes in businesses, especially for gazelle companies, it is essential to incorporate agility and scalability in managing business. After a while, business-owners should focus on their core strengths and hire or outsource the rest of the tasks associated with running the business, which is essential to a scalable *business*. So, the premise is to concentrate on working on core business instead of the whole business; scalable *business* owners are experts at leveraging outside resources. Growth is inextricably linked to scalability. Once again, Amazon is a classic example of how to scale a business, from startup to sustainable growth.

Augmenting scalability is agility, which is more than increasing the efficiency of day-to-day business operations. Business agility refers to distinct qualities that allow organizations to respond rapidly to changes in the internal and external environment without losing inertia or momentum or vision. Adaptability, flexibility and balance are three qualities essential to long-term business agility, especially for Hungarian businesses, since it is a landlocked nation and with a relatively smaller population, compared to some of the neighboring countries, and others who are far away, geographically.

With increasing multinational companies establishing production and service facilities, it is important for the Hungarian partner-businesses to realize, during downturn or when the foreign investor pulls out, agility and scalability in management become all the more important for sustaining business growth.

Conclusion

Orion Electronics, Győri Keks, Csepel, Digital Reality, are just a few examples of successful Hungarian companies around for a long time. Hungary is a middle power and has the world's 57th largest economy by nominal GDP, as well as the 58th largest by PPP, out of 188 countries measured by the International Monetary Fund, known as IMF. As a substantial actor in several industrial and technological sectors, it is both the world's 36th largest exporter and importer of goods and importer of goods. Hungary is a high-income economy with a very high standard of living. It keeps up a social security and universal health care system, and a tuition-free university education (Wikipedia, 2018). What is more: new startups and existing SMEs have to apply strategic management ideas, especially in the context of global supply chains. This becomes so acute when cost-cutting, restructuring, global financial crisis, and moving value-added manufacturing outside Hungary—and business cycle downturn should also be included in this mix.



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Men or Women Are Better Leaders?

Gender Differences in Leadership Styles

■

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Classic leadership styles

Leadership issues became of great importance, since a good leader and the use of the appropriate management style can be key to the success of organizations. Research and theories in the subject have a great past. There are many theories, researches, and definitions on the subject. However, some similarities can be found in the definitions. For example, in most definitions, the following elements can be found: group, goal, influencing (Hartog, Koopman, Thierry, Wilderom, Maczynski, Jarmuz, 1997) and to point out the benefits of utilizing human resources as efficiently as possible. One way is to influence subordinates in a way that the leader achieves that the employees spend most of their energies on the achievement of the organizational goals (Bakacsi, 2004). Over decades there have been many ideas about leadership, most of which can be categorized into larger groups of theories. I will briefly present these to briefly perceive the series of changes that we are getting to today's leadership theories.

The Leadership Trait Paradigm

The first category is the trait paradigm. Its essence is that the person, the leader and his qualities are more important than the context and the situation. According to this theory, the hypothesis is that if one finds an ideal leader's property list, all organizational problems can be solved (Klein, 2016).

This idea gained its greatest attention in the 1940s and 1950s. There has been a lot of research on the subject that time (House, Aditya, 1997), but they did not produce uniform results. There are several reasons for this. One was that researchers did not set a single list of traits that would have been conducting research, but attempted to examine hundreds of different traits independently of each other (Horner, 1997). Thus, there are not many types of research that support each other. The often criticized feature-theories that the relationship between managerial effectiveness and the examined properties were not persuasive. In many cases, successful leaders did not possess the desired properties, or they did, but they still were unsuccessful (Bakacsi, 2004).

The Leader behaviour paradigm

After the unsuccessful research on traits, researchers got more interested in the behaviour of leaders. Thus, they began to look at how successful managers behave, what their behaviour was like towards employees, how they share their responsibilities, how they make decisions, and how much they can influence employees in the decision-making process (Klein, 2016). Most of these researches place managerial behaviour in a relationship- or task-oriented leadership style (Bakacsi, 2004). These theories get methodological criticisms, and that they ignore contextual and situational factors. (House, Aditya, 1997).

Contingency theories

This theory goes beyond the idea that one leadership style is applicable to every situation and it is the solution to organizational problems. Researchers have come to realize that there are many different ways of successful leadership, and even the style of leadership will be determined by the environment (Bakacsi, 2004). This means that the power of the leader is strongly influenced, weakened or reinforced by the situational factors (Karácsony, 2006). Situational factors can be the organization structure, organizational environment, organizational atmosphere, employees' maturity, relationships within the organization and etc. (Klein, 2016). According to the new idea, leadership efficiency is more complicated than building on a particular property group or behavioural style.

Contingency models have had a great impact on the development of modern leadership theories, and many of these theories have been moved to practical applications, most often as part of leadership training (Karácsonyi, 2006).

Modern Leadership styles

Several steps led to the driving theories of present days. A paradigm shift took place in the 1970s and 1980s. The importance of emotional dynamics between managers and subordinates (Karácsony, 2006) became much more important than the rational view of theories. According to these newer theories leaders are able to set higher visionary goals, along which employees can get committed to the organization, can identify themselves with common goals. Not only the staff's satisfaction is important but also their self-esteem and motivation (Bryman, 1993). The importance of motivation means in this case that the leader is interested in the internal aspirations of employees, in what motivates them, their needs, and assigns tasks accordingly. This promotes employees' commitment towards the company. This way, the leader's and the follower's interests are both fulfilled: the work gets done on a high level and it meets the employee's internal needs through the task (Répáczki, 2014). The emphasis is moved to strengthen engagement, relationships, innovation, and thinking about teamwork. So, the representatives of the new theories break up the theory of exchange between former boss-subordinates, not trying to change the environment. Most of the motivational tools are no longer based on extrinsic motivation or punishment (House, Howell, 1992).

Charismatic Leadership

The theory belongs to House, who worked on it for long years, constantly evolving and shaping it (House, Jacobsen 2001). The charismatic leader is characterized by high need for power and self-confidence, as well as less effort to establish personal relationships (House, Howell, 1992). Considering his behaviour he even sacrifices to attain common goals. It is characteristic of setting up an ideologized vision of a desired state, and in order to achieve this, there are high expectations on employees, and he himself is willing to take risks too (House, Shamir, 1993). Such executives are willing to represent the employees' interests selflessly, so they deserve to be identified with them. The strength of charismatic leaders is sought in their personality; they are considered as an organizational hero, they become an example for employees (Conger, Kanungo, 1987).

There are three important factors in the development of charismatic leadership: the social environment, the characteristics of the leader, and how the subordinates relate to the leader. From the interaction of these three components can emerge charismatic leadership (House, Jacobsen, 2001).

Speaking of charisma-related attributes and personality traits, researchers cognitive abilities are the most important. Among the so-called “Big Five” features, the closest, positive relationship was found with friendliness and extraversion. Among the five traits, conscientiousness shows the weakest link to charismatic leadership (Judge, Bono, 2004; Banks et al, 2016).

Ethical leadership

Ethical leaders are people who are strongly committed to moral values, motivating employees to adhere to them through their own example, and thus become a role model. Their credibility, sincerity, caring attitude towards others makes them attractive to the subordinates. They preach water and drink water. Under their leadership not keeping moral rules may even lead to punishment, while honest people, who are committed to the values can be rewarded. If these types of leaders detect a problem in the corporation, they are not afraid to report even to higher level leaders (Trevino, Hartman, Brown, 2000).

Ethical leadership is also beneficial for organizations because there is a relationship between being a good/efficient leader and the following traits: honesty, integrity, credibility, reliability, which are among the characteristics of this type of leadership (Posner, Schmidt, 1992). Employees’ prosocial acts occur more often while counterproductive ones taper (Brown, Trevino, 2006).

In most cases, ethical leaders learn this kind of attitude also from a role model. However, in this, childhood experiences have little significance – i.e., not from a parent or teacher, but from another ethical leader or employee at work, internalizing the behavioural pattern (Weaver, Trevino, Agle, 2005). In terms of personality, this type of leadership has a strong positive correlation with conscientiousness (accurate and reliable) and friendship

Transformational Leadership

The third “modern” leadership style presented is the transformational. It is contrary to the transactional (or agent) leadership, which builds on the classical exchange between the leader and the employee; the manager attempts to find out the subordinate’s needs in exchange for the work and tries to satisfy them. The essence of transformational leadership lies in that organizational goals are united with the goals / aspirations of employees. This creates a close personal relationship between the manager and the subordinates, and all of them change their lifestyle and way of thinking. Through the harmonization

of organizational and individual goals, they are interconnected with higher, universal human virtues and values (Bakacsi, 2004).

The concept of transformational leadership is related to Burns. He described the difference between transactional and transformational leadership describing the two styles as counterparts of each other. In his opinion, the result of transformational leadership is mutually supportive of each other (Burns, 1978, In: Lowe, Kroeck, Sivasubramaniam, 1996).

Bass is also an important researcher associated with transformational leadership. In his upgraded concept, transactional and transformational styles are no longer counterproductive, contrarily, both forms may appear at one leader. So, if necessary, a typically transformational leader can apply transactional motivational strategies if the situation requires (Bass, 1999).

Transformational leaders are characterized by close personal relationships with employees. This way leaders motivate their employees to pursue their separate goals and work both for the goals of the organization. Transformational leaders use power to support others (Bass, 1999).

It is highly appreciated if leaders involve employees in decision-making. In addition, the presence of work teams has become a priority, therefore managers and subordinates are regarded as teammates rather than a subordinate and a boss in a modern company. Autonomy, as well as challenging tasks, are important values for workers, which can only be achieved through mutual trust and close ties. As a result of the last decades' changes in the labour market, at many organizations the most effective leadership style became the transformational leadership (Bass, 1999). Four fundamental effects are distinguished (Avolio, Waldmann, Yammarino, 1991):

Individual attention: Because of their close relationships with their employees, managers are able to assess their needs so they can delegate tasks that promote their development.

Intellectual stimulation: Leaders inspire their staff to be innovative concerning problems, to be creative in their tasks. They also strive to create an organizational environment in which employees can share their ideas, opinions and support an innovative approach in a safe environment.

Inspirational Motivation: The leaders see an idealized vision of a subordinate and so they are able to motivate them.

Idealized influence: It happens through identification with the leader. The leader, through his behaviour, becomes a role model. These people become attractive because of their sacrifice.

Transformational leadership, as seen, has a lot to do with ethical leadership. There are, however, some differences between them. The two most important ones are that transformational leaders motivate the employees through an ideal vision, and they also intellectually stimulate employees (Brown, Trevino, 2006). Another important difference is that among everyday tools of ethical leaders there are not only transformational but also transactional methods such as reward and punishment to enforce ethical rules (Trevino, Weaver, 2003).

Gender differences in the labor market

Over the last century, the role of women in the labour market has changed a lot. Today - in theory - women have the same chances to become a business leader as a man. These researches are also important, because despite the increasing number of women working in different organizations, moving upwards in the hierarchy we face increasing majority of men. In other words, the number of women in higher power positions is still underrepresented, there is some sort of vertical segregation. A research with 7280 executives surveyed in 2011 revealed that on average 64% of managers, 78% of top managers, 67% of middle managers and 60% of leadership positions were males (Zenger, Folkman, 2014). This is called the glass ceiling phenomenon. The members of the minority - in this case, women - can reach a certain level of the hierarchy, in addition, but not above, despite having the right qualifications and performing at the same level as their male colleagues (Giele, Stebbins, 2003). One of the reasons for this may be that women are underrated as leaders and that the public opinion is still that men have better leadership skills. This may be due solely to the fact that the presence of women in the labour market has a shorter history than men's. (The number of women in this area started to rise significantly around 1960 (Rosener, 1990). The major leaders/executives during history were also mainly men (Paustian-Underdahl, Walker, Woehr, 2014), which can be traced back to the evolutionary gender-based approach to work, according to which man is a breadwinner, is an assertive, independent, determined, self-confident, traditionally conceived of as a good leader. They do not necessarily belong to good leaders or even good workers (Vecchio, 2002).

The above mentioned can also be called early socialization patterns. They create other social roles that produce different interpersonal relationships for the two sexes. Because modern leadership theories put great emphasis on the relationship between managers and employees - the employees who are most represented by their immediate superior, i.e. organizational acceptance/

rejection - these different roles become women's leaders in certain situations. Women are more prevalent in community attitudes, which means more attention is paid to employees' feelings and opinion, while men are still characterized by an assertive, independent leadership attitude that cannot be said to be effective in modern organizations (Collins, Burrus, Meyer, 2014).

Gender stereotypes like women are more likely to be caring than men may be because people have always seen women in such situations in everyday life. They take care of the household, children so that women are identified with care and related values and are considered to be a typical female virtue. Thus, gender stereotypes stem from the fact that we regularly see women and men in a different situation; women as carers, men as competing for breadwinners. So we judge them based on these roles (Eagly, Steffen, 1984).

The situation of women is characterized not only by vertical but also by horizontal segregation. Accordingly, in the same positions, women are typically paid less than men.

As shown in the enclosed figure, vertical segregation of women is not only present in the competitive sector but is also a phenomenon on the academic track. While the master's degree is started by several female students, the ratio of women is around 6% among academics. There are many different reasons for this: the science career is fundamentally designed for men; it is difficult to get into the "men's club" of female researchers. They may also encounter some kind of benevolent sexism, for example. "Not just beautiful, but smart too." There is also a difference in salaries on the academic track right from the beginning. (Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA), 2016) This may be due to the representation of women and the expectations of women by society because the outside world prefers a gentler, modest, more restrained female image. Self-assertive and decisive women violate role models. Thus, women may claim lower wages during the wage negotiation than men in the same position (Wade, 2001). Among other things, it is also possible that women working in similar positions with similar qualifications/skills at Wade (2001) searched for an average of 17% less for male counterparts. This difference has not declined over the past years on the basis of a 2016 statement.

It seems that the average salary difference between men and women is around 20%. But on the ranks upwards, these differences are constantly increasing, so far that the average salary difference of 45% can be observed among the genders, considering the best paid 1% of humanity. The figure below shows the gender pay gap in the first line and the gender pay gap in 1% of the people in the "back" queue for the average salary (Global Wage Report, 2016).

Gender differences and similarities in leadership

Despite horizontal and vertical segregation, more and more women are in leading positions, so is the number of researches is growing as to how differently men and women lead. Are they more effective than one another, or what does their success depend on. Are there typical deviations?

These researches have interesting, and sometimes contradictory results. At first, the results showed that there was no difference in styles between men and women (Bass, 1981). But after Rosener's article was published in 1990, the cube turned, and more and more researchers came to the conclusion that there are gender differences indeed. Even the developer of the transformational and transactional theories, Bass (1996) has changed his mind over the years (Burke, Collins, 2001). Below I present some of the research on these differences.

In nowadays' rapidly changing world, with the effects of globalization, the values of "feminine" leadership gain increasing importance. In fact, open-, sincere communication and participatory leadership is becoming increasingly important for a leader to be effective (Paustian-Underdahl, Walker, Woehr, 2014). So the earlier stereotypes of highly masculine leadership seem to be transformed, expectations are pointing at less manly values in cases of teams with only one leader. (Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, Ristikari, 2011).

Other research have proved that that the transformational leadership style is applied naturally by women according to the study of Rosener (1990), This may be due to the differences in education already mentioned.

In a study involving 135 women in in-depth interviews looking for general characteristics specific to women, the following was discovered. Women are more inclined to cooperate and discuss. They are able to engage strongly with the values that they consider important, and their relationships are characterized by mutual trust. They consider teamwork important, they are understanding and accepting, and if there is one way, they avoid competing/ competing situations in the workplace (Goldberger, Clinchy, Belenky, Tarule, 1987). In another, interpersonal experiment, 15 prominent women leaders were questioned. The results of the research supported Goldberger et al. results. It has been found that female leaders also show a strong commitment to values, at the workplace; it is important for them to have experience and to care for their staff. They are typical participant leaders and they try to establish good relations at all levels of the organization's hierarchy. Consequently, the strengths of female leaders derive from good relationships with others and their use of power to benefit others (Apfelbaum, Hadley 1986). While women

share the benefits of power with others and thus achieve co-operation, men have the power to empower others to co-operate (Jacobs, 1992). This is worth comparing with what is described in the third section of charismatic leadership.

Eagley and Johnson (1990) investigated the different management style of women and men using three different methods: laboratory examinations, graded assessments and comprehensive company examinations. Their results are in line with those presented earlier: that women (according to their employees) are characterized by democratic participatory leadership and well-maintained "interpersonal relationships". Male leaders were typically judged to be more direct and autocratic. Vecchio (2002), however, questioned these results, since in the 1990 survey, Eagly did not take sufficient account of the indicators according to which there is no significant difference between the male-female leading styles. Further critical comments suggested that self-polluting questionnaires should not be used on the subject as researchers have a strong likelihood of impressions, and it is typical of both women and men to try to meet gender stereotypes because of fear of exclusion. In response to these criticisms, Eagly et al. (2003) in a meta-analysis study compared the results of 45 different studies on the subject, and these were not only self-survey questionnaires. As a result, however, they learned that female leaders are more likely to apply transformational leadership.

Results, even in 2011 show that female leaders are more likely to be transformational leaders. At least this is comes from Vinkenbunrg et al. (Vinkenbunrg, Engen, Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, 2011), who focus on the leadership style of women most likely to be promoted.

In a relatively recent research, in which 7280 executives surveyed their employees and superiors, they found that women are more effective at all levels of the hierarchy than men. When female leaders were asked, what this may be due to, they said that the fact that they never feel secure about their position, they always have to work harder than men to prove (Zenger, Folkman, 2014). However, this result is strongly contradicted by the fact that even a 2001 questionnaire survey revealed that both male and female employees prefer to have a direct male superior (Simmons, 2001). So there are two options: the attitude of women's leadership radically changed in the last 13 years, or the different measurement techniques distort the extreme results thus obtained. However, it is not negligible information, that in recent years, women are increasingly trying to identify themselves with the values that have so far been called masculine, thinking that they can be more easily applied in the labour market. This is shown in a research of the early 2000s by several self-

reported questionnaires where women confessed to be more dominant and more assertive than men. (Twenge, 2001).



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Methodological Trends in Teaching Legal English with special regard to ELP Courses for Law Students in Hungary

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The aim of this article is to review the methodological trends in teaching English for Specific Purposes, especially English for Legal Purposes, as the background of approaches to English for Legal Purposes in Hungarian tertiary education. First the birth of TESP is described in a broader social context, then some key issues such as language and learning theories and their impact on SLA/TESP are described. Then the relevance of the notions of authenticity, specificity, underlying competence, easification, simplification and autonomy to TESP/TELP are explained. Finally the different approaches to TESP are reviewed with a special view to their application in teaching legal English in tertiary education in Hungary. By the end of the review the author has come to the conclusion that the initial gap between trends in TESP/TELP in Western Europe and in Hungary is shrinking.

*Particulars are not to be examined
till the whole has been surveyed.
– Dr Samuel Johnson*

1 Introduction

The main concern of this article is to examine how well the teaching of legal English in Hungarian tertiary education institutions fits into the trends of Teaching English for Specific Purposes. In order to do so first the birth of ESP is described in a broader social context, also highlighting the special situation

in Hungary, then some key issues such as language and learning theories and their impact on Second Language Acquisition and Teaching English for Specific Purposes are described. Then the relevance of the notions of register and genre analysis, authenticity, specificity, underlying competence, easification, simplification, and autonomy to ESP, especially to English for Legal Purposes are explained. Finally the different approaches to TESP are reviewed with a special view to their application in teaching legal English in tertiary education institutes in Hungary. Through reviewing text-books used for teaching English for Legal Purposes, the author has come to the conclusion that the initial gap between trends in TELP in Western Europe and in Hungary is narrowing.

2 The Growth of TESP

TESP is not the end-product of a well-planned and coherent movement, but it has rather grown out of a number of social, linguistic and educational psychological trends (Hutchinson and Waters 1987, Ferguson 1994 etc.). Some of the most important ones are as follows.

2.1 Social influences

The key fact is the rapid spread of English as an international language especially after the Second World War. The second half of the twentieth century is the age of enormous expansion in scientific, technical and economic activity on an international scale. The progress of technology and commerce generated a demand for an international language. This role fell to English. The dominant position of English language is due to a number of facts including

- the emergence of the United States as an economic and military superpower;
- many former British colonies use English as an official language;
- the economic influence of native speakers in the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, etc;
- the isolation of potentially competing languages (Russian and Chinese).

Some evidence backing the importance of English language are:

- English is an official language of 60 countries;
- it is the most widely used language in international business and commerce, which fact is sustained by much third-party use, that is, a Japanese and a Brazilian businessman meeting in Singapore would be likely to communicate with each other in English;

- over 80% of the data in the world's computer databases is in English;
- most international conferences and congresses are conducted in English, for example 90% of the world's international congresses in medicine use English;
- English is the dominant language of academic publication, particularly in science and technology, for example, by 1980, 72% of all medical journal articles were in English

(data taken from Ferguson 1994).

One consequence of this huge spread of English was that a whole mass of people wanted to learn English, not for 'classical humanist purposes' such as to be more educated and refined, to gain access to culture, especially to literature, to train the mind or to travel, but for narrowly defined 'instrumental purposes': to study or for work. A large demand developed, therefore, for purpose-specific, cost-effective and intensive courses in English. As Hutchinson and Waters (1987, 7) put it: *"English had become accountable to the scrutiny of the wider world and the traditional leisurely and purpose-free stroll through the landscape of the English language seemed no longer appropriate in the harsher realities of the market place."* Consequently, English language teaching altered in character: the language teaching profession responded to the commercial opportunities by developing and marketing English for Specific Purpose courses. The emergence of TESP is, then, a market-driven and sociolinguistically-driven phenomenon. This does not mean, however, that TESP is in lack of supporting theory, or that TESP raises no special questions concerning the nature of language or language teaching and learning. (These issues will be covered later.)

There is a consensus that TESP, as a branch of English language teaching, started in the early 1960s. At this time, it was largely identified with English for Science and Technology. Its development was accelerated by the Oil Crisis of the early 1970s. The resulting oil-derived wealth of a number of Middle-Eastern countries provided a significant stimulus to the expansion of ESP. These countries needed English for the personnel in their oil industries and they had the financial resources to recruit substantial numbers of native teachers of English. Some historically important ESP textbooks were the result: for example, *Nucleus: General Science* (1976) was produced by Dudley-Evans and Bates in Tabriz, Iran, and *Writing Scientific English* (1971) was produced by Swales in Tripoli, Libya.

A more recent stimulus for TESP came from the retreat of the former Soviet Union from Central and Eastern Europe (1989-1992). After the change

of regime in the former satellite states, a switch to market economy and an opening to the West induced an enormous demand for English in these countries. Much of the demand was and still is for ESP courses. (Due to the constraints of this article, this issue cannot be discussed here.)

2.2 Linguistic influences

“Traditionally, the aim of linguistics had been to describe the rules of English usage, that is, the grammar.” (Hutchinson and Waters 1987, 7). From a particular methodological point of view, and with substantial simplification, linguistic developments in the twentieth century up to about 1970 can be reduced to two phases, with an extra strand running beneath the surface, as is described by Stern (1983). The first movement is the American Structuralism, associated particularly with the name of Bloomfield. The approach is essentially empirical, with linguistics regarded as a descriptive science, concerned not with theories of language, but with language as it is used. It aimed to provide a rigorous description of language, based on a solid corpus of utterances. Through the discovery of regularities and structural features, it tried to establish formal characteristics which together would form a describable and comprehensive system. (The structural approach to teaching ESP is based on this theory.)

The reaction to this, based on the work of Chomsky, has no direct links with any particular approach to teaching ESP, but its effects have been profound. It is a common belief among ESP teachers that the influence of Chomsky’s Transformational Generative Grammar on language teaching is minimal, however, his criticisms of the structuralist approach (Chomsky 1964 and also in Stern 1983) have clear pedagogic implications. It should also be noted that there has been a gradual shift in emphasis during the course of its development. Whilst at first it was concerned with essentially syntactic levels of analysis, it has moved in the direction of semantic concerns. Linguists such as Fillmore have raised questions at the syntactic level which have semantic implications. Therefore, it should be extremely doubtful to consider this linguistic trend as irrelevant to ESP.

The third influence is sometimes referred to as Neo-Firthian theory named after the linguist who first introduced many of its central ideas such as looking at the language from the point of view of its function. Though Stern regards it as something of a side-line, from the point of view of teaching ESP it might be considered to be as influential as any other approach. Its basic stance is that language has to be studied at all levels, in the context of a specific situation and

with the emphasis on meaning. This means that the linguistic and non-linguistic environments are both important. It is also worth noting that through the works of Halliday, who is in some sense the inheritor of this tradition, the above influence is still steady. Studies applying this approach shifted attention away from the formal features of language usage to how language is used in real communication (Widdowson 1978). As language varies from one context to another, for example, the English of commerce differs in important ways from the English of air traffic control. Therefore, it should be possible to define the essential features of specific contexts and then use these features as the basis of language courses. The situational approach and also the functional/notional approach which all merged later under the broad sweep of the communicative approach are based among others on this Neo-Firthian influence.

Meanwhile the study of language by other disciplines, including sociology and psychology, also gained importance. The emerging sub-disciplines of psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics and pragmatics, within it mainly discourse analysis and speech act theory, together with the relatively new cognitive sciences have made a fruitful impact on Applied Linguistics and on theories of Second Language Acquisition. One of the concepts that have had the most far-reaching consequences for TESP, namely communicative competence, was developed by a sociolinguist, Dell Hymes. He proposed that competence is not only a set of rules for generating grammatically correct sentences, but also the knowledge *“..when to speak, when not, ... what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner ...The competency of users of language entails abilities and judgements relative to, and interdependent with, sociocultural features ...”*(Hymes 1972, 277). *“There are rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless.”*(Hymes 1972, 278) All this has resulted in radical changes in the teaching of languages in general and in the teaching of ESP in particular. All phases of the communicative approach in the history of TESP (Rhetorical, Target Situation Analysis and also the Genre Analysis Phase) are rooted among others in this concept. The genre analytical approach, however, makes a step forward in that it utilises analyses that are not pure descriptions of how language is used in particular contexts for particular purposes, but rather explanations why language is used in that way (Swales 1990, Bhatia 1993).

2.3 The influence of educational psychology

New developments in educational psychology such as highlighting the importance of learner-related factors (for example learners' attitudes to

learning, their motivation influenced by their different needs and interests) in the effectiveness of learning also strengthened the growth of TESP. These ideas supported the practice of developing courses that had 'relevance' to the learners' needs and interests, which coincides with the principle of all ESP courses. As attention shifted from how language is used to how language is learned, new approaches to TESP developed, the learning-centred approach (Hutchinson and Waters 1987), and the learner centred approach (Nunan 1988) are typical examples. The teaching of ESP, however, still does not rely too much on learning theories. Nevertheless, some theories have clear implications for ESP. For example behaviourism, which supported the structuralist approach to ESP.

Chomsky (1964), who is supposed to inflict the first successful assault on the behaviourist theory, posited that the mind must be rule-governed. The mentalist view of the mind as a rule governed organ led to the cognitive theory of learning taking the learners as thinking beings. Problem-solving tasks are most typically associated with this theory, thus all strands of the communicative approach have links with it. Task- and strategies based approaches to ESP rely most heavily on the cognitive view of learning and also on the language acquisition theory of Krashen (1981).

The study of affective factors in Second Language Acquisition, for example, of motivation (e.g. Gardner and Lambert 1972) showed that the mere relevance of a language course to the learners' target needs is not enough to maintain their motivation, since it represents only one type, the instrumental motivation, which is external, whilst integrative motivation, or using another terminology, intrinsic motivation is also essential in fostering effective learning. The learning-centred approach to ESP employs most profoundly the findings of such research. Research areas that have recently been in the limelight of Second Language Acquisition research such as learning strategies, motivation and autonomous learning will hopefully have further fruitful impact on teaching ESP.

3 ESP and Methodology

In an article focussing on methodological trends in TESP, it seems unavoidable to consider whether there is something like special ESP methodology or not. In order to answer this question first the term methodology needs to be clarified.

Methodology itself is a broad and amorphous concept. It is rooted in theory but also linked to practice. Theory may be defined in our subject as "*the thought underlying language teaching*" (Stern 1983, 23). Stern distinguishes three ways of looking at theory:

- *“the systematic study of the thought related to a topic or activity”* (ibid p.25)
- it might also be regarded as a *“school of thought ... with its own assumptions, postulates, principles, models and concepts ... such as the grammar-translation method, .. the audiolingual approach, or the cognitive theory”* (ibid p.26)
- a theory is *“a hypothesis or set of hypotheses that have been verified by observation or experiment”* (ibid p.26)

It follows, that teaching methodology cannot be understood by considering language and the process of teaching and learning from the outside. Methodology must be experienced in the classroom (Brumfit 1984). Methodology draws on theory in the sense outlined by Stern (1983) but it ends with what is done in the classroom and is ultimately validated by this. The main concern of methodology is with the basis upon which certain methods for teaching are chosen, but this does not mean that methodological concerns are unconnected with other areas such as syllabus design. As Brumfit (1984) puts it, methodology describes and explores *“the range of possible options available to teachers in as principled a way as possible”*.

The question “Is there an ESP methodology?” is generally answered by – No. However, as with most other issues, there are contradicting standpoints. Widdowson (1984, 210) for example, argues strongly for the existence of special ESP methodology *“the methodology of English teaching designed to service the specialist needs of students must be congruent with the methodology of their specialisation: it means, indeed, that it will be difficult to distinguish between them.”* He goes on to blame the past practice of being concerned only with the selection of language to be taught. In his view, what is more important is that *“student needs for English can only be met by appropriate methodology”* (ibid p.211). Hutchinson and Waters (1987, 142) represent a fairly standard position when they claim, *“There is nothing specific about ESP methodology. The principles which underlie good ESP methodology are the same as those that underlie sound ELT methodology in general.”* Indeed, as ESP is not something totally distinct from General English, the main difference being in the awareness of the learners’ needs in the case of an ESP course. Obviously, this awareness will have an influence on the purpose and content of the course, thus demanding certain methodological decisions. This, however, does not mean that one single methodology could be defined for courses that are designed to meet certain needs.

4 Methodological Trends in the Development of TESP

4.1 Overview of trends

What follows is based on Stern (1983) with gross selection and simplification due to the constraints of this article.

US Programmes in World War II

Structural linguistics is allied to behavioural psychology to produce a system of teaching based on the idea of habit formation. Some of the factors which are brought into play are interesting from the perspective of ESP. These are as follows. An early form of needs analysis was employed; linguistics was involved in course design; though the context was institutional, it was outside the traditional academic sphere; time factor was important as there was a need to produce positive results quickly.

The 50s and the 60s

The impact of technological development and the methodological innovations which it brought are the distinctive features of this period. The development of audiolingual and audio-visual methods together with the situational approach characterise these decades. The ideas of Chomsky and sociolinguists had been filtering through for some time.

The 70s and early 80s

It was a period of confusion with emphasis on curricular developments, a focus on the language learner and language learning research. Rapid development and even more rapid bankruptcy of a number of methods e.g. Silent Way, Suggestopedia took place. This period, however, can be seen as providing foundation of new approaches. Since then we have seen the consolidation of TESP and the Communicative Approach.

From the early 80s on

The Communicative Approach is often regarded as a revolution in English language teaching. However, in the light of what has been covered so far, it

seems to be something of a natural progression. The idea of social appropriacy of speaking in different contexts (or situations), group and pair work, learning through experimenting with language, taking into account the affective and cognitive aspects of the learning process were not in themselves revolutionary at that time. The work of Hymes (1972), which is often said to have revolutionised the thinking of the language teaching profession, may just have provided the impetus necessary for significant change.

4.2 The development of TESP

From its early beginnings in the 1960s TESP has undergone several stages of development (see e.g. Hutchinson and Waters 1987, Richards and Davies 1990, Fergusson 1994). It should be noted, however, that TESP is not a monolithic phenomenon. It has developed at different speed in different parts of the world and, as we will see, some of the approaches that are described below can be found operating in teaching legal English in Hungary in periods of time differing from the ones specified.

4.2.1 Register Analysis Phase (1960s - early 1970s)

Early TESP differed little from traditional ELT. General texts were replaced by scientific ones but many of the traditional exercise types (grammar and vocabulary exercises, reading comprehension questions) were retained. The focus of teaching was the formal features of specialist language – little effort was made to teach students how to use these forms for communication. This period is commonly referred to as the Register Analysis Phase typical of the 1960s and early 1970s. A well-known course-book of the period is Ewer and Lattore's (1969) *A Course in basic Scientific English*. The structural and the situational approaches are typical of the decade.

The structural approach

Its main concern is the formation of linguistic habits. This approach gives attention to the structural combination and ordering of elements. The items to be taught and the order of their presentation are decided after a comparison of L1 and L2. The first aim is to achieve a command of the spoken language. It operates through dialogue because this provides an example of communication. Lessons are typically four-phased ones:

- Check and verify what should have been learnt
- Present new material – techniques: dialogues and supporting visual material
- Apply new structure and lexis – techniques: structural drills/exercises and substitution tables
- Reinforce new material – techniques: apply linguistic items learnt by heart and written exercises (last of all)

(Girard, 1972)

Some of the principles of the structural approach:

- Make sounds, sentence patterns and words automatic to the learner.
- Make the sentence the teaching unit.
- Avoid translation.
- Adopt an aural-oral approach.
- Use simple situations

(Pittman, 1967)

The situational approach

Essentially it is also structural in nature, as can be seen, for example, from the instructions given to teachers as to how to teach the course-book ‘Situational English’ (1965, 3, 7). The principles described there are the following.

- Material is carefully organised.
- The syllabus consists of “*grammatical points – i.e. items which function in sentence structure*” (Situational English, 1965, 3).
- The approach is ‘*aural-oral*’.
- Primacy is given to speech.
- “*...the sentence is the unit of instruction*” (ibid p7).
- The teacher has a definite idea of what the students are expected to produce.
- Situations are regarded as a framework for adding a sense of relevance to what is going on. “*Before the lesson the teacher should work out ways of re-creating, in the classroom, situations in which it will be natural to say the sentences he has chosen.*” (ibid p7)
- The emphasis is on steady progression, with only one element added at a time.
- Revision is built in the lesson.

Additional techniques are dictation, reading (silent and aloud), oral composition, language games, composition, poetry and other literature.

The approach to situations adopted here may substantially differ from the ones employed later. Development in approach to situations went along different lines, see, for example, di Pietro (1987).

A synthetic, product-oriented syllabus planning characterises this period.

Analytic v. synthetic syllabus planning

A synthetic syllabus, as summed up by Nunan (1993), is in fact an inventory of discrete point items. The underlying assumption to this strategy is that *“different parts of language are taught separately and step by step so that acquisition is a process of gradual accumulation of parts until the whole structure of language has been built up”* “Wilkins 1976, 2”. The starting point of planning is the grammar system of the language.

In case of an analytic syllabus, the starting point is the experiential content defined according to the purposes for which the language is used. It may comprise situations, topics or even school subjects, which makes it *prima facie* applicable to ESP. From the linguistic aspect the main difference is that language input is not graded. The underlying assumption to this strategy of planning is that language is learned holistically in ‘chunks’. It is a model combining content, language, input and task with the central position of task: *“The LANGUAGE and CONTENT focused on are drawn from the INPUT, and are selected primarily to do the TASK. In other words in the TASK the linguistic knowledge and topic knowledge that are built up through the unit are applied to the solving of a communicative problem”* (Hutchinson and Waters 1983, 102). Thus, in this approach it is not only the content that counts but also the activities through which it is learned.

Product-oriented v. process-oriented syllabus

A product-oriented syllabus is, in short, a list of grammatical items, vocabulary items, language functions or experiential content. It focuses on the content that is needed for the language performance, whilst a process-oriented syllabus focuses on the process through which knowledge is constructed. This latter syllabus is a list of tasks or activities students will engage in during the course. Activities might replicate real-world tasks or might stimulate internal learning processes. Concerning language learning theory, it is an effective way of learning

as “it provides a purpose for the use and learning of language other than simply learning language items for their own sake” (Richards et al 1985, 289). Another advantage of the process-oriented syllabus is the fact that it concentrates on strategies and processes that enable students to become independent learners and also motivate them to tackle target texts on their own after the end of the course so that they can continue to improve (Holmes 1982).

Register-based syllabus

This type of syllabus reflects an exclusively language-centred view. The concept underpinning this approach is that “it is possible to identify and describe language varieties in terms of their linguistic characteristics” (Bhatia 1977, 19). It is based on the notion of ‘restricted language’, language isolated for a particular discipline for pedagogical reasons. Depending on the field of discourse, register has identifiable linguistic features and learners are to deal only with the ones characteristic to their specialism. Now, as technical development has made it possible, the set of lexico-grammatical features of a given register can be identified through textual analysis including computer concordancing of a representative sample of texts. A course designer has only to select texts exemplifying them.

One of the problems with this approach is that frequency counts do not give qualitatively significant results, especially in case of Legal English, where frequency and importance do not correlate well. Another objection is that the way discourse develops varies in different areas of language use as “*Language varies as its function varies; it differs in different situations*” (Halliday et al 1964, 87), which leads us to the importance of the different genres of a discipline. The methodological assumption behind the register-based approach, namely that “*once the formal system is mastered, the ability to use this formal system will follow on its own*” (Bhatia 1977, 24), is very much doubtful. If units of learning are defined in linguistic terms, it might result in neglecting the skills of language use and training in communication.

The later phases of TESP developed parallel with the growth and spread of the communicative approach. In the case of TESP the term communicative approach is used as an umbrella-term as it embraces or rather serves as a solid background for other well-definable approaches. So it seems reasonable to give a brief overview of it before going on with the description of the phases of TESP.

4.2.2 *The communicative approach*

It is widely accepted that the development of the Communicative Approach and TESP were in a number of ways linked. It may partly be due to the fact that they happened to develop at the same time and partly because one researcher – Widdowson – was so influential in both areas. This is clearly demonstrated by one of the authors of *Nucleus*, the most successful ESP textbook series ever written (Bates 1978).

Some communicative concepts taken mainly from Widdowson (1978) by Richards and Davies (1990):

LANGUAGE	COMMUNICATION
Correctness	Appropriacy
Usage	Use
Signification	Value
Sentence	Utterance
Linguistic skills	Communicative abilities
Competence	Capacity
Proposition	Illocutionary force
Cohesion	Coherence
Accuracy	Fluency
Product	Process
Teaching	Learning
Exercises	Tasks

The above considerations have also led to changes in phasing classroom work.

Traditional approaches:	Stage 1	Present
	Stage 2	Drill
	Stage 3	Practice in context
Communicative approach	Stage 1	Students communicate with all available resources
	Stage 2	Teacher presents items shown to be necessary
	Stage 3	Drill if necessary

(adapted from Brumfit 1984, by Richards 1990)

There are books and articles on the Communicative Approach to language teaching in abundance. There seems to be a common understanding of what the basic features of communicative teaching at its best are (Richards and Davies 1990, Unit 3 B 3 p2). These are as follows.

- Emphasis on communication.
- Concentration on appropriacy.
- Regard for authenticity.
- Interest in information transfer.
- Focus on tasks, not language.
- Emphasis on fluency rather than accuracy.
- Stress on the student as an individual.
- Use of 'deep-end' strategies.
- Use of pair and group work.
- Attention to integrated skills work.

4.2.3 Functional/Rhetorical Phase (1970s)

The Functional/Rhetorical Phase typical of the 1970s regarded scientific discourse as a series of rhetorical acts such as defining, classifying, contrasting, exemplifying, and so on. Students were taught these acts together with how to use discourse markers, and how to recognise textual patterns. Typical examples are the textbooks called the Focus series, published in the 1970s under the editorship of Allen and Widdowson, or the Longman Nucleus series, first published in 1976, both examples of applying the elements of the communicative approach.

Functional/notional approaches

The interest in functional/notional approaches was realised mainly at the level of course design, however, the shift away from language as learned habits demanded new techniques as well. The main principles of this approach may be described by using the ideas presented in the introduction to two course-books by Jones (1977, 1-5 and 1979, 3-4). These are as follows.

Control:

- The teacher is to be responsive to the needs of the class.
- Lessons are not completely teacher-centred, a '*team atmosphere*' is important.
- Activities are open-ended, the teacher can decide on error correction.

Error:

- Errors are expected and even encouraged as part of the experimentation with language which leads to a *'creative use of the language'*.
“*You will be able to practice your ability to communicate in English without worrying all the time about making mistakes.*” (Jones 1977, 2)
“*...in later stages of practice – as in real life – making mistakes is far less serious than failing to communicate*” (Jones 1979, 4).
- The teacher is expected to *'monitor'* what students say, he is more like a guide than an instructor.

Language:

- Language is learned through experimentation. Students are expected to *"experiment freely with English"* Jones 1977, 2).
- “*... knowing grammar and lexis is not enough if you want to be an effective English speaker*” (ibid p1).
- The context and the role of participants are essential features in communication.
- It follows from the above that the sentence is not the unit of instruction any longer.
- It also follows that functions are not items to be inserted into a grammatical framework, they are aspects of the way how language is actually used for communication.

Presentation:

- Presentation section is done by the use of tape recordings or by eliciting from students what they have already learnt.
- Controlled “*manipulation practice*”.
- Freer practice sections.
- Emphasis is on the importance of student talk.

Organisation:

- Practice is done in pair and group work.
- Teacher monitors students' work and help if it is needed.
- Teacher-student co-operation is essential. “*The learning process will be shared between the class and the teacher.*” (Jones 1979, 3)
- Importance of a good atmosphere.

Additional techniques are role-play, students' own ideas and experiences, talking points, games, questionnaires and simulations.

Functional-notional syllabus

This type of syllabus focuses on conceptual meaning and on communicative purpose which is in the heart of communicative language teaching. It sets realistic learning tasks, provides real-world language in the classroom and learning is also facilitated by having a real purpose for using the language.

However, it has some practical and theoretical drawbacks. The selection and grading of materials and texts are more complex. The theoretical objection to it is double-fold. Concerning the required strong linguistic component of Legal English courses, the lack of one-to-one form-function correlation could easily result in the insufficiency of language awareness raising. As to the underlying theory of language learning, the inventory of functions and notions do not reflect how language is learnt (Nunan 1993).

4.2.4 Skills/Target Situation Analysis Phase (late 1970s - early 1980s)

ESP courses had previously been designed with reference to language, now learner needs were placed in the centre of the design process. By identifying and analysing the target situation in which learners would work after accomplishing the course, the communicative skills and linguistic features common to that situation were defined. Munby (1978) is considered to have developed the most complete and elaborate form of needs analysis. His book was innovative and highly influential, though the method was too cumbersome and impractical to be implemented in the proposed form. At around this time increased attention was paid to language skills, particularly to reading in ESP. In the early 80s a number of ESP projects were set up to develop courses in academic reading and in study skills. The University of the Andes project located in Venezuela produced *Reading and Thinking in English*, by Moore et al., published in four volumes from 1980. Another example is *Skills for Learning*, the book produced by the University of Malaya ESP project.

Skills-based syllabus

This is a typical process-oriented syllabus which restricts its scope to one aspect, to controlling skills necessary for students. In the case of ESP at universities, it is more often than not reading. However, the question whether it is possible or at least efficient to teach reading independent of other skills is worth considering. Such a mono-skill focus might lead to boredom and

aloofness, which might lead to inefficient learning (Hutchinson and Waters 1987). Not the lack of students' interest and motivation is the only objection to this approach. A skills-based course regards the student only as a language user and not a language learner since it is concerned only with processes of the former type. According to the model of learning as a 'network-building process' (ibid p49-51), learning is more effective if it is done through various pathways to the brain – by reading, writing, speaking and hearing.

4.2.5 Learning-Centred/Genre Analysis Phase (late 1980s -)

Hutchinson and Waters (1987) and Swales (1990) gave new direction to ESP. The learner and the learning process, and also the different genres of the discourse communities are still the main foci of ESP research today, of course together with the latest issue of multimedia in teaching and testing. Most ESP textbooks are in line with this trend, sometimes it is enough to read the Content page of a book to confirm this statement, for example, Longman Commercial Communication, published first in 1988. Two further typical approaches of this period are the lexical and the task-based approach.

The lexical approach

Vocabulary acquisition has always been in the limelight of TESP. This approach is based on the assumption that learners do not store vocabulary as individual words, but as chunks of language (Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992). These chunks of language or lexical phrases tie in well with the predictability of genres as a number of lexical phrases can be identified to express certain moves of a genre. The learning of key lexical phrases may even provide a quick way of reaching the required proficiency in certain predictable situations (see Henry 1996), though this is not typical of ESP courses at universities.

The task-based approach

The framework for task-based learning (Willis 1996) differs from the traditional PPP cycle in that learners begin with a holistic experience of language use and the focus on language form comes at the end. By then, the learners will have worked with the language and processed it for meaning. In this approach "*task is a goal-oriented activity in which learners use language to achieve a real outcome*" (ibid p53). A typical structure of a lesson is as follows.

1) Pre-task

Introduction to topic and task

- no pre-teaching
- oral or written input
- exposure to relevant language
- raising schemata

2) The task cycle

Task

- in pairs or groups
- spontaneous, exploratory talk and confidence building
- teacher monitors and encourages
- focus on fluency, correction rarely requested

Planning

- preparing for reporting to the whole group how students did the task and what the outcome was
- teacher advises and helps
- transition from private to more public interaction
- focus on fluency and accuracy, correction and advice are welcome

Report

- public use of language
- reporting what and how students did
- purpose for others to listen
- teacher comments on the content

Post-task listening

- recording of fluent speakers performing the same task

3) Language focus

Analysis

- language-focused task often in pairs
- consciousness-raising
- teacher helps if asked for

Practice

- based on the language analysis work, as needed

Optional follow-up

- same or similar task with different partners

The rationale behind this approach is to provide exposure to rich but comprehensible real language and opportunities for real use of language including gaining practice in turn-taking and controlling the interaction. The

goals of the task provide motivation. There is a natural focus on language form in the planning phase, while the report phase ensures the constant linguistic challenge that helps to drive the students' interlanguage development further. In the course of the analysis activities students act as text investigators and are free to work at their own pace and make their own discoveries. Thus they develop both as language learners and as language users.

In this phase of TESP new approaches to course design have also emerged.

Genre-based syllabus

This is again a product-oriented syllabus, but differs essentially from a register-based syllabus to which it may seem to be similar at first sight. As genre is mainly concerned with communicative purpose, the one-sidedness of familiarizing students only with lexico-grammatical features, features of cognitive structuring or text patterning is eliminated by making students aware of the purpose these features serve in the discourse community. This entails that task-types should be selected very carefully, attached tasks should serve the purpose that the text-type serves in the specialist community. In other words, only the appropriate text-task relationship can develop discourse competence in students and ensure effective learning (Bhatia 1993).

A genre-based syllabus, thus, lists a set of genres and task-types that can be designed for the specific text-genres. It sets out to highlight the lexico-grammatical, textual, cognitive and pragmatic features of different genres of the given discipline, furthermore, by focusing on the importance of relevant tasks to perform, it involves also some elements of the process-oriented syllabus. However, the syllabus will lack logical structure and selecting the genres to include is an extremely complex matter.

Task-based syllabus

This type of syllabus planning is process-oriented. In this approach focus has shifted from both knowledge and skills to be gained to the very process of gaining them. This type of syllabus does not simply list tasks to be implemented but also gives task specifications including the products to be formulated, the operations required for carrying it out, the available resources and the description of what might be regarded as successful implementation. Prabhu (1987, 46-7) defines three main task-types in the Bangalore Project: information-gap activities (transferring information from one to another); reasoning-gap activities

(deriving new information from given information); and opinion-gap activities (identifying and articulating preference, attitude etc.).

Selecting tasks relevant to the students' specialism and finding a balance of task-types is an essential albeit not too easy part of the planning procedure. Grading tasks is an even more difficult and complex matter as task-difficulty depends on a cluster of cognitive and performance factors. However, objections to a task-based syllabus can be raised not only from a practical point of view. Such a syllabus lacks logical structure, coherence and by focusing only on one aspect (process), it might lead to neglecting the linguistic component which otherwise is essential in Legal English courses, furthermore, it seems to diminish or at least divert attention from the role and importance of content area background knowledge, which is again of special importance in legal English courses as *"For a lawyer to handle contact with another legal system, however, he or she must be not only bilingual or bicultural but also 'bi-legal'"* (Bird 1994, 6).

In the case of a Legal English course, product considerations i.e. linguistic aspects including generic and pragmatic aspects and process considerations should have equal importance due to the special nature of the content area. What is this special nature? *"Law exists largely through language, unlike other processes which have a physical existence"* (Bird 1994, 5). Consequently, a much higher linguistic awareness is demanded for someone acting in a legal context than for members of other professions. Consequently, a content or an integrated syllabus seems to be more efficient.

Content-syllabus

This syllabus-type lies at the centre of the product - process cline. It gives logic and coherence to the syllabus while at the same time applies a non-linguistic rationale for selecting and grading content. This approach coincides with Yalden's view on the semantic organisation of syllabus (in Brumfit 1984, 19): *"The linguistic component is treated non-systematically, and is derived from functional areas of language use"* implying a task-oriented methodology aiming at a *"balance between linguistic accuracy and communicative fluency"*. Combining the elements of both product and process syllabuses, a content syllabus tries to meet the main requirement of the communicative syllabus: *"Any syllabus which claims to teach people how to communicate (in whatever specialized area) should acknowledge the complexity of communication. The syllabus that is framed in only one aspect ... will probably miss the opportunity to develop the unacknowledged elements effectively"* (Hutchinson and Waters 1987, 89). In this respect Swan's

claim “*The real issue is not which syllabus to put first: it is how to integrate eight or so syllabuses into a sensible teaching programme*” (ibid p89) should always be kept in mind.

Integrated/eclectic syllabus

An integrated/eclectic syllabus applies an analytic rather than a synthetic approach and is basically a content syllabus where the content provides themes for meaningful and appropriate communication during which attention is paid to both propositional and illocutionary aspects of meaning. Topics and themes are defined in terms of their typical genres and of the tasks that are to be carried out either because they are typical of the target situation or because they are necessary to develop the skills needed for implementing the authentic tasks. It has a modular format in that it sets out to develop each language skill in each unit and to integrate thematic and linguistic content while having a skill orientation (Dubin and Olshtan 1994). The degree of emphasis varies according to the needs of the particular topic and also of the particular group of students as the syllabus offers choices concerning materials and tasks within each unit to the students.

As it has already been mentioned, TESP and the communicative approach have had close links. However, there are some areas where the teaching of general and specific languages differ markedly even though they apply the same approach. Besides the basic peculiarity of TESP i.e. an extremely high level of awareness of and sensitivity to learners’ needs, ESP is also characterised by sensitivity to local and institutional factors and a strong tradition of text and discourse analysis as compared to general English. Due to these differences, there are a number of key issues that are often revisited by ESP practitioners and researchers. Some of them assume special importance in the field of TELP. These are covered in Section 5

5 Some of the Key Issues of TESP with Special Regard to Teaching Legal English (Much of it is from Pókay, 1998)

5.1 Text and task authenticity, easification, simplification, specificity, underlying competence and grading

Authenticity is inherent in the communicative orientation to language teaching. “*If we want to teach real English as it functions appropriately in different contexts, we*

need to refer to how native speakers of English actually put it to communicative use" (Widdowson 1996, 67). All the more so in the case of legal English, because law as such does not exist physically, it exists largely through language. Moreover, law in most contexts demands a precise use of language. Therefore, a much higher linguistic awareness is demanded for somebody acting in a legal context than for members of most other professions. Through authentic materials students may become familiar with the most important linguistic features and rhetorical structures found in legal discourse. Consequently, course materials should be authentic legal texts that represent a wide range of genres e.g. books on law, law textbooks, entries of dictionaries and encyclopaedias, articles of special journals, newspapers, periodicals, different sorts of legal documents like treaties, contracts, samples of lawyer-client consultations etc.. Genre is perceived as a structured and conventionalised communicative event recognised by the specialist community, it is mainly characterised by purpose, influenced by content, format, audience and channel. (Bhatia 1993). It follows that an authentic text does not mean simply a text that is not written for pedagogic purposes. The term also implies a text or utterance that is likely to occur in the target discourse community. Most of these authentic texts, however, are very difficult to understand even for a native speaker as they contain a lot of unusual vocabulary and specialised terms and their language is rather complex.

Why not use then less specific texts or even texts created for teaching purposes. Hutchinson and Waters, who ushered in a new phase in the development of ESP when arguing for greater attention to the process of learning in the classroom, questioned the need for highly specific materials. They proposed an underlying competence which unified language use in different areas. In their view *"the ESP teacher often does not know enough about the subject matter ... thus, the specialist knowledge becomes decontextualised, classroom work gets bogged down in matters neither teacher nor student fully understands"* or if, instead of dealing with the content only the linguistic properties of the text are focused on, *"there will obviously be no, real' communication"*. Therefore, *"what the students are expected to cope with should not be confused with what the students require in order to cope"* (Hutchinson and Waters 1980, 178). The ESP teacher should supply this Underlying Competence, that is the knowledge and abilities students need to cope with new information in the target situation, and not the Target Performance Repertoire. In this respect authentic materials have only face validity.

Their argumentation is convincing but it based on a special ESP situation, namely, preparing students to understand lectures at technical colleges

in Britain. In the case of courses offered to law students in a context where exposure to English is minimal, one of the main objectives is to enable students to handle source materials to study law. In this situation the subject-area bound lexical, grammatical and discoursal features are significant. As language in all contexts is used indexically (Widdowson 1998) i.e. semantic items are used also to point to or indicate schematic knowledge and patterns of communication common to the interlocutors, non-specific or simplified texts lack this convergence on shared knowledge and common frame of reference: *“simplicity of language is not to be equated with accessibility of meaning”* (ibid p5). Therefore, non-legal texts are sometimes more difficult for law students to understand, as comprehension cannot be helped by utilising the learners’ background knowledge. Simplified texts can be especially harmful in case of legal texts where meaning may be obscured when simplifying legal syntax, particularly if it is done by a non-specialist. Moreover, non-authentic simplified texts *“may have a negative effect on the development of efficient reading strategies in the learner”* (Bhatia 1983, 44) since the simplifier does the processing work instead of the learner whereas we learn most successfully by doing and not by hearing, seeing or saying something.

On the other end of the scale of opinions it has often been claimed that the subject of the texts should relate quite well to the specialism of the students. Swales even suggests that ESP teachers should supplement the course with materials of local relevance and interest (Swales 1980). Or as quite recently Dudley-Evans and St John (1998, 51) have put it *“if we are to meet students’ need, we must deal with subject specific matter”*. All the more so as content area knowledge is of special importance in legal English courses due to the lack of one-to-one correlation between concepts, institutions and elements of different legal systems, whereas shared knowledge and understanding is a necessary precondition of any communication.

Another argument against the use of specialist texts is that an English lesson can turn into a dispute about the content, thus confusing language study with that of the speciality (Davies 1987). If such a dispute is between student and student, it is more than welcome as it creates a real communicative situation where real learning is likely to take place.

The problem of how to help students cope with authentic materials still remains. One way is to increase the accessibility of texts by contextualisation i.e. by activating the relevant schemata. Another way can be easification through providing access devices such as vocabulary explanation or *“developing a kind of,access structure’ around the text ... to guide the learner through the text”*

(Bhatia 1983, 46). This technique at the same time helps students acquire a learning strategy that enables them to process texts for themselves. Easification is beneficial for the students not only from a cognitive point of view but linguistically too as it *“should aim at highlighting the linguistic and rhetorical aspects of the text”* (ibid p46)

The other common solution is to use authentic texts, mainly legal cases, but treat them as narratives. However, in this case students are not given the opportunity to engage in the procedural activities which are relevant to the study of law. Bhatia (1993) summarises what cognitive procedures legal experts apply when reading cases. When lawyers or law students read legal cases, their main concern is not to understand them as stories and then to answer comprehension questions but to distinguish the material facts of the case (the facts the judge’s decision is based on are called material facts) to decide whether an earlier decision or a rule of law is relevant or not, whether the particular case is distinguishable from another, and to find the ‘ratio decidendi’ i.e. the underlying rule of law upon which the judgment is based. Generally speaking, texts should be handled in the same way as in the specialist context, in our case the reader should distinguish legally material facts, understand the legal reasoning, find legally relevant context, and deduce the rule of law. Matching, contrasting, classifying and distinguishing cases are the typical cognitive procedures through which law and its conceptual framework can be learned, so these should be involved when carrying out different tasks.

Students should also become aware of the fact that legal experts read cases in a special non-linear way as described by Harris (1989) after Lundberg. Expert readers place textual information into conceptual classes of facts, issues, rules, rationale and decision. The material facts of a case are extracted by working backwards from the judge’s reasoning. The expert reader moves forward and backward in the text and also among texts (other law reports cross-referenced), in order to study how the judge(s) arranged and classified information in the context of preceding cases. The context of one case is the other cases. This highlights a unique feature of legal discourse: the essential intertextuality of legal genres. Documents, cases, legislative provisions or textbooks can not be treated in isolation; legislative provisions are the most complex genre *“displaying a kind of cognitive structuring that requires very specific reading and interpreting strategies ... Some of these strategies the learners will have learnt to use while working through legal cases”* (Bhatia 1993, 179). Especially legal argumentation in judgments shows this complementary feature of cases and legal provisions.

A basically different solution is to give tasks that are not too demanding or, in general, grade tasks rather than texts or genres. This approach of paying more attention to task-difficulty than to text-difficulty leads to another aspect of authenticity: task-authenticity.

Task authenticity means texts should *“be exploited in the way a specialist would use authentic materials”* i.e. teaching materials should attach *“sufficient importance to the behavioural aspect of specialist language use”* (Phillips and Shettlesworth 1978, 105). The question is then how authentic tasks are and to what extent they require activities appropriate to the target situation. In our case activities are authentic if they are likely to be performed by non-native speakers when acting in a professional context.

The implementation of authentic tasks will, to a certain degree, enforce target specialist community discourse and not classroom discourse. However, pedagogic tasks also have their role in developing students' competence. Students are not yet members of the discourse community of their future profession, in many cases they do not know about the conventions that could make a piece of discourse real or authentic to them (Widdowson 1998). Despite the lack of authenticity, these tasks are necessary and useful as they aim at linguistic, rhetorical or pragmatic features and sometimes also cognitive processes that are typical or essential in legal English, in this way help initiate students into the conventions of communication in the target discourse community. These activities are mainly awareness-raising exercises and are usually embedded in the course of a more complex task. Grading tasks, however, is a rather complex matter, it depends on a number of factors including the complexity of language input, contextual support, cognitive difficulty, amount of assistance given to students, psychological stress when carrying it out and background knowledge in addition to the type of performance (processing, productive or interactive) students are required to implement ranging from non-verbal response to problem-solving (Nunan 1985)

5.2 *Autonomy*

The idea of autonomy allows the students to *“make the language their own”* to invest the language in their own way *“with their own personalities and purposes”* (Widdowson 1996, 67). Learner autonomy is defined by Little (1991, 4) as *“essentially ... a capacity for detachment, critical reflection, decision making and independent action. It presupposes, but also entails, that the learner will develop a particular kind of psychological relation to the process and content of his learning”*.

Self-reliance is the central notion of autonomous language learning. In this process it is the student who is in control of and also responsible for his or her own learning. Learning is initiated and managed by the student according to his or her own needs, wants, learning style and capacity, decisions concerning the content and also the form of learning are made by the student.

Self-access centres and project work are the two most frequently proposed arenas for autonomous language learning, though other forms can also involve and allow for it, provided the teacher's approach accommodates the four *I*'s: *involvement*, *interaction*, *individualisation* and *independence* (terminology taken from Dudley-Evans and St John 1998). In recent years researchers have also emphasised, besides the psychological and behavioural aspects, the social dimension of autonomy. Thus, not only self-reliance, but collaboration and interdependence are equally central to this notion (Benson 2001). Learner autonomy is not a given state at the beginning of the course, but it may develop if students are prepared for it. Were the students efficient in this respect, they would not need a course at all.

Teachers can foster autonomous language learning even in a classroom-based learning situation where exposure to English is limited in a number of ways. Firstly, by creating opportunities for the students to work independently of the teacher either on their own or with others, providing at the same time a range of resources and reference materials. Secondly, by letting students choose what materials to deal with and what tasks to engage in to cater for students of different learning styles and students with different needs and purposes. Thirdly, by catering for the affective factor of the learning process e.g. setting tasks that give point to learning, ensuring a friendly atmosphere, relying on and maintaining motivation etc.

6 Teaching Legal English at Hungarian Tertiary Education Institutes

Teaching ESP to law students in Hungary did not follow the general trends of ESP until the early 1990s. This was not the peculiarity of teaching Legal English, this was characteristic of other areas of ESP and of other languages for specific purposes as well, perhaps not to this extent. Developing reading and translation skills was the main focus of LSP courses in Central and Eastern European countries (Kurtán 2003). Though the Modern Language Departments of some universities such as Budapest ELTE and Budapest Technical University were involved in conducting research into features of specialist language (Kurtán 2003), the legal English course-books of the 1970s and 1980s written

for law students did not make much use of the findings of such research. The most widely used course-book (Groholszky 1975) written in the 70s at ELTE University, Budapest, and still in use in the early 90s, followed even a pre-structuralist approach, a basically grammar-translation method. It can be regarded as a Legal English textbook in one respect only: the texts of the book were about law. All units had the same structure: a text followed by a word-list and traditional comprehension questions. The rest of the unit was devoted to grammar: an item of grammar was highlighted, which was followed by drills and some translation but all strictly at sentence level. The last exercise was always to answer some questions related to a topic of General English such as weather, cinema, or at the hairdresser's. Other course-books for law students such as the one written at JATE University, Szeged (Vágvölgyiné 1977) applied the same approach. Instruction in modern languages other than Russian was anyway only something of a 'gloss'.

The 1990s saw the rapid development of TESP. Obviously, the change of regime in 1989 induced far-reaching changes in institutional education, too. The teaching of Russian as a compulsory language was abolished, which meant that other modern languages took its place, first of all English and German. By the mid-90s, English had undoubtedly become the most popular first foreign language. With Hungary opening windows to the west, a steadily increasing demand for English for study and occupational/professional purposes began to develop. Empirical evidence for the ever growing need for professionals with a good, at least upper-intermediate (B2 or C 1 level) command of English including competence in the language of the profession is shown by Sturcz (2003). The other impetus to employ more up-to-date and more effective approaches to ESP came from the profession itself – the Communicative Approach had been filtering in from the teaching of General English for some time. The contribution of the British Council to this process in the form of sponsoring projects going on for years, and creating forums for discussion, and workshops for teacher development should be mentioned here. The first tangible evidence of progression was the course-book called English for Law Students by Pásztor and Moor (1994) produced in Miskolc. It followed the Communicative Approach, set out to develop all the four skills in a balanced way by meaningful and varied exercises.

This development, at least on the part of the teaching practice, came to a temporary halt after the introduction of the so called Bokros-package, named after the Minister of Finance, who initiated restrictive financial measures. From the mid-90s on, however, there has been a full-scale development of

ESP including Legal English. Nevertheless, the situation and prestige of the teaching of Legal English at different universities show a great diversity. At the University of Miskolc, only a one-semester course is available, while at the University of Pécs the teaching programme includes a two-year compulsory course and a great number of optional courses. Courses of technical translators specialising in law are offered to students for example in Szeged and Debrecen, in Pécs it is merged into the course of the technical translators specialising in the social sciences. Annual conferences, research projects and publications that are in line with the latest trends in Second Language Acquisition from pragmatics, the cognitive aspects of SLA, and post-communicative teaching to the application of multimedia as is shown for example by the Porta Lingua series together with teaching materials or syllabuses that apply the different approaches to ESP from the integrated syllabus (Ormai and Póky 1998) to the negotiable one (Póky 2000, Szekeresné, 2003) are all evidence of the fact that the gap between trends in ESP/ELP in Western Europe and Hungary has narrowed down significantly.



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Discourse Skills and Social Cognition – Pathology in Neuropragmatics

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1. Background

The present study focuses on the atypical neural representation of figurative language use in general, and irony processing in particular, mapping the cognitive background of non-compositional meaning construction and understanding, which is one of the main fields of research in the study of pragmatic competence. The other major branch of pragmatics is concerned with discourse organization and local management in social settings. These two sub-fields and their foci are maintained in neuropragmatic approaches as well, since such social application of language triggers strategies we today refer to as pragmatic competence, where certain utterances call for a socially framed, acceptable, thus conventional and appropriate pragmatic behavior.

In social settings we intuitively use language so that we monitor the conversational partner, and plan our utterances in view of the listener's mental states (desired, beliefs, false-beliefs, intentions, etc.) in advance. The common ground and the shared knowledge of the conversational partners are crucial in the cognitive processes underlying language production. The listener's intentions guide the speaker in planning their utterances (linguistic behavior), resulting in strategies of discourse organization where their intentions serve social goals. These interpersonal goals eventually convert into pragmatic strategies in interaction. The utterances in each case therefore mirror the range of interpersonal goals they serve. In this view, our utterances are the realizations of specific intentions, which manifest themselves in the propositional content of the given utterance. Such intentions are then converted into felicitous

strategies (politeness, apology) advantageous for our face-saving motivations central in human interaction. The investigation of language use in such a complex interpersonal framework based on social cognition, together with the study of the underlying cortical organization can help us better understand the typical and atypical cases of the interaction of these two aspects.

Our study taps into this line of research and draws up a correlation between mentalization-based pragmatic competence and cortical structures. The central claim of our study is the identification of the cortical equivalent of the pragmatic meta-module (Wilson-Sperber 2012, Sperber-Wilson 2002, Wilson 2000) based on the overlap of the neuroanatomical structures and neuropsychiatric functions they share (Schnell et al. 2016b).

1.1. Pragmatic deficit in schizophrenia

Schizophrenia is a widespread and prevalent mental disorder, surrounded by professional debate concerning its aetiology. Some researchers believe it can be traced back to genetic factors while others suggest environmental effects and their impact in development. That is, the common nature-nurture debate presents itself not only in the fields of social competence, language use and human cognition, but also in the realm of mental disorders. The disorder's aetiology is, thus, highly debated, and today's novel techniques based on neuroimaging try to shed light on the most significant neural, psychological and social factors that contribute to the social and linguistic dysfunctions of the patients affected by schizophrenia, revealing an immense complexity underlying even genetic causes (Arnedo et al. 2014).

Current research on schizophrenic patients' social interaction, language use and community participation has revealed novel background mechanisms responsible for the disorder, such as social marginalization, deficient social cognition, that are undoubtedly present in the symptomatology of the illness. Lately, schizophrenia has been seen as a disorder of the human-specific social brain, and therefore, is claimed to be the price for our unique social skills evolutionarily stemming from the conditions of group-living (Győri-Lukács-Pléh 2004). Schizophrenia, therefore, presents itself as a costly trade-off in the evolution of complex social cognition (Burns 2004). Our study is based on a nurture-oriented approach, investigating social functioning in schizophrenia through language use, more specifically, through pragmatic competence and discourse participation skills of individuals living with schizophrenia.

1.2. Social cognition in human discourse

Social cognition is the main idea behind the functioning of the social brain. That is, our functioning as social beings is largely based on strategies and abilities of making social contacts and handling these relationships smoothly, which can also be seen as the prerequisite of maintaining and coordinating social interaction and discourse (Woodruff & Premack, 1978, Dennett, 1989; Frith & Frith, 1999). The term social cognition covers most of how our mind functions and interacts in social contexts:

- understanding and deciphering why somebody acts in some way, through a sort of mind-reading ability (also known as Theory of Mind)
- understanding that internal drives (mental states such as desires, feelings, beliefs and false beliefs) motivate our actions
- it involves an ability to change perspectives and simulate others' mental states (feelings, beliefs and thus eventually recognize their false belief)
- it covers all those cognitive processes that we activate and rely on in social interaction
- understanding that others can have mental states different from my own: different belief, experience, opinion and feelings, desires, goals and intentions.
- understanding that I can be the target of someone else's actions: ability to align utterances to social partners, in view of a given goal (i.e. politeness, discourse organization and its incorporated strategies connoted by certain structures, implicatures and implicit meaning) enabling the coordination of speaker's and hearer's worlds and their needs (Csibra 2010)
- in short, the ability to see others from the inside, and see ourselves from the outside.

2. Discourse organization in schizophrenia

It is widely known that schizophrenic patients demonstrate difficulties in social cognition, that is, in the crucial mind-reading abilities necessary for the smooth coordination of discourse. This ability is the cornerstone of an intact and well-functioning pragmatic competence, which enables us to decipher the intended meaning of utterances in everyday conversations, to grasp implicatures, correct inferences, thus contributing to a multi-level, interactive process of meaning construction typical of human discourse.

Appropriate behavior in pragmatic terms entails the multifaceted perception and filtering of information, integrating incoming stimuli with current goals, planning and execution, coordinating and monitoring complex linguistic, social and psychological behavior, while providing feedback to internal and external stimuli (Stemmer-Schönle 2000). This incredible complexity of human communication thus naturally calls for an interdisciplinary and unitary approach in the understanding of pragmatic competence and our verbal behavior in discourse settings.

As it has been pointed out (Herold et al. 2002, Tényi et al. 2002, Varga et al. 2013), the patients are characterized by a mentalization deficit even during remission, which apparently affects their pragmatic competence to a great extent. This typically manifests itself in a deficient understanding of non-compositional constructions (metaphors, humor, ironic statements and even indirect utterances) (Schnell, Varga 2012, Schnell 2007, 2012), and in difficulties in handling principles of social interaction, such as politeness, smoothly.

In sum, the study of social cognition is an important area of research on language and the mind, human discourse and cognition, because it investigates the mechanisms that support the complex ability of one person to understand another person's internal mental states, which eventually influence the person's actions, and guide their heuristics in understanding and reasoning about others' minds (Baron-Cohen, Tager-Flusber, Cohen 2000). One central goal of neurolinguistic research is the mapping of pragmatic skills, creating a neuropragmatic framework of investigation in which it is eventually possible to explain how we mentalize in reading others' minds, that is, detect what cognitive processes allow us to make accurate and rapid *inferences* about the internal (mental) states of another person. Such inferences give ground to the particular *heuristics* with which we make sense of others' actions, justify and understand their behavior, thus decipher their intentions through the decoding of the *intended* meanings of their utterances in *discourse* settings, such as in instances of ironic remarks or sarcasm (Shamay-Tsoory, Tomer, Peretz 2005, Abu-Akel-Shamay-Tsoory 2011).

3. Neuropragmatics: interface of linguistics and neuroscience

The investigation of language as a central component of human cognition entails an interdisciplinary approach among the disciplines concerned with the working of the human mind. The field investigating issues of brain activity during discourse participation, language use in social interaction and its neural

correlates (Hoeks et al. 2010) is today a research field and a scientific approach in its own right, known as neuropragmatics. Applying an interdisciplinary approach, this field primarily aims to describe the neuronal networks involved in the dynamic process of meaning construction in discourse, during inferences, and in the deciphering of implicatures. It aims to map how the neural networks involved in instances of pragmatic meaning construction (that is, in deciphering speaker's (pragmatic-) meanings over sentence (semantic-) meaning interact with the classical neural networks known to be active during language use and comprehension.

Traditionally, the neuroscience of language has been concerned with the cortical mechanisms subserving cognitive and linguistic processes responsible for language production and perception. Neuropragmatics employs an approach even more specific in that it focuses on the context of use, investigating the neuronal networks enabling us to act through language, take part in social interaction, and make use of language so that it can serve our social needs, integrating context and intentions in view of often not immediate but mid- or long-term interpersonal goals, in a pragmatically appropriate way.

The most intriguing questions of neuropragmatics are often multifaceted and interdisciplinary, investigating mental phenomena such as intentions, intentionality, asking how the brain represents mental states like beliefs, desires and intentions. This brings on one of the most puzzling questions in today's' cognitive neuroscience, asking what mappings and correspondences are observable between the physical brain and such mental phenomena. This approach generates some further questions on how social brains interact, sharing beliefs and mental representations about others' beliefs, feelings, emotions, that is, mental phenomena. How is a thought or feeling transformed into acoustic signals, those into symbols, which then become mental representations? How does our brain represent knowledge, generating shared beliefs and common grounds when interpreting both linguistic and context-dependent meanings, enabling a human-specific and successful communication between speakers? What are the cognitive and neural mechanisms underlying such pragmatic competence and meaning construction? And finally, where are these functions localized?

3.1. Cognitive linguistic approaches and neuropragmatics

The fairly young field of pragmatics concerned with language use and production provides a fruitful ground to a neurolinguistic inquiry, today represented by

neuropragmatics only a few decades old (Bara – Tirassa 2000). The investigation of issues on the neural correlates of pragmatic meaning construction can be traced back to the 1970-ies when clinicians observed that some communicative disorders demonstrated symptoms and linguistic phenomena not clearly explained by former categories of traditional neurolinguistic disorders such as aphasia. These primarily came from patients with right-hemisphere lesions whose social participation and communication proved to be linguistically quite acceptable, but rather socially unacceptable, shedding light on disturbances of social cognition, and the dissociation between pragmatic, socially embedded and semantic, traditional rule-based language use (Forgács, Bohrn, Baudewig Pléh, Jacobs 2012). Such patients were characterized by pragmatically inappropriate language use, incoherent discourse, a communication rather lacking coordination and conventional guidelines we usually stick to when engaging in a conversation, suggesting a disturbance specifically in the domain of pragmatic competence, without the reciprocal nature of communication and the flexibility of interpretation, manifesting in symptoms such as difficulty in understanding humor, jokes, punch lines, and idiomatic expressions, among them irony, metaphor, and generally exhibiting difficulty in the smooth handling of indirect language use (Paradis 1998, Forgács, Bohrn, Baudewig Pléh, Jacobs 2012) and discourse organization (Pléh 2000).

Since these preliminary observations considerable research has been conducted in this field, yielding practical findings on brain activity, cortical structures and their involvement in pragmatic meaning construction, that is, in how the brain deciphers speakers' meaning over sentence meaning. Today we see this process as taking place in a mentalization-based framework, with guidelines that help us supersede semantic meaning and eventually infer a complex pragmatic meaning integrating linguistic information and several parameters based on contextual and situational factors contributing to the deciphering of intended meaning, which integrate social-cognitive factors such as speaker's intentions, the common ground of the speakers, or the background knowledge of the listener.

Cognitive neuroscience has opened up to embrace linguistics and pragmatic phenomena, giving green light to further studies involving mental states and their role in linguistic interpretation. Since then a considerable amount of empirical evidence has been gathered supporting the cognitive nature of pragmatic meaning construction guided by mental events and intangible psychological phenomena such as emotions, desires, beliefs, intentions and goals. This, of course, is all guided by the self and our inner constructions of the self and of others, where

the enigma of the construction of our interpretations of surrounding linguistic and social events is significantly guided by our conceptualization of our own self and our beliefs of others (Pléh 2008). As it has been discovered, there are certain brain regions typically responsible for these thoughts and mental states relating to the self and others: the IPL (Inferior-parietal lobule) is primarily responsible for executive functions, sensory integration, body image, the concept of the self, thus is hypothesized to play a central role in irony understanding for this particular aspect of functional lateralization (Varga et al. 2013). The concept of the self is apparently the basis of self-awareness, and thus of the ability to infer mental states of others successfully and truthfully. This, in turn gives ground to the ability to decipher the intended meaning of the given utterance, and thus to coordinate discourse smoothly in all settings.

Over the last decade of neuropragmatic research, scientists have been combining theories of pragmatic interpretation and language philosophy with empirical research on non-compositional meaning construction, primarily in order to back up theoretical models, and more recently with the aim to test specific theories and claims on pragmatic competence and meaning construction stemming from a Gricean framework (Grice 1975, 1978) and from Relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995, Happé 1993). This novel experimental approach has put down the foundations of experimental pragmatics (Bencze 2014, Ivaskó 2004), opening up now frontiers on the interface of pragmatic theory building and experimental research. Neuropragmatics thus offers an experimental framework in the field of pragmatics, further enriching the indispensable theoretical foundations it builds upon. This experimental perspective offers benefits for both major research fields, for all the disciplines involved in the study of pragmatic meaning construction and of the social cognitive aspects of discourse.

4. Conclusions

Recently there has been significant progress in the application of picture-imaging studies and their contribution to the neurocognitive study of pragmatic interpretation, among these approaches based on haemodynamic methods (especially functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) techniques (Varga et al. 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014, Forgács, Bohrn, Baudewig Pléh, Jacobs 2012) and electrophysiological imaging techniques (event-related brain potential studies (ERPs) (Hoeks 2010) on issues that are primarily pragmatic in nature, ranging from discourse organization, cohesion and coherence in

narratives and discourse, through metaphor, irony, humor processing and conversational maxims, elaborating on the packaging of implicatures and the unwrapping of inferences, smooth handling of indirectness and politeness, and the recognition of communicative intentions and that of the infringement of conversational maxims in neurotypical and atypical cases (Coulson 2001, Giora 2002, Norrick 2003, Bergen-Binsted 2004, Frith-Frith 2003, Happé 1993, Varga et al. 2013, 2014).

These novel approaches based on neurological investigations and picture imaging center around linguistic theories, pragmatic principles, even though the terms pragmatics and linguistics do not always appear in the texts themselves, which gives the impression that the field of pragmatics and the study of social cognitive aspects of discourse is highly fragmented and is far from being unitary (Bambini 2010). This highlights the fact that it is high time neurology and linguistics bridged the gap between themselves and continued their way along in a framework of unifying neural approaches and theoretical models, merging the fields into a novel experimental pragmatic paradigm ready to see the cortical mechanisms underlying complex mental phenomena based on theory of mind, mindreading, mental states, converging context-sensitive and interactive approaches, rather than applying an isolates study and artificial foci in investigations.

The present article represents an initial step in this direction of merging and joint research action, where neuropragmatics bridges neuroscience and linguistics, contributing to our understanding of brain activity during social communication, revealing those crucial mechanisms that play a role in all types of pragmatic meaning construction.



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Decoding Emotions in Nazi-Propaganda Speeches

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Since the 19th century, humans have had to face the paradoxon that millions of people make up a community in a national state, while the optimal size limit of social groups within remains at around 30-40 people. Governing groups of millions of people is a great challenge, especially since apart from the number of members, it is effectively a virtual community. For these reasons, loyalty of the individual became very important, especially at times of crisis. It was not only Le Bon and Freud who were interested in the suggestibility of the masses, but leaders of the nazis as well, whose main goal was to develop the highest level of devotion and attachment with the individual, which would have been impossible without emotions.

Hitler realized this quite early on, while historians still struggle to do the same. One of the arguments in favour of this idea can be found in the book of Viktor Klemperer (*Lingua Tertii Imperii*), namely, the enlightenment of Paula von B. who talks about the attachment of the bigger community to its leader with plenty of emotion. Oddly, Paula von B. was never interested in politics before meeting Hitler, still one day she ardently told the jewish filologist Klemperer the following:

„Everything is related to the issue of being German or non-German, this is all that matters; you see that's what I, what we all, have either learned from the Führer or rediscovered having forgotten it. [...] I've told you already: that we've really come home! It's something you have to feel, and you must abandon yourself to your feelings, and you must always focus on the Führer's

*greatness, rather than on the discomfort which you are experiencing at present.*¹

In case we are looking for emotions, we will surely find two types of them in this contemporary confession. One of them is pride, or more precisely speaking national pride and the other one is protection or emotional security (Geborgenheit). Both are related to the attachment of the Germans to the community. However, in order to further investigate these emotions, appropriate methodology and research material need to be chosen.

There is a vast amount of literature available on the theory of emotions nowadays, and historians need to carefully consider which one to commit themselves to. In the last decade, the research of Daniel Bar-Tal and Joseph de Rivera brought results that can also be employed in history research.² They claim that it is possible that groups or nations possess their own emotional orientation, which in within-group situations can influence the response of the group. This emotional orientation is developed through repeated experience and serves as an emotional context in the formation of collective feelings. This has allowed me to conclude that national socialists could have had a uniform emotional orientation and this could be demonstrated in the propaganda that conveys the ideology.

Filoheroism - The emotional orientation of the Nazi ideology

In empirical research, in order to explore the central emotion of the Nazi ideology, it is subservient to work with a limited number of emotions. On the other hand, if the research is based on universal emotions, the methodology can be used in the investigation of other cultures later on.

Robert Plutchik described eight fundamental types of behaviour and assigned eight basic emotions to them;³ *anger, fear, sadness, disgust, surprise, anticipation, trust* and *joy*. He arranged these around a two-dimensional circle

¹ Klemperer (2006), 99.

² Daniel Bar-Tal: Why does fear override hope in societies engulfed by intractable conflict, as it does in the Israeli society? *Political Psychology* 2001/ 22, 601–627. o.; Joseph de Rivera, J: Emotional climate Social structure and emotional dynamics. In K. T. Strongman (ed.): *International review of studies on emotion*, 1992/2, New York, John Wiley, 199–218. Jarymowicz, M. - Bar-Tal, D.: The dominance of fear over hope in the life of individuals and collectives. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 2006/36, 367–392.

³ Plutchik (1991).

where the different colours indicate different emotions and their intensity is noted on a vertical scale.

According to Plutchik, every emotion consists of a combination of these basic emotions forming further 23 'mixed emotions'. If we project the semantic differential of Traxel and Heide⁴ to Plutchik's model from 1991, the axes of the Traxel model form four zones.⁵ Thus a combined figure could provide information about the valence of emotions. The well known method of content analysis provides a potential tool for the analysis of historical documents. I have combined this research method with the theory of Plutchik, thus the basic emotions and their possible combinations formed the elements of the catalogue. Since my aim was to explore the most determinant emotion, I first identified emotions in the text and as a second step I further subdivided the mixed emotions into basic emotions. I examined emotions regarding the own group and the non-own group separately and afterwards examined their joint values as well. The speeches of Hitler and Goebbels between 1922 and 1933 served as the main body of the analysis. These are propaganda speeches that were given in public in front of a big audience.⁶ The results of the analyses supported the theory of Bar-Tal, since they have shown a completely uniform emotional pattern in case of the speeches of both Hitler and Goebbels, irrespectively of whether they were given in 1922 or in 1933. Three basic emotions are dominant the texts, namely, anger, joy and trust. As an example I will show the results of the analysis of one of Hitler's speeches (*Gib uns vier Jahre Zeit!*), which jointly contains emotions regarding the own and not-own groups in the society.

⁴ Traxel & Heide, (1961).

⁵ Plutchik (1991), 111. The arrangement of Plutchik from 1991 differs only in terms of the order of basic emotions. Trust and surprise is included in pleasant submission, and fear and sadness belongs to unpleasant submission. Pleasant dominance includes happiness and anger whereas unpleasant dominance involves disgust and anticipation.

⁶ Analysed Hitler speeches: *Die Hetzer der Wahrheit* (12.04.1922 München, NSDAP-gyűlés); *Jövő vagy bukás* (06.03.1927 Vilsbiburg, NSDAP-gyűlés); *Amit mi akarunk* (18.10.1928 Oldenburg, NSDAP-gyűlés); *Végső leszámolás! Németország ébred* (10.09.1930 Berlin, NSDAP-gyűlés); *Beszéd a Nibelungensaalban* (05.11.1930 Mannheim, NSDAP-gyűlés); *Választási beszéd* (05.03.1932 Bad Blankenburg, NSDAP-gyűlés); *Adj nekünk négy évet!* (10.02.1933 Berlin Sportpalast); *Goebbels beszédei: NSDAP-demonstráció* (09.07.1932, Berlin); *NSDAP-demonstráció* (16.06.1933, Hamburg).

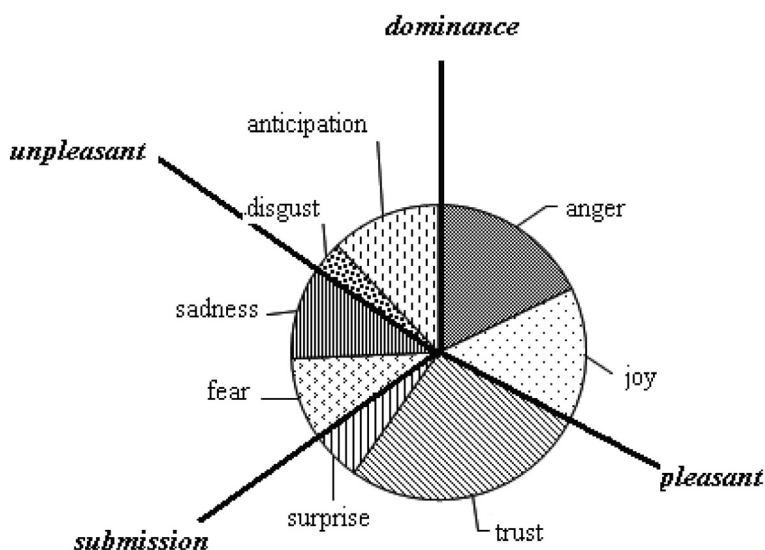


Figure 1. The proportions basic emotions in the speech Hitler gave on 10th February 1933 in the Sportpalast of Berlin⁷

It is evident from the figure that three central emotions; *anger*, *trust* and *joy* form a very strong triad, with a total proportion of 65%. The mixture of these three emotions represent a proud dominance that is described by a very strong affection. If I wanted to describe this mixed emotion, I would use a neologism and call it „filoheroism”, where the prefix, „filo” refers to attachment and cherishment, and „heroism” conveys the value system of this emotion. It is also evident from the figure, that these emotions belong to the pleasant ones, the proportion of the unpleasant ones such as fear and sadness is minor compared to them. However, this emotional orientation, just like in case of any other groups, has not developed by chance, but instead is a result of a historical process. I have to again refer to the theory of Bar-Tal, as well as to the research of Prof. Janos Laszlo, a Hungarian social psychologist, and according to whom these emotions are formed through repeated experience and serve as an emotional context for perceptual processes. In other words; the emotions that

⁷ This was the first speech the radio aired. The data form part of the Ph.D. thesis of the author which can be found here:<http://www.idi.btk.pt.e.hu/dokumentumok/disszertaciok/kisszsuzsannaphd.pdf>

are used in political communication only have an effect if they have a certain type of continuity in the group. In view of this I think it is very important to examine the internal and external emotional and psychological factors that influenced the development of this central emotion.

The origins of filoheroism

When we research the origins of a group emotion, we in effect have to reveal the paradigm systems that the emotion is embedded in. This does not only mean emotional paradigms, but the related value systems as well. It is also obvious, that in a bigger group there are several systems that operate in parallel, often rivalizing with each other. The values of the individual groups obviously can manifest themselves in various attitudes, and one of these is the way children are brought up according to deMause. The dominance of a given value or emotion system in an era depends on various factors:

1. whether this emotional and value system is present in a given group to a certain extent, and what type of compatibility it shows with the dominant values. Moreover, it is very important
2. what external circumstances affect the group, and
3. lastly, intencionality could also have a major effect in the shaping of these processes.

I will attempt to explore these three factors in the following sections.

The value-emotional system related to filoheroism.

It is obvious that the nation stands in the centre of the feeling of national pride. This concept covers an organisational principle which has arised as a response to new communal formations and was able to mobilize cohesional forces in the society and establish a new identity. Since identity and alterity are formed via emotional relations that groups developed in view the history of their own and other groups, therefore it can be rightly assumed that the feeling of national pride can be linked to the identity construction process of the Germans. The reference point of the German identity construction, on the contrary to England and France, was not the state nation, but instead the cultural nation which served to bridge particularism. Language was the starting point of the national identity construction in the 17th century, therefore the idea and emotional paradigm of nationalism can be found in the characteristics of language nationalism. The results of the discourse analysis

of Anja Stukenbrock involves four centuries and nicely shows the stages of the formation of the German identity and alterity:

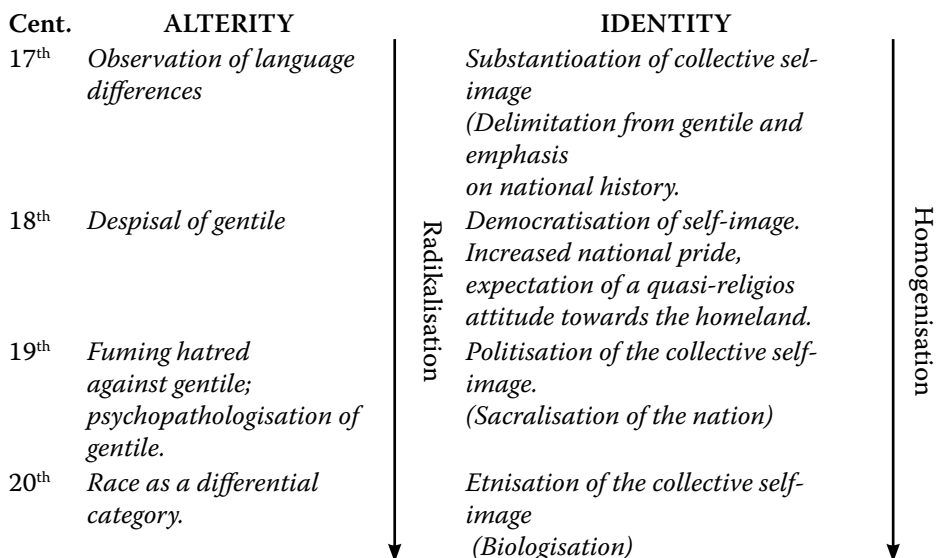


Figure 2. The change of self-concept and alterity in the language nationalist discourses.⁸

As this Figure illustrates, the conformation self-concept is accompanied by two parallel tendencies; there is a continuous radicalisation of alterity and there is a homogenisation process in case of the identity construction. The foundations of collective self-image with a nationalist approach appeared in the 17th century, mainly in the concept of language diversity. Nevertheless, the resulting hostility and the hatred against gentile ontologised in the 19th century. The quasi religious affective attachment to the nation appeared in the 18th century, but only sacralised later in the 19th century. However, this is only one side of the story. On the other hand, the demonisation, pathologisation and then psychopathologisation of alterity are also apparent. With the addition of the ideas of socialdarwinism, this collective self-conception was ethnicised,

⁸ The table was modified after the work of Anja Stukenbrock (2005): *Language nationalism (Sprachnationalismus)*, and I solely examined the categories of identity vs. alterity.

was eventually transposed into the 'permanently unchangeable' category with the appearance of the concept of the race.

It is not a coincidence, that the anger against alterity changes to a major extent in relation to the war incidents; during the 30 year war in the 17th century, after the 7 year war in the 18th century, and finally during the crusades of Napoleon. These events were the fundamental points of national history and represented a serious existential threat. The reaction to factors that threaten inner and outer borders is anger and increased aggressivity in case of both animals and humans. The affective relation to the mother country (patriotism), based on the theory of Plutchik, is formed of the components of trust and joy, to which anger has been intentionally added via egxistential threat since the 18th century. The feeling of dominance could arise during this process, a feeling that was such a characteristic element of the emotional world of the Hitlerian propaganda. In my opinion, the rage against the French (as an inheritance of the Napoleonian wars), meant such an emotional alterity structure, that had to be filled with new an enemy stereotype. We can observe a two-staged radicalisation again in the next century; one is related to the politics of King William II, and the other one denoted the propaganda of the 2nd World War. The period during King William II needs to be observed more carefully, since that was the period when the ideas of socialdarwinism integrated into political thinking. After this era, the socialdarwinist doctrines did not only work as cognitive filters, but also impregnated interpretations, set the horizon for political expectations, and thereby defined the motivation of political actions.⁹

Nationalism, according to Norbert Elias, was one of the most dominant social conviction system,¹⁰ and represented the strongest bonding force in the integration of nations. Even though the emotional core of it is patriotism, due to this (real or putative) menace it was complemented with an aggressive component. Through the connective nature of nationalism, its syncretic flexibility¹¹ and inherent emotional potential it gained extraordinary effectiveness in political practice. In his analysis about language nationalism Stukenbrock claims that it is the precursor of its political equivalent, language works as a sort of seismograph in this process of ideologisation. The thesis is not misguided, since in the process of German national construction, language doubtlessly represented one of the most important reference system. On the

⁹ Walkenhorst (2002), 141.

¹⁰ Elias (1992), 194.

¹¹ Cf. Walkenhorst (2002), 131. ff.

other hand, the doctrines, values and structures of language nationalism can be detected in politics as well. In the analysis of Hitlerian speeches, therefore, it has to be taken into account that the metaphors that represent and biologise illnesses (i.e. jews as parasites, cancer, bacteria), do not only refer to the mental disposition of Hitler but also indicate the several hundred year old patterns of the nationalist paradigm system. These ideas denote a cleverly instrumentalized, traditionally cultivated nationalism, which obviously appeared in other political speeches, although apparently with less intensity.

In the sacralising metaphors of language nationalist discourses of the 19th century, mother tongue served as a kind of capital, which the nation advanced for the individual at the time of his/her birth and of which one had to disclose to the nation at the end of life. Within the framework of this disclosure system a mystified sin could arise, which transgressed the framework of the nationalist world and was associated with the divine verdict. In other words, the threat that the individual, in case of 'debt' will be erased from the memory of the nation could have meant that he/she could not partake in collective eternity. In all cases, the aim of sacralisation is to evoke conscience in the individual. When something is sacralised, the followers of this sainthood stand above (i.e. dominant) those, who do not want to, cannot or are not allowed to partake in it. According to Nipperdey, in the era of political religion the nation was commissioned with religious features, and religious attributes (i.e. eternity and fulfilled future, holiness, brotherhood, sacrifice and martyrdom) were attached to it. Thus, the 'sacral' secularized and the 'secular', on the other hand sacralised in the nation.¹² The language nationalist mission -through sacral metaphorism-, appeared within the framework of a religious association field. With this, the issue became such a religious matter, that its authority was not questioned, and neither was the the reason behind the mission.¹³

Even though nationalism as a political ideology sacralised before World War I, it only became radical and more popular as a measure of crisis and the expectation towards a new era afterwards.¹⁴ During the Monarch, nationalism served as an ideological status quo, which connected the emperor with the nation. At the turning-point of 1929/30, the monarchist nationalism was replaced by a new, ideologically well prepared trend in Germany. In the eye of new nationalists, the 'saved' nation appeared as a mythical and organic unity,

¹² Nipperdey (1983), 300.

¹³ Stukenbrock, 366.

¹⁴ Reichardt (2002), 181.

which transcended the life of the individual and 'floated' above the nation as a timeless religious authority.¹⁵ According to new nationalists, it is imperative that national rebirth is antedated by a destructive phase, in which the enemies of the nation have to be ruthlessly destroyed. With the vision of the revolutionary new order of the nation and the esthetisation of grim decisionism, this chiliastic idea had a mobilising effect especially in the critical years of the Weimarian Republic.¹⁶ The Hitlerian (pseudo) religious ideology doubtlessly originates in nationalist thinking, in which the biologisation of the emotionally overheated structures contributed even more effectively to the mobilisation of the masses. The association of nationalism with socialdarwinism (i.e. the era of King William II) resulted in the 'birth' of 'Nationaldarwinism'.¹⁷ By biologisation, the nation was objectivised as a community of blood-related individuals, namely, the former static national image was replaced by a new dynamic one, which strongly influenced the perceptual horizon and reactions of the politics of William II.. As a matter of fact, the real aim of the biologising metaphors that appears in the speeches of Hitler is to evoke unreflected fear in his audience¹⁸ and to open a way to the ruthless fight against threatening elements.¹⁸

The external circumstances that assisted floheroism to come into prominence

According to the present stage of research about floheroism it is more the emotional orientation of a group rather than the whole German nation, even though probably most Germans agreed with its nationalist thinking. Heroism represents an important distancing element in this nationalism, which was solely a characteristic of right-wing military associations, and not the left-wing ones.¹⁹ The respect of heroes can not in any case be separated from the war that preceded the era (pre-era war), since masses were traumatized by it and not only because of the shame of defeat but also due to the lived through events. Many soldiers returned home with manifest mental disorders. These symptoms were regarded as organic and mental inferiority by contemporary psychiatrists, which, according to them would have been detectable even before

¹⁵ Reichardt (2002), 181.

¹⁶ Vondung (1997), uő. (1971).

¹⁷ A concept of Werner Conze. See Conze & Sommer: keyword: *Rasse*. In: *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland.* (Szerk.) Brunner-Conze-Koselleck: Bd. 5. Pro-Soz., Stuttgart 1984, 135-178, quote 165

¹⁸ About the effect of biologising metaphors. See von Polenz (1978), 169.

¹⁹ Reichardt (2002), 179.

the war. According to the essays of Bernhard Wutka and Peter Riedesser,²⁰ people managed to overcome the trauma of the war by linking the heroic, grandiose self to a higher notion. With this, the individual advanced into a purely spiritual human being, who was protected against the temptations of empathy²¹. This phenomenon can be well observed in the contemporary bestseller of Ernst Jünger, entitled „Stahlgewittern.“ He wrote about a dual world 12 years after the war, the world of heroes and sensibility, that had an entirely different approach to pain. In the world of heroes, the individual, is completely prepared to face pain at any point of his/her life. Life has to be handled with a steady hand in order to be ready at any time, serving a higher purpose.²² The individual rips off the pain and idealises it into a transpersonal entity which is called heroic feeling. Through the denial of trauma, the relationship between the body and the mind is militarised, and according to Stephan Marks this pattern can be traced even in the subsequent generation.²³

However, alongside the war there are numerous other factors in the history of this era that advanced the rapid spread of the Nazi emotional disposition. Amongst the factors that promoted the coming into power of Nazism, economic crisis always stands in first place. It is a proven fact that crisis situations inevitably alter human perception. The experiments of the two Finnish crisis therapists Kari Pylkkänen and Kirsti Palonen have shown that during the economic depression in the 1990s, otherwise completely 'normal' individuals showed borderline features after they lost everything due to circumstances beyond their control. Extreme emotional outbursts and desires were more emphasised and the search for scapegoats begun.²⁴

Moreover, the peace-treaty in itself is such a factor that could only come with negative consequences due to its unfairness and irrationality. The anti-Versailles mood in Munchen, in the 'capital' of the Nazi movement, only gradually converted into a syndrome which involved nearly all social classes.²⁵ The fundamental mobilisation of the nation strengthened during the war. Even though the integrative power of nationalism is indisputable at this time, these attempts only managed to temporarily deflect Germans into a common group. The thought that part of the society was an altruist and a patriot, and

²⁰ Wutka und Riedesser (2000), 160.

²¹ Marks (2007), 136.

²² Marks (2007), 136.

²³ Marks (2007), 136.

²⁴ Siltala (1997), 133.

²⁵ Geyer (1998), 289.

the other half fulfilled the Versailles dictatum and even stabs the fighting army in the back with the revolution was born in the fever of intense scapegoat search. The partition had another dimension as well, which spread during the war (in 1916/17), namely, the notion that the weak hinterland (e.g. women and mothers who were unable to measure up to the magnitude of the task and with their correspondence had a demoralising effect on the heroes who fought at the frontlines) had a bad influence on the masculine soldiers who fought in the frontline²⁶. In the 1920s the rebirth of the national rituals served the aim to bridge the deep national, political and cultural diversification. Thus the concept of the nation became an alternative to classes²⁷. The importance of referring to the nation and national feelings therefore seemed substantial, so every party used national catchwords. Paula von B. -even after working hard to make a distinction between the two-, deceptively saw the great merit of Hitler in the fact that he managed to reunite the nation. In her opinion though, this meant the separation of good and bad in a healthy manner in the interest of the future.

Facing the German defeat (more the inability to face it) was the third characteristic mental factor that gave rise to the spread of the Nazi emotional world. Instead of admitting the defeat, many fabricated conspiracy theories, which flourished in post-war Germany. The 'stab-in-the-back legend' had many versions around. Psychologists got involved in the disputes as well, who regarded defeat as the regrettable effect of mass psychosis and reduced self-esteem. The disputes about war neuroses were influenced by political intentions from the beginning; not only the war-worn, apathetic soldiers (Kriegsmüden),²⁸ but also the injured recovering in the hospitals as well as women were blamed for the resulting psychosis.²⁹ Emil Kraepelin and his assistant, Eugen Kahn described the revolution as a tragic mass psychosis. According to Kraepelin, the tragedy of Germany happened because the 'psychopath leaders' of the revolution made use of the hysterical mass psychosis and won over the exasperated people to their side. He described this psychosis as an infection³⁰. Eugen Kahn gave a talk at the Annual

²⁶ This thought can be found in *Mein Kampf* as well, but it also appears in the range of ideas of language nationalism, even at the end of 19th century. The deficient transmission of the national thought was blamed on the mothers of the era (see Stukenbrock (2005), p 345).

²⁷ Geyer (1998), 397.

²⁸ Kraepelin (1919), 172.

²⁹ Geyer (1998), 100.

³⁰ Kraepelin (1919), 172.

Meeting of the Bajor Psychiatrists in 1919 entitled 'Psychopaths as revolution leaders'³¹. He examined 15 left wing leaders. In his dubious classification he distinguished the following groups; etically deficient, fabatic psychopath, hysterical and a person with bipolar disorder. In his opinion, all of these are characterized by the disturbances of emotional life, weak willpower, inability to be objective, playfulness and to some extent hostility against the nation. Revolutionists thus were some sort of anti-citizens. According to Kahn, the opposite of this is the true leader who has exceptional creative and critical intelligence, sound willpower, is infallible and has the ability to control his emotions completely³². This messianistic awaiting for a leader is not a unique phenomenon either, fantasies of a strong leader were extremely common during the 1920s.

The initiation of the doctors was from the very beginning with an intention to 'cure' and the subject of their investigation was not the individual, but instead the racial corpus and the attached ethnic soul. In view of the most renowned psychiatrists of the era (i.e. Julius Roßbach, Kahn and Kraepelin), democracy (i.e. the leadership of the masses), was in fact a synonym of the mass manipulation strategies.³³ They regarded democracy as a 'mass infection'. Ways to prevent these sorts of 'epidemics' was a central question of psychiatry in the 1920s. One of the solutions would have been the canceling and separation of the feeling of self-worthlessness, in which the logic of socialdarwinism can be doubtlessly found. The other possible way was to influence the masses, this thought originated in the admiration of the results of the English propaganda. As a consequence of the fear of the unpredictability and aggressivity of the masses, the role of the mass media was over-appreciated, and as a lesson learned from the propaganda used in World War I. these were believed to have an infinite impact potency. Above all, the semantics of the word 'mass' was determined by the view of the masses in Gustav Le Bon's book; it was described by a certain kind of superiority, a skepticism towards mass phenomena and the accentuation of moral factors. However, disease mongering of mass phenomena and revolution is reflected in disputes, in other words, psychology served as a conservative way to make the impression to scientifically support conservative opinions.

³¹ Kahn (1919).

³² Kahn (1919), 104.; cf. Heilmann (1977).

³³ Roßbach (1919), 21, 27.

The role of intentionality in the propagation of filoheroism

As can be seen, Hitlerian logic is not such a great novelty compared to the common disputes that were so typical at the time. The emotional pattern of Nazism was represented in part of the German society, but to what extent is a question we cannot yet answer without further investigations. Intentionality doubtlessly had a great role in the spread of the Nazi feeling. It can be surely affirmed of Hitler, that he knew very well how important emotions are in terms of convincing voters, as well as the fact that he wanted to win over his voters for the 'sacred cause' through emotions. It was his firm belief that the English owed their triumph to the tactful propaganda, and this type manipulation can be professionally cultivated. He wrote the following in *Mein Kampf*:

The art of propaganda consists precisely in being able to awaken the imagination of the public through an appeal to their feelings, in finding the appropriate psychological form that will arrest the attention and appeal to the hearts of the national masses.[...] The great majority of a nation is so feminine in its character and outlook that its thought and conduct are ruled by sentiment rather than by sober reasoning. This sentiment, however, is not complex, but simple and consistent. It is not highly differentiated, but has only the negative and positive notions of love and hatred, right and wrong, truth and falsehood. Its notions are never partly this and partly that. English propaganda especially understood this in a marvellous way and put what they understood into practice. They allowed no half-measures which might have given rise to some doubt.³⁴

His statement in a press conference on 10th November serves as a proof of intentional manipulation, in which he states that he only talked about peace of necessity. He had to tune the German nation mentally and could only gradually introduce them to the fact that some things cannot be solved with peaceful methods, but only with violence.³⁵

³⁴ Hitler (1939).

³⁵ German original text (C 1136 DRA) „...Der Zwang war die Ursache, warum ich jahrelang nur vom Frieden redete. Es war nunmehr notwendig, das deutsche Volk psychologisch allmählich umzustellen und ihm langsam klarzumachen, daß es Dinge gibt, die, wenn sie nicht mit friedlichen Mitteln durchgesetzt werden können, mit Mitteln der Gewalt durchgesetzt werden müssen. Dazu war es aber notwendig, nicht etwa nun die Gewalt als solche zu propagieren, sondern es war notwendig, dem deutschen Volk bestimmte außenpolitische Vorgänge so zu

In order to achieve this he could not advertise violence openly, but instead he had to put certain political processes in a light so that the nation itself asked for violence. This strange logic is difficult to understand nowadays. Why did he choose this detour? The answer most certainly has to be looked for in the era, namely in the belief of the omnipotency of the propaganda. In order to mentally attune Germans, they developed old and new propaganda techniques, but during my research I came to the conclusion that all of them can be fitted into one framework of interpretation: the planned psychologic operation framework. These techniques in fact are not novelties, but the fact that a government employs persuasion techniques used in army operations in order to convince civilians at times of peace was a merely new phenomenon at the time. Several techniques can be detected which aimed to influence through emotions and I will only list the most important ones here.

The first one is polarization: Hitler talks about two emotionally distinct fields in the world of masses. Hitler splits the world to negative and positive poles in *Mein Kampf* and in his speeches. He contrasts these two sides, and then differentiates the attached contents: the Habsburg Monarch (especially in the 1920s), social democracy, marxism, Versailles, the German defeat and, as we know, jews belong to the negative side. The mother country, Nazi movement, the nation, the glorious future and the aryan race belong to the positive emotional side. But why does polarisation have an importance? Beyond the fact that a well communicated enemy image in itself can be motivating, it is also known from research in socialpsychology, that cognitions that are connected with a certain emotional field are connected together in memory by means of these emotions³⁶. Thus, experiences and memories that belong to the same affective field, can be 'en bloc' remobilized by an appropriate emotional induction. Emotions are also capable of defining the hierarchy of thoughts and at the same time lessen their complexity. In case of cognitive content they act as a binding material. Only in view of these qualities does it become clear, that in the Nazi ideology, the coherence comes into existence more on an emotional level, than on the basis of cognitive content, since these were never devoid of contraversies. (I think of the unclear details of the theory of the races here, amongst others). They only had to say, scam, lie or injustice, and it already mobilized a complex emotional field. The element of these, however were only united by Hitler, although it was

beleuchten, daß die innere Stimme des Volkes selbst langsam nach der Gewalt zu schreien begann;...". Original transcripts in German radio archives (C 1136 DRA).

³⁶ Ciompi (2005), 98.

already done by the army propaganda and the 'völkisch' groups before. It has to be noted here that as I said before, in this type of hatred structure, the anti-french propaganda of the previous century doubtlessly has a great effect as well.

The emotions conveyed by the retorics of the national socialists (filoheroism), are characterized by a very strong intensity, thus the component of joy transformed into fascination and trust turned into admiration. The mixture of the two results in the feeling of devotion. This devotion comes into existence artificially, -as any other emotion in this regime-, and primarily focuses on the leader, who, on his own admission, at the same time turns to the people with admiration, and hence according to „Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer”, towards himself. Since the individual is part of the population and love towards the leader is identical to love towards people, therefore both love towards the leader and people tends at himself, which, on an emotional level are parallel narcissistic features. As a matter of fact, this takes us to one of the emotional core of the regime, to a stongly emotionalized 'us' image, in which naturally the leader itself has a very strong dominance. The analyzed speeches do not only attest of a uniform emotional orientation, but also have a uniform emotional disposition. In the introductory parts, the speaker evokes fear and insecurity, which he only resolves at the end of his speeches.

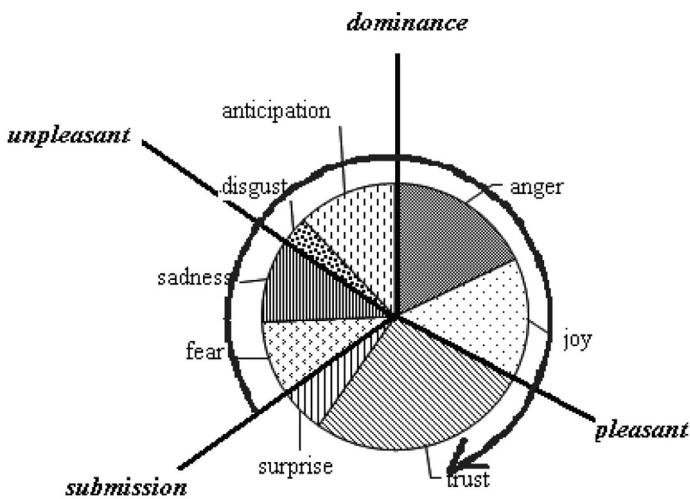


Figure 4. The emotional disposition of Hitler's speeches projected on the self image³⁷

³⁷ The emotional disposition of speeches was examined by Ulrich Ulonska in detail and came up with very similar results.

This can be demonstrated in both the speeches of Hitler and Hoebfels without exception. The technique of the formation of emotional disposition is not an invention of the Nazis either, the qualities of a great speaker are written down even in the Rhetoric of Aristotle. These homogenous structures nevertheless also support the hypothesis of deliberate preparation. A unique group of the planned psychological operations are formed of the ones that build on the general functions of attitudes. Biasing any of the three components that make up the structure of attitudes (cognitive, affective and conative) in itself can result in changes of attitude.³⁸ Cognitive information denotes the system of facts or beliefs related to the the subject of the attitude, therefore, in other words it is termed as 'stereotypical component. If the strategy of attitude change targets this component³⁹, then the attitude can consequently be changed by giving repeated information about its subject. The life of Hitler, according to him was nothing else but a continuous persuasion,⁴⁰ which shows that the propagation of stereotypes in itself is an effective method.

Further tools of persuasion make up a group that build on the manipulation of human needs. We have known since Maslow that the incapacitation (or even the prospect that it could happen) of any of the components in the hierarchy of needs is regarded as a psychological threat.⁴¹ Psychologic operations, especially before the war were mainly used to influence the own side.⁴²

One well-known method is the neurotisation of the own group with the aim to develop a sense of fear and menacement and to consequently effortlessly mobilise the masses, and the other is the formation of a potential enemy image, which could also increase one's willingness to fight. With the myth of menace, a constant sense of fear is generates, which could then be resolved with heroic resistance (fights). The sense of security is closely related to the sense of menace, which obviously can be objective and subjective, although this is

³⁸ More about the modification of the attitudein Carl. J. Hovland-Irwing L. Janis-Harold H. Kelley (1968): *Communication and Persuasion: Psychological Studies of Opinion Change*. New Haven, Yale University Press.

³⁹ This is a so-called attitude oriented approach about which we can read more in Albert Bandura: *Milyen következményekkel járnak a viselkedési és affektív változások az attitűdökre nézve?* In: Halász László, Hunyadi György, Marton L. Magda (szerk.) (1979): *Az attitűd pszichológiai kutatásának kérdései*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.

⁴⁰ Picker (1963), p. 156.

⁴¹ According to the Maslow hierarchy of needs there are at least five human needs that are regarded as principal needs: physiological needs, security, love, respect and the need for self-actualization.

⁴² See Dupuy et. al. (1993), 2214.

completely irrelevant from the point of view of the individual. The role of fear and distress in forming opinions has been long known. Psychological research have shown that if the subject is reminded of death, the sense of belonging to the own group strengthens as well as his/her hostility against outer groups.⁴³ According to Rokeach, dogmatic thinking can be explained by distress, but at the same time, Wilson originated conservative attitude from the feeling of menacement and mortal fear.⁴⁴ The main andetating factor of intolerance is menacement,⁴⁵ which has a direct role in the formation of the authoritarian attitude. An authoritarian person is not necessarily intolerant unless his/her fear increases.⁴⁶ In an emotional atmosphere like this, the individual is doubtlessly more prone to be motivated to participate in a war. The sense of political fear in Germany can be localised in the encompassment theories (Einkreisungstheorie), which was described in detail by a contemporary historical, Hermann Kantorowitz in 1929.⁴⁷

Human relationships belong to the group of social needs that determine our personal life. The aim of emotional operations could be to activate or deactivate them. The system of national socialism in fact operated in groups, and determined the dynamics in these small and large groups to a great extent. Apparently, conformism had a major role, but in addition to this the inhibition of the formation of love and attachment was a significant element of the 'new man' program of national socialism. Sigrid Chamberlain, based on attachment theories examined two nursing books from the period of national socialism written Dr. Johanna Haarer:⁴⁸ „The German mother and her first child” (Die deutsche Mutter und ihr erstes Kind) and the „Our little children” (Unsere kleinen Kinder). These advisory books were not only popular int he Nazi era, but were also wispreadly used and were available commercially after the war in an altered version that was devoid of political content. The methods recommended by Haarer maintain an artificial distance between mother and child, and their primary aim is to prevent the formation of close attachment. A few of these advices were; the newborn has to be separated from the mother for 24 hours after birth, the little 'despot' has to be left crying and put in a

⁴³ Enyedi (2004), 15.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Sullivan et al. (1979), 781–794.

⁴⁶ Feldman & Stenner (1997), 741–769.

⁴⁷ Kantorowitz (1929).

⁴⁸ Chamberlain (2001).

separate room, and also that eye and body contact has to be avoided.⁴⁹ The aim of these methods was to make the attachment ambiguous. Divergence from the daily routine was firmly punished because the child had to learn to follow every command unconditionally. The child had to be shown right from birth that anything spontaneous is fundamentally wrong.⁵⁰ With this, practically speaking, he destroyed the primordial trust of the child towards the world and him/herself. According to Chamberlain, the goal was to breed an insecure-avoiding type of personality which represented the cultural norm in national socialism.

We wonder, what does attachmentless-ness mean in practice? This constituted the foundation on which a type of generation could be raised, which does not have conscience and morals, does not get attached to people or the mother country, can be used for any purpose, and let us add, can be replaced anytime.⁵¹ The lack of attachment means the first and initial disturbance of the 'fascistoid character', and all later disorders such as trainability, itchy-ness, insatiableness, the obsession with having an immaculate body (moreover, 'folk body', the inability to tolerate ambivalency are all signs of this early pattern.⁵² The child who is raised in a national socialist manner is constrained to escape into destructive, symbiotic relationships, and that is why he/she dissolves so easily into the crowds, because apparently he/she can be attached to many people.⁵³ Normally, the social, cooperative behavior (such as friendship) that is present in groups is a maturation process that accompanies the attachment system of the individual during life, and does not require a one sided affection for a leader. In certain cases, however, the feeling togetherness of a group manifests in an affective attachment to one person (leader/establishment/symbols). Nevertheless, this leader-related group behaviour rather implies a deficiency, and can be observed in case of people who were deprived of the chance of a secure attachment during their childhood. According to Winfried Kurth, this lack of attachment has to be compensated with something – with an affective association, a leader, a flag, or an ideal.⁵⁴

In the focus, however, was the activation of need for respect. According to Stephan Marks, the psychosocial dynamics of national socialism was fed

⁴⁹ Chamberlain (2001), 30 ff.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 139.

⁵¹ Kurth (2001), 261-314.

⁵² Chamberlain (2000), 127.

⁵³ Ibid. 168.

⁵⁴ Kurth (2001). 292.

from shame.⁵⁵ In political communication the humiliation of the national wing, the repeated mentioning of past events, and the exaggeration of defeats undoubtedly serve the purpose of evoking a certain need, and then come up with a proposal to meet the needs, to find a way to compensate for the blame on one's honor and self-esteem. It reassured the prevention of shame by means of idealisation, greatness fantasies, promises (i.e. to restore the honor of Germany) and cynicism and despisal against other people. In technically speaking, this need is fed by military and social acknowledgements, awards and distinctions that rewarded heroes or deceased heroes.

It is well known that heroism was not only propagated by the Nazi regime, but also by the preceding monarch, even though it was only widely recognised after 1933. It is essential, that the war culture became very different in Germany after World War I, compared to France. The theory of civilian fight against the barbaric Germans converted into pacifism by the 1930s, the war as a civilian destroying factor was refused by them. At the same time, according to the German leadership, a new Germany will be born by disposing the mentally ruined soldiers, and the sacrifice can not be excrescent.⁵⁶ In case of the formation of this positive attitude towards war, it has to be taken into account that everything looks different from the point of view of the defeated party.

Naturally, heroism is a narcissist valorization. The system offered numerous opportunities for its followers to increase their self-esteem. They conveyed the feeling that they are recognized and their accomplishments are appreciated. This is a very important factor, and is an extremely effective means of manipulation. People enthusiastically did their job, on one hand they built a better future, and on the other hand, because they could be sure that they would get the well deserved reward. This technique nowadays is used at multinational firms, because using this they can train their employees without having to pay enormous amounts. Valorization came into existence through belonging to a group and identification of the self with the leader. Almost everybody in the Third Empire had the opportunity to win laurels, achieve a career and collect distinctions. Naturally this could not be achieved through individual actions, but rather as part of the group. For example, belonging to SS made every member proud, because everybody knew that this is an elite corps.

Josef Acker (born in 1925) a former member of SS talks about this feeling with uttermost devotion. As soon as he put on the uniform, he felt proud. He

⁵⁵ Marks (2007). 167f.

⁵⁶ Bendick (1997), 423.

was not too prominent on the street as a civilian, or in the barrack-room, but when he walked and sang on the street with his fellows, he got into a special heady mood, as if he used a drug. Girls turned their heads, people noticed him and this further escalated his enthusiasm. „*The inferiority complex I had been fighting for disappeared in the split of a second. Suddenly I became somebody too.*”- he admits.⁵⁷ The pridefulness always, without exception played a central role in case of the interview subjects of Stephan Marks. Even though the emphasis on belonging to the elite is very common in the contemporary reports,⁵⁸ it is strange that in case of such a multitudinous elite group the concept did not inflate. Paradoxically, exactly the opposite happened, everybody wanted to belong to the elite. The solution has to be looked for in the phenomenon of the narcissistic valorization of the individual, where the subjective feeling has an importance and not the actual content.⁵⁹

One of the principles of psychological operations is that self esteem can be boosted even if its not through raising prestige but by means of diminution and dehumanisation of the opposite party. If somebody wants war –and this was in fact the aim- then one has to necessarily cultivate the enemy image. If the enemy is portrayed as a generalised „other” (alterity), who can be endowed with less favorable attributes and dispositions, then this process makes the own side appear more human, while the opposite happens to the enemy. In case of a psychological operation, formation of a devaluing or praised enemy image can be a purpose as well.⁶⁰ In case they manage to dehumanize the image of an enemy by presenting it as an inhuman beast, a creature, an inferior race, then the soldier can kill without losing his self-respect and his belief in his good human nature. According to Sir Ian Hamilton,⁶¹ the chief in command of the mediterranean expedition, the propaganda against the enemy serves a purpose to make it look like an enormous beast, which curtails him from the right to human existence. Thus it becomes emotionally easier to destroy it. A further observation of Hamilton is that since the enemy is incapable of suing for defamation, the propaganda 'does not have to deal with minor issues',⁶² in other words, the leadership inhumanises.

⁵⁷ Marks (2007), 107f.

⁵⁸ Cf. Marks (2007), 113.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 113.

⁶⁰ Mező (2008), 78.

⁶¹ Hamilton (1921).

⁶² Mező (2008), 78.

In summary, the technique of changing attitudes by all means has proven to be an efficient tool. However, it is difficult to provide objective data about the extent of its efficiency. Naturally, emotional influence has numerous other techniques but it is beyond the scope of this study to explain all of them. However, the hypothesis that the instrumentalisation of emotions played a major role in the realization of the Nazi military goal has been undoubtedly verified.

Closing remarks

A historical phenomenon never starts at the time of the first gunshot and is never finished at the burial of the last dead. The emotional processes that influence society do not only accompany historical changes, but undoubtedly shape them as well. It is characteristic of the nature of traumas, that they impregnate our history and manifest themselves when we expect them the least. Nowadays we also know that the social traumas can be further inherited, a bitter example of this is the German defeat and World War II as a consequence of this trauma. It is also rather obvious that a trauma can even shape the political actions of the descendants even a hundred years later. The more and more aggressive Trianon culture that is on the rise in Hungary is a typical scary example of this. On the other hand it is also obvious that emotions have a positive effect as well, since they build relationships between individuals and groups, maintain relationships and disconnect them. The emotional orientation of narcissism is also not devoid of love, as it was discovered. However, this love in fact is only just a means of connecting the society into a nation and is employed to serve one unquestionable ideology. On the other hand, I have to add that in this case it is not the Fromm type of love. In Hitler's dictionary, to love is equal to respecting somebody.⁶³ He taught this to Germans who had no idea that behind this subtle change there is a whole system of misshapen paradigms. The society that was split along the lines of valuable and invaluable liked the individual for its accomplishments. The attribute only seems misshapen when looking at it from the present times, because this was an evidence in Germany in the 1920s. In other words Hitler is as much of a manifestation of his times as the shaper of it. Every phenomenon is a manifestation of an emotional and a thought structure and every emotional-thought manifestation serves as a shaper of these structures. The finding and the exploration of the circular

⁶³ „I can fight only for something that I love. I can love only what I respect.” Hitler (1939), Chapter: Years of Study and Suffering in Vienna.

causalities is not a simple task, it is a real challenge for both the historian and the psychologist. The apprehension of a historical process, as I hopefully managed to make this clear in the short essay, cannot be deduced only from inner processes. While every culture can be interpreted as a long lasting system of thinking, values, and emotions, still the shaping power of external processes and the intentionality that are sometimes suppressed have to be taken into account as Luc Ciompi,⁶⁴ claims as well.



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⁶⁴ Ciompi (2005).

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