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Wastewater monitoring of certain viruses as a decision-support tool

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Introduction: Nowadays, viral diseases are receiving more and more attention. The communal wastewater contains enterally excreted viruses, apart from other viruses, that could be detected by the wastewater-based epidemiology approach (WBE). WBE is utilized all around the world to track the spread of certain viruses, illicit drugs, pharmaceuticals etc. Advantages are community level information, spatial and temporal distribution, relative cost- and labour effectiveness among others [1]. Disadvantages: sewage is a complex matrix, it contains several inhibitors that could degrade the viruses genetic material; environmental factors as temperature or rainfall could also effect the monitoring. In May 2020, we started a COVID-19 pandemic-related surveillance, while in the future we would like to focus on other human viruses too. The most important groups of enteric viruses in communal wastewater are *Adenoviridae*, *Astroviridae*, *Caliciviridae*, *Hepeviridae*, *Picornaviridae*, *Polyomaviridae* and *Reoviridae*.

Materials and method: One liter, duplicated grab samples were employed (transported at 4°C) for the indirect surveillance. The virus concentration was based on adsorption and salting-out, the next step was nucleic acid extraction [2]. The presence of SARS-CoV-2 RNA was detected by virus-specific reverse-transcriptase quantitative polymerase chain reaction (RT-qPCR) targeting E and RdRp genes.

Results: Many types of sewage samples were processed, like settlements varying in size (733-789699 people), hospitals, motorway service area for transit traffic, schools, critical infrastructure facilities, and sub-populations within a settlement (by geographical information system modelling).

Conclusions: Sewage surveillance is a suitable approach to monitor the coronavirus spread indirectly, as an example, within various populations and in some cases to make short term predictions for decision-support.

Financial support was received from the National Research, Development and Innovation Office (grant no. 2020-1.1.6-JÖVŐ-2021-00007).

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[1]: Choi, P. M., Tscharke, et al. (2018). Wastewater-based epidemiology biomarkers: Past, present and future. In *TrAC - Trends in Analytical Chemistry* (Vol. 105, pp. 453–469). Elsevier B.V.

[2]: E. Meleg, K. Bányai, (2008) Detection and quantification of group C rotaviruses in communal sewage, *Applied and Environmental Microbiology*, 74(11), 3394–3399.

Keywords: wastewater-based epidemiology, near-source tracking, SARS-CoV-2, enteric viruses

I. Introduction

Two years have passed since the coronavirus disease appeared. A wide range of literature was published at that time about the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome Coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2). Coronavirus transmits predominantly among humans via the respiratory route, but it may also be an enteric virus and can be transmitted via the fecal-oral route (Ding & Liang, 2020). These viruses could enter by fecal shedding (Chen et al., 2020) and the enterally excreted viruses could accumulate in the wastewater. The wastewater-based epidemiology (WBE) is an alternative approach to track the coronavirus indirectly. WBE uses the population of wastewater treatment plants (WWTP) to provide population-scale information on human activity within the boundaries of the watershed (Choi et al., 2018). The sewage is a complex matrix, so the WBE could be also used to track other materials like pharmaceuticals and drugs (Polo et al., 2020). The analysis of wastewater for concentrations of human-use substances has been employed for decades (Choi et al., 2018). By the different sewage samples, we can separate different groups of people and we can examine persons anonymously. Comparing the studies confirms that asymptomatic and presymptomatic spread is possible (Slifka & Gao, 2020). WBE's advantage over individual testing is that fecal shedding of the virus can occur earlier than the symptom onset (Ahmed et al., 2020). The aim was to track SARS-CoV-2 genetic material in communal wastewater. In this study, we focused on coronavirus, but the wastewater surveillance is suitable to investigate other viruses in the future. Nowadays, people, more attention is being paid to viral diseases so this research's importance has increased. The researches could help support public health decisions.

II. Materials and method

Different types of wastewater samples was taken into sterile containers. The duplicate grab samples were transported at 4°C and processed immediately. The initial volume was 1 liter. The protocol of virus concentration and the nucleic acid extraction was based on a previously published method (Meleg et al., 2008). The concentrates were stored at -80°C and they were delivered frozen to the National Virology Laboratory. The virus detection was occurred by SARS-CoV-2 specific reverse transcription - quantitative polymerase chain reaction (RT-qPCR), targeting E and RdRp genes. The detection was performed by the National Virological Laboratory, Szentágothai János Research Center, University of Pécs. Modular SARS-CoV E-gene and Modular SARS-CoV-2 RdRp detection kits (Roche, Germany) on the MyGo Pro real-time PCR platform were employed.

The quantification cycle values (C_q values) were used to compare the SARS-CoV-2 RNA concentration of the different kinds of sewage samples. If a decrease in C_q value has been observed, describe an increase in viral RNA concentration (Sharif et al., 2020). The C_q value is the PCR cycle number at which the sample's reaction curve intersects the threshold line. This value tells how many cycles it took to detect a real signal from samples. Real-Time PCR runs will have a reaction curve for each sample and therefore many C_q values. The software calculates and charts the C_q value for each of the samples (Ruiz-Villalba et al., 2021). Sharif et al presented in their study the wastewater samples in which the coronavirus were detected. The C_q values were between the 29 and 40 (Sharif et al., 2020). The detection limit is above 41.

III. Results

Many types of wastewater samples were processed like: settlements varying in size, schools, hospitals, infrastructure facilities, sub-population, and transit traffic areas. In this study, we present some highlighted values. The sampling was through wastewater treatment plants (WWTP), or sewers of the buildings. The sampling process and detection in the laboratories started in May of 2020. First samples came from larger cities, but the WBE results also can be interpreted for smaller communities.

Sub-population within a settlement was measured in November of 2020. In this study the city under investigation was Nagykanizsa. The sampling points were located in four parts of the suburban area of the city. *Table 1* contains our results.

Table 1: Amount of the virus RNA in the sewage of the suburban area of Nagykanizsa

Sampling point	Date (2020)	Results	Cq vlue (E gene)
Palin	09.11.	Positive (+)	36,61
Palin	10.11.	Negative (-)	-
Palin	11.11.	Positive (+)	35,14
Kiskanizsa	09.11.	Positive (+)	31,91
Kiskanizsa	10.11.	Negative (-)	-
Kiskanizsa	11.11.	Negative (-)	-
Miklósfa	09.11.	Positive (+)	39,65
Miklósfa	10.11.	Positive (+)	34,25
Miklósfa	11.11.	Positive (+)	34,12
Szabadhegy	09.11.	Negative (-)	-
Szabadhegy	10.11.	Positive (+)	35,69
Szabadhegy	11.11.	Negative (-)	-
Nagykanizsa (WWTP)	09-11.11.	Positive (+)	33,45

The WBE can be used to separate the population, and regulations can be introduced per area if it is necessary.

There is the M7 motorway near Nagykanizsa which is frequently used by the Hungarian and foreign tourists, transit traffic, and employees. In September of 2020, a rule was in force: „A non-Hungarian citizen arriving from abroad may travel on the specified route only during the transit through the territory of Hungary and may stop at the specified resting places only for reasons strictly necessary for the transit, such as health or technical reasons, and at the specified time - but not exceeding 24 hours - is obliged to leave the territory of Hungary.” (ORFK, police.hu) One of the service areas for the transit traffic in the M7 motorway is only 25 km far from Nagykanizsa. We examined the sewage from the gas station, and from the Nagykanizsa WWTP. *Table 2.* contains our results of the measurements.

Table 2. Results of the motorway service area and Nagykanizsa WWTP sewage

Sampling point	Date (2020)	Result	Cq value (E gene)
Nagykanizsa	09.09.	negative (-)	-
Nagykanizsa	09.09.	negative (-)	-
Motorway service area	14.09.	positive (+)	35,70
Motorway service area	14.09.	positive (+)	36,10
Nagykanizsa	21.09.	negative (-)	-
Nagykanizsa	21.09.	negative (-)	-
Nagykanizsa	30.09.	positive (+)	35,69
Nagykanizsa	30.09.	negative (-)	-

The coronavirus could not spread so quickly because of the rules. The hospital of the city, also had tightened, visitation ban. The wastewater contained only the patients and the employees' samples even so we got the positive signal. Data of the results are introduced in Table 3.

Table 3. Comparison of results Nagykanizsa and the city hospital

Sampling point	Date (2020)	Results	Cq value (E gene)
Hospital of Nagykanizsa	26.10.	Positive (+)	36,30
Hospital of Nagykanizsa	27.10.	Positive (+)	37,00
Hospital of Nagykanizsa	28.10.	Positive (+)	40,29
Nagykanizsa WWTP (city total)	09.11.	Positive (+)	33,70
Nagykanizsa WWTP (city total)	10.11.	Positive (+)	32,39
Nagykanizsa WWTP (city total)	11.11.	Positive (+)	34,27

The last part of the represented results contains an industrial site. Among critical infrastructure facilities, we would like to introduce „Plant B”. The measurements were between September and October in 2020. Employees of the industry were separated into four groups. When one of these groups gave the positive signal, they went to quarantine. The other groups of employees could continue the work, the production did not stop. In Table 4 the highlighted parts of results based on RT-qPCR, targeting E and RdRp genes.

Table 4. Wastewater results of „Plant B” company

Sampling point	Date (2020)	Results	Cq value (E gene)
B/1	16.09.	Negative (-)	-
B/2	16.09.	Negative (-)	-
B/1	28.09.	Positive (+)	34,50
B/2	28.09.	Negative (-)	-
B/1	19.10.	Negative (-)	-
B/2+3	19.10.	Negative (-)	-
B/4	19.10.	Positive (+)	39,24

In 2021 educational institutes were also monitored in Nagykanizsa, where the examined communities contains the students and the employees. The benefit of school closures is to somewhat slow down the coronavirus disease-2019 (COVID-19) transmission in a community. The number of open cases peaked in Nagykanizsa just before the school opening in grades 1-4, which was further supported by wastewater results, what present in *Figure 1*. They monitored people who did not show a higher ratio of infections than the total population of the city. After the join of grades, 5-8 (12) did not result in a considerable increase in SARS-CoV-2 RNA concentrations in sewage.

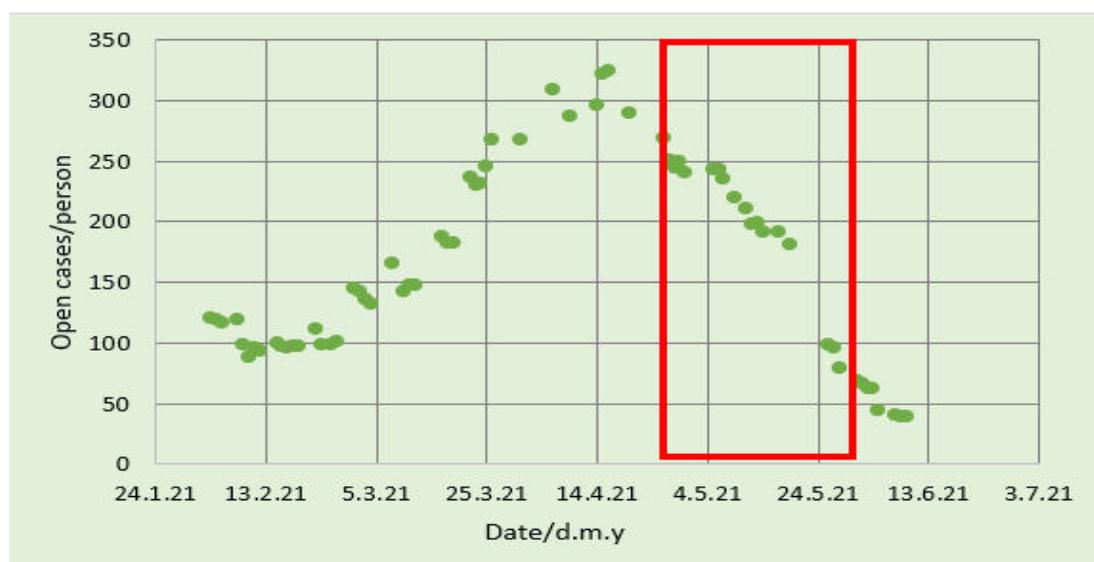


Figure 1: Open cases in the city of Nagykanizsa during the third wave, red rectangle: sampling period from the 26th of April until the 26th of May (Data com. of the Mayor's office)

IV. Conclusion

The wastewater-based epidemiology is a sensitive approach to follow the coronavirus genetic material indirectly. Many types of sampling allows monitoring the different populations. Separable community and partial regulation are possible. The WBE is suitable for the short-term predictions and it could help as a decision support tool. The importance of restrictions to protect people, and slow down the spread of the virus. Several kinds of literature deal with the topic, and similar to our research, they examined the different types of influent wastewater

(Ahmed et al., 2021), (Arora et al., 2020). Research groups from all over the world have joined to global cooperation (Bivins et al., 2020).

The future plans include the other enterally excreted human viruses (for example: *Adenoviridae*, *Astroviridae*, *Caliciviridae*, etc.) detection from the communal wastewater. One of the future aims is to create Artificial Intelligence (AI) supported monitoring platform.

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Cultivating Contested Narratives: A Perspective on Diasporans

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This paper aims at exploring the interrelations of migration memory and diasporic activities. The numerous specialties of migration studies and the borderlines between social scientists and historians often hinder the understanding of basic terminological issues of migration studies. Therefore, through a thorough theoretical overview of the underlying questions on the topic of migration and memory, two opposing arguments are presented in this study, the first approach considers that the analysis of the reasons and motives of migration is not crucial for understanding diasporic behavior in the recipient society. The opposing approach puts considerable emphasis on the motives of migration in analyzing diasporic activities, not taking the host society into consideration. This paper situates itself in between the two approaches arguing that the analysis of the motives and background of migration is essential in order to understand diasporic activities, since these elements of the migration have a substantial impact on the collective memory of diasporans. However, the diasporic memory has to be scrutinized in the context of the recipient society in order to provide a careful and in-depth analysis, since the host society can trigger and activate those memories that affect the activities of diasporans.

The empirical research of this study is based on oral history interviews conducted in the Hungarian diaspora in Santiago de Chile. The analysis of these interviews aims at exploring how former conflicting experience of Communism affects diasporans' perception of the crisis situations of 1970s in Chile. As the major findings reveal, examining the motives of migration and their influence on the diasporic memory within the context of the recipient society are necessary to recognize and comprehend diasporic behavior.

Keywords: diaspora; diasporic activities; migration memory

I. Introduction

“Memories do not hold still – on the contrary, they seem to be constituted first of all through movement,” argues Astrid Erll elaborating on travelling memory and the transformation of memory through movement (2011, p. 11). Even though migration of the carriers of memory is in focus of this argument, we cannot escape to link this thought with human migration and with the concept of migrant memory. Historical works on the subject of migration are often challenged by their own isolation from disciplines of social sciences, hence, lacking the understanding of the typologies and terminological frameworks that are predominantly developed by sociologists and anthropologists in the field of migration studies. Therefore, it can be often observed that historical emigration is discussed by historians only through descriptive works, losing the opportunity to explore the established typologies from a historical perspective.

This paper focuses on the Chilean Hungarian diaspora in the 20th century. The main research question of the study is how former experience of Communism affected diasporans’ perception of the political crises of the 1970s in Chile. As Astrid Erll (2011) argues, memory transform through movement, therefore the memories held by diasporans are of utmost importance in this research, furthermore, the hierarchy of the different levels of memory within a diasporic context is also discussed in this paper.

In order to provide a solid theoretical basis for the research, the following chapter gives an introduction to the basic terminology through which two opposing arguments are presented. The first approach considers that the analysis of the reasons and motives of migration is not crucial for understanding diasporic behavior in the recipient society. The opposing approach puts considerable emphasis on the motives of migration in analyzing diasporic activities, not taking the host society into consideration. This research situates itself in between the two approaches arguing that the analysis of the motives and background of migration is essential in order to understand diasporic activities, since these elements of the migration have a substantial impact on the collective memory of diasporans. However, the diasporic memory has to be scrutinized in the context of the recipient society in order to provide a careful and in-depth analysis, since the host society can trigger and activate those memories that affect the activities of diasporans.

I.1. Theoretical Considerations

Dealing with the subject of migration, historians are challenged by two underlying issues pointed out by Jan and Leo Lucassen (1999), namely the problem of the numerous sub-specialties of migration studies developed within different disciplines and the integration of migration studies into general history. Discussing the first problem, the authors outline the borderlines between historians and social scientists that not just separate the one from the other but also create a splendid isolation in which historians, being unaware of the typologies of other disciplines, often overlook the analytical shortcomings of their own work on migration (Lucassen & Lucassen, 1999). Furthermore, concerning terminological issues, Gabriel Sheffer (2003) argues that the wide-spread usages of the basic terms of migration studies resulted in several co-existing definitions which might cause confusion. These notions lead us to the need for clarification of some key terms.

Firstly, the difference between migrants and diasporans should be clarified. This distinction was carefully detailed by Sheffer who argues that migrants become diasporans when they “form new diasporic entities or join existing ones” (2003, p. 16). On the one hand, Sheffer’s distinction between migrants and diasporans puts emphasis on temporal issues, since permanent migrants tend to become diasporans. On the other hand, it also introduces the issue of identity and

identification to our discussion. Sheffer points out that diasporans are “involved social actors” in the sense that they involve themselves in diasporic entities, however, they are also involved in these entities by the members of the community (2003, p. 17). Hence, they not just hold a certain ethnic-related identity but they also become identified as one.

Perhaps one of the most comprehensive definition of diaspora was given by Paul Hockenos who contrasted his defining lines with the classic definition of the term. The so-called classic definition says: “a diaspora comprises those members of a common ethnic-national group living outside the borders of their native home territory. The two key criteria are ethnicity and foreign residency” (2003, p. 7). However, Hockenos argues that this definition does not reflect on the different types of migrants and the different intentions or motivations of migrants. Therefore, he gives his own definition: “diaspora includes immigrant families and their subsequent generations, gastarbeiter, exile communities, expatriates, and refugees. Ultimately a diaspora is made up of individuals who identify themselves, and are accepted, as its members” (2003, p. 8). His definition, however, raises the question to what extent do we have to deal with the motives of migration?

Sheffer argues that “identifying the reasons for migration from homelands is not crucial for understanding of the nature of diasporas, their organization, and their behavior in host countries” (2003, p. 76). This understanding opposes the practice of historians who often distinguish diasporic communities by the different waves of emigration. However, this kind of periodization raises some concerns, because the division takes only the causes and motives of migration into consideration, however, it overlooks the influence of the recipient societies. Secondly, the abovementioned differentiation of waves of emigration understands diasporic communities as static, however, diasporic communities are constantly changing, but these changes cannot be realized focusing only on the home country and on the motives of migration. Furthermore, the different waves of emigration do not mean homogenous diasporic communities. Though individuals of an emigration wave most probably shared similar experience, however, their motivations varied, therefore, historians should establish methods to realize the borderlines of diasporic communities, hence, making it possible to analyze their activities.

Though sociological works of diaspora and migration studies can help historians to define terms, however, definitions alter through time as well. Since, we define ourselves in relation to others by realizing contrasts, if these contrasts and differences are shifting, the self-identification is changing too. Therefore, considering researches on diasporic communities, the differentiation between waves of emigration loses its evidence and clarity. Hence, identifying the new borderlines between diasporic communities is of utmost importance in order to study the history of diasporic practices.

As we can see, there are two opposing opinions on whether the motives of migration have any importance in understanding and identifying diasporic communities. A historical analysis of diaspora is challenging in the sense that the present situation in the community is often utterly distinct from the past situations. Therefore, historians have to be able to recognize what diasporic communities were present in a given period of time, without being influenced by factors which were not relevant in the period.

The author of this paper argues that analyzing the motives and the background of the migration is important from the point of view of individual and collective memory, since memories carried by migrants can largely influence their perception of the recipient society and migrants’ reaction to the crisis situations of the recipient country, hence, it affects the diasporic activities as well.

However, it must be emphasized that these motives cannot be the sole basis of the analysis of the diasporic identity.

Jan Assmann argues that “memory is the faculty that enables us to form an awareness of selfhood (identity), both on the personal and on the collective level” (2008, p. 109). In his essay, Assmann distinguishes three levels of memory: the inner, the social and the cultural level. While on the inner level, memory is understood as personal memory, on the social level, memory is “a matter of communication and social interaction” (2008, p. 109).

The social nature of individual memory was also studied by Frederic C. Bartlett, who argued that individual remembrance is influenced by how other members of the community remember a certain event (Jedlowski, 2008). Thus, memories gain their meaning in social interactions, which are, hence, the link between members of the community. As the members of the community change, so does collective memory, which is constantly being reinterpreted to fit the demands of the present (Marcel & Mucchielli, 2008).

Irial Glynn and Olaf Kleist analyzed the role of memory in migration studies. They point out the interdependence of individual and social memory, highlighting the fact that remembering ties individuals to communities (Glynn & Kleist, 2012). However, their work mostly focuses on the relation of migrants and the recipient society. To get a broader picture of the interdependence of the different levels of memory, we should turn back for a moment to Sheffer and his explanation of the development of diasporas.

Sheffer (2003) points out that diasporas have similar life phases than other social formations, they develop and decline, and through these processes diasporas get into contact with the recipient society. In the development of diasporas, diasporans are demanded to have dual loyalties by living in accordance with the norms and laws of the host country, which duality might be conflicting for the individual. This conflict can arise from the fact that individuals’ identity is affected by the host society, and so it can trigger actions from the individuals which may be in conflict with the diasporic activities or norms (Sheffer, 2003).

Assmann (2008) differentiates the inner, the social and the cultural level of memory. In a diasporic setting, the cultural level represents the ethnic-national identity and the historical-mythical realm. The social level is equivalent to the diasporic identity, whereas the inner level connects to the individual memory of diasporans. Since we are interested in the tripartite relations of individual diasporans, the diasporic community and the recipient society, therefore, our focus is on the interrelations of the individual memory and the communicative memory. This study focuses on how the former conflicting experience of migrants affect their perception of the recipient society, therefore, individual actions/reactions and diasporic activities are discussed.

I.2. Methodological Issues

Donald A. Ritchie argues that the practice of oral history goes as far back in time as the first recorded history, however, it evolved its own methodology only in the second half of the 20th century (2011). As the author points out, this practice became a source for historians who seek information that was overlooked before, in spite of the “subjective nature” of oral history (2011, pp. 11-13). These introductory notes of Donald Ritchie shed light on the methodological challenges of oral history that he complements later by adding:

Oral history and memory studies differ but are compatible. Oral history relies on people's testimony to understand the past, while memory studies concentrate on the process of remembering and how that shapes people's understanding of the past.

Memory studies are often more interested in how facts are remembered and in distortion of facts than in the facts themselves (2011, p. 12).

Therefore, while relying on testimonies of oral history interviewees, historians are challenged to analyze how memory influences people's perception of certain events, without questioning or requiring a verification of the authenticity of the stories told by interviewees. In other words, there is more influence on how past events are remembered than on to what extent the story itself is historically accurate. Historical accuracy, however, should not be mistaken as objectivity, and so the subjective nature of oral history cannot be seen as inaccuracy, in fact it is something that should be looked at as a value added to the story that has been told.

However, interviews, in general, are dialogues between interviewers and interviewees, in which the former affects the outcome of the interview through questions. Therefore, interviewers doing oral history should pay careful attention not to alter the narrative being told by the interviewee, considering the fact that such alteration would mean that the memory that has been told in a form of a story became altered as well. Keeping this methodological challenge in mind, this research relied on the so-called life story interview method in order to minimize the influence of the researcher on the interviewees.

The life story interview method aims at collecting the essential events and beliefs of one person's life and constructing a coherent narrative, in which there is a special emphasis on the order of the different events of the story (Atkinson, 2011). The interview is conducted in two parts, the first part aims at recording a coherent life story without any interruptions from the interviewer's side, while in the second part, the interviewer asks focused questions. The whole process is built upon three crucial steps: the preinterview, the interview and the postinterview. The preinterview part involves the planning process and the first meeting with the interviewee. The interview part aims at the recording of the life story, while the postinterview phase includes the interpretation and analysis of the life story (Atkinson, 2011).

The interviews conducted for the present research were anonymized, then coded in Nvivo software. In order to maintain confidentiality, participants of the research are referred to *Interviewee 1*, *Interviewee 2*, etc. Participants were members of the Hungarian diaspora community in Chile who left Hungary between 1945 and 1956, and their descendants. After the coding process, four significant interviews were selected through which this paper aims at introducing the findings of the research. The four interviews analyzed in this paper were selected due to the fact that these interviewees are first-generation diasporans, while all the other participants are second or third-generation diasporans. By selecting only the first-generation émigrés, the study aims at focusing on participants who shared the experience of leaving one's home and integrating into a recipient society.

To summarize, the life story interviews are analyzed from the perspective of individual and collective memory in order to explore the effect of former conflicting experience on diasporans' perceptions of past events. Therefore, individual stories are compared and contrasted to reveal the unique and the universal elements of memory.

II. Setting the Context

II.1. In Santiago, Chile

On 11 September 1973, a military coup unleashed incredible waves of violence in Chile. Though the bombing of La Moneda is the symbolic starting point of the military rule, the political violence which grew out of the constitutional democracy rooted in earlier events. Political scientists often emphasize how the malfunction of political institutions led to the

breakdown of democracy in Chile, however, their interpretations do not go beyond the political sphere of the events.

In the early 1960s, under the presidency of Alessandri, the economic policy of the Chilean government served the interests of the economic elite, pushing millions to the periphery of the society. At that time, the Chilean lower class accounted for the seventy-five percent of the Chilean society, the middle class comprised fifteen percent, while the upper class consisted ten percent of the society (Drake, 1991). Therefore, masses started to support left-wing parties which offered favorable social policies. In 1964, the Christian Democrat Party (Partido Demócrata Cristiano, PDC) won the election, and Eduardo Frei became the President of Chile (Angell, 1991).

The reforms of PDC included structural changes in the Chilean economy, however, it could not withhold the growing influence of the United States, which provided more than a billion dollars' worth of aid between 1962 and 1969 to Chile, in return for favorable policies towards the copper industry in which the US companies were interested (Angell, 1991).

Meanwhile, after losing the elections in 1964, the Socialist Party underwent a crisis, which later resulted in the formation of the Popular Unity coalition (Unidad Popular, UP), a coalition of six parties. In 1970, the UP won the election and Salvador Allende became the President of Chile. The government promised the nationalization of the economy, the redistribution of income and the structural reform of the latifundia (Angell, 1991). The ambitious program of the UP government, however, could not ease the political violence that was evoked by the radical left movement, the Revolutionary Left Movement (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria, MIR), and also by the right-wing propaganda (Angell, 1991).

According to Margarita Palacios (2009), the increasing political violence was due to the concept of antagonism that was the most important element of the discourse of the right-wing parties which denied the possibility of cooperation and negotiations with the left. In this discourse, the left was depicted as a threat to the Chilean society to which the only possible solution is offered by the right (Palacios, 2009). Valenzuela argues that the core concept of the crisis is "political polarization" (1978, p.81). The polarization was enhanced by political conflicts, however, it affected the class system which resulted in a class polarization. In other words, in Valenzuela's interpretation the political instability created an economic instability that led to the crisis and to the breakout of violence in 1973. Valenzuela elaborates to a great extent on the fact that the coalition led by Allende was a Marxist one, which aimed at the political, social and economic transformation of Chile. However, the so-called revolutionary changes remained only fail experiments, and due to the fundamental quality of the proposed changes this failure influenced the society in its core. Therefore, mass mobilization was possible against the Allende-government, which makes it clear that the political tension became a societal crisis by 1973 (Valenzuela, 1978).

On 11 September 1973, armed forces overthrew the UP government, and unleashed intense violence which resulted in the murdering of thousands of Chileans, the total number of the victims, who were tortured, imprisoned or assassinated is estimated at thirty thousand (Angell, 1991). Even though there are extensive literature that discuss what could cause the unbelievable violence, at this point we should turn to other sources. The main research question of this paper is how the former experience of diasporans affected their perception of the 1970's political crisis in Chile.

III. Reflections on Shared Memories

Since memory is interpreted here as a process of constant construction and deconstruction of past experience, therefore, it is of utmost importance to look into different primary sources that can reflect on the continuously changing quality of memory and its effects on the self-identification of individuals and of communities. The sources of this chapter are oral history interviews conducted in Santiago. The interviews were transcribed and anonymized, then coded through qualitative textual analysis using Nvivo software. During the coding process preliminary themes emerged that shed light on how diasporans' former memories of conflicting events affect their perception of the political crisis of 1970s in Chile. The three major themes of the life stories are the motives of migration, the former conflicting experience, and the perception of the recipient society. The analysis of the coded interviews does not aim at questioning the historical accuracy of the stories told by the interviewees, however, it rather focuses on how individual memory and collective memory of diasporans are interrelated.

Individual conflicting memories are often understood as the motives of migration, therefore, these experiences gain special emphasis in diasporans' life. As these memories are triggered or activated by the events in the recipient country, diasporans react to these events in accordance with their former conflicting experience. In this way, individual memory affects the perception of the recipient society, thus, the diasporic activities as well. Therefore, analyzing individual and collective memory on the motives and background of migration is essential in understanding the diasporic processes.

III.1. Motives of migration

Giving reasons for leaving one's home country was an essential element of all interviews, it does not only serve as a justification, however, it also sheds light on how the motives of migration affect one's self-identification and integration to the diasporic community. While there are interviewees who discussed the individual motives, there are others who tried to generalize in order to present themselves as "one of the many." This generalization can be exemplified with the life stories of several interviewees.

Interviewee 1 argues that Hungarians have never been a "migrating" nation, and though there are two main motives of migration, namely economic or political reasons, if Hungarians decide to leave their home country that must be because of political reasons (*Interviewee 1*, 2018). By this statement, the interviewee establishes himself as a political migrant, meanwhile also as a member of a wider community, which has not yet been defined at that point. The importance of this early statement lies also in the fact that the interviewee started his story and his own introduction by stating the motive of his migration.

Even though *Interviewee 1* does not elaborate on his first twenty years in the interview, archival records reveal that he studied at the University of Technology and Economics in Budapest for two years, then he continued his studies in Switzerland ("Biografia," 1957). Since he got accepted to a Swiss university, he also managed to obtain a Swiss visa and to leave the country in October 1947 ("Biografia," 1957). In 1951, he finished his studies in Switzerland, and having no job, he decided to leave Switzerland, and to move to Chile. He arrived in Chile in April 1951, where he started working as an architect (*Interviewee 1*, 2018).

Even though *Interviewee 1* declares himself as political migrant, it is clear that his motive of leaving for Chile was economic, since he could not find a job in Switzerland. The generalization he applies when he talks about migration reflects on his personal mythmaking, borrowing the terms of Robert Atkinson, in the sense that he tries to connect his personal, "unique story" to the "universal story" of Hungarian emigration (Atkinson, 2011, p. 62). This attempt can be

traced by looking at how the interviewee starts his story, his very first sentence deals with the Hungarian emigration and not with his personal story.

In case of *Interviewee 2*, we can witness the same generalization from a different perspective. *Interviewee 2* arrived in Chile because he got a job at a shipping company (Interviewee 2, 2018), therefore, his motive of leaving for Chile was also economic. He details the emigration of his parents from Hungary, through which he tries to give an overall story of why and how Hungarians left their home country. Thus, he also applies generalization and states that political motives led to the emigration of thousands of Hungarians, however, he does not include himself as part of it, hence, he does not tie his personal story to the universal story of Hungarian emigration.

Interviewee 3 was a child when he and his family arrived in Chile, so in his case we can only speak about the motives of their parents. As he describes, his uncle sent visas for his family members, since he had already been living in Chile at that time, which provided his family possible working opportunities in the country (Interviewee 3, 2018). When speaking about the motives of his family's migration to Chile, he connects his memory of Communism to the motives. The interviewee evokes his memories about how their family home was taken away by the Communists, and that they were not allowed to take all their belongings with themselves (Interviewee 3, 2018). In other words, according to the narrated memories, Communism forced his family to leave Hungary, although we can also trace the economic reason behind moving to Chile.

In case of *Interviewee 4*, the emigration to Chile was preceded by thorough preparation. His father, as member of the Smallholders Party, was working closely with the political elite, so he could foresee what would happen after the Communist takeover in the country (Interviewee 4, 2018). Thus, we can say that his family left the country because of political reasons, however, these motives are also connected with conflicting experience in the interviewee's memory. He recalls a story when his bicycle was taken away by the Russians, who promised him that he could get it back later, however, he never managed to find it afterwards (Interviewee 4, 2018). Though this anecdote is only a small part of his life story, he compares his experience with the Russians to the experience that many Hungarians share, namely how their properties were taken away by the Communists. Interestingly, the motives of migration are often attached to former conflicting experience, no matter whether this experience had anything to do with the migration itself. Therefore, it is necessary to observe how and why former conflicting experience affects the understanding of the motives of migration.

III.2. Former Conflicting Experience

Considering the former conflicting experience of émigrés, *Interviewee 1* gives the most detailed account on what had happened to his family. He explains that the family estate that they owned in the countryside was demolished during the Second World War, therefore, the family had to move to Budapest, where he was enlisted (Interviewee 1, 2018). The destruction of the family home and his conscription are the first two conflicting memories he shared. The third one was his hopes for a democratic transition after 1945. As he discusses, he and his family thought that after the election of 1945 and the setup of the coalition government, democracy would be introduced, sadly, history took another turn (Interviewee 1, 2018). His experience of the war is the most outstanding from all the memories he shared, because he starts his life story with telling about this experience, not with his childhood or other earlier memories. Since he was enlisted during the Second World War, in which his own father lost his life fighting against the Soviets (Interviewee 1, 2018), his conflicting memories are strongly tied to anti-Communism.

Interviewee 2 also holds conflicting memories about Hungary. In his interview, he shares his

life story that he and his family was sentenced to death in Hungary, owing to their emigration: “We had death sentence until 1972. The whole family was sentenced to death” (Interviewee 2, 2018). This memory is a truly unique one, since the starting point of his life story is the emigration of his parents: “My parents left Hungary before the Russians came in. They knew that the Russians were coming because part of the family was in the government” (Interviewee 2, 2018). Again, the beginning of the life story tells a lot about how the individual places himself into the universal story. In case of *Interviewee 2*, the Soviet occupation of Hungary represents this starting point which became his own experience in his childhood being a member of a family that was sentenced to death by a Communist state.

While explaining the arrival of his family to Chile, *Interviewee 3* articulates those vivid memories that he still keeps in his mind about the motives of his family’s migration. He recalls how they lost their home when in the 1950s the state took away their family house, and that when they finally decided to leave the country, they were not allowed to take their valuables with themselves (Interviewee 3, 2018). The conflicting memory he shared about the loss of home is an experience that the interviewee had to re-experience in the 1970s in Chile, when his flat was taken away, as he says, by the “filthy Communists” (Interviewee 3, 2018).

The loss of belongings is a conflicting experience that *Interviewee 4* also holds in his memory. It was already discussed how he lost his bicycle to the Soviets, but he also tells about how his father tried to escape their belongings from Hungary. As he explains, his father had to smuggle their enormous wealth to the Netherlands where it was kept in a warehouse until his father could arrange the shipping to Chile (Interviewee 4, 2018). Although they managed to take their personal properties with themselves, the threat of losing their valuables due to Communism is a vivid memory recurring in his life story.

As we can see, former conflicting experience is closely attached to the experience of Communism in these life stories. Furthermore, the experience of Communism is also associated with the motives of migration. It is difficult to tell apart when interviewees are speaking about the motives of leaving their home country and when about their conflicting experience since the two are often confused and mixed together. However, what is clearly visible is that Communism is presented in these life stories as a threat which led these people to leave their homes, thus, they share a somewhat same memory of migration in their diasporic community. Hence, we can understand the influence of conflicting experience as the motive of migration on the diaspora.

III.3. Perception of the Recipient Society

The two most important events recalled by *Interviewee 4* in his life story were the revolution of 1956 in Hungary and the elections of 1970’s in Chile. In 1956, the Chilean newspaper *El Siglo*, which was the official organ of the Communist Party, covered the events of the Hungarian revolution stating that it was a fascist counter-revolution, by which they evoked the attention of the Hungarians (Interviewee 4, 2018). *Interviewee 4* recalls these events with great excitement, since he and his two friends broke into the press office of *El Siglo* in 1956, with the intention of destroying all their printing machines. They threw bottles with red ink to the walls and they started breaking the typewriters, however, they made such a loud noise that the neighbors called the owners of the press office (Interviewee 4, 2018). At this point, *Interviewee 4* tells a story of an interesting encounter, since allegedly as he and his friends were destroying the typewriters, Allende entered the building with a guard. When *Interviewee 4* realized this, he took a fire extinguisher and threw it towards Allende, however, he could not hit him (Interviewee 4, 2018).

In the life story of *Interviewee 4*, Communism is always approached from an economic perspective. According to him, under Allende, the Chilean economy collapsed and the inflation was as high as in Hungary (*Interviewee 4*, 2018). Interestingly, neither *Interviewee 4*, nor the other interviewees recalls any memories about the coup d'état of 1973 itself, *Interviewee 4* shares only a small remark about it, saying that he provided Pinochet with radio devices so the army could communicate during the coup. In his life story, the interviewee often calls Pinochet an angel, and visibly he enters very close personal encounters with prominent political figures in his memory (*Interviewee 4*, 2018).

Interviewee 1 also recalls the events of the elections of 1970 as significant ones. He argued that after Salvador Allende had been elected as President of Chile, half of the Hungarian community left Chile in fear of Communism (*Interviewee 1*, 2018). During the interview, he details what kind of memories were evoked in Hungarians by the outcome of the elections of 1970. According to the interviewee, Hungarians left Chile in great numbers, since nobody wanted to live in a Communist world, and they had no doubts about what would come next. He compared Allende to Mátyás Rákosi, describing how the Communist “transformation” took place in both countries (*Interviewee 1*, 2018). His explanation of the event clearly shows how former experience of Communism affected Hungarians reaction to the Allende government.

Interviewee 1 also opens up about his own attempt to leave Chile, however, before he could find any jobs in the neighboring countries, the coup d'état of 1973 ended the Communist threat. He argues that Pinochet and the military junta did a great favor for Chileans by stopping “Allende and his Communist friends” (*Interviewee 1*, 2018). The interviewee does not elaborate on the atrocities and human rights violations under Pinochet, he only briefly mentions them stating that if one did not deal with politics, nothing bad could happen to the person (*Interviewee 1*, 2018).

After raising the question how he perceived the Pinochet era, *Interviewee 2* gave a very realistic understanding of that era:

You have to put it into perspective. We were having a lot of military coups at that time. (...) There were a lot of terrorists in Chile financed by Cuba and Russia. They tried to turn this country into a Communist one. Allende, though elected as a democratic president, he rapidly moved into a way of creating a Communist regime. It's still a discussion if he was really a Communist guy, or just too left. But there were two hundred Cuban advisors here, the whole movement was going to Communism. The second reason was that governments were so corrupt than in principle these guys would clean up the corruption (*Interviewee 2*, 2018).

Interviewee 2 does not try to compare the cases of Hungary and Chile, but by taking a rather objective perspective, he reveals some contradictions:

Chile was the only military regime that was not corrupt, and really cleaned up the whole thing and established neoliberalism and free market. Having said that, at that time, Pinochet was more of a blessing than a devil. Pinochet was the right place to go, I mean if you were leftist than you would disappear. But if you were more center or right, this was a paradise. He was a savior (*Interviewee 2*, 2018).

The abovementioned statements could be, of course, argued and contradicted, however, besides mentioning the benefits of the Pinochet regime, *Interviewee 2* acknowledges the human rights violations and the atrocities of that era without trying to justify it:

It is politically incorrect to say that Pinochet was an angel or there was a fantastic government, because it's like saying that Hitler was fantastic. There were a lot of

human rights violations and that is true, there are really not acceptable. In the first two years there were a lot of reasons to eliminate all these guerrillas. Frankly speaking, I think the only way was to eliminate them. They were really trying to get the country into a Communist regime. And you don't get that in a democratic way (Interviewee 2, 2018).

Reference to former experience appears in the life story of *Interviewee 3* as well, who says that after Allende was elected half of the Hungarian population left Chile, mostly Jewish people who were afraid that the state would take away their properties. He continues saying that the state, indeed, took away homes of citizens just like their homes that had been taken away by the Hungarian state in 1954. As the interviewee explained those who left Chile after the election had already experienced Communism once, and they did not want to have it once again (Interviewee 3, 2018).

The escape of half of the Hungarian community from Chile is a recurring image in the interviews, which is an explicit way of connecting former experience of Communism with the suspected threat of Communism in 1970s. It is visible from the interviews that the image of the Communist threat was so strong in the mind of diasporans that even the atrocities of the Pinochet regime could not overwrite diasporans' hatred towards Communism. In conclusion, the former experience of Communism has significant impact on diasporic memory. It influences how the motives of migration are understood within the diaspora and how the community articulates its origin story. In spite of the different individual experience, the individual level of memory is in accordance with the diasporic, that is the collective level of memory.

IV. Conclusion

This paper argues that in order to thoroughly understand diasporic activities, we need to examine the motives and background of migration as well as setting the diasporic behavior within the context of the recipient society. The analysis of the collective memory of a diaspora sheds light on the identity of the diasporic community, but also on their activities. As Jan Assmann (1999) puts it, collective memory affects the interpretation of the past, but also organizes the experience of the present. However, within a diasporic setting, the collective memory of the diaspora is integrated into a recipient society which, hence, serves as a context for the experience of the present. Thus, without exploring the societal context diasporic activities and behavior cannot be comprehended.

The analysis of oral history interviews aimed at answering the question what role diasporans' former experience had in the forming of an understanding of the Allende government and of the Pinochet regime. The life stories reveal that conflicting experience is closely tied to their supposed motives of migration, in other words, the conflicting experience is often presented as the main motive of migration. In the case of the interviewees, the conflicting experience of Communism is presented as the motive for leaving their home country. Hence, Communism appears as a threat in the life stories of diasporans.

In the recipient society, the threat of Communism appeared in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, and it was propagated by the press. This threat could evoke the memories of former conflicting experience from diasporans and triggered the collective memory of the diasporic community which organized the experience of the present according to the memory of the past. This could lead to the point that half of the Hungarian community left the country after the election of 1970.

We can conclude that contrary to Gabriel Sheffer's (2003) argument, according to which the identification of the reasons and motives of migration is not important in understanding the

diasporic activities, we can see that the motives of migration and the reasons why diasporans left their home country are essential elements in the analysis of diasporans' behavior in the recipient society, with the inclusion of the host society as a context of the diasporic activities.

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The Influence of Social Media Marketing on Customer Brand Loyalty

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Marketing in social media networks is one of the most renowned marketing tools where consumers and shareholders are contributors rather than observers, and each contributing customer becomes part of the marketing plans. Therefore, the spread of social media platforms and proportional consumer adoption in recent years has triggered a model shift, considerably changing how customers engage with brands. In the consumer marketing public, customer loyalty has considered a vital goal for companies they need to use to build their brand image. This paper aims to review various literature on social media marketing and customer's brand loyalty and identify the role of the consumer's journey in boosting loyalty in social media and the connection between consumers' post-purchase behaviour and customer's loyalty.

Results: The findings indicate that social media marketing is one of the critical drivers of brand loyalty. Moreover, social media platforms provide direct contact between businesses and customers, allowing businesses to be aware of buyers' thoughts. Buyers can inquire about past purchasers' experiences with a company and trust them rather than relying on what firms advertise about their brands. Therefore, many loyal customers tend to forgive customer-service mishaps, show lower sensitivity to price, and spread encouraging word-of-mouth about the brand to other users and friends on social media platforms. Consequently, consumer loyalty can be an essential seed of continuous development and yield and a robust resource, mainly social media networks. However, if companies fail to cope with the latest upgrades in social media marketing, there is a low probability they can survive in the current market.

Conclusions: social media established a new dominant mode of communication that positively affected people's behaviour when engaging in interactive social activities and sharing information about products and services over the internet. This article helps readers gain a better grasp of how social media affects customer's loyalty and how it could be utilised to develop deeper social ties with the public and assist in analysing user behaviour based on their interactions with businesses via social media platforms' offered tools. Also, it offers statistics on the users' behaviour, provides knowledge about rivals' market actions, and enables businesses to contact customers at a lesser cost than the conventional market. Furthermore, this article encourages various firms to allocate considerable revenue to leveraging social media to offer their brands to targeted clients at a reasonable price, which benefits their profitability and reputation among customers. Finally, future research should investigate the effect of additional social media characteristics that may affect customer loyalty, such as educational background, age, kind of employment, and income level.

Keywords: Brand Loyalty; Customer Loyalty; Post-Purchase Behavior; Customer Experience; Digital marketing; Social media.

I. Introduction

Marketing via social networks started in the 1980s, where clients shared basic e-mails and information using the Bulletin Boards System (Alves et al., 2016). Afterwards, the high-tech transformation of communication, software, and mobile phones encouraged new users to communicate with each other by social media platforms such as Facebook, What's up, Instagram, and Twitter, where their messages are being delivered in real-time and at any place (Dolan et al., 2016). This vital change in communication lead social media users to devote hours of their time on a daily basis to read the latest news, doing various activities on social media like chatting and sharing precious moments and milestones of their life with friends, or engaging in educational and workgroups on these platforms (Alves et al., 2016). However, businesses struggle to boost their fans on social networking pages. Accordingly, the enormous IT developments have stimulated marketers to find the right preferences for the desired clients (Kohli, 2015).

In the past decade, companies have dedicated significant effort to utilising good social media marketing tools to deliver interactive communications between users, build robust relationships with them, and ultimately drive brand loyalty (Zarrella, 2009). The central concept in these tools is social media engagement, defined as a consumer's social expressions and actions that have a social media focus, further than purchase, consequential from motivational drivers by the consumer (Yoshida et al., 2018). What is the role of the customer's journey in advancing customer loyalty in social media? What is the relevance of digital marketing compared to traditional one? What is the importance of customer experience? Do social media networks support companies to gain and retain loyal customers?

The goal of this paper is to answer the preceding questions by reviewing various literature. The paper ends with a discussion and conclusion.

II. Literature Review and Results

II.1. Social Media and Customer Journey

Marketing via social media is a type of e-marketing that targets a large audience to upsurge the traffic of the company's page, which provides services and solutions to attract customers' attention to a brand, product, or service (Alves et al., 2016). Social media includes all Internet-based technological software based on *Web 2.0* principles, providing the formation and exchange of costumer-generated content, and assisting communication and relationship between users (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010). Social media platforms provide companies new opportunities to engage with their customers to present their brands on these platforms. Helme and Magnoni (2019) have surveyed customers about their most-liked Brands on Facebook; they found that self-brand connections and social brand engagement are two drivers of consumer brand engagement. Also, consumer brand engagement (CBE) is a crucial element in promoting brand loyalty. Furthermore, they figured out that high brand loyalty could be achieved by combining social engagement and CBE with different intellectual, emotional, and behavioural engagement (Helme and Magnoni, 2019).

The number of social media users worldwide is proliferating all over the globe, where they reached about 4.48 billion users in 2021; around 78% of them are spending most of their time on social

media websites. Therefore, they generate a massive opportunity for companies to fill this gap by utilising the primary means of social media platforms by endorsing their brands –products or services- through social media marketing. Figure 1 below shows the number of people who have been using social media platforms (Statista, 2021).

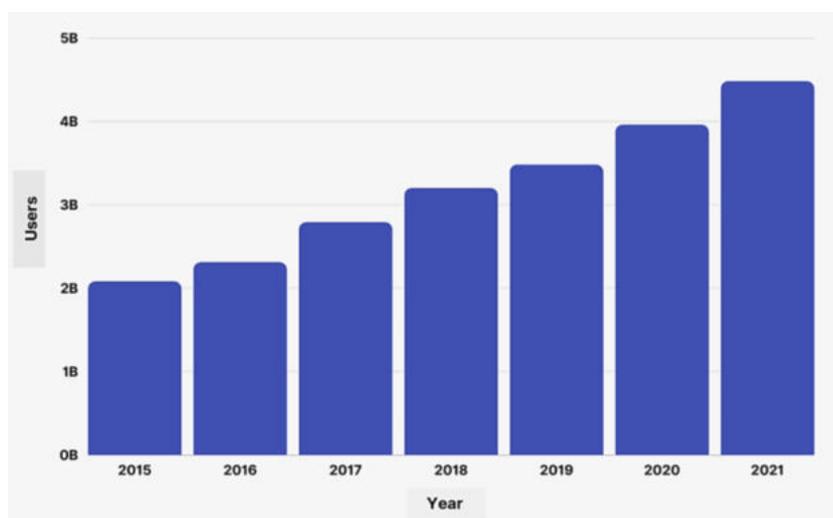


Figure 1. Number of users in social media platforms (2015 – 2021). Source: [Statista, 2021].

The high engagement in social media networks stimulates businesses to dedicate more of their efforts and strategies toward marketing their various brands (services and products) over these platforms. Countless brands and businesses can use these networks such as electronics, educational institutions, media, consultations, or other industries such as medicines, food, and fashion (Chan and Guillet, 2011; Bhanot, 2012). As a result, people start giving up the old-style *traditional marketing* tools such as TVs, billboards, and radio channels, whereas the traditional type of media is no longer sufficient to satisfy business requirements of marketing, and the use of social media is getting to be universal (Chan and Guillet, 2011; Bhanot, 2012).

For that reason, this rapid transformation in people’s behavior while engaging social networks leads them to quit the traditional media and open a vast gate for e-marketing via social media. So, the public has many various choices of options of products to pick off, which arouse marketers to embrace new creative and advanced strategies to appeal to clients. In other words, social websites are becoming an essential key and renowned resource of marketing, where the users are effectively involved with marketers in applying the best promotional and marketing approaches, they can use (Ahmad, 2015).

As the years went by, the marketing tools started to emerge in a way where the customer shifted from using the old-style marketing concept to the new digital marketing concept. At that time, the customer did not own a way of engagement and interaction with the marketer compared to the current time where a customer takes a role in the promoting cycle in the modern model. Consequently, the consumer turns out to be in a straight interaction with the marketer and interchange the feedback about products and services, which will satisfy his needs.

Figure (2) below displays the variance across the *traditional* and new concepts. Consequently, this steer to a significant accretion in the interaction and contact about brands amongst users (Kohli, 2015).

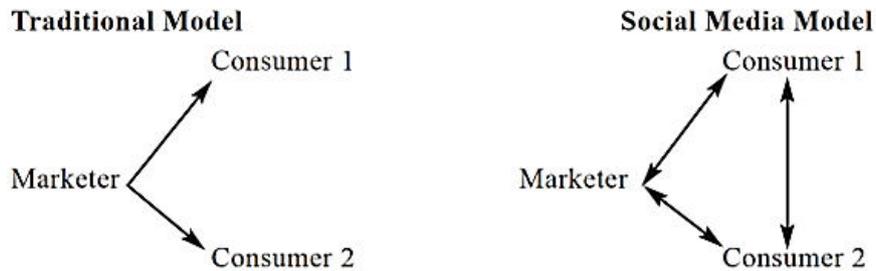


Figure 2. Traditional and social media model. Source: [Khouli, 2015]

In the last ten years, social media received immense interest in establishing unconventional trends and marketing training with various means to bring advertisements to consumers. Accordingly, social networks reformed the play instructions of marketing in the last few years. This thrust corporations to apply contemporary methods and techniques to boost their brands on social media. Consequently, social media networks influence consumers' reliance on the feedback acquired after consumers purchase a brand (Faulds and Mangold, 2014).

Elzinga et al. (2009) have established a model shown below in Figure 3. It is based on a study applied to over 20 thousand customers in five various businesses in 3 regional areas; their research points out that the marketers are required to figure out modern methods to spot the *position* of their brands in the *initial consideration set* stage where the customers can get it once they begin their journey.

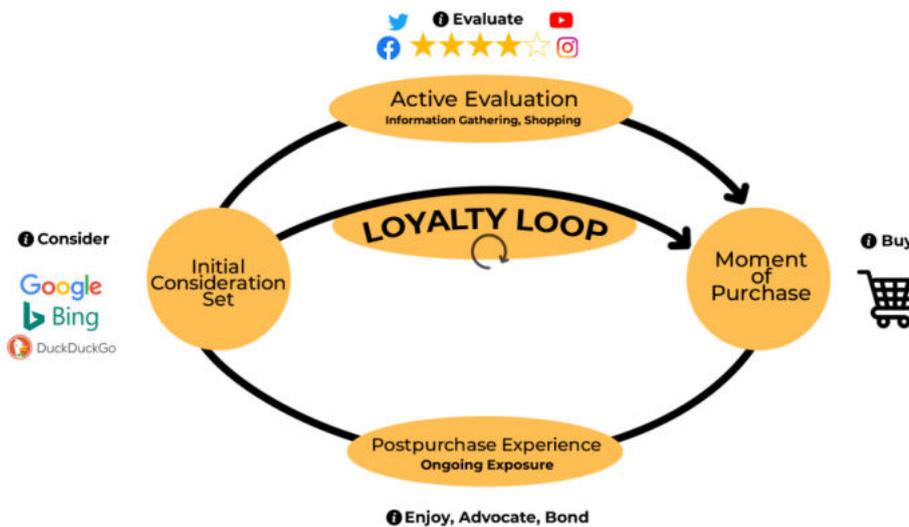


Figure 3. The Customer Journey (Customer Loyalty Loop) Source: Author's creation based on [Elzinga et al., 2009]

Besides, the transformation from one direction into the bi-directional communication between customers and marketers opens the path for marketers to satisfy the consumer's needs and develop the brand's reputation through customers' word of mouth across social media. Based on his model, the consumer decision journey consists of four phases, is proposed as a coherent process, where the consumer is on a dynamic continuous procedure to review and select the brand, followed by assessing the available options to make the purchase decision. Ultimately, he will have the benefit of his experience after buying it. The phases are described in fine points as follow (Elzinga et al., 2009; Wilk et al., 2021)

The first phase is Consideration, where the customer starts with a set of potential products built on his preferences and reduces that number to make the purchase after collecting the required information. The second phase is evaluation. At this step, the customer evaluates the desired products, and therefore, he either picks or eliminates the particular product from his list of choices after he assesses it. The next one is Buying; he makes a choice and picks the brand he needs. The last phase is Post Purchase experiences; it is a continuous demonstration of the consumers' knowledge and insights about the product, where they had prospects based on their experience to aid the future choices either to purchase that brand again or to choose another one (Elzinga et al., 2009; Wilk et al., 2021).

Traditional marketing has developed over the last few decades. However, the essential characteristics stay the same. The marketing methods that we practice are deeply dependent on the four P's product, price, place, and marketing promotion.

Using and integrating the four P's, a company would undoubtedly drive its expectations and consumers over any sales channels and get promising outcomes.



Figure 4. The four Ps. Source: [McCarthy, 1964]

From an outside view, digital marketing appears different from old-style traditional marketing in large part. The core thing is about the fourth P: promotion. Nevertheless, the real thing is, digital marketing is vastly powerful since it does not neglect any one of the four Ps. Instead, it utilises each one of them uniquely and mainly even better than old-style marketing.

II.2. Digital Marketing vs. Traditional Marketing

Although traditional marketing is still active, it is not the only method to promote a brand in the market. Nowadays, technology is developing and empowering companies to connect with their followers in a new way. That is one of the reasons to think through the downsides of old-style marketing before choosing it (Sinha and Singh, 2018). Moreover, Zyman (2000, P.24) argues that “Traditional marketing is not dying – it is dead!”.

Figure 5 below shows the main drawbacks of traditional marketing compared to digital marketing.

■ Drawbacks of Traditional Marketing

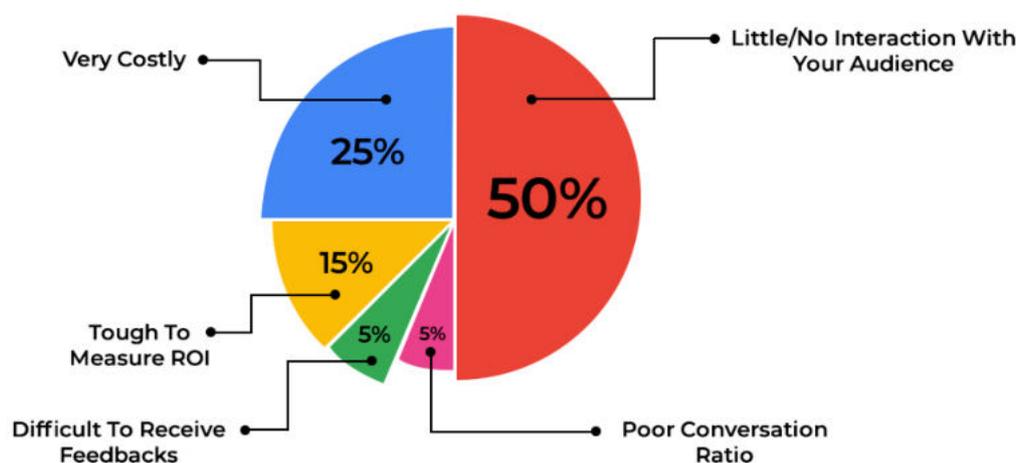


Figure 5. Shortcomings of Traditional Marketing. Source: [Sinha and Singh, 2018; Bhayani and Vachhani, 2014].

Bhayani and Vachhani (2014), and Sinha and Singh (2018) discuss these drawbacks, the main ones are:

- Limited Interaction: one of the major limitations of traditional marketing is the limited contact between the consumers and the marketing environment around them.
- Traditional marketing relies on advertising methods that, when implemented, cannot be changed if needed, such as printed text commercials in a magazine or a television advertisement.
- The regular expenditures of old-style marketing could be a significant risky investment if it does not receive a decent profit.

II.3. Customer Brand Loyalty and Post Purchase Behaviour

Companies are always pursuing to provide their brands with targeted customers. According to Silverman (2001), he established a decision-making model which includes five stages, Figure 6 displays these stages.

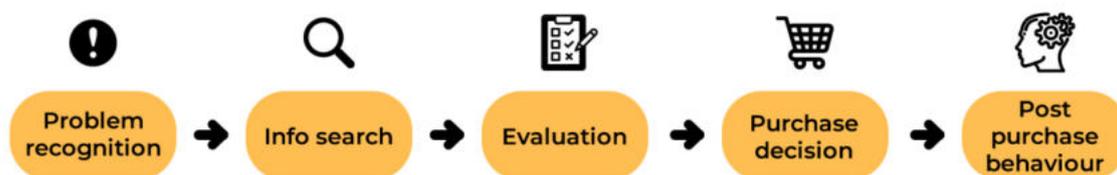


Figure 6. Stages of Decision-making Model. Source: [Kotler and Keller, 2016].

The stages are problem recognition, seeking information, evaluation, buying decision, and post-purchase behaviour. Various scholars in the marketing area have developed the model. According to these researchers, the consumer decision procedure is a crucial part of the buyer's behaviour (Howard and Sheth, 1969; Engel et al., 1978; Nicosia and Mayer, 1976; Bettman et al., 1979). Besides, Howard and Sheth (1969) indicated that the critical stages of the decision-making process are the attitude of the consumer prior and after purchasing the product, where the customer has the option to modify or advance the initial three stages of the model until he made his purchase decision (Mitchell and Boustani, 1994). After the purchase stage, the consumer will attain his needs from the brand, ordering it again, and tending to make a good comment about the brand by writing a positive comment and reviews, or sharing this with his friends on the social media platforms. As an outcome, this will boost the consumer's loyalty and assist companies to make profits through these networks (Howard and Sheth, 1969; Mitchell and Boustani, 1994; Mersey et al., 2010).

II.4. The Importance of Customer Experience

Customer experience is the internal response of customers; it may occur due to direct or indirect interaction with a company. Direct interaction usually occurs in the way of purchase, use, and service and is commonly sparked by the customer. On the other hand, indirect interaction in many instances encompasses unexpected actions with representations of a company's brands, services, or products, and it comes up with various ways like indorsements through word-of-mouth, reviews, advertising, and criticisms on the social media sites (Meyer and Schwager, 2007; Golmohammadi et al., 2020).

Customer experience involves several characteristics of what a company can provide, such as advertising, the efficiency of customer care, properties of products and services, and reliability. However, some companies do not recognise that customer experience is crucially important for their suitability. As a result, they reach a point where the data is collected and analysed but do not take actions based on these results, or they just fail in assigning a responsible one for placing the results to use. The issue showed in a study carried out by Bain & Company on 360 companies. The study found that only 8% of the companies have considered their experience as *superior*.

However, 80% of the reviewed companies think that the experience they have been offering is undeniably great (Meyer and Schwager, 2007; Golmohammadi et al., 2020).

Due to the mentioned changes and advances, consumers have countless choices these days compared to the past and more ways they walk. Even though some companies have focused on customer experience, many other companies are perusing to measure it. The puzzle is that measuring customer experience is not that easy to achieve. Customer satisfaction is the outcome of a chain of consumer experiences. It happens when the gap between customers' expectations and their coming experiences has been closed. To recognise how to attain customer satisfaction, companies should decompose it into experience elements because those experiences are not a direct result of the brand's goals or what the company presents (Wilk et al., 2021). The answer is the customers themselves. Companies need to observe and analyse the whole scope of their previous experiences to implement the precise tools and proper actions to get a superior customer experience (Meyer and Schwager, 2007; Ieva and Ziliani, 2018).

II.5. The influence of social media on customer loyalty

The latest years have witnessed a significant investment by companies in social media marketing to advertise their products and services. One of the key goals for social media networks is to advertise platforms that allow users to connect, learn about brands, and get involved in them. These platforms are networks that endorse content through text, images, songs, and videos. It is an additional tool for marketing potentials to appeal to customers (Alnosoor, Alyeyadat, and Almanasrah, 2019).

Most of the companies are going to social media marketing, where the process of appealing visitors to a service or product through their use of social media is described as the most prompt, widespread, economy, and best effective way to gain loyal customers. This kind of marketing focuses on creating content that appeals to the customers' interests and boosts them to participate in social media to reach more consumers automatically without updating or posting content manually constantly (Chu, Kamal, and Kim, 2013).

Literature shows that describing and assessing brand loyalty is enormously challenging. Academics have adapted *attitudinal and behavioural* trials to describe and evaluate this term (Oliver, 1999; Zeithaml, 2000). At first, from an attitudinal viewpoint, several researchers have observed consumer loyalty as a unique desire to persevere in a relationship with a product or service supplier (Czepiel et al., 1987). Moreover, from a behavioural standpoint, customer loyalty is being described as recurrence support, that is, the percentage of times a buyer selects the same brand in a particular type associated with the total amount of purchases done by the buyer in that type (Neal, 1999).

The real issue is that the buyer's goal may not result in action, and frequent buying behaviour may not reveal his aims. Oliver (1999) has offered four escalating stages of brand loyalty based on the cognitive, emotional, behavioural, and action patterns to overwhelm these problems. The first stage is cognitive loyalty, where consumers are faithful to a product according to their knowledge of that product. The next step is emotional loyalty, which is associated with hopeful customer actions toward a product, and the last level is conative loyalty or behavioural intent. It is a real promise of support to purchase; this requirement may influence the result of the unachieved act.

The final step is action loyalty, where customers transform intents into actions. Consumers in this step face a state of idleness but desire to beat the barriers to making a purchase. Even though action loyalty is a perfect level, it is hard to monitor and measure. As an adjustment, the majority of scholars tend to recruit the conative or behavioural-intention measure.

Loyalty may have vital importance for both consumers and companies. Consumers are enthusiastic to devote their loyalty to brands that benefit more than rivals' offered deals (Reichheld, 1996). When customers are loyal to a brand, they spend less time searching, selecting, and evaluating purchase substitutes. Moreover, consumers can evade the discovering process that may expend the time and energy required to get comfortable with a new brand.

In addition, Customer loyalty is a crucial driver of success in online shopping, such as Facebook pages and Instagram profiles (Reichheld and Schefter, 2000).

Over time, loyal customers regularly will bring in considerable profits and take less time and effort by the companies they support. Many customers tend to forgive customer-service mishaps, show lower sensitivity to price and spread encouraging word-of-mouth about the brand to other users and friends on social media platforms. Consequently, consumer loyalty can be an essential seed of continuous development and yield and a robust resource, mainly in social media networks (E.W. Anderson and Mittal, 2000; Wilk et al., 2021).

III. Conclusion and implications

The development of new information and communication technologies, mainly the internet and social media platforms, has transformed market aspects, targeted companies' competitive status, and boosted the power of customers (Porter, 2001). This helps in spreading the impact of using social media networks in comparison with traditional tools. Customer loyalty has considered a vital goal for companies (Reichheld and Schefter, 2000). Thus, numerous studies have indicated that one of the vital component tools of engendering customer loyalty is to satisfy customers (Oliver, 1999; Reichheld, 2000; Lee et al., 2001; Chu et al., 2013; Muchardieet al., 2016; Helme and Magnoni, 2019) and to provide more excellent value evolved from superior services and products (Parasuraman and Grewal, 2000).

Also, Jaffe (2010) points out in his research that social media platforms give a chance for companies and consumers to have a direct channel of communication, which allows companies to be aware of buyers' opinions, where buyers indeed ask former buyers about their experiences on that brand and trust them rather than depend on what companies advertise about their brands. In addition, social media marketing could build deeper social relationships with the public and help analyse the users' behaviour based on their interaction with brands through the provided tools by social media platforms.

Additionally, it provides statistics about the users' activities, gives information about competitors' actions, and reaches consumers at lower costs than the traditional market. What makes social media marketing more responsive to customer service is that customers answered directly and provided the necessary solutions and information in a shorter time (Alves et al., 2016). Accordingly, this enthused different businesses to devote a good portion of their yield to utilising social media to deliver their brands to the targeted customers with good quality and affordable prices, which positively affects their profits and status among customers (Olenski, 2018). Finally, suggestions

for future studies to consider the influence of other variables in social media that may affect consumers' loyalty, such as educational background, age, type of work, and income level.

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On the border of the modern and the postmodern: Frigyes Karinthy's existentialist concept of the "responsible man"

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Abstract: In my dissertation, I would like to explore Frigyes Karinthy's philosophy hidden in his literary work, and to prove that he created a specific independent bourgeois, existentialist philosophy, which is rarely seen in the history of Hungarian philosophic thought. In my research, I use an interdisciplinary method (using philosophy, religious philosophy and literary history), aimed at exploring his cosmogonic conception spanning his entire oeuvre, the ensuing ontological conception of the "dream-life" and "third state of existence", and his completely new moral system which overwrites the Gospels and at the same time contravenes Nietzsche's amoral philosophy.

Results: Karinthy sensed well the loneliness of the secularized and, consequently, existentially anxious man with his "thrownness" (*Geworfenheit*), and the weight of existential responsibility lying on the individual.

In his novels, short stories and essays there appears the "responsible man" manifesting himself in his messianic figures. In the present paper, I try to place Karinthy's "responsible man" alongside the universal philosophical thinking; between Descartes' modern, thinking, responsible man, and the responsible man of the humanist existentialist philosophy of Sartre and Camus.

The early twentieth century was basically influenced by two great intellectual currents: Nietzschean philosophy and Freudian psychology. Both currents anticipated the postmodern sense of life and way of thinking; the social, psychological and ethical consequences of which have been elaborated upon within Hungarian literature mainly by the "Nyugatosok" (Westerners), as by Karinthy too. That is why I examine how his concept of a "responsible man" was born on the border between the modern and the postmodern.

Conclusions: Karinthy's idea of a "responsible man" was first formulated in the preface to his play *Tomorrow morning* ('Holnap reggel'), written in the eighth month of World War I, in an apocalyptic age. This became completed in the messianic figure of Titusz Telma in his 1916 short novel, *The thousand-faced soul* ('Az ezerarcú lélek'). Actually, Karinthy's *Proclamation of Titus Telma* ('Telma Titusz kiáltványa') belongs closely to this short novel. The *Proclamation* was published separately by Oszkár Ascher in 1938 as part of *Frigyes Karinthy's unpublished diary and letters* ('Karinthy Frigyes Kiadatlan naplója és levelei'), but until our 2011 edition these two closely related works never appeared together (see "Az ezerarcú lélek – Telma Titusz kiáltványa"/The thousand-faced soul – Proclamation of Titus Telma). Karinthy's cosmogonic and moral-philosophical message are unfolded in the "points" of the proclamation. The proclamation is a possible, life-affirming, practical response to both the unfeasible, superhuman moral expectations of Jesus, and the position above morality of Nietzsche's Zarathustra, which overcomes *evil* with the courage of the strong *good* and can bring salvation to the modern and postmodern man who lives in existential fear.

Keywords: *responsible man, modern-postmodern, existentialism, moral-philosophy, redemption*

I. A philosophical framework of a responsible, modern-postmodern man's formation

The idea of modern rational man begins with the principle of “**Cogito ergo sum**” as enunciated by Descartes, who defines his own existence as a function of the self-reflection of thought, which in turn implies doubt or “**Dubito ergo sum**” as an essential dimension of thought and a basic condition of existence for a free, thus responsible individual.

The Kantian common sense critique of the Enlightenment then undertakes an examination of the structure of human thought to ultimately arrive at the moral-philosophical notion of *categorical imperative*. This Categorical Imperative creates the need within all human being to become law-makers who are capable in turning the concept of duty into a general law without the expectation of any divine, otherworldly punishment or reward, that is, without the *hypothetical imperative* of all self-interest. In this way, it establishes the independent responsibility of the secular modern-postmodern man towards the world, and it will serve as the basis of a modern democratic society.

This process of secularization which is perceived and formulated and then culminated in Nietzsche's early-existentialist philosophy, which, with its “nihilistic” amoral philosophy, seeks to answer and find a solution to the redemption of the individual who is alone, who is liable for himself. Then the late existentialist Sartre (following Heidegger and Husserl) will go back again to Descartes' pure *cogito*. In doing so, he lays the foundation for his humanist existentialist philosophy and closes a whole philosophical circle spanning several centuries.

It is not possible to draw a sharp line between modern and postmodern thinking and the feeling of life; where does the one end and where does the other begin. Surely as we can see this is a process spanning several centuries, and these are still inseparable today, since both conceptions are present.¹ Agnes Heller characterizes the modern approach with universalism, while the postmodern with detotalization.²

II. Two great forerunners of the postmodern

The foundation of the postmodern is connected to the philosophy of Nietzsche and the psychology of Freud, respectively in the literature,³ the two very influential thinkers who have largely defined the way of thinking, worldview, sense of life and art of the twentieth century and even the present day.

II.1. Nietzsche's language-based proto-postmodernism

Nietzsche's proto-postmodernism is derived from a linguistic approach in which Descartes' proposition regarding the possibility of rational cognition – a precondition of which is the reliability of language – is called into question. What Nietzsche's proto-postmodernism actually calls into question is the implication of Descartes' proposition that the possibility of rational cognition and therefore language is in fact capable of grasping all of life's realities. Grammar and semantics, forcing a form onto internal and external chaotic processes, schematize them.

¹ Cf. Heller 2003. 3-15.

² Ibid.

³ See Bókay 2001.

‘The grammar seems absolute, but in essence it creates spiritual-metaphysical concepts and ideas.’⁴ Thus Nietzsche considers the concept of God a grammatical error, a piece of misleading language, since man starts from that grammatical order ‘that if something, which exists, has been created, there must also have to be a creator.’⁵ That is, he simply attributes faith in the existence of God to a deceptive system of language. Quoting his successful expression: “‘Reason’ in language – oh, what an old deceptive female she is! I am afraid we are not rid of God because we still have faith in grammar.”⁶ Nietzsche likewise disputes the concept of cogito by Descartes, namely itself the concept of the thinking self. It could be said, instead of the Cartesian “I think, therefore I am” statement, Nietzsche *introduces* the thesis ‘**I think, therefore I deceive**’⁷, because according to him man can grasp things only in metaphors.⁸ With the undertaking of chaos, nihilism typically arrives at a hermeneutical solution rather than at a grammar one, exploring a kind of metahermeneutics, examining the antecedents of ‘building order into chaos’⁹. According to Nietzsche, we can never achieve the truth because the truth does not exist, but it is ‘something to be created’, it requires *will to power* which is beyond language. Accordingly, he considers philology the “art of correct reading”.¹⁰ Nietzsche's conception of language was later developed by the rhetorical trend of postmodern literary studies, the deconstruction. Antal Bókay considers Nietzsche one of the proto-sources of the postmodern trend.¹¹

II.2. Freud's psychoanalytic proto-postmodernism

While Nietzsche in a theoretical-philosophical way exceeded the modern Cartesian ways of thinking, subsequently Freud exceeded them in terms of practical life. After he noticed non-physical origin symptoms in hysterical patients, he explored a grammatical-semantic mechanism, namely, that the human psyche divides both the external and internal worlds into signifiers and signifieds. Freud thought it was enough to reveal the secrets of this language mechanism for healing. The only means of this was language, the conversation.¹² During his psychoanalytic therapy, he was confronted with the fact that internal signifier-signified form an infinite chain, that is, behind every previous trauma, another one can be discovered, so the therapeutic process is unfinishable and unclosable.¹³ It proves that the person has no stable nucleus, no endpoint, since another endpoint emerges behind every point that is believed to be an endpoint. ‘This incompleteness is the postmodern starting point of psychoanalysis, since it considers the aspiration towards the unified person, the final, clear meaning and the reliable grammar an illusion.’¹⁴

In his work the *Interpretation of dreams* (‘Die Traumdeutung’), published in 1900, he introduced a hermeneutic model, thus he gave birth to the method of psychoanalysis. As a

⁴ Op. cit. p. 266., Cf. Schrift 1990. pp. 139-142.

⁵ Ibid. Cf. Schrift 1990. pp. 140-142. “Mankind has at all times mistaken the active for the passive: it is its **eternal grammatical blunder.**” (Nietzsche 1911. par. 120.) Emphasis added

⁶ Ibid. / “...Nietzsche's cryptic remark in *Twilight*” (Schrift 1990. p. 142.) See Nietzsche 1895. par. 5.

⁷ Bókay 2001. p. 267., Cf. Nietzsche 1976.

⁸ Cf. Nietzsche 2018. pp. 5-23.

⁹ Bókay 2001. p. 267.

¹⁰ Op. cit. p. 269./ Cf. Nietzsche 1878. par. 270., Nietzsche 2005. p.127.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Op. cit. p. 270.

¹³ Op. cit. p. 271.

¹⁴ Ibid.

variant of the postmodern semantic concept, in the depths of the soul he assumed a set of fragments of unknown origin, faulty fragments of the soul.¹⁵ ‘...he claims that these fragments are signs of the emergence and existence of a unified force, a complex of desire. Freud called this united force the *unconscious*.’¹⁶ ‘The unconscious, the desire is found behind everything rational...’¹⁷ In contrast to the Cartesian “I think, therefore I am” Freud considers the principle of ‘**I desire, therefore I am**’¹⁸ to be well-founded. Freud's ‘unconscious and associated spiritual mechanisms play the same life position and theoretical role’ as Nietzsche’s will to power.¹⁹ ‘Desire (...) is a continuous compulsion to interpret, and the life of the individual man, thus, is an existence-hermeneutic, a series of interpretations of desire.’²⁰ Unsatisfied desire can cause mental illness during the spiritual activity of repression. In psychoanalytic dialogue (language-creating), dream-interpretation therapy, looking behind the repressed and rational self-deception to the genealogical starting point of desire, provides an opportunity to recreate the inner intellect, which is not or less pathogenic. This process can be called also self-creating hermeneutics. The very postmodern content of psychoanalysis, to capture the desire that evokes (covering) rhetoric, whereas it is essentially impossible to grasp it, since the signified always turns out to be in fact a signifier and needs further understanding. Thus, the personality dissolves and disperses; its existence is temporalized.²¹

Freud in his book *The Future of an Illusion* (‘Die Zukunft einer Illusion’ 1927) sees the concept of God as the articulation of anxiety, fear and guilt in the image of the primal father, and then in the elevation of the image of the primal father to a concept of God.²² ‘God, in the Freudian system, is an interpretation of a desire, namely a dialogic interpretation, for, the anxiety inherent in each man has received an illusory but reassuring signifier on the basis of a common agreement and dialogue.’²³

Nietzsche’s and Freud’s linguistic, hermeneutical conception already anticipates the postmodern concept of meaning, but its principles will be worked out only by Heidegger and Derrida, on the basis of their formulation and in retrospect from the postmodern age, they can be considered the forerunners of the postmodern conception.²⁴

III. The influence of the Nietzschean philosophy and Freudian psychology on the early twentieth century

As we have seen, the early twentieth century takes place in an atmosphere of influence of the two great intellectual currents, Nietzsche’s philosophy and Freudian psychology. Thus, it naturally influenced the arts, including literary representation and philosophical thinking.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ “*Desidero* is a fundamental the Freudian *Cogito*” (Lacan 1981. p. 154.) “‘I think therefore I am’ (in Latin, *Cogito ergo sum*) was to be replaced by Lacan’s psychoanalytic axiom of the uncertainty of human desire, *Desidero ergo sum*, ‘I desire therefore I am’” (Levine 2008. 70). Cf. O’Brien 2016. p. 223.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Op. cit. 272.

²¹ Op. cit. pp. 273-274.

²² Cf. „But, as was shown by arguments which I need not repeat here, the primal father was the original image of God, the model on which later generations have shaped the figure of God” (Freud 1961. p. 42.)

²³ Bókay 2001. p. 276.

²⁴ Ibid.

Within Hungarian literature, the social, psychological and ethical consequences of both intellectual currents, were processed mostly by the “Nyugatosok” (Westerners) in their works. Nietzsche was seeking an answer to the moral crisis of the secularizing society of the 19th century; that is, why the “stone-engraved” Judeo-Christian laws do not function. Moreover, he interpreted the whole history as a refutation of Judeo-Christian moral values, and as a consequence, declared that “God is dead”.²⁵ Consequently, if God is dead, then his moral laws are no longer valid. With this statement, Nietzsche definitively relieves/deprives man of the protective illusion of divine providence, at the same time putting a divine burden, the responsibility of being, on his shoulders, which, from his philosophical logic, only a superhuman man, the *Übermensch*, would be able to carry. Even if it is not an *Übermensch*, an autonomous, secular individuum is created who is responsible for himself, which is a condition of modern-postmodern civil democratic society.

Naturally, this nihilistic world, deprived of metaphysical “reality”, evokes existential anxiety in the individual, and at the same time also detotalizes²⁶ the world; there is no longer a universal unit which the individuum can hold on to – as we have seen, it is also one of the defining foundations of the postmodern sense of life. This anxious sense of life and sense of responsibility provoked different responses in sensitive thinkers and artists, in both philosophy and literature. In this sense, we can speak about post-Nietzsche philosophy and literature.

This is the existential problem wherein Karinthy also looks for an answer, and creates the concept of the “responsible man” as a counterweight of Nietzsche’s Zarathustra, otherwise he identified himself with “responsible man” concept in his life.²⁷

IV. Collocation of Karinthy’s concept of “responsible man” between the Cartesian and the late existentialist philosophical thinking

Sartre in his study *The Cartesian Freedom* (‘La Liberté cartésienne’ 1946) writes: Descartes’ “spontaneous reaction is to affirm the responsibility of man in the presence of the true. Truth is a human thing, since I must affirm it in order for it exist. (...) Man is thus the being through whom truth appears in the world. His task is to commit himself totally in order that the natural order of existants may become an order of truths. He must ponder the world, must will his thinking and must transform the order of being into a system of ideas. (...) Descartes therefore begins **by providing us with entire intellectual responsibility.**”²⁸

²⁵ »Wohin ist Gott?« rief er, » ich will euch es sagen! *Wir haben ihn getötet* – ihr und ich! Wir alle sind seine Mörder! (...) **Gott ist tot!** (...)« see the statement of the madman — who, in fact, as a forerunner of Zarathustra, already states, “**God is dead!**” (it is the oral statement of György Tatár), for “*we have killed him*” – who is hurt precisely because he dares to tell the truth. See *Der tolle Mensch*, p. 125. in: Nietzsche 1954. [Emphasis added], see also Nietzsche 2001. pp. 119-120.

²⁶ Expression by Agnes Heller.

²⁷ For this Mrs. Kosztolányi is who draws attention: “*Némelykor Homérosz, majd meg Szókratész, esetenként Napóleon, de legtöbbször Telma Titusz, a ’megölhetetlen’, a ’megváltó’, ’az ezerarcú’ ember szerepébe élte magát. Szerette hirdetni magáról, hogy ő a ’felelős ember’, s ezt valahogy úgy értette, hogy magára vállalja minden rosszért, minden bűnért a felelősséget.*” (‘Sometimes Homer and then Socrates, sometimes Napoleon, but most of the time he played the role of Titus Telma, the “immortal”, the “savior”, the “thousand-faced” man. He liked to declare himself the “responsible man”, and he meant it somehow by taking responsibility for all evil, for all sin.’) (Kosztolányi Dezsőné 2004. 105.)

²⁸ Sartre 1969. p. 171. Emphasis added

Or, as in *Being and Nothingness* ('L'être et le néant' 1943) he previously stated: "...man, doomed to be free, carries the weight of the whole world on his shoulders: **he is responsible for the world and for himself** as a way of being."²⁹

So the individuum which is responsible for the order of the world is formulated here, dating back to the pure Descartes origin of mature existentialism. Karinthy's notion of "**responsible man**" fits into this system of thought, beyond that, we will see, it may also meet certain criteria of the Jewish concept of redemption.

IV.1. Presentation of Karinthy's *Tomorrow Morning* ('Holnap reggel' 1916) play in terms of a prototype of the "experimental man" (savior)

In the preface of his play *Tomorrow Morning*, Karinthy articulates the role of the "responsible man". This work was written in the eighth month of World War I, in an apocalyptic era, and the question was conceived in the atmosphere of the need for redemption: „*Ki verte belém, hogy nekem kell megoldani a csomókat – hogy én vagyok a felelős az életért, melyért senki sem vállalja a felelősséget?*” ('Who beat into me that I have to solve the knots – **that I am responsible for life**, for which no one takes responsibility?')³⁰ A person who consciously takes responsibility for being – the autonomous, civic individuum – in his freedom the capability of redemption also lies. As a result, the responsible men of Karinthy simultaneously act the part of saviors.

The protagonist of *Tomorrow Morning*, Sándor Ember (Alexander Man), is the prototype of the "experimental savior" – as Karinthy composes in his preface:

„... *De én a törvényre vagyok kíváncsi, nem arra mi az ember, hanem arra, hogy mi lehetne ... mi felé érdelemes törekedni. Azt az embert akarom látni, akit az értelem és belátás teremtett volna a hatodik napon – ahelyett, akit a véletlen teremtett. A kísérleti embert, a homunkuluszt akarom látni...*”

('... But I'm curious about the law, not about what the man is, but what he might be ... what it's worth striving for.³¹ I want to see that man who was created by reason and discernment on the sixth day – instead of the one created by chance. I want to see the experimental man, the homunculus...')³² – who will be completed in the form of Titus Telma, the protagonist of *The thousand-faced soul* ('Az ezerarcu lélek' 1916)³³.

Already Sándor Ember is also a kind of *Übermensch*, at the same time he is the opposite of Zarathustra – as Márton Karinthy also assumes in his book *Devil Spasm* ('Ördögörcs' 2003). Freed from the fear of death of the existentially anxious man, Sándor Ember will be able to avoid his tragic fate, that is, to reverse the ordinarily sad end of the tragicomedy,³⁴ and

²⁹ Sartre 1993 p. 553. Emphasis added

³⁰ Karinthy 1916b. p.13. Emphasis added. All English translations of Karinthy's work here and elsewhere in the paper are my own. BB

³¹ Cf. Sartre

³² Op. cit. 8.

³³ In other translation: *The Protean Soul*

³⁴ "Tragikomédiát írok, de fordítottat. Eddig a tragikomédia eleje vig volt, a vége szomorú. Próbáljuk egyszer úgy, hogy az eleje legyen szomorú és a vége vig." ('I write tragicomedy, but conversely. So far, the beginning of the tragicomedy has been merry, the end sad. Let's try once so that the beginning is sad and the end is happy.')

converting the aircraft intended for killing and destruction into a peaceful instrument, saying no to war, to murder, he is elevated into a superhuman redemptive figure, to the experimental man, the homunculus, whom Karinthy was looking for.

IV.2. *The thousand-faced soul* short novel's mature redemptive figure/responsible man

Karinthy's much more mature redemptive figure, his "responsible man" (although only two years separate the creation of the two works), is completed in the person of the protagonist of *The thousand-faced soul*, Titus Telma. The short novel was published in 1916 and occupied Karinthy for the rest of his life. Thus the *Proclamation of Titus Telma* ('Telma Títusz kiáltványa'), which is an integral part of the novel, was 'kneaded and carved into himself'³⁵ until his death, and which, as his masterpiece, he would have liked to expand into a proclamation novel.³⁶

The proclamation was edited by Oszkár Ascher from Karinthy's manuscripts which were created in different times,³⁷ and it was published in 1938 as part of the *Frigyes Karinthy's unpublished diary and letters* ('Karinthy Frigyes Kiadatlan naplója és levelei'), after the writer's death.³⁸ While the novel was published several times, the proclamation was undeservedly forgotten and was published only in 2011 already as an integral part of the novel.³⁹

The co-publication of the two works is also very important from the aspect of Karinthy's oeuvre because it contains the author's most important moral-philosophical message to the world against Nietzsche's immoral, "nihilistic" philosophy, but it also presents for us a complex existential-philosophical, and at the same time redemptive, idea.

As described above, I analysed in detail both the short novel and the proclamation, and therefore now I aim to summarise the philosophical content. Firstly I will describe the short novel's history.

The thousand-faced soul was written against the apocalyptic background of World War I, and is set in this time. Titus Telma is a 30-33 year old⁴⁰ (like Jesus or Zarthusra) Jewish naturalist (doctor of physiology) from the Hague, who discovers the secret of immortality, and by leaving his own body his soul is able to reincarnate in other organic or inorganic bodies as well. With this superhuman ability, he acquires redemptive power, since he can kill anyone with *impunity*, but he cannot be slain by any son of man. He could misuse this ability, but his redeeming essence is realized precisely in the fact that he seeks *worldly* redemption as an active good person. He appears in the body of an already shot corporal at the battle of Kolm, and causes astonishment, then a laughing hysteria, among the soldiers who cannot kill him. This is Titus Telma's **messianic**, apokalyptic break-in to history. It satisfies certain Jewish messianic criteria.⁴¹

(Karinthy 1916b p.11.)

³⁵ See foreword by Oscar Ascher In: Karinthy 1938b. p. 163./Karinthy 2011. p. 62.

³⁶ See Necrology of Iván Erdős In: Karinthy 2011. p. 173.

³⁷ See comment by Oscar Ascher In: Karinthy 1938b. p. 187./Karinthy 2011. p. 86.

³⁸ Karinthy 1938b.

³⁹ Karinthy 2011.

⁴⁰ He is 33 year old in the novel and 30 in the proclamation (see Karinthy 2011. pp. 15-16., 73.)

⁴¹ Cf. Scholem 1971. pp. 1., 4., 30./ f.n. 25., See also Karinthy 2011. pp. 94-96., 101-102.

Doctors diagnose telmomania, or telmaism, as the mass hysteria that this scene triggers among people. Then on the anniversary of the Lutheran proclamation put on the wall of Wittenberg Cathedral, Titusz Telma sets his own proclamation at the gates of the London Parliament. So, as we can see, the proclamation appears as an immanent part of the novel, although at that time the writer was probably just beginning to work out the text of the proclamation, since we do not know its points here, we only know up to a brief reference that it is ‘about the rights of a man born free’⁴².

In the novel’s proclamation, Telma calls on governments around the world to hold a conference in Antwerp and at the same time he reveals his own superhuman power, and calls on those who unjustly usurp power to resign, otherwise – in accordance with the active messianic criteria – he slays them.⁴³

Titus Telma eventually, as an active messiah on the scene of history, reaches general disarmament, the destruction of weapons and world peace. And by doing so, he seems to fulfill his redemptive mission. Although in the last chapter of the novel the possibility of redemption remains doubtful, since, from the letters of Telma to his love, we incidentally find out, that the world arms again. As an ironic twist that is so characteristic of Karinthy, finally, Telma (who is now in the body of Marquis Mesquin) due to his hopeless love for the woman, decides to dissolve his soul and leave living people. József Kurt, as Telma’s apostle, reports that he will be expected to return as a redeemer.

This is the story of the novel in a nutshell, and the text of a proclamation compiled by Oscar Ascher and separately published 22 years later is built on this story.

4.3. Cosmogonic, moral-philosophical and ontological aspects of *Proclamation of Titus Telma*

The introductory part of *Proclamation of Titus Telma (I. The Legend)* refers back to the legend, that is, to the events of the novel. And the proclamation, ‘from a researcher who does not want to name himself’⁴⁴, presents the “Gospel of József Kurt” to the publisher who published it. The writer would like to suggest, as if the expected “parousia” had occurred; that is, Titus Telma again would have reappeared among the people, again to bring that good news, the “**new Gospel**”.

Like Nietzsche, who called his *Zarathustra* the “fifth Gospel”, Karinthy also intended his proclamation to be a “new Gospel”, whose language, biblical parallelisms – as in the case of *Zarathustra* – evoke the Gospels. For Karinthy and Nietzsche, this is a conscious reference to the withdrawal of the original Gospels in their own form, or to reform them. Karinthy, however, does it for a dual purpose; he writes his own ‘Gospel’ also as a withdrawal of Nietzsche’s *Zarathustra*.

In accordance with the “new Gospel”, the believers of Telma introduce a new era⁴⁵ (just like Nietzsche in *The Antichrist*⁴⁶). Karinthy founds his **new religion**, “**telmaism**”, with an unprecedented theological sense, in which religion, as we shall see, is filled with a new moral content compared to the original Gospels. In keeping with the new religion, he also composes a new history of creation that reveals a complex cosmogonic system.

⁴² See Karinthy 1916a. p. 18./Karinthy 2011. p. 28.

⁴³ Cf. Karinthy 2011. pp. 102-108.

⁴⁴ Karinthy 1938b. p. 163./Karinthy 2011. p. 62.

⁴⁵ Karinthy 1916a. p. 3./Karinthy 2011. p. 13.

⁴⁶ See Nietzsche 1924. par. 62. p. 181., Cf. Karinthy 2011. pp. 99-102.

In the next chapter of the proclamation (§ I. / 1. *The horror*) ('A rémület') his history of creation unfolds, and with it itself the proclamation begins (that is why there is also the indication I. §/1. here, in which Karinthy was later inconsistent).

„Kezdetben volt a köd és a káosz és ebben a ködben és káoszban aludt a Bátorság. Egyszer pedig felébredt, nyújtózkodott, mint az ébredő, még álmos lélek kiált, mikor jókedvűen magához tér. (...) A köd pedig megrémült ekkor és reszketni kezdett egész mivoltában...”

(‘In the beginning there was fog and chaos and in this fog and chaos the Courage slept. And he once woke up, stretched himself, like an awakener, still sleepy soul who is crying out, when he is regaining consciousness cheerfully. And (...) the mist was horrified then, and it began to tremble in his whole being...’)⁴⁷

The cosmos is organized into matter from this “**original Horror**”; solar systems are formed, Earth is formed, life is formed on Earth, and one day Man, the “son of trembling Horror” is formed.⁴⁸

To understand this cosmogonic beginning, we need to know Karinthy’s ontological idea, which he explicates in many of his works, e.g.: *Is there an afterlife?* ('Van-e túlvilági élet?'), *Everything is different* ('Minden másképpen van'), foreword of *Tomorrow morning* ('Holnap reggel'), foreword of *Heavenly Report*⁴⁹ ('Mennyei Riport'), *Rope dance* ('Kötéltánc'), *The bad dream* ('A rossz álom') etc.

The influence of Freudian psychology may also have contributed to his idea of syncretist and multi-philosophical views, according to which:

„... van egy é b r e n l é t, amelyhez viszonyítva eszmélő életünk annyi csak, mint mostani életünkhöz képest az álom...”

(‘...there is a wakefulness with relation to which our conscious life is as much as the dream compared to our present life...’)⁵⁰.

According to Karinthy, one can wake up from this “dream life”, only with a spiritual movement contrary to its dream logic’, e.g. you can wake up with an inarticulate cry or laugh to “true reality”, that is, he thinks of a kind of awakening after death, which is neither life as we know it nor death, but something beyond that, a “third state”, an individual afterlife that is a reality which always coexists with the dream life.

The awakening Courage, the metaphysical deity, in the creation history of the proclamation, is in fact nothing more than the inner self-god of a person who exists somewhere in Gnostic distance. This inner self-god dreams/creates the person’s dream self (dual conception of the soul)⁵¹, and his life, dream reality. The protagonist of the *Heavenly Report* (written much later), Merlin Oldtime, will then reach this god of metaphysical Courage during his afterlife

⁴⁷ Karinthy 1938b. p. 167./Karinthy 2011. p. 66.

⁴⁸ Ibid. pp. 167-168./ibid. pp. 66-67.

⁴⁹ In other translation: *Celestial Riport*

⁵⁰ Karinthy 1979. p. 333.

⁵¹ „...két részből áll a lelkünk: - az egyik, az abszolút, ami állandóan a túlvilágban van – s a másik, amit innen ismerünk, az életünkből, előbbinek függvénye, relatív valami, mint az álom: – lélek, melynek minden élménye az éber szellem állapotától függ.” (‘...our soul consists of two parts: – one, the absolute, which is constantly in the afterlife – and the other one we know from here, from our lives, is a function of the former, relative something like a dream: – a soul whose every experience depends on the state of the alert spirit.’) (Karinthy 1977. p. 16.)

journey. Karinthy's idea of a self-god is actually a transcendental ego, but certainly not in the Husserl or Sartre sense. At the same time, Karinthy's inner self-image can be explained by the mechanism of Sartre's conscious self-reflection.

If we try to interpret the god of Courage from this particular theological logic, then it can also be understood as the self-creating inner god of Titus Telma, who will redeem the world he has created from "original Horror".

So the Courage, via his shouting (his *logos*), he necessarily creates a **cosmos of Horror** that is independent of him. From here, as a Gnostic deity, he no longer participates in creation, but the Horror, as a *demiurge*, further creates the trembling world of matter. In it Man the "trembling son of Horror"⁵² builds walls around himself and makes weapons because he is afraid of his fellow man, the life of the other man, not of death, but from "killability" (as Karinthy coined), and even in this fear he will kill and wage war.

Karinthy accurately senses the existential fear and anxiety felt by the lonely, modern-postmodern, secularizing bourgeois individual (as in Kafka's works, just using other writing tools) and builds his cosmogony from this existential fear; the creation theory of the cosmos of Horror. But he won't let it go unanswered, and as the final conclusion of moral philosophy follows logically from all cosmogony, thus, in the case of Karinthy, as a philosophical-logical consequence, he builds the moral system of the brave *good*, the strong *good*, thus overwriting Nietzsche's amoral philosophy.⁵³

Titus Telma kills the cause of fear in himself, the fear from the killability, thus he acquires the superhuman immortality and redemptive power.⁵⁴ He makes a proclamation to the people evoking the *Sermon on the mount of Gospel* to the killable mortals, as he calls them:

„A Boldogság neve: megismerés.

Megmondattott: mondj igazat, betörök a fejed.

És megmondattott: töred be a fejed és mondj igazat.

Én pedig azt mondom: betört fej nem mond igazat.

S a fejben, mely nem fél a betöréstől, nem az igazság lakozik, hanem a legyőzött félelem holtteteme, melyet úgy neveztek eddig: Bátorság.

A vértanú, ki meghalt az eszméért, vérével vörösre festi azt, s aki azért fogadja be az eszmét, mert vér tapad hozzá, a vért fogadta be és nem az eszmét.

Megmondattott: szeresd ellenségedet, mint felebarátodat, jó légy ahhoz, aki rosszat tesz veled s ha szíved felé sujt, tárd ki melledet.

Én pedig azt mondom: ha az ellenség megöli téged s te hagyod – meg fogja ölni felebarátodat is: bizony mondom neked, az ő kezével, amit nem fogtál le, te ölted meg a te felebarátodat.

Mert kétféle módon támad fel az emberben ama Félelem: az egyik elhalványul a vértől, mely az eszméhez tapad, a másik vérszemet kap tőle.

Azért hát én, ki nem eltörölni jöttem a törvényt, hanem betölteni, azt mondom:

Szeresd ellenségedet, de gyűlöld, aki nem szereti.

Bocsáss meg mindenkinek, de ne bocsáss meg annak, aki meg nem bocsát.

Érts meg mindenkit, de ne értsd meg azt, aki meg nem ért.

Tégy jót mindenkivel, de rosszat tégy azzal, aki nem tesz jót.

⁵² See Karinthy 1938b. p. 168./Karinthy 2011. p. 67.

⁵³ See Karinthy 2011. pp. 118-121.

⁵⁴ Cf. Karinthy 1938b. p. 170./Karinthy 2011. p. 69.

Ezt mondta Telma Titusz azon a reggelen, mikor megtudta, hogy őt nem lehet megölni.”

(‘The name of Happiness: cognition.

It was said: tell the truth, your head will be broken.

And It was said, allow your head to be broken doth, and tell the truth.

But I say, a broken head speaketh no truth.⁵⁵

And in the mind, which is not afraid of the breaking, the truth does not reside, but the corpse of overcome fear, which has hitherto been called: Courage.

The martyr, who died for the idea, painted it red with his blood, and who received the idea because blood had soaked into it, received the blood and not the idea.

It was said: you shall love your enemy as your neighbor, be good to that one who does evil to you, and if he strikes at your heart, open up your chest.

But I say: if the enemy kills you and you let it – he will also kill your neighbor: **For truly I tell you: with his hand that you have not taken, you have killed your neighbor.**

Because that fear arises in man in two ways: one fades from the blood that seaks into idea, the other becomes bold from it.

So I, who have come not to abolish the law but to fulfill it, I say:

Love your enemy, but hate those who does not love him.

Forgive everyone, but do not forgive those who does not forgive.

Understand everyone, but do not understand those who do not understand you.

Do good to everyone, but do bad to those who do no good.

This is what Titus Telma said that morning when he learned that he could not be killed.’)⁵⁶

As we can see, Karinthy overwrites the laws of Jesus, which have so far proved unenforceable, transforming them into life-affirming, practical moral laws, by which the courage of the strong *good* can overcome *evil*, and can bring redemption to the people who live in fear.

This is not the end of Titus Telma’s redemption program; he speaks to the living people and teaches them how to be good:

„Először hozzatok szövegeket: mindannyiatokhoz s csak aztán azokhoz, akik közületek hatalmasok: nektek mondom el, kicsoda Telma Titusz.

Élő emberek a földön: eddig úgy hívtak benneteket: halandók. Én úgy hívlak benneteket: megölhetők.

Benneteket kik elsápadtok a vértől és benneteket, akik vérszemet kaptok tőle.

⁵⁵ The protagonist of the film version of the novel *A Journey Round My Skull*, written and directed by György Révész in 1970, quotes the second, third and fourth lines with minor changes.

See <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x58qdr7>, 05:31-06:01.

The scene in the film is a brilliantly condensed montage of moments from the novel *The thousand-faced soul* and the *Proclamation of Titus Telma*. In addition to contemporary recollections and the Karinthy book we published in 2011, also in the essay by Edit Erdődy *Worldview and mode of representation in Frigyes Karinthy’s drama Tomorrow Morning* (‘Világkép és ábrázolásmód Karinthy Frigyes: Holnap reggel c. drámájában’) refers to the organic connection of the two works. See Erdődy 1990. p. 67.

From 07:21 to 07:28, the film quotes from the *Frigyes Karinthy’s unpublished diary and letters* (also put in the protagonist’s mouth), that **with the theme of Titus Telma is the unkillable man** (‘Telma Titusz a megölhetetlen ember’) **Karinthy wanted to apply for the French Peace Film Award**. Cf. Karinthy 1938a. p. 88.

⁵⁶ Karinthy 1938b. pp. 171-172./Karinthy 2011. pp. 70-71. Emphasis added.

Megmondattok nektek a ti bölcsseitektől, hogy a haláltól féltek s azért neveztek el magatokat halandóknak.

Én pedig azt mondom nektek: nem a haláltól féltek ti, hanem egymástól: az Időelőtti Haláltól, amit úgy hívnak: ölés.

*Mert a halált adta nektek ugyanaz, aki a Születést adta – a világ istene, kinek neve **Bátorság**.*

Aki pedig születni akar, ha ideje érkezett s megszületik, mert jó élni – az meghalni is akar, s meghal, ha ideje érkezett, mert jó meghalni.

Mert két boldogság vagyon: felébredni a kipihentnek és elaludni az elfáradottnak.

De két gyötirelem is van: felébredni a fáradottnak és elaludni a kipihentnek.

Aki tehát idő előtt születik, annak elvetélték az életét – aki idő előtt hal meg, annak elvetélték a halálát, – az elvetélt haláltól féltek ti, megölhetők, nem a haláltól, ti halandók.

Ezt mondja nektek Telma Titusz, a megölhetetlen halandó, ama Bátorság gyermeke.”

(‘I speak to you first: to all of you and only then to those who are powerful among you: I will tell you who Titus Telma is.

Living people on earth: so far you have been called mortals. I call you: killable.

You who are pale from the blood and you who become bold from it.

It was said to you by your wise men that you feared death, and that is why you called yourselves mortals.

But I say to you: you are not afraid of death, but of each other: from Untimely Death, which is called: killing.

Death is given to you by the same one who gave Birth – **the god of the world whose name is Courage.**

And in turn who wants to be born, when his time came and he was born, because it is good to live – that one also wants to die, and he dies when his time comes, because it is good to die.

Because there are two types of joy: waking to the rested and falling asleep to the tired.

But there are two torments: waking to the tired and falling asleep to the rested.

So who was born untimely their life was aborted – who die untimely, their death was aborted – you are afraid of the aborted death, you who are killable, not from death, you, mortals.

This is what Titus Telma, the unkillable mortal, the child of that Courage, tells you.’)⁵⁷

This gives a precise definition of the cause of the fear, thus it also creates for humans, if not immortality, but the possibility of redemption from killability. He provides tangible practical guidance for this:

„Mert amíg a jó meg nem félemlíti a rosszat: az ő neve Gyengeség.”

(‘For as long as the good does not intimidate the evil: its name is Weakness.’)⁵⁸

Accordingly, his main message is: **„Ne féljeteK.”** (‘Do not be afraid.’)⁵⁹

In fact, this is the essence of Karinty’s moral-philosophical message. But in his proclamation he also speaks *To the Mighty Ones of the Earth*, against whom he acts as a

⁵⁷ Op. cit. pp. 173-174./ Op. cit. pp. 72-73. Emphasis added.

⁵⁸ Op. cit. p. 187./ Op. cit. p. 86.

⁵⁹ Ibid./Ibid.

Platonic statesman, and takes control of the world from them. Finally he addresses his words *To the thinkers*, who would have to control this world, and bestows his world-governing power upon them, if he will not be once, sithence the redeemed world no longer needs the presence of the redeemer. The absolute freedom of Titus Telma lies in the fact that he is not a prisoner of immortality, but he can decide for himself how long he is present in the world.⁶⁰

IV.4. The significance of Karinthy's moral-philosophical message

In his essay *Nihilism and History* ('Nihilisme et histoire' 1951), Albert Camus criticizes the nihilism of Nietzsche's amoral philosophy, which eventually confined the human to the 'crime prisons' of the concentration camps, when the rightful metaphysical rebellion accuses God of the injustice of death and suffering, and then replaces it with the rebellion against rebellion, and the will of theoretical power with the will of secular power.

"Man, on an earth that he knows is henceforth solitary, is going to add, to irrational crimes, the crimes of reason that are bent on the triumph of man. To the **'I rebel, therefore we exist,'** he adds, with prodigious plans in mind which even include the death of rebellion: **'And we are alone.'**"⁶¹

The importance of Karinthy's moral-philosophical message can be truly understood from this humanist existentialist stance. Maybe if he hadn't (only) created in Hungarian, but in a world language, then his successful response to nihilism could have saved humanity from its destructive ownself!

V. Karinthy's identification with the role of "responsible man"

Karinthy's deep identification with the role of "responsible man becomes clear", in his poem *To the reform generation. An extemporaneous account of the talent entrusted to the poet* ('A reformnemzedékhez. Hevenyészett elszámolás a költőre bízott talentomról')⁶² when Titus Telma calls for his mission as a redeemer to hold himself to account.

*„...Dallam amit te is el fogsz énekelni a létra tetején törtető ifjú barátom
És végre emitt ez a tőr az én haragom s a dac fente élesre neked
Az én fegyverem vedd a kezedbe markolatát próbáld csak ki ne félj
Szegezd a szívemnek toppants egyet és döfd előre ha mered
Ez az egyetlen tőr amitől elesem a magamé a tiéd még tompa fiacskám
Így döfsz te és így döfök én de viszont így élsz te és így halok én meg
Mert bár én álmodtam őt de önmagam nem vagyok Telma Titusz
S mert nem vagyok az talán jobb is hogy nem szóltatok nekem gyerekek
Lám a harci dalt amit írtam magam már nem szívesen dalolom
Csak az hős aki pőre a páncéllóvag fél hogy Achilles-sarkát hátrakötik
Van mit vesztenie hetyke tivornyán és hirtelen jelszavakon
Béke és harc veletek formáljátok és gyúrjátok át ezt a világot
Amit magam már megpróbáltam formálni és gyúrni egy keveset”*

(‘...Melody what you are going to sing on top of the ladder my pushy young friend
And finally here this dagger is my anger and the defiance sharpened it for you
It is my weapon take its handle in your hand just try don't be afraid

⁶⁰ See Karinthy 2011. pp. 122-123.

⁶¹ Camus 1991. p. 104.

⁶² Karinthy 1938c. p. 51.

Aim it at my heart plant your feet and stab if you dare
Only this dagger that makes me fall is mine yours is still blunt sonny
This is how you stab and this is how I stab but that is how you live and that is how
I die

Because even though he was dreamed by me but I am not Titus Telma myself

And because I am not him maybe it is better you didn't tell me kids
Lo the battle-song I wrote I am not singing it already myself gladly
Only that is a hero who is naked the armored knight is afraid that his Achilles heel
will be tied back

There is something he can lose in a jaunty binge and on sudden catchwords

Peace and struggle with you, remould and knead this world

What I myself already have tried to shape and knead a little')⁶³

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⁶³ Karinthy 1938c. p. 55. Emphasis added. The original appearance of the poem In: *Pesti Napló* 12. 05. 1935. p. 33. See Kőríz 2011. ln. 35-36.

Péter György examines the history of the poem's origin under the Gömbös government (which also gives the apropos of title of the poem), respectively, interpreted the above lines in the historical context of the First World War and the loss of Trianon. See György 2013. pp. 169-173.

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The story of an enchanted object– The symbolical meaning of a bracelet in Elena Ferrante’s *The Lying Life of Adults*

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The meaning of „smarginatura” (reconfiguring the margins) is receiving considerable attention with the interpretation of the works of Elena Ferrante. From the psychological anguish and fear the female protagonist of Ferrante experiences at the beginning of her story, her path leads her first to the disintegration of her personality and then to the construction of a new, autonomous and self-identified subject. The recurring elements of Ferrante's novels are those that define this process of self-formation of the protagonist, which can be described in terms of „smarginatura-marginatura”. This process is also present in *The Lying Life of Adults*, the protagonist’s disappointment in the false world represented by her parents and the lack of new, alternative models push the boundaries of the adolescent girl's search for herself.

Results: Besides the interpersonal system, that determines the „smarginatura-marginatura”, there is also a net of symbolical objects. The relation between the protagonist and the object reflects the psychological processing that is essential for the character in the recognition of her true identity. In fact, healthy human bonds are essential for the formation of personality, and the defining relationships have an identity-forming function. In this point of view, the objects become more important because they create subtle interference between the characters of the novel, the interpersonal bonds of the protagonist can be strengthened or weakened by the object.

Conclusions: The research concentrates on the „enchanted” object, the bracelet in *The Lying Life of Adults*. Due to the evolving relation between Giovanna and the jewel, within the story of the girl, the independent story of the object becomes distinct, by which the „smarginatura” of the protagonist can be described. The bracelet’s absence and presence trigger a process in the protagonist that reveals who she really is, but to do so, she must return to her roots and learn about the jewel’s past. In conclusion, the bracelet is not simply a symbol, but an identity-creator object in Giovanna’s life.

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I. Introduction¹

One of the greatest authorities on contemporary Italian women's literature, Elena Ferrante has been the focus of critical and popular attention for years thanks to her rich and topical themes². The bestseller tetralogy *L'amica geniale*³ has captured the imagination of the world, and it is no coincidence that there was great anticipation for the publication of Ferrante's new novel *La vita bugiarda degli adulti*.

However, after the launch of the novel, one after another more critical comments were made. For example, Elisa Gambaro, a lecturer at the University of Milan, calls⁴ the critics of *La vita bugiarda degli adulti* "not exactly benign", although she herself acknowledges that some of the reactions are justified and that the novel does not match the exceptional artistic quality of the author's earlier works. Despite her disappointment, Gambaro still considers Ferrante's book to be one of the best Italian novels published in 2019⁵. In contrast, Victor Xavier Zarour Zarzar, a researcher at the City University of New York, stresses in one of his articles that reading Ferrante's novels always gives a sense of "dejavu", and this is also the case with the new novel⁶. Among other things, he criticises the fact that the reader is confronted with the same recurring themes as in her earlier works: gender inequality and the intertwining of social class antagonisms, the intense tension between the working class and the bourgeoisie in Naples, the conflicting emotions that define friendship, the flare-up of sexual desire and the dangers that this entails, etc. For my part, I have to agree with many of these criticisms, but we cannot fail to notice that the tetralogy *L'amica geniale* over-conditions our expectations of the new novel, so that we are less attentive to the subtle shifts of emphasis that clearly alert us to the change in Ferrante's narrative. It is precisely for these reasons that it may become a worthwhile subject for some readings.

One of the most striking changes is that although, like the protagonists of *L'amica geniale*, the protagonist of the new novel, Giovanna, is a young girl, the life story is not told through the memories of the ageing woman, as in the case of Elena in the tetralogy, but in the present of the adolescent girl growing up. There is also a change in the social situation of the protagonist, since while the heroes of *L'amica geniale*, Elena and Lila, grow up in a slum in the city as the offspring of a working-class family, Giovanna comes from the rich district, from a middle-class intellectual family, and from the perspective of this higher social stratum she looks down on the working-class neighbourhood and gets to know the working-class people. Ferrante's protagonists are typically intellectual women and their family – due to differences in their financial and social situation – are not necessarily able or willing to support them in becoming intellectuals, and thus have different views on the importance of education. In Giovanna's case, on the other hand, her parents have always placed great importance on her education.

¹ I quote the passages from the novels in the original language, based on the Italian editions. The relevant edition of the quotations from *La vita bugiarda degli adulti* is: Ferrante 2019¹.

² The first three of Ferrante's novels (*L'amore molesto*, 1999; *I giorni dell'abbandono*, 2002; *La figlia oscura*, 2006) each focus on a female character (Delia, Olga and Leda), following her life's journey of realisation and spiritual ups and downs. The similarity between the three novels is illustrated by the fact that they were published in 2011 as a trilogy under the title *Cronache del mal d'amore* (Ferrante 2018). The title of the trilogy somewhat overshadows the differences between the stories of Delia, Olga and Leda, and unites them under the motif of *mal d'amore*, or love/death. The project was designed to emphasise the constant cross-cutting elements in the author's narrative and the unity of the oeuvre. In this context, see: Carmina 2019.

³ The plays in the tetralogy are *L'amica geniale*, 2011; *La storia del nuovo cognome*, 2012; *La storia di chi fugge e di chi resta*, 2013; *La storia della bambina perduta*, 2014. There are also some similarities in form and content between the trilogy and the tetralogy.

⁴ Cf. Gambaro 2019

⁵ Cf. Gambaro 2019

⁶ Cf. Zarzar 2020

Finally, as far as the genre of *La vita bugiarda degli adulti* is concerned, we must first of all report a considerable simplification compared to the complexity of the tetralogy, the novel does not deal with such grand themes, with profound political and ideological issues as *L'amica geniale*, and avoids the narrative techniques typical of essentially historical novels⁷. The plot, however, is mainly driven by the changes in the protagonist's emotions, her ups and downs, which become the formative elements of her coming of age and her personal development. The shifting dynamics of emotions are influenced by the exposure of lies. When Giovanna is disappointed by the model represented by her parents, she looks to Aunt Vittoria as an example to follow, and when she is disappointed by her, she is informed by her experiences and the lessons she has learned, and makes her own decisions, shaped by her own values, and turns her back on the city and the past. Giovanna's character is formed and shaped by her feelings about her parents and her Aunt Vittoria's life. More specifically, the desire to find safe spots in the lying world of adults.

However, a link with the earlier novels may be that Giovanna fits into the usual line of female heroines of Ferrante who undergo a strong personal development. From the psychological anguish and fear they experience at the beginning of their stories, their paths lead them first to the disintegration of their personalities and then to the construction of a new, autonomous and self-identified subject. The recurring elements of Ferrante's novels are those that define this process of self-fashioning of the female protagonists, which can be described in terms of *smarginatura-marginatura*⁸. Her disappointment in the false world represented by her parents and the lack of new, alternative models pushes the boundaries of the adolescent girl's search for self to the limit. In my opinion, we can agree with De Rogatis's assertion that *La vita bugiarda degli adulti* is Ferrante's bitterest novel to date⁹, since Giovanna is constantly caught in a new web of lies and, consequently, her search for self-discovery is a much more difficult and painful process than that of the heroines in the earlier novels.

A recurring motif in Ferrante's novels is the presence of an object in the lives of the protagonists, which accompanies them through the process of *smarginatura-marginatura*¹⁰. They remind them of places, people and events that are in some way connected to the traumatic event that destabilized their personality and interpersonal relationships, and help them to enter the constructive phase of their lives that follows the recognition of the crisis. By helping them to recognise and process the past trauma, the objects become a formative factor in the protagonists' healthy self.

The paper starts from the hypothesis that in Giovanna's story, the bracelet given to her by Aunt Vittoria is endowed with such a symbolic meaning. We know that interpersonal bonds can be strengthened or weakened by objects¹¹, and this is the case for Giovanna, who, thanks to the bracelet, is brought into closer contact with her parents and her aunt. Healthy human attachments are fundamental to the formation of personality, and defining relationships have an identity-forming function¹². As Giovanna's relationship with her parents and with Vittoria

⁷ Cf. Lucamante 2020

⁸ The process of *smarginatura-marginatura* in Ferrante's female figures can be described in five steps: *crisis, deconstruction, trauma, recognition* and *re-construction*. The psychologically disoriented protagonists of the novels are confronted with a crisis situation that makes them realise their disintegrated, de-contoured *selves*. This psychological disintegration results in reflections, perceiving themselves as projections of another female character. In fact, the reflections are the result of the repression of a trauma buried in the unconscious. These traumas can only be processed if the protagonists bring them to the surface and recognise the event or condition that caused their *smarginatura*. Thanks to this recognition, the contours are rearranged, the characters' personalities are reconstructed and the reflections are eliminated.

⁹ Cf. De Rogatis 2019

¹⁰ A dress in *L'amore molesto*, a dog in *I giorni dell'abbandono*, a doll in *La figlia oscura* and dolls also in *L'amica geniale* are the main focus of attention.

¹¹ On the subject see Kerékgyártó 1981, 269.

¹² On the subject see Chodorow 2000, 78.

changes, she progresses step by step in the search for new patterns, then in their rejection, and finally in the creation of a patternless existence articulated according to her own moral standards, in which her self-identified and autonomous personality leaves behind the conditioning of others, the compulsion to reflect others. When Giovanna is first disappointed by the model represented by her parents, her instinctive reaction is to protect her bond with them. She follows the trail of a bracelet that symbolizes for her the family tradition. Her search for self is thus closely linked to the discovery of the precious jewel's past. The choice between the values conveyed by parents and aunt, one and the other, is determined by the symbolic meanings attached to the bracelet: it becomes a symbol of the intimate family, first of all of the chaining, the handcuff, and then of the loving role she assumes. The bracelet, in fact, foreshadows Giovanna's possible realisations. The information about her enriches her emotional world, in positive and negative ways, and it is through the rejection and acceptance of patterns that Giovanna's personality is formed and crystallised.

At the same time, I believe that the individual's relationship to the object is not only manifested in such external relations, but that as a consequence of the emotional attachment to the bracelet, the adolescent girl experiences it as part of herself. A similar view is taken by Marenko, who argues that the symbolic meaning of objects is given meaning precisely by the fact that we perceive them as an extension of our own self¹³. This allows me to formulate the second part of my hypothesis in the sense that the bracelet, in the novel, becomes a real text-organising force beyond its emotionally constructed symbolic meaning, by the way it appears from time to time. As it changes hands in the progress of the story, it creates the resting points and stages of Giovanna's personal development as she grows up.

II. The bracelet and the character development of the protagonist

At the beginning of the novel, we meet Giovanna, who is raised in a safe and protective family. This idyllic situation is upended by the father's remark when he calls her ugly and compares her to the family's outcast black sheep, Aunt Vittoria. Giovanna then begins to search for the disowned relative, and soon discovers a mysterious bracelet. Investigating the past of Aunt Vittoria and the bracelet, more and more of her parents' lies come to light. Behind the almost perfect family life, there are in fact complex and criminal relationships.

Giovanna decides to write her personal memoir of her family's disintegration, disappointments and coming of age, the cardinal points of which appear in chronological order, her personality matures before the reader's eyes and she becomes an autonomous subject capable of making her own decisions¹⁴. From the very beginning of her *flash-back* narrative, the narrator claims that, at the time of writing her story, several years after the painful realisations, she is still uncertain of her own identity. She questions the relevance of her story, comparing herself to a story without a starting point or an ending:

Io invece sono scivolata via e continuo a scivolare anche adesso, dentro queste righe che vogliono darmi una storia mentre in effetti non sono niente, niente di mio, niente che sia davvero cominciato o sia davvero arrivato a compimento: solo un garbuglio che nessuno, nemmeno chi in questo momento sta scrivendo, sa se contiene il filo giusto di un racconto o è soltanto un dolore arruffato, senza redenzione. (9.)

Giovanna plays a double agent between the perfect but false world represented by her parents and the ordinary but real world represented by Vittoria. For the girl, the movement between the two poles, constantly being on the road, and the lack of arrival, creates uncertainty.

¹³ Cf. Marenko 2009, 241.

¹⁴ On the female subject see Séllei 2007, 66.

Although Giovanna had hoped to find the bracelet in order to find her roots, and when she does, it only adds to her sense of rootlessness, as it turns out that the father gave the gift that was originally meant for her to his lover. Disappointment also means the loss of a secure footing for the adolescent girl, and the bracelet becomes a vehicle for this realisation and painful event¹⁵:

Quando mi sforzo di assegnare delle fasi al flusso continuato di vita che mi ha attraversata fino a oggi, mi convinco che diventerai definitivamente un'altra quando un pomeriggio Costanza venne in visita [...] - mi consegnò con un viso severo, giallastro, il suo braccialetto d'oro bianco. "Perché me lo regali?" chiesi perplessa. "Non te lo regala" disse mia madre, "te lo restituisce." [...] "Pensavo che fosse mio e invece era tuo." Non capii, non volli capire. (119.)

At first glance, the bracelet appears to Giovanna as a symbol of family unity. She is desperate to have it, hoping that its almost magical power will save her relationship with her parents and that she will be able to return to the security and predictability of her life. However, it soon becomes clear that the bracelet is not a symbol of family, but rather a symbol of extramarital love affair.

It's worth noting that the suspicion of infidelity in Giovanna's life is linked to the mother. In addition to Ferrante's masterful approach to the facts of the case, which keeps the reader in suspense, she also sheds light on the emotional web within the family, or rather, the emotional web that Giovanna has created. A scene accidentally caught during the play, when Mariano's foot touches the mother's under the table, throws the teenage girl off balance. Suspicions of infidelity spark jealousy. She feels that only she has the right to "possess" her mother's body:

Mia madre, fuori da quel rapporto, in modo incongruo, la sentivo indivisibile e inviolabile, apparteneva solo a me. Il suo corpo lo consideravo mio e mio era il suo profumo, miei persino i suoi pensieri che – ne ero stata sicura fin da quando avevo memoria – non potevano essere occupati che da me. (99.)

The scene shows the beginning of the process of detachment, yes, but it is done in a hurried, forced way, not as a natural transformation of adolescence, and so anxiety is present, since the child's fundamental fear is the loss of the mother¹⁶.

On the other side of the emotional reaction, however, there is another fact: Giovanna's absolute adoration for her father. He is the perfect role model, the epitome of the perfect father. His infidelity is not even a matter of doubt in her mind. In Ferrante's earlier novels, the father-daughter relationship is less pronounced, but in this story Andrea leaves a deep mark on Giovanna's soul, so much so that their relationship only temporarily deteriorates after the parents' separation, and later he is the *male* model that she sees also in Roberto.

Within all these relations, the bracelet also becomes a meaning-bearing element. After Giovanna expresses her disappointment that she cannot have Vittoria's bracelet, the mother gives her one of her bracelets. Giovanna first accepts and then refuses the gift. This gesture actually suggests conflicting feelings towards the mother. In her workshop diary *Invenzione occasionale*, Ferrante writes about the relationship between mother and child, which is characterised by both love and rejection: “[...] non c'è modo di staccarsi, o almeno io non ci sono riuscita. È impossibile tornare dentro di loro, è difficile spingersi oltre la loro ombra. Mia madre era bellissima e bravissima come tutte le mamme, perciò l'ho amata e l'ho detestata.”¹⁷ This emotional duality also permeates the relationship between Giovanna and her mother.

¹⁵ On the subject see Deleuze 1990, 281.

¹⁶ On the subject see Klein 1975, 183-190.

¹⁷ Ferrante 2019², 69.

Although she tries to keep her mother close to her, the more she tries to hold on to her, the more she feels the need to break away from her.

Put in a different perspective, however, the bracelet of the mother cannot be accepted by the daughter, since it does not carry the symbolism that is in Vittoria's bracelet, which links people together in a fateful way as a physical manifestation of the emotional tension between them. Vittoria thus wants to use the bracelet to make Giovanna stick to her. She, in turn, discovers that her aunt is really just using the bracelet as a pretext to get in touch with her. This is demonstrated by the fact that, after the father's affair is discovered, Giovanna blames Vittoria and, as a result, does not seek her out or want to meet her. When Vittoria returns the bracelet, it is in fact only to win her niece back, to get her back on her side.

Throughout the central part of the novel, Giovanna owns the bracelet, yet she does not wear it. She is tormented by guilt, regretting that she has allowed her aunt's world to impose itself on her. She must admit that the price of owning the bracelet is the disruption of a secure family life and the assumption of the values that Vittoria represents. But the impulsive gesture of rebellion is stronger in the long run, so that when Giovanna starts wearing it again, the jewel becomes an embodiment of revenge against her father and a desire for recognition¹⁸: „*Mio padre allora estrasse dal fondo della gola la sua voce terribile, quella carica di gelo e di disprezzo: “So io a chi appartiene quel braccialetto, levatelo immediatamente.”* (159.) The bracelet thus communicates Giovanna's feelings.

Giovanna comes from a world where people talk about politics, social engagement, science and literature, but Aunt Vittoria comes from a different world, where she can find fulfilment in faith and church-going. Religion thus becomes a fundamental element in the representation of the lower social strata in the novel. This is also demonstrated by the fact that Vittoria takes Giovanna and her friends to church as an initiation into her world. In the novel, the religious congregation represents a cohesive community with a sense of security. It is precisely this sense of belonging to a family that surprises Giovanna and makes her unsure how to behave in church. The lack of a sense of belonging has haunted her all her life. Despite this, she is unable to assimilate into her new environment, unable to erase the legacy of the bourgeois intellectual milieu that has shaped her up to now. She wants to know the world of religion, but she tries to see it through the eyes of reason rather than faith. It is telling that she comes immediately into contact with the Bible as a text to be interpreted, and becomes nervous as she reads it:

Detestavo l'idea che ci fosse un Padre nei cieli e noi figli di sotto, nel fango e nel sangue. Che Padre era Dio, che famiglia era quella delle sue creature, mi spauriva e insieme mi faceva arrabbiare. [...] Detestavo che avesse un suo figlio partorito da madre vergine e lo esponesse al peggio come le più infelici tra le sue creature. [...] Detestavo che il Signore Dio lasciasse morire quel figlio tra tormenti atroci, e che alla sua richiesta di aiuto non si degnasse di rispondere. [...] Se ne avessi discusso col mio, di padre, c'era il pericolo che mi scappasse detto: questo Padre, papà, è peggio di te. (199.)

The primary object of Giovanna's critical observations is the figure of the Trinitarian Father, with whom she equates her father¹⁹. The dominance of the father figure has been fundamental

¹⁸ According to Geertz, a symbol can be an object, an action, an idea, an attitude, a desire, a relationship, etc. The point is that they carry a concept: cf. Geertz 1994, 67.

¹⁹ Religion also raises interesting questions about the bond between man and woman. Culture and religion – according to Irigaray – obscure the relationship with the mother, placing the woman in a subordinate position to the man (Irigaray 2010, 53). In her opinion, this is also observed in the Christian religion. Alongside the Father and the Son, the figure of Mary is relegated to the background and is not given such a prominent role. This hierarchical relationship can also be found in the relationship between Giovanna's parents: the husband exploited his wife, taking advantage of her sincere love, while the wife, despite her husband's abandonment, continues to

to Giovanna's emotional and intellectual formation. Her adoration of him and his adoration of her develops in her such a strong attachment that the love she loses after being disappointed creates a kind of emotional vacuum. This is where Roberto, introduced by Aunt Vittoria, comes in, in whom Giovanna discovers the same charismatic traits that fuelled her adoration of her father: "*Roberto, mi chiesi, è nient'altro che mio padre da giovane, cioè una trappola?*" (280.) Giovanna tries to seduce him with the same virtues that made him valuable in her father's eyes: critical thinking, knowledge, and a keen sense of judgment.

In the formation of this new relationship, the bracelet again plays a symbolic role, thanks to a specific event: the jewel's newest "owner" is Giuliana²⁰, Roberto's fiancée, who leaves it in his apartment during a visit to Milan with Giovanna. Giovanna goes back for it, but with the hidden intention of winning the young man over. Physical intercourse in a 'love triangle' would make her the mere object of his sexual desires, the same mistress status as the bracelet had already been in the relationship between Vittoria and Enzo, her father and Costanza. Giovanna sees the situation and finally backs down. By admitting to herself that she really longs for the role of Giuliana and is jealous of the couple's relationship based on mutual respect, for the first time in her life she is truly honest with herself. At the same time, however, she realises that it is not sexual desire she needs to satisfy, but the appreciation of a man. As an adult, she rationally weighs up her situation and makes a decision: since she cannot have his full respect, she rejects the offer, not wanting to be in a vulnerable position. Her personality is entering its final stage of formation as she gets rid of the bracelet. Giovanna rejects the role of woman that has hitherto been a natural element of the fates that have been woven around the bracelet. The adolescent girl's coming of age is also her becoming a woman, which requires her to make a series of choices. The experience of the male-female relationship in the role of lover is only one of the patterns rejected, alongside the conventional image of the sexualised woman, with which the young girl is equally unable to identify²¹. A clear sign of rejection is that she reverses the roles: her gaze sexualises the man, and she then makes her subaltern suitor the object of her own sexual act. In this way she matures into a subject capable of making her own decisions about her own fate and body. The bracelet's wanderings come to an end: after an unemotional sexual act, Giovanna symbolically leaves the jewel she had coveted and admired so much on the bedside.

III. The bracelet, the social aspects and the city of Naples

In the novel the insights into the sharply distinct social groups also shape Giovanna's self-image. This is represented in the movement of the bracelet between social strata.

One of the constant elements of Ferrante's narrative is the representation of an intellectual class with its own political convictions, active in the academic sphere, working to shape cultural life, which – together with the bourgeois class that frames it – is not absent from this novel. At the

love and admire him. The relationship between man and woman is viewed critically by the protagonist: on the one hand, she sees her mother's absolute devotion as a model to follow, and on the other, she realises that unlimited love can only be spoken of if the object of love is a man who is worthy of it. So she does not accept the be in a subordinate position to a man.

²⁰ After Giovanna returns it, the bracelet is passed to Giuliana, the daughter of Vittoria's former lover Enzo. She does not follow the example of the bracelet's previous owners, who were all lovers. The love between Giuliana and her fiancé Roberto is sincere and pure, with no room for subordination or superiority. Giuliana believes in this love, she is the only character who does not like the bracelet. Her subconscious rejection is expressed by her forgetting it in Roberto's apartment during her visit to Milan.

²¹ The rejected role is also represented by the bracelet, as it symbolizes the emotional bond between the characters, the desire for possession, and with it the relationship between man and woman itself, which associates woman with the role of lover. In the subordinate relationship between man and woman, the woman is an object to be worn, a shiny jewel with magical powers that everyone wants to possess, just like the bracelet.

beginning of the story, when the protagonist has only just become aware of the existence of the bracelet, the jewel is in the possession of the father's lover. The woman is also a member of the upper classes, so the bracelet is the first to appear in the higher social circles. The giving away of the bracelet by the father, coming from a suburban background, becomes an image of his own social advancement, a kind of satisfaction, since, having risen from poverty, he can now prove that he can afford to give his lover a valuable piece of jewel. The father's forgotten relatives, his brothers and sisters, Vittoria and Enzo, are the common people who, unlike the sophisticated intellectuals, show Giovanna the naked reality. Getting to know this part of the family brings her to know the more real but cruel face of Naples: Vittoria lives in one of the slums of Naples, in the Pascone industrial zone. In the socially and emotionally polarised family, Ferrante introduces the criminal class, which holds power through money and violence, which includes Rosario, the camorrista son of the lawyer, who is obsessed with courting Giovanna and whom Aunt Vittoria hates with all her heart.

The father, under the spell of a self-important and hypocritical petit bourgeoisie, is adamantly opposed to be in contact with the inhabitants of Pascone and the similar industrial slums, weighing his relationships against their utility. Those that are in some way beneficial to his life are more important than family ties, and the latter force him to confront his innermost self. It is thanks to Giovanna, however, that he 'finds his way back' to his roots and reconciles with Vittoria. This idea of connection is part of the symbolism of the bracelet in the novel, as Ferrante emphasises in her first interview after the novel's publication, that it is impossible to erase one's roots:

Sì, aderisco all'opinione che l'origine di classe non si cancelli, ma non lo dico con una tonalità disperata, anzi mi pare un bene. L'origine di classe è la testimonianza permanente, inscritta nel corpo, che le disuguaglianze esistono e durano, anche quando a noi singoli capita di essere cooptati ai piani superiori, anche quando impariamo a travestirci con intelligenza e buon gusto. Il problema è che non ci si salva mai davvero da soli, né per meriti, né per grazia.²²

The social divisions in the father's family are also reflected in space: the parents live in the upper, wealthy district of Naples (San Giacomo dei Capri), while Aunt Vittoria lives in the poorest part of the city, in the "deepest pit" (Pascone). For Giovanna, the descent into a 'foreign' city is a prerequisite for discovering her family roots. Just as the bracelet makes its way through the characters, it wanders through the different neighbourhoods of the city alongside the different social classes. The journey of the bracelet is thus projected not only onto the social aspects but also onto the spatial dimensions, which is used by Ferrante to illustrate the different stages of Giovanna's personal maturation and to represent the places and persons that can be assigned to these stages. The city itself thus becomes the privileged place where the individual is shaped by different experiences²³ and – in Ferrante's novels – its polyphonic globality is capable of completely recreating the human being.

In Ferrante's works, the female characters are exposed to the male gaze, and are in a vulnerable position in relation to them. The *masculinity* that pervades the urban atmosphere objectifies the female characters. Space also affects physicality²⁴: walking down the street, men stare and insult women, but Giovanna refuses to let herself be turned into a mere sexualised object by the male gaze. She reverses the roles, so to say "turns the space upside down", her gaze scans the men, and if they harass her, she defends herself. An example of this is when a fellow boy at school speaks disrespectfully of her. At first humiliated and angry at hearing the rumour, the

²² Fiori 2019

²³ Cf. Baldi 2014, 63.

²⁴ Cf. Grosz 1995, 84.

teenage girl is overcome with anger, but the next day she calmly sticks her pencil in the arm of the boy who is swearing at her, refusing to let him make insolent remarks. Another example is when Vittoria's stepson Corrado and Giovanna become intimate. The roles are reversed, the boy becomes the object of her gaze: when Corrado undresses, Giovanna looks at his body. Ferrante creates a protagonist who defies the traditional notion of the definition of woman, who rebels against the image of woman as the result of the constant shaping of the male mind²⁵. Ferrante's character – as I have already pointed out in the previous chapter – does not give in to the expectations of men.

The protagonist's behaviour makes it inevitable to talk about Naples, since it is the background of her personality's formation. Giovanna rejects the traditional female role in a city essentially dominated by men. Through her example, the image of Ferrante's idealistic city of women glimmers, which she describes in her workshop diary entitled *Frantumaglia*:

*Evidentemente la città femminile è lontana da venire e non ha ancora parole vere. Per cercarle dovremmo discendere oltre a ghirigori delle nostre carte assorbenti, dentro il labirinto della nostra infanzia, nella frantumaglia irredenta del nostro passato prossimo e remoto.*²⁶

The female city is characterised by respect, honesty and order, with no subordination between men and women. Giovanna is free to roam around the different neighbourhoods of the city, becoming a female *flâneur*, an active observer²⁷. In fact, the different parts of the city become a stage for the acquisition of different behaviours and roles.

The city therefore plays an essential role in Giovanna's maturation and growing up. Sensitively described by Ferrante, who argues that Naples is not just a city but an extension of the body, so the body and the city are symbolically linked²⁸. But equally valid is the fact that Naples is also a site of parallel experiences, shared by opposite poles²⁹. Understanding Naples through the experience of modernity and the past, Ferrante moves Giovanna and the bracelet between the extremes of this two-faced city. As Giovanna sets out on a journey driven by a desire to get to know Vittoria, she discovers the hidden aspects of Naples alongside new family members. Setting out from a sterile but morally fallen Naples, she is drawn into a cruel but honest reality. In the city's upscale and slum areas, exactly the same thing happens, the only difference is that while in the rich areas adultery and extramarital affairs are disingenuously hidden, in the slums it happens in a transparent way. The protagonist is caught in a space between the two worlds, because as she approaches one pole, she is pushed towards the other. Being constantly on the move between the two poles, she is influenced by both faces of Naples, so that her personality is exposed to the contradictions that characterise the city. According to Ranaldo, the city serves to define the position of the individual in a given system³⁰: in fact, this is what we see in Giovanna's case, she can only take up a position between the opposing poles of the family when she is aware of both extremes of the city. In this sense, we can feel that the contradictory nature of Naples becomes for the adolescent protagonist both an impenetrable labyrinth and a safe path to adulthood.

²⁵ With regard to the idealized image of woman, Beauvoir argues that our femininity is born as a result of the continuous formation by the male mind, it is not a ready-made gift: cf. Beauvoir 1969, 197.

²⁶ Ferrante 2016, 138.

²⁷ According to Esposti, a distinction must be made between the male and the female flâneur, since the former's gaze is based on observation of the urban environment, while the latter's aim is to imitate other women in addition to observation. Esposti 2019, 156.

²⁸ Cf. Ferrante 2016, 169.

²⁹ On Naples' contradictory, dual image see Khetarpal 2019, Puskás 2020, Benvenuto 2004.

³⁰ On the subject see Ranaldo 2014, 6.

Rebelling against the patterns that frame adult life, the bracelet returns to where it started its journey. As a concluding thought to the previous chapter, we mentioned the final act of Giovanna's maturation in Naples, when the young girl, rejecting the identity-forming and identity-defining power of the male gaze, takes control of her body and, in a gesture of self-determination, gives herself to her camorrista boyfriend. Not only does she dictate the rules of the game, but it is she who makes the man a sexualised object, thus declaring her birth as an autonomous subject, her rejection of the socially and traditionally coded male and female construction. This manifests itself in the deliberate abandonment of the bracelet in the boy's apartment. Perhaps not incidental, however, is another possible reading of the story. By returning the jewel to a milieu dominated by money and violence when Giovanna leaves it at the boy's house after the intimate affair, the bracelet actually symbolises the payment for carnal pleasure:

...sganciai il braccialetto e lo deposi per terra, accanto al letto, come un regalo della malasorte. [...] Il giorno seguente partii per Venezia insieme a Ida. In treno ci ripromettemmo di diventare adulte come a nessuna era mai successo. (325-326.)

Giovanna definitively rejects the patterns that have framed the life of her aunt and parents, and the symbolic journey of the bracelet comes to an end.

The young girl is forced to re-evaluate her relationships and her environment, and as a result, she is forced to reject the patterns of her past. Through Giovanna's story, Ferrante questions the traditional roles in Italian society. Her female character is committed to defying the norms that define her way of being in a closed society, far from reality. Giovanna is able to realise herself by sometimes rejecting and sometimes accepting certain norms, or as Beáta Thomka writes: Ferrante's artistic morality operates on two interrelated planes, in accordance with narrative ethics and critical perspective, her heroines question and even reject certain role patterns and role conceptions³¹. Her moral commitment thus gives new meaning to narrative ethics by exposing the flawed and indefensible interpersonal relationships. Thomka's observation may also be true in the case of *La vita bugiarda degli adulti*, since, like all Ferrante's heroines, Giovanna accepts the confrontation with herself and the conflict with the community norms that have defined her previous behaviour. In fact, the critical voice of the protagonist in this novel of Ferrante is the most prominent, as she criticises the world around her.

IV. Conclusions

Due to the relationship between Giovanna and the bracelet, the autonomous history of the jewel is also revealed within the girl's story. In addition to being a symbol of extramarital relationship, the bracelet also becomes a symbol of the emotional attachment between the characters and their desire for love. Its absence triggers a process in the protagonist that reveals who she really is, but to do so she must first 'return' to her roots, learn about the jewel's past, and undergo a kind of initiation. In the course of the narrative, Ferrante leaves behind the *double narrative* of the earlier novels and the story is essentially woven in a linear fashion, with *flashbacks*. Nevertheless, the dichotomy that dominates the narrative remains, which is reflected in the polarisation of the narrative between the story of the protagonist as seen and the hidden story of the bracelet. Giovanna's life is traced from the beginning of adolescence to the threshold of adulthood, and the bracelet's from its appearance in the adolescent girl's life to the mysterious past of its introduction into the family. In this narrative, the bracelet is not simply a symbol, but becomes an *identity-creator* in the life of the protagonist. Giovanna's realisation of the hypocritical adult world around her symbolically cuts the links between the bracelet and the

³¹ Cf. Thomka 2016

past and the links between the present, which is dominated by environmental expectations. This is why her novel of development is incomplete, since it lacks the traditional definitive element of Bildungsroman: the ability to integrate the protagonist's development.

Giovanna's goal is to establish her autonomous identity, but to find her place in this false world she must reject and even dissolve her ties with her relatives. Through Giovanna's story, Ferrante shows the process of discovery in the protagonist's life, during which she gradually breaks her ties with her family members. The erasure of past patterns is a series of steps. At the beginning of the story, Giovanna feels guilty about her distrust of her parents and does everything she can to find her way back to them. Yet she condemns the values they transmit. Aunt Vittoria offers her an alternative set of values with which she can identify, as the bracelet reveals the reality behind the false family idyll and the parental patterns collapse like a house of cards before her eyes. In growing up, however, the child needs relationships and models in which the defining features of the social structure are internalised, and interpersonal relationships are also important for role learning and the development of self-image³². Giovanna therefore needs to search for new ideals in order to develop an acceptable adult behaviour and an adequate personality.

The new model will be Aunt Vittoria, who at first sight offers a more authentic, truer framework for adulthood, based not on appearances but on acceptance of the disharmony of reality. Her authenticity is demonstrated by the fact that, unlike her parents, she has never lied to her niece. However, as he becomes more and more familiar with the story of Aunt Vittoria and the bracelet, she gradually becomes disillusioned with both. She realises that for Vittoria – once the lover of a married man – woman is realised in her physicality, her sexuality, and is herself complicit in the perpetuation of social conventions that define woman as a sexual object. When she entrusts Giovanna with the bracelet for the second time, she does so with the intention of emphasising her femininity. The female body is, in fact, like the bracelet, a mere object that can only fulfil its function if it pleases the man, if it satisfies his desires. In Vittoria's model, then, the woman's self-actualisation can only be achieved through her physicality, through seducing the man. The bracelet serves as a kind of magical object: the wearer is endowed with the power of seduction.³³

Because the bracelet incarnates the past, its events³⁴, Giovanna is able to make the decision to reject Aunt Vittoria. That is why she leaves the bracelet. By rejecting her, she shows that she is in control of her own body, that she does not wish to submit to the patterns that have defined her aunt's life. She refuses to be in any position of physical or emotional subordination.

As the bracelet changes hands, Giovanna can look into different family models, but interestingly, all of them have a motif of *abandonment*, *seduction* and the *woman's vulnerable position*. Her father moves in with his lover and her daughters after the divorce. The mother needs a much longer time to come to terms with her loss, and after she manages to pull herself together, she falls in love with the ex-husband of the father's mistress. After the death of her lover, Aunt Vittoria supports financially the man's widow and their children. In fact, she is the head of the family, the children and the widow show both respect and fear towards her, and they are incapable of actual rebellion.

The acceptance and rejection of family ties and patterns can also be explored in a broader dimension. By passing the bracelet from hand to hand, Giovanna can move in social strata and locations that influence the development of her personality. She is essentially socialised as a member of the intellectual class, and thus has an insight into its hypocritical reality. She finds

³² On the subject see Chodorow 2000, 78-79.

³³ Zago has a similar opinion, but she looks at the "magical power" of jewel from the perspective of ecofeminism. In her reading, the bracelet is an object whose magical power reflects the ideas of ancient belief systems and emphasises the connection between female characters: cf. Zago 2020, 80.

³⁴ Cf. Pinto 2020, 216.

repulsive the superficiality favoured by her parents and their friends, the world without sincere emotions that is based on exploitation. This is well demonstrated by the behaviour of the father and his friend. The two men were good friends before the illicit affair was discovered. However, when the truth comes to light, there is only a temporary break in the friendship between the two men, professional interests and their relationship override the importance of trust, and in time they start visiting each other again. Vittoria and the widow's family also shape Giovanna's character. Growing up in an intellectual family, it has always been clear to the protagonist that reason is superior to emotion. Her critical attitude prevents her from ever really fitting into the world represented by her aunt.

The bracelet therefore has various connotations in different social strata. In the intellectual class, it becomes a means of expressing belonging to a higher social group. This is why the father, who is basically from a lower class, may give the jewel to his lover from a higher social strata in order to show that he is now part of it. For Vittoria, on the other hand, it is an object with magical powers that allows the owner to achieve her goals. In each case, the bracelet is an expression of emotional attachment, a kind of handcuff that signifies ownership. All of these symbolic values are rejected by Giovanna when she leaves it at the site of the intimate intercourse. The gesture indicates that she is no longer bound to the bracelet. Moreover, by the end of the story, it is revealed that it was stolen from her mother-in-law by Enzo, Vittoria's former lover, and therefore belongs to another family. For this reason it can never become a symbol of belonging in Giovanna's family. This means that the only sure point, the bracelet, which has accompanied the protagonist throughout her character development, becomes a symbol of an existence without patterns. This realisation may be the reason why Giovanna still feels rootless years later.

Through the story of Giovanna and the bracelet, I think Ferrante makes two messages. On the one hand, she holds up a mirror in which we can see the contradictions of Italian society: the story of the protagonist and the bracelet is in fact a revelation of the hypocritical reality that surrounds the reader. On the other hand, she creates the figure of the woman who can exist as an autonomous subject, thus she continues the construction of the theme of women started in her previous novels: they are about women's fates, centred on heroines who have emerged from a crisis, found themselves and are able to realise themselves. Ferrante's latest novel thus both retains elements of the themes, motifs and narrative style of the previous novels and departs from the narrative of the previous novels, especially from the one of the tetralogy.

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Practical experiences of the foreign currency lending

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Abstract: This study examines the experiences and the risk of the foreign currency lending. The global financial crisis of 2008 put many insolvent debtors and their families in the private sector in a hopeless situation. Based on the financial crisis the EUR and CHF exchange rates increased significant in Hungary. Insolvent debtors have filed number of civil lawsuits against the financial institutions referring to unfair market behavior, and breach of contract. Due to the crisis the Curia also formulated guidelines to develop the case law and to unify the jurisprudence. The author examines why the effects of the foreign exchange crisis in Hungary were more serious than in other Central and Eastern European countries, and whether there were any measures that could have reduce the consequences of the crisis.

The Results is that the previous state aid scheme had been changed significant, and the citizens turned instead to the foreign currency loans. The foreign currency landing, as a modern financial product on the private sector contained unexpected hazard. This hazard was not foreseeable neither by the government, by the National Bank, or by the debtors themselves. The control mechanism of the official supervisor bodies was not sufficient. The financial awareness of the citizens was on a low standard.

It is very important to assemble and use an effective inspection and supervision mechanism in connection to the financial products. One of the most important issues is supporting raising financial awareness and educating citizens. Secondly, is to grow control mechanism of the National Bank to strengthen market surveillance to prevent irresponsible lending.

Keywords: foreign currency lending, real estate, financial crisis, financial awareness

I. Introduction

One of the most significant social and economic problems in Hungary in recent decades has arisen in connection with foreign currency lending or foreign currency-based financial lending schemes, which began in the early 2000s and continued until the beginning of the 2008 global financial crisis. Overspending and indebtedness can be seen in action in countries all over the world to different degrees and in different economic strata. In emerging economies, this indebtedness, given the desire to catch up with the economies of more developed foreign countries, typically occurs in foreign currency. However, this indebtedness involves hidden risks that can be best defined in the exchange rate risk. "Even if the debts were at the original level, it would still mean an increased and in many cases unpayable debt when converted into domestic funds."

In 1982, Hungary was the first Central European country under Soviet influence to join the IMF system and was a pioneer in the introduction of a market economy and the development of a modern financial system in this region. Following the regime change, with the liberalization of the markets, foreign commercial banks also established themselves in Hungary. The banks' sales and profit-making practices and methods were inevitably applied in Hungary as well.

Following the regime change, the governments prioritized the housing subsidy system, partly due to the state of housing conditions as well as due to the consumption-increasing nature of housing construction and the associated economic stimulus effect. By the mid-1990s, housing savings schemes appeared, for which the state provided support from the budget.

At the end of the 1990s, the public's willingness toward housing construction increased significantly as a result of state subsidies; in 2002 almost 50,000 and in 2004 more than 57,000 new housing permits were issued. It is clear that the state support system played a prominent role in people's willingness to build new homes.

From 2002 onwards, the housing allowance system was constantly being limited and transformed. The associated tax deduction was first halved and later permanently discontinued. State-subsidized loans were maximized.

Due to the restructured housing subsidy system and high forint loans (market interest rate level 14-18%), the population turned to foreign currency lending as did businesses and state institutions later on. At the beginning of the term, they were able to obtain funds for significantly lower costs than forint-based loans, however, the risks of foreign currency loans were not taken into account realistically, neither by borrowers or lenders, or even by financial control organizations and authorities. The State Audit Office's 2009 report states: "Customers have turned to lower-cost but higher-risk foreign currency loans without age or amount limits."

Foreign currency, initially used only for the purchase of homes, were eventually replaced by free-purpose loans toward the purchase of any luxury items. In Hungary, foreign currency loans were mainly denominated in Swiss francs and euros.

At the beginning of 2008, 90% of newly offered retail loans were foreign currency-based loans.

The total loan portfolio was also 50% in the case of businesses. This makes it clear that both Hungarian businesses and the population were exposed to the exchange rate risk due to foreign currency loans.

In 2008, the global financial crisis triggered processes that were difficult to influence and which had significant bearing on the financial position and lives of borrowers.

Following the outbreak of the global financial crisis in autumn 2008, the depreciation of the forint against the euro, but even more so against the Swiss franc, created a crisis situation within a short amount of time. At the beginning of 2008, a Swiss franc reached 150 forints, in 2010 it exceeded 200 forints, and in 2012 it was at 250 forints.

In four years, an additional 100 forints were to be paid for each Swiss franc, which meant a price increase of over 60%. The situation was and continues to be a challenge for policymakers today, as the financial system cannot rid itself overnight of open foreign currency options with sometimes decades-long repayment terms.

However, it is interesting to examine what led to the fact that Hungary was much more sensitive to the situation caused by foreign currency lending when compared to the neighboring Slovakia or the Czechia.

The financial situation of a country's economy toward other countries can be seen in its current account. However, current account balances do not yet reflect the real financial situation. An important aspect to consider is which sectors are the ones that contribute most to the deficit. In Hungary, the need for financing the national budget is the most significant. So the state itself was one of the highest contributors to the deficit, and this deficit was also very high on an international level. This is one of the reasons why Hungary was at a significant disadvantage after the crisis erupted.

Naturally, this is not the only reason behind the crisis. There were many other factors in which the financial institutions giving out loans played a significant role. Seeing a good business opportunity in foreign currency lending, banks tried to compete with one another to attract clients, even if this meant undertaking a higher risk than was justified. Knowing their competitors would do the same, and if they did not take the higher risk, then another financial institution will and thereby gain a new client.

In 2012, the Parliament established a subcommittee for the detailed examination of the reasons for the foreign exchange crisis.

In 2014, the government brought legislation to abolish retail foreign currency lending, seemingly eliminating the danger that the population would once again take on burdens they could not bear through complex financial constructions. However, several authors point out what the parliamentary subcommittee also stated that non-forint debt and the risk thereof were only one element of the crisis. The other contributing elements may still exist, and if not to the same extent, they may also pose a threat to forint borrowers. The power differential between the parties to the transaction, or the lack of financial knowledge and financial literacy, continues to exist and be a source of danger to borrowers.

In works on foreign currency lending, almost all authors mention that the defining transactional criteria of a foreign currency loan were established after the advent of the crisis. Before, throughout 10 years of continual business/conclusion of contracts, the definition of a foreign currency loan, a foreign currency-based loan were never established in legislation and neither was whether a loan, credit, and a lease should be treated differently.

These shortcomings had to be supplemented by the court when, in the absence of legislation, the concepts had to be clarified during the application of the law. Establishment of the fundamentals of transactions in such a way may also raise constitutional issues.

II. The Domestic court system's position on foreign currency loan contracts

In Regulation 6/2013 PJE (Civil Code Unity Decision), and 4/2014 PJE, the Curia established the items it considered most important for legal practice; these were formulated in general, with the trial courts left to decide how contracts are to be judged in specific cases. The legal unity decision of the Curia was met with a crossfire of both professional and political criticism. After the decision was made, the political press opined that the Curia sided with the banks, which understandably did not build confidence in the impartiality and fairness of the courts. The Curia's decision was interpreted by everyone involved according to their own interests. The Curia was obviously aware that its decision could have an impact on the existential situation of hundreds of thousands of people, but the authors explaining the Curia's decision state that the sole or primary consideration in making a decision cannot be which party has a greater existential disadvantage.

One of the key elements of the decision was the definition of the concepts and the essence of the construction, which had been lacking up till then. A characteristic of a legal examination is that it evaluates and examines the legally relevant facts while ignoring other circumstances. Consequently, the Curia took the position that it considered a foreign currency loan or a foreign currency-based loan, credit, and lease to be the same, which is clearly not true from a financial point of view. Yet it captured the essence of the financial construction of foreign currency-based lending, which is the same in all cases. That the parties determine the amount of the loan in foreign currency (account currency), but both parties pay in forints (payable currency). Thus, during the legal unity process, the Curia placed more stock in the fact that the construction is foreign currency-based than to exactly what financial product it is. Economically, in the case of all three financial products, it is decisive that the surplus is denominated in a foreign currency, but must be financially settled in a domestic currency.

The Legal Unity Council first had to answer the question of whether a foreign currency-based loan is a forint loan. In this matter, the banks were of the opinion that the financial institution had lent a foreign currency and the actual payment was made in HUF only in the interest of the customers, because the customers needed it anyway, and they also have HUF for the repayment of the loan. Due to the previously applied position of the banks, they also received income per conversion during the double forint conversion.

Consumer representatives argued that there was never a real currency behind the transactions and that thus a forint contract was concluded between the parties. The stipulation in the contracts that the agreements are foreign exchange contracts was considered false, as the consumers never came into the possession of foreign currency, so by this logic, only a forint contract could be concluded.

They also argued that the agreements are immoral as the profits made by the financial institutions after these transactions following the outbreak of the financial crisis were (apparently) 600-700%. In the end, the Curia went back to the dogmatic principles of civil law and stated that a foreign currency loan is where the outstanding currency of the debt is not the forint.

The Curia was heavily criticized because of its decision, because its reasoning reached back to pre-World War II theories. The recognition of the difference between account and payable currency comes from Viktor Bátor, who wrote Chapter III (on financial obligations) of Hungarian Private Law III edited by Károly Szladits.

The old Civil Code does not use the concepts of account and payable currency in its rationale, but the 1981 Explanation of the Civil Code already clearly references this theory citing the works of Grossschmidt and Viktor Bátor, and the post-regime change Civil Code Commentary also contains

this explanation. It is clear from these sources that the Curia did not go back to a long-forgotten archaic theory, but applied a continuously upheld principle that has long existed in Hungarian legal thought.

In its legal unity decision, the Curia stated that the essence of a foreign currency-based loan is that the debtor's debt arises in foreign currency, but the loan is also disbursed and repaid in HUF. The Curia attached importance only to the account currency, the change of which affects the amount of the debt.

However, simultaneously with the acceptance the payout and payable currencies, the Curia rejected the banks' position that the transaction was effectively backed by foreign currency, as the account currency was used for valuation purposes only, the accounting methodology for ensuring value certainty, thus currency is not exchanged only converted and both parties meet their obligations in forint.

The next important finding of the Curia is that the construct of a currency-based contract does not conflict with the law and therefore the contract is not null and void. It is within the contractual freedom of the parties enshrined in the Civil Code to agree, in the absence of an express regulation prohibiting it, that the advantages and disadvantages arising from the foreign exchange risk shall be borne exclusively by the consumer.

Determining the loan amount in foreign currency does not violate the Civil Code. § 523, because for the validity of the contract it is not necessary for the lent, disbursed amount to be specified in the agreement itemized fashion, instead it is sufficient if they are set forth in a clearly predictable manner.

The Curia has also stated that the contract is clearly not contrary to good morals either, as the obligatory advantages and disadvantages of the debtor are not obviously disproportionate. This is also supported by the fact that until the financial crisis, the scheme was clearly beneficial to consumers. This also meant that many of those who were able to rid themselves of their obligations before or immediately after the onset of the crisis could have benefited from this scheme overall and could have closed the deal with a profit.

The Curia could not determine the usury nature of the construct either, because the GTCs applied by the banks ruled out the exploitation of the debtor's individual disadvantages, on the other hand, no noticeably disproportionate advantage could be established on the part of the banks.

The Curia did not see the impossibility of the construction either based on the fact that the loan amount cannot be determined or could be increased indefinitely, thus making it impossible for the debtor to fulfill their obligation. If the currency of the debt has been determined in an existing, legal and real currency, the contract cannot be impossible as long as the legal currency exists. However, if someone's own situation changes after the conclusion of the contract in such a way that they are unable to fulfill their contractual obligations, the contract cannot therefore be deemed impossible.

The Curia did not see the pretense nature of the construction either, as the intentions of the parties included a real transactional will, their intention was to conclude a loan transaction where they have to pay much more advantageous interest rates than if they had concluded a forint loan, and where they were specifically indebted in foreign currency.

The Curia could not determine any unfairness in the construction of foreign currency loans. Based on Council Directive 93/13 / EEC on unfair terms in consumer contracts and the Civil Code transposing it, the statutory provisions on unfair contract terms do not apply to contract terms establishing the main service or terms determining the ratio of service to fee, if they are

otherwise clear and understandable. It can only be determined individually whether the information provided was appropriate for the specific consumer at the time of concluding the contract in question.

Regarding the applicability of the principle of *clausula rebus sic stantibus*, the Curia stated that its purpose is to remedy, in individual cases, long-lasting changes to the parties' legal relationships which harm the essential and legitimate interests of either party following the conclusion of the contract.

However, this legal instrument is not suitable for remedying the consequences of economic changes of a societal nature affecting a large number of contracts of the same type in a similar way, but is only to the detriment of one party. Incidentally, this aim was implemented by the laws regulating the conversion of existing foreign currency loans into HUF loans.

III. Foreign examples and practices

Following the onset of the foreign exchange crisis, several authors point to the responsibility of financial institutions and the state considering that this was not the first foreign exchange crisis in financial history, yet no adequate information was provided to borrowers. In the 1980s, in the cases of Westpac and CBA in Australia, processes and consequences eerily similar to those in Hungary took place.

In the 1980s, thousands of small Australian entrepreneurs and farmers took out real Swiss franc-based loans for a period of 5 years, which was shorter than the Hungarian practice. Over the term, the Swiss franc has doubled against the Australian dollar, and similarly to the Hungarian situation, Australian borrowers were not able to manage repayments resulting in a severe financial crisis taking place more than thirty years ago.

However, it is interesting to examine the financial practices of countries closer to our own, such as Slovakia and Czechia, in order to find out why foreign currency lending had the most dramatic effect in Hungary.

III.1. Czechia

The financial situation in Czechia showed significant differences compared to the Hungarian situation even before the onset of the crisis. Until February 1996, the Czech koruna was pegged to a currency basket without defining an exchange rate band, and a band of $\pm 7.5\%$ was later introduced. In 1997, the government abandoned the fixed exchange rate and introduced an inflation targeting system, so the value of the Czech koruna floated freely. The Czech koruna strengthened by an annual average of 3% in the 2000s, supporting the 2% inflation target. Despite the continued strengthening of the currency, the central bank was able to continuously reduce interest rates. At that time, the Czech central bank base rate ranged from 2-3.75%.

Czech monetary policy had the opportunity to respond to the crisis in 2008. The already low central bank base rate was further reduced, supporting the raising of capital to stimulate growth. Over the years, the Czech central bank decreased the base interest rate from 3.75% to 0.50%.

In this market environment, given that indebtedness in the Czech koruna did not entail any higher costs, foreign currency-denominated loans did not bring any benefits to borrowers, so the level of foreign currency loans in the Czech economy was close to 0% among the population. The financial crisis still affected the Czech economy, but the central bank was able to ensure that the crisis was

managed. It is important to mention that the foreign exchange crisis did not directly affect the population in a way that endangered their housing situation. The Czech government did not have to intervene in a way that affected all sections of society.

III.2. Slovakia

In Slovakia, the 2000s were almost entirely about euro area membership and preparation for it. Among the Visegrad countries, Slovakia was in the most unusual situation, as they had already joined the euro area in January 2009, and before that, the ERM II system had stringent requirements for the country. Prior to ERM II membership the Slovak koruna achieved an annual 2% increase in value, while after joining the ERM II the Slovak currency achieved a 20% increase in value. Slovakia had reached a uniform position on the issue of joining the euro area, and the target date remained consistent. The continuous growth of the Slovak koruna persisted without high interest rates, so foreign currency indebtedness remained low. With accession to the euro area in 2009, the potential currency risk would only last a few years.

IV. Institutional correlations of the proliferation of foreign currency lending in Hungary

Williamson, a classic author of institutional economics, created a four-tier system for analyzing social problems. According to Williamson, the first level is informal institutions and rules that cover the characteristic customs and traditions of a given society. This level is so firmly entrenched in society that it is the most difficult to alter and requires the longest time to do so, sometimes even centuries.

The second level is the institutional environments where social contact between people is formally realized. This also includes the rules of the political and legal / constitutional system as well as basic financial rules. This level is easier to modify than the first level, but it can take decades for change to occur here as well.

The next level is the level of detailed rules that can even change from year to year, and the last level comprises the decisions that change on a daily basis.²⁰

These levels are built on one another, are in constant interaction, and the function of each has an effect on the functions and effects of the other levels.

IV.1. First level - customs, traditions

In Hungary, level-one factors include the social reflexes and habits which contributed to the proliferation of foreign currency lending throughout large sections of the population. These include a number of different factors that contributed to the crisis to varying degrees. These include the emerging societal desire for rapid enrichment resulting in excessive risk-taking both by consumers and financial institutions, as well as financial illiteracy and financial ignorance affecting large swaths of the population.

Several of these elements highlight financial ignorance as the most influential factor. President of the SAO László Domokos stated in November of 2013 that “for restoring economic order to the country it is necessary for Hungary to break out of the prison of financial ignorance. Without

widespread financial literacy, the Hungarian economy will not be able to embark on a sustainable path.”

It is easy to see that the main reason for the proliferation of foreign currency lending was that, in the absence of sound financial knowledge, borrowing consumers were unaware of what product they were actually purchasing and thus making a financial commitment to. Several empirical studies have shown that the Hungarian population is averse to economical issues related to finance. Researchers have shown that the public justifies their aversion because they believe that acquiring financial knowledge requires the understanding of difficult legal and economic texts. Several researchers have pointed out that the population also has a high degree of distrust toward the sources of this knowledge. Knowledge and experience were limited to those who had already purchased financial products, and their knowledge was also incomplete. This means that the general population does not understand financial language.

In its study prepared after the outbreak of the foreign exchange crisis, the SAO found that among young people studying in higher education, i.e. even in the much more educated stratum, more than 40% could not realistically assess their own financial knowledge. The significant shortcomings of financial culture outlined here are easily exploited by the profit hungry members of the commercial banking system.

IV.2. Second level, institutional environment

Hungary introduced full convertibility in 2001, freeing up the flow of capital. In contrast to several foreign states, the Hungarian institutional system did not actually apply any substantive measures to the flow of capital.

High public debt, a loose fiscal policy and high forint interest rates clearly led to the proliferation of retail foreign currency loans. The entire financial world was characterized by an over-optimism, which led to loose monetary conditions on global financial markets as well, and banks began to expand heavily in emerging markets. The players of the Hungarian commercial banking system suddenly found themselves in risk-based competition.

As indicated above, subsidized forint loans ceased in 2002, and the state budget struggled with an increasingly significant deficit.

Under these circumstances, it was not surprising that both households and the banking sector turned to foreign currency lending, which seemed much cheaper than forint loans.

In addition to the exchange rate risk affecting households and the public, the spread of foreign currency loans also caused other problems in the Hungarian financial system.

Debtors who did not, due to the realization of exchange rate risk or other reasons, repay their loans increased the capital position of banks and thus the risk of banks, which risk is then calculated into the price of their products. Mass foreign currency borrowing significantly increased Hungary's dependence on external sources. From a monetary aspect, the proliferation of foreign currency lending has been detrimental to the effectiveness and influence of the central bank's measures, because the central bank's interest rate policy has no effect on interest rates fixed in foreign currency. In Hungary, the situation became such that economic stimulus, financial stability and price stability could only be supported to the detriment of one another.

V. Possible measures to limit the spread of foreign currency lending

In such a difficult economic situation, the state has a prominent role to play. Unfortunately, in a manner that is almost unprecedented, in Hungary state regulators and control mechanisms did not take any action during the proliferation of high-risk foreign currency-based loans. There would have been several possible means of state intervention, as detailed in a study written by András Bethlendi in 2011.

V.1. Macroeconomic measures

One of the reasons for excessive borrowing is that households have few and insufficient savings, so increasing national savings would reduce their reliance on credit and, indirectly, their reliance on foreign currency loans. In Hungary, the general population's opportunities for establishing savings have steadily decreased, as has the desire for savings. Generally the public's need for savings is very low in Hungary.

The strict inflation target suggests that the central bank has an interest in exchange rate stability and therefore takes measures and interventions to limit exchange rate fluctuations. However, this predictability and confidence in the exchange rate has a stimulating effect on foreign currency lending, thus easing the tight inflation target counteracts foreign currency lending.

V.2. Restricting demand

The demand for foreign currency loans on the part of households also stemmed from the fact that due to their financial ignorance, the population did not recognize the risks of foreign currency lending. Developing financial culture and literacy can help the public more realistically assess their financial capacity, allowing them to undertake obligations they can meet, thus decreasing the demand for foreign currency lending.

V.3. Restricting supply

In light of the fact that foreign currency loans are financial products and have been sold in a regulated manner on a regulated market, the restrictive activity of the state through regulators could easily be implemented.

The authorities could have used, for example, the limited stock of foreign currency approach, increased capital requirements for banks (as was the case in Romania, although this was later withdrawn), or better regulation of banks' lending activities, such as a code of ethics (post-crisis, this was implemented with the involvement of banks and the banks' voluntary undertaking of obligations)

V.4. With domestic market development

In the presentation of international examples, we saw that in those states where foreign currency lending did not have a perceptible advantage over lending in domestic currency due to the low base interest rate (Czechia), foreign currency lending could not become as widespread. It is clear that

efforts should be made to develop financial products that can serve as an alternative when meeting the funding needs of the retail sector.

V.5. Coordinated international action

Given that the banking sector in Hungary is mainly foreign-owned, international action involving several states can be effective in certain matters. However, due to highly fragmented ownership interests, effective means can only be implemented in the case of an all-around compromise, which is difficult to achieve. At the end of 2005, the National Bank of Austria held a meeting with the central bank leaders of the 11 countries most affected by foreign currency lending in Central and Eastern Europe, and the factors of foreign currency lending were assessed, but no uniform steps were taken thereafter. Another international co-operation was initiated with the Baltic States, but no decisive steps have followed.

VI. Measures taken following the foreign exchange crisis

One of the first measures taken by the government formed in 2010 was to eliminate foreign currency lending to households, thus formally eliminating the possibility of foreign currency indebtedness. In 2011, that measure had to be withdrawn due to Community legislation, but foreign currency lending was subject to such strict rules that there is no realistic possibility for the general public to obtain foreign currency loans. It is clear that exercising the EU's fundamental freedoms limits the possibilities for Member State governments to set up financial regulators, and Community rules must be taken into account in all respects.

The European Union has recognized that the shortcomings of the supervisory authorities also played a role in creating the foreign currency loan crisis, so a more complex supervisory system is needed than the traditional one.

Given that participants in the banking sector also operate internationally across borders, there is a need to develop supranational control. In 2009, a committee chaired by Jacques de Larosière proposed the creation of a supervisory body similar to the European System of Central Banks in order to address the shortcomings that led in part to the foreign currency loan crisis. Subsequently, the European Commission developed the basis for a European structure of financial supervision and a package of legislation guaranteeing its establishment.

An important element of this package is the establishment of the European Systemic Risk Board, whose main task is to gather information on macroeconomic risks. If the Board sees that a Member State's supervision is not taking appropriate action to address a risk, it has the power to intervene in order to improve the method and efficiency of the management of banking crises. It is apparent that the EU's response in the interest of increasing the efficacy of crisis management is embodied in measures that affect the sovereignty of the member state.

VII. Conclusions

In summary, foreign currency loans are risky financial constructions and are influenced by complex mechanisms that the average consumer does not understand. Due to its high risk, it should only be used with proper calculation and an informed undertaking of the risk involved.

All parties involved in foreign exchange matters must draw the correct conclusions and act based on these cornerstones in the future.

At the same time, I consider it unnecessary and excessive that the legislature has moved toward a total ban on retail foreign currency lending. After all, the foreign currency loan itself was not a defective product. Many who were among the first to take out short-term foreign currency loans were able to make a profit compared to forint loans. In my opinion, everyone should be given the freedom to decide, but an effective control system must be maintained so that financial institutions seeking to maximize revenue exercise restraint and offer their customers not only foreign currency loans but all their products, especially ones that carry difficult-to-identify risks lay people, accompanied by the appropriate information.

It is interesting to see that despite historical knowledge, both financial institutions and consumers continue to undertake financial risks in the interest of making a profit and how the promise of profit obscures reasonable arguments and the ability to recognize risk.

Financial culture, especially public financial literacy, needs to be increased and financial skills, mechanisms and general rules must be taught from an early age. Financial awareness is of paramount importance not only when taking out a loan, but it also plays a role in almost all areas of life, e.g. self-sufficiency, saving for old age. There are serious shortcomings in this area in Hungary, but several programs have been launched in recent times, which aim to remedy these (e.g. Fintelligence Education Center Pécs / PTE).

Both domestic and EU audit bodies were inadequate in their action to prevent the onset of the foreign exchange crisis or mitigate the effects thereof. The varying depth of problems in the countries affected by the foreign exchange crisis shows that individual governments are responsible for the state of public finances, and this greatly influences the extent to which unavoidable crises affect their countries and their scope for mitigating them.

We are not taking a great risk by stating that the foreign currency crisis that followed the 2008 global financial crisis was not the last financial crisis in Hungary affecting large swaths of the population that will need to be managed, as due to globalized money markets the financial crisis of one state can disadvantageously affect the financial circumstances of other states, thus it is not solely Hungary's responsibility whether its population of economic role-players will be in a difficult situation in the future.

However, steps can be taken to manage the inevitable difficult financial situations. It is important to create a financial economic policy that has the capacity to mitigate the effects of the inevitable downturn or crisis.

It was well-observed that due to the typically long maturity of the retail loans, the foreign currency crisis, which primarily affects the general population, may influence the financial situation of families for as long as 20-30 years regardless of whether their loans are converted or foreign currency lending is prohibited by law.

In addition to the control of financial institutions seeking to maximize profits, the role of the state is to prepare and build up reserves for more difficult financial periods during more prosperous times. The government's responsibility is also reinforced by Stiglitz's idea that the behavior of economic agents is primarily determined by the incentive schemes around them, i.e. if we say that banks have not done their job properly, we are also saying that they have been surrounded by an inappropriate regulatory environment.

As Sándor Lámfalussy, often cited by several authors, says, "there is no over-indebtedness without excessive lending," so limiting or regulating any of them will have a definite effect on the other.

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Hungarian Students' Perspectives on Shadowing

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A number of studies have shown the beneficial effects of shadowing on different aspects of L2 listening, speech and pronunciation. Although the research on shadowing is constantly growing, fewer studies focus on how students perceive and experience the task, so the aim of the present study is to focus on this aspect of the shadowing process. The participants were 43 second-year English majors at a Hungarian university. They were given two weeks to practice shadowing, during the course of which they were asked to complete a shadowing diary containing open-ended questions. Students were asked to describe their first impressions, the difficulties they encountered while doing the task and how they overcame them, as well as their overall impression regarding the task. A qualitative approach was used to analyze the comments. The results indicate that the majority of the participants experienced shadowing positively. Although reported areas of improvement differ among students, participants felt shadowing was most useful for improving their pronunciation and intonation. The results are discussed in terms of implications for improving speaking and pronunciation skills through shadowing both in the classroom and individually.

Keywords: shadowing, self-assessment, EFL, pronunciation, speaking

I. Introduction

The role and importance of pronunciation in language teaching and learning have undergone substantial changes in the past decades. In methods like Audiolingualism and the Direct Method, flawless, native-like production was of utmost importance (Hodgetts 2020). However, with the advent of Communicative Language Teaching, the emphasis shifted from accuracy to fluency, meaningful communication, authentic language use and communicative situations which, by definition, made listen-and-repeat task types a thing of the past. Pronunciation was to be present in the language learning process integrated into other skills, and the goal was no longer flawless performance, but making an effort (Hodgetts 2020). In today's language classrooms, the amount of time dedicated to an explicit focus on pronunciation and intelligible speech may vary to a great extent, but focus on pronunciation failed to regain its former prominence and importance, even though, as Pawlak points out, "inadequate intelligibility is in many cases the first cause of the failure to communicate" (2011, 165).

Shadowing, a technique which has already been successfully used for developing various aspects of listening, speech and pronunciation, might prove to be a viable solution for many different types of students with different purposes when it comes to development of pronunciation skills both in the classroom and individually. The present study is part of a larger investigation into the application of shadowing for the purpose of improving comprehensibility and suprasegmental aspects of speech in a less researched target group, advanced L1 Hungarian university students. This segment of the project aims to contribute to the existing research by focusing on a less often covered aspect of shadowing, that is, how advanced Hungarian learners of English experience and evaluate this type of activity, and in what aspect of their language learning they feel shadowing can be beneficial.

II. Background to the study

II.1. Developing pronunciation

The research on World Englishes has brought into focus the different nature of English as an international language and urged researchers, teachers, and learners to reconsider the status of native varieties by shifting focus to English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), that is, "English when it is used as a contact language across linguacultures whose members are in the main so-called non-native speakers" (Jenkins 2006, 157). Pronunciation has an important role in non-native-speaker communication from the perspective of mutual intelligibility (Jenkins 2002), and what makes ELF particularly appealing, as Deterding (2010) puts it, is that ELF pronunciation is an achievable goal for learners, thus being more encouraging and motivating than simple drills. Some studies show that students of English are open and positive about ELF (Kalocsai 2009; Ranta 2010), but other research, conducted with university students, demonstrates that although there is awareness of ELF, a preference towards native varieties still exists not just from a linguistic, but also from a cultural perspective (Ehrling 2007; Hynninen 2010; Kontra & Csizér 2011). The current state of English in the world naturally influences ESL teaching, especially if the teacher is familiar with the ongoing changes and different pronunciation models since in this way, students are introduced to as many of them as possible.

Teachers who aspire to improve their students' pronunciation skills have to do so knowing that progress does not show quickly and easily when it comes to pronunciation practice. Although it is difficult to observably change adult L2 pronunciation (Macdonald, Yule & Powers 1994; Kennedy & Trofimovich 2010), research has shown that instruction can be effective in improving pronunciation and, consequently, L2 learners' intelligibility (Derwing,

Munro & Wiebe 1997, 1998; Derwing & Rossiter 2003; Derwing & Munro 2009; Saito & Lister 2012), even if learners have fossilized errors (Munro & Wiebe 1997; Couper 2006, 2011; Derwing, Derwing & Munro 2014). Still, pronunciation teaching tends to be a neglected aspect of classroom language skill development (Pawlak 2011). One reason is that in the limited class time the four main skills and grammar take precedence, and it also seems that teachers find it challenging to teach pronunciation systematically or focus on specific aspects of it (Burns 2006; Foote et al. 2011; Darcy, Ewert & Lidster 2012; Levis et al. 2016). When they do teach pronunciation, teachers prefer techniques like repetition, chiefly on the level of phonemes and words (Baker 2014; Buss 2016; Foote et al. 2016) whereas there are several other important aspects affecting intelligibility such as vowel length and initial consonants (Levis 2018), suprasegmentals (Munro & Derwing 1995; Derwing et al. 1997; Hahn 2004), and speech rate (Munro & Derwing 2001). It follows from this that tasks and practices targeting these aspects would have a well-earned place in any pronunciation-focused lesson. What teachers also consider challenging is teaching intonation (Baker 2011; Couper 2016, 2017). However, Kelly states that students “are sensitive to [intonation], but mostly at an unconscious level” (2000, 86). It stands to reason then that next to instruction, simple exposure can also help improve pronunciation skills (Thomson 2018), preferably through materials which are not scripted, but rather include all the elements of natural speech such as hesitations and false starts (Hodgetts 2020, 60). Today, in the world of the internet, source materials are accessible in unprecedented quantities, which makes the previously mentioned criteria easy to fulfill. Selecting the appropriate sources and adopting practices fit for both classroom and individual practice while giving students a sense of achievement, progress and satisfaction is a different matter altogether, but certainly not impossible.

II.2. Shadowing

Shadowing, a technique initially used in simultaneous interpreting, is defined by Lambert as “a paced, auditory tracking task which involves the immediate vocalization of auditorily presented stimuli, i.e. word-for-word repetition in the same language, parrot-style, of a message presented through headphones” (1992, 266). Tamai introduced it into the teaching context “as a training technique of listening which the learner attempts to repeat the incoming information simultaneously as exactly as possible while listening attentively to the heard speech” (Tamai 1997 in Sumiyoshi and Svetanant 2017). The technique has been extensively used in language teaching and has been shown to improve listening skills, more precisely the automatization of L2 speech perception; to facilitate the memorization of new lexical chunks and formulae; to help with pitch and articulation, and is hypothesized to enhance metacognitive activities in L2 processing, as during shadowing “learners are engaged in monitoring and controlling their repetition performance” (Kadota 2019, 26). By directing attention to the sounds themselves, standard shadowing (that is, the original form of shadowing) helps develop bottom-up listening skills such as identifying prominence in speech and word recognition skills, which is especially useful if a student has problems with understanding fast speech. With the addition of explicit instruction and corrective feedback, it was also helpful in improving phonemic discrimination (Hamada 2020), rhythm, intonation, and final lengthening (Mori 2011). It has also been demonstrated that haptic shadowing, a technique that uses shadowing in combination with movement and touch was useful in improving comprehensibility (Hamada 2018). Shadowing has also been demonstrated to improve fluency and the ability to imitate a speech model (Foote & McDonough 2017). A number of studies have also looked at shadowing from the students’ perspective (Bovee & Stewart 2009; Hamada 2011; Foote & McDonough 2017; Sumiyoshi & Svetanant 2017; Hamada 2018; Dupák & T. Balla 2020) demonstrating that it gives students

the impression of progress and confidence (Bovee & Stewart 2009; Hamada 2018; Dupák & T. Balla 2020).

II.3. Self-assessment of pronunciation and anxiety

Correct self-assessment is an important skill for an L2 learner as it makes it possible for them not to depend on their teacher all the time, and by assessing their strengths as well as their weaknesses, they will be able to communicate their individual needs to the teacher (Blanche & Merino 1989). In the classroom, self-assessment “is often used to promote student-centered learning, to increase insight into the learning process and to encourage active learning” (Dlaska & Krekeler 2008, 507). Trofimovich et al. point out that despite the substantial amount of literature on self-assessment in various aspects of L2 learning, self-assessment on pronunciation is scarce, which is problematic because “if L2 speakers hold distorted views of their own pronunciation abilities, attaining communicative success will be problematic at best” (2016, 123).

Existing studies revealed that self-assessment can be difficult for learners (Dlaska & Krekeler 2008), that there is a weak relationship between objective measures and self-assessment performances (Trofimovich et al. 2016) and that self-assessment is affected by anxiety (Szyszka 2011). Anxiety is “the subjective feeling of tension, apprehension, nervousness, and worry associated with an arousal of the autonomic nervous system” (Spielberger 1983 as cited in Horwitz et al. 1986, 125). Anxiety is present in foreign language learning situations as well, and “it is now generally agreed that FL anxiety is negatively correlated with FL performance” (Zhang 2019, 1), and the negative effects “vary concerning the context, educational levels of students, and the target language” (Teimouri et al. 2019, 19). Foreign language anxiety (FLA) is most prominent in listening (Zhang 2019) and speaking, manifesting itself in the form of communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation (Horwitz et al. 1986), not merely as a combination of these factors, but a “distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings and behaviors related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process” (ibid 128). What gives the unique nature of language learning anxiety is that the self which is known to the learner cannot initially (or ever) be represented in the way they would wish to convey it in a different language due to limitations in the language they can command, heavily affecting self-concept and self-expression (Horwitz et al. 1986). A more specific effect of anxiety is “an adverse effect on the ability to perform demanding physical activities at optimal levels of success” which could manifest itself in articulatory tasks when it comes to language performance (Scovel 1978, 135). Indeed, studies have shown that speaking skills (Horwitz 2010) and pronunciation (Phillips 1992; Baran-Łucarz 2011) are very much affected by FLA, but it is not only productive skills that could suffer; anxiety also affects self-efficacy, confidence, motivation and enjoyment (Zhang 2019).

Depending on how satisfied students are with their current pronunciation level or whether they have improved their pronunciation skills before, shadowing can quickly and efficiently highlight what aspects of pronunciation and speech rate can be worked on and what it is about speech and pronunciation in particular that causes students anxiety. A task like shadowing can also be an incentive to make the student focus on different aspects their pronunciation and reflect on how they feel about their own pronunciation. By choosing a target group who have spent several years in the education system learning English and are studying English at a university level, with the use of the shadowing task as a tool for self-reflection, the present study aims to gain a very detailed picture of students’ shadowing experience, taking a thorough look at what are the pronunciation phenomena it has the ability to draw students’ attention to. Pawlak points out that there is a dearth of studies which address pronunciation

development from the students' perspective and few studies give guidance on how pronunciation development could happen more effectively (2011,170), so with the above goal, the present study aims at contributing to research in both areas.

III. Methods

III.1. Participants

The participants were 43 English teacher trainees enrolled in the second year of their six-year MA program at a Hungarian university. At the time of data collection, they were in the fourth semester of their studies. Being in a teacher training program, the majority of the students were motivated and hard-working, intent on improving all the aspects of their language skills. Having already completed three semesters in the program, they had gained experience in the development of their writing, speaking and reading skills as well as having accumulated considerable grammar knowledge. They also possessed some knowledge of linguistics and applied linguistics, but their knowledge of pronunciation-related terminology was likely to be basic at best. None of the students had previous experience regarding shadowing, although some mentioned that they had done similar activities to improve their pronunciation autonomously, without knowing the name of the technique.

III.2. Instruments

III.2.1. Shadowing materials

The students' task was to shadow a one-minute-long recording where a native speaker speaks. This means they were required to read the transcript aloud while listening to the recording, trying to follow the speaker's speech, intonation and rhythm as closely as possible. Kadota (2007, 236 in Sumiyoshi & Svetanant 2017, 7) suggests that when the students are engaged in content shadowing (that is, when shadowing happens without a script in a way that the activity is aimed at understanding the meaning of the text), the shadowing script should not include many unknown words and the speed should enable learners to understand the meaning. However, since the majority of the participants of the present study were confident and fluent speakers with a good command of English, the purpose of shadowing was rather to focus on elements of prosody. Although the text assigned for shadowing contained potentially unknown words, based on their level of proficiency (ranging from B2 to C1) participants were not expected to have difficulty in understanding it, even if not all students were at exactly the same level.

Participants were allowed to choose from two speakers, one of whom one spoke with an American accent and the other one with British. Both samples came from long interviews from two talk shows. In the British sample, the speaker described her experience of school as a child and the American speaker spoke about how she deals with difficult situations in her life. For context, the interview questions were transcribed as well in each case. Both samples were around one minute long, cut out from the whole interview in a way that they formed a logical unit with a clear beginning and ending. No speed adjustments were made to the speed of the original recording; the participants were asked to listen and shadow at the original speed.

III.2.2. Shadowing procedure

The shadowing procedure included several steps and produced various kinds of data of which not everything will be directly relevant to the aspect of shadowing that the present study focuses on, but the whole procedure will be described here for the sake of clarity. Since the present study took place during the COVID-19 lockdown, shadowing was introduced to participants during an online session. Participants were asked to make a choice of whether they wanted to work with a sample from a British or an American speaker and received the transcript based on their choice, which they were asked to read carefully. The transcript only contained periods at the end of the sentences but no other punctuation was added so that students had the chance to indicate anything on it based on what they heard. Next, they were asked to record their reading aloud of the text and upload it immediately to a designated platform without listening to it (Reading 1). The purpose of this recording was for them to be able to listen to their own pronunciation and intonation (yet unaffected by the native speech samples) at a later point. After this, students were sent the original recording which they were asked to listen to once. The next step was the actual demonstration of how shadowing is done by the instructor. At this point, the participants were informed that they had two weeks to produce a final recording of their shadowing and upload it to a designated platform (accessible only to the students of the university). The practice period was chosen in a way that it included the university spring break when students would be freer to organize their practice sessions as it suited them. The participants were allowed to practice shadowing as many times as they saw fit and were asked to record a so-called Final Shadowing Sample when they were satisfied with their progress, along with another recording of their reading (Reading 2). As Sumiyosh and Svetanant (2017) suggest, the individual arrangement of the practice sessions and recording at home has the role of reducing potential test-anxiety that recording oneself could cause. In the Final Shadowing Sample, both the speaker and the student could be heard on the recording, but on the Reading 2 recording, students only read the text alone in their own speed, without any background audio. Both files were uploaded to the above-mentioned online platform.

III.2.3. Shadowing Diaries

The students were asked to keep track of their progress and share their observations and difficulties in a file called Shadowing diary (described in detail below). This was a table in which they were asked to note down the frequency of their practice, the number of times they practiced shadowing, as well as answer the following four open-ended questions: 1) What was your first impression when you tried shadowing for the first time? 2) What caused you difficulties today? 3) What is your overall impression of the activity? and 4) Compare your Reading 1 and your Reading 2, and write down any thoughts and impressions you have. Students were asked to answer the first question right after they had made their first attempt at shadowing. They answered the second question each time they practiced or each time they encountered difficulties during practice. The third question was answered when they had recorded their final attempt, and the last one as soon as they had done the comparison of Readings 1 and 2. Students were asked to hand in the diary along with the recordings they made.

III.3 Data analysis

For each above-mentioned question in the shadowing diaries a separate document was created to merge the answers into one spreadsheet per question. Since the questions were open-ended, the answers were analyzed with emergent coding to identify keywords, recurring themes and

thoughts in connection with each question. After coding, these recurring themes were quantified in an Excel table to be able to see whether a certain theme was dominant or merely mentioned. Moreover, since some diaries were particularly insightful and the comments revealed interesting observations about several different aspects of the task, a qualitative analysis followed in order to take advantage of the format of the data collection and find out more about the underlying reasons and the conclusions students drew both about the task and the nature and characteristics of language learning in the process.

IV. Results and discussion

In the following, the coded and quantified answers will be presented for each question in the order in which they were answered. After presenting what percentage of the comments mentioned a certain opinion or observation, a more detailed quantitative analysis will follow in the case of each question.

IV.1. First impressions about shadowing

In order to gain insight into what students' attitude and preconceptions might be about shadowing, they were asked to write down their first impressions after having listened to what the task was about and having tried it for the very first time. The most dominant first impression was that the recording is really fast (20.27%). The second most prominent reaction was that the intonation is going to require plenty of work (12.16%), followed by expected difficulties with shadowing the rhythm of the speaker's speech and mentioning that they had underestimated the difficulty of the task (9.46% each). Apart from these, other categories emerged in smaller quantities: positive reactions which mentioned looking forward to doing shadowing; negative reactions to the task; problems with breathing while shadowing (8.11% each); the observation that pronunciation needs to be worked on and their tongue often slips (6.76% each). Some students thought the task would be manageable (5.40%), whereas two comments mentioned how stress was going to be a problem (2.70%) and another two comments mentioned being scared of the task (2.70%).

Interestingly, the biggest number of comments was related to speed. Even if learners would generally not consider native speech hard to understand at a high proficiency level, with the knowledge that they have to achieve that same speed, their criteria as to what counts as slow or fast speech might immediately change, depending on how fast they normally speak their L2 (and even their L1). Taking a closer look at the differences between the students who chose the American and the British variety, data show that of the participants who picked the American speaker 28% made remarks on the difficulty of its speed, whereas in the case of the British version 50% of the participants did so. An effort has been made to choose recordings done in a similar setting and featuring similar topics, but, obviously, no two speakers can be exactly the same, so initially it was assumed that the reason for the difference might be the result of the speakers' individual speech rate. The speech rate of the American speaker was 286 syllables per minute whereas that of the British was 290 syllables per minute, which is not as big a difference as one would expect from how the students perceived it. The mean length of runs in each sample is different, however: in the American sample it was 16,5 syllables per utterance whereas in the British it was 20 syllables per utterance which could already explain the experienced differences to some extent. In addition, although both samples contained utterances which were much longer than the above-mentioned mean, the main difference seems to lie in the fact that there were more silent pauses in the American sample which resulted in fewer extra-long utterances and enabled taking a breath more often throughout shadowing.

As for the expected difficulties based on their first impression, even without being told the purpose of the exercise, students immediately named categories related to prosody: intonation, rhythm, stress, pronunciation and problems associated with it, which means that the very first try already focuses their attention on these aspects of speech. In this case what might be happening is what Schmidt (1994, 2001) describes in his elaboration of the Noticing Hypothesis, namely, that even though the students are primarily concerned with understanding and processing the input through listening, they may have noticed a gap between the features of their own pronunciation and that of the speaker in the process. In order not to direct the students' focus on any aspect of the task, at the initial stages they were left in the belief that the main purpose of the task is to produce a recording as similar as possible to the original, which inevitably leads to a comparison between the production of the original speaker and their own. It was only during the shadowing process that it became clear to what extent imitating someone is (not) possible, what they can and cannot do, what the limits of their pronunciation skills are, helping them become more aware of their current skills and the goals they could still achieve.

Taking into consideration the students who admitted having initially underestimated the difficulty of the task, altogether 40% of the participants stated in some way that they were not completely optimistic about the task. Some mentioned that it seemed difficult, hard or impossible, that they were not fast enough to complete the task, and two participants mentioned they were scared. Although the words *hard* and *difficult* kept appearing in the diaries, one comment in particular shows an extremely negative reaction to the task:

(1) First of all, I had to beat my anxiety. I was shaking whenever thinking about the task, so I was procrastinating a lot.

Excerpt 1 shows that for some students, the task could and did cause discomfort and anxiety. This makes the completion of it more challenging, as anxiety may cause tension in the muscles thus rendering articulation and pronunciation more difficult (Scovel, 1978). As opposed to this, only five students (12%) had a clearly positive attitude, claiming it would be interesting, fun, or that it was better than they thought it would be. Taken together, half of the participants made some kind of a comment which was an assessment of the task difficulty, and of those, the majority seemed to be uncomfortable with the task. This indicates that this might have been the first time they were faced with the need to listen to themselves and to actually assess what it is that they are struggling with as far as pronunciation is concerned.

IV.2. Difficulties while practicing

The second question, which was related to what the students struggled with, required them to write down what caused difficulties every time they practiced. In accordance with what most students had anticipated, the leading problem was the speed or speech rate of the original speaker (22.90%). Next came intonation (16.03%), then breathing correctly (understood as following the breathing pattern of the native speaker while speaking) (12.98%), and finally, more pronunciation-related problems which were not specified (10.69%) and others which were, such as the rhythm of speech (9.92%), stress placement (6.87%), and mispronouncing words because of speed (5.34%). The next problem mentioned is very typical of shadowing, namely speaking and listening at the same time, but it was mentioned only in 3.05% of the comments. The problems which appeared in a smaller number of students were accent, certain consonants (2.29% each), reading without the recording, listening to themselves, slips of the tongue, imitating the speaker's way of delivery (1.53% each), and very specific problems such as homophones or vowel length (0.76% each).

From the above categories it is clear that once they had started practicing, students were able to isolate more specific problems and the general categories they had indicated as potentially problematic at the beginning became much more focused on individual problems. A large number of comments on the difficulties caused by speed (a principal reason for negative reactions in Sumiyoshi and Svetanant's 2017 study as well) indicates that many participants only noticed the speed difficulties when they actually started practicing. This could show that in the preparation phase, while one is listening to the original recording and sub-vocalization happens, possibly in the speakers' or one's own voice, shadowing might seem easier than it really is. Intonation stayed at the second place in terms of difficulties, but three times as many comments mentioned it during the practice sessions, whereas the comments mentioning difficulties with breathing more than doubled during practice. Both are phenomena that become more prominent once the practice sessions have started. Almost every participant used expressions related to breathing, such as running out of it, catching or losing their breath, but the phenomenon could certainly indicate a problem related to pausing. The fact that students struggled with pausing at places where pausing may have come naturally for the native speaker underlines the already known phenomenon that there are differences between the pause distribution of native- and non-native speakers. As research has suggested, due to lack of automatization, non-native speakers not only speak slower, but also make longer pauses and do so more frequently than native speakers (Riggenbach 1991; Temple 1992; Towell et al. 1996). Highly fluent and native speakers tend to make pauses at syntactic junctures, whereas less fluent non-native L2 speakers pause within the boundaries, too, and these pauses are perceived as hesitation pauses by the listener (Deschamps 1980; Freed 1995, Kahng 2014).

Shadowing spontaneous speech brings out another phenomenon that could cause difficulties, as pointed out by one comment in particular:

(2) Imitating the speaker was again almost impossible after the first attempt because the speaker used chunks of words which is normal when someone speaks but to imitate the speech to the fullest, I also have to imitate those pauses and chunks of words that she did not finish.

In Excerpt 2, by "chunks" the students seems to be referring to false starts, pointing out that while false starts are a natural part of speech, they are very unnatural to shadow for someone who is not in the situation. Indeed, spontaneous speech is full of fillers, repetitions and false starts; in American English, it has been reported that six out of a hundred words are disfluent (Shriberg, 1994) and in British English, 36% from conversational speech is repetition (Lickley, 1994). It is suggested, however, that "listeners use strategies to discard disfluencies in order to process speech successfully" (Lai et al. 2007, 2345). It follows from Excerpt 1 that one tends not to pay conscious attention to these disfluencies when they listen to spontaneous speech even though they are very typical. Also, it is understandable why students lament having to shadow these particular phenomena in the recording if otherwise they would discard it when trying to understand speech. So, disfluencies are further speech phenomena that shadowing has the potential to draw their attention to.

Pronunciation in general was the source of difficulty mentioned next, but closely related to pronunciation came several specific problems, such as the pronunciation of certain consonants, homophones or vowel length. According to some diaries, the shadowing task made students realize that they have very specific pronunciation problems that they had not noticed earlier but needed to work on. Stress placement seemed to cause problems, too, although it was not specified how. The appearance of this problem is not surprising, however, given how stress placement in Hungarian and English differ; Hungarian stress placement errors typically come

from placing initial stress on words that do not have initial stress. Archibald (1997) viewed this phenomenon as L1 transfer from Hungarian.

Last, two problems were mentioned which were not pronunciation-related but raised interesting ideas. One was the fact that while doing the shadowing, the original recording gave participants a type of comfort. When the original recording was taken away, reading the text turned more challenging, possibly because it made every pronunciation feature more audible. Connected to this phenomenon, which two comments mentioned, was that listening to oneself is not particularly enjoyable. A study carried out by the author of the present paper (Baranyi-Dupák 2021) demonstrated that students tend to have problems with their speech which intensifies even more if they have to listen to themselves, but the fact that not many students mentioned this problem here indicates that in time, they get used to it and no longer focus on it as much as they may have at the initial stages. Finally, two comments shared the interesting observation that imitating someone's speech, in fact, entails adopting their way of delivery, their style, even their personality a little, and they mentioned consciously acting on this by imagining they were the speaker or they were the ones in the interview situation. This can be a facilitating effect for some students but an obstacle for others – after all, conceiving shadowing this way is already on the verge of acting.

IV.3. Overall impression on shadowing

When the practicing sessions were finished and the participants thought they had reached the point where they were ready to upload their recording, they were also asked to write down their overall impression. The majority of the comments (24.24%) stated that they were satisfied with their progress, and nearly as many (21.21%) stated that the task proved to be interesting, fun and useful. Next came the comments indicating that they managed to overcome their speed- and rhythm-related problems (18.18%) which contributed to them being able to read and shadow faster. Some comments (15.15%) maintained that the task was difficult or that it had been underestimated, and two comments (3.03%) indicated that the task was frustrating and caused anxiety up until the very end. Some comments mentioned very specific benefits of the task, such as improvement in pronunciation (9.09%), intonation (1.52%) and making the participants conscious of their mistakes (4.55%). Only two comments expressed lack of satisfaction with the achievements (3.03%). Taken together, in this group 80% of the comments indicated that the task was either experienced positively or had some kind of benefit for the participants. These findings are in accordance with findings of previous studies where participants were also generally positive about shadowing and deemed it was effective in improving pronunciation (Foote and McDonough 2017), listening and speaking (Sumiyoshi and Svetanant 2017).

Some comments give a more detailed picture of the conclusions students drew from the exercise. For example, shadowing can remind one of the characteristics of natural speech, thus pushing the students towards reflecting on the possibility of imitation:

(3) Personally, I think that it is almost impossible to imitate an actual native speaker especially with all her words or parts of words and where he takes breath and where she pauses. I know that pronunciation and intonation is important, but it is not the most important component of language learning in my opinion.

(4) By practicing and focusing on certain aspects of speech it is possible to mimic it almost perfectly.

Dlaska and Krekeler emphasize the importance of letting the learner “choose the level of closeness to native-speaker pronunciation they wish to achieve” (2008, 515), and tasks like this can certainly help in making students realize what is the level they are comfortable with when it comes to native-like pronunciation. The following two excerpts mention another advantage of shadowing, namely, its potential to draw attention to mistakes:

(5) I got out of my comfort zone, because it was difficult for me to play with the intonation and rhythm and to practice the pronunciation of vowels and consonants. I could focus on every single detail of pronunciation and I also became more conscious.

(6) I have realized the main mistakes that I make when I speak in English. By completing this exercise, I feel like I was able to work on these mistakes.

Another student voiced the idea that the enthusiasm could disappear by the end of the task because of its repetitive nature:

(7) It was a good exercise, but I did not enjoy it by the end of it. I can see the progress in my accent, and maybe the tempo, but the fact that I was unable to do the shadowing properly after so many attempts made me very anxious. My best attempt is barely decent, but I doubt I could do better than that.

Previous research has pointed out that there is a ceiling effect in shadowing after four or five trials (Tamai 2002; Shiki et al. 2010), which is why some students had the feeling that increasing the number of times they practiced on that day did not cause audible improvement. The other drawback mentioned by Excerpt 7, lack of enjoyment because of repetitiveness, is also referred to by Sumiyoshi and Svetanant (2017), who point out that the reason why shadowing became popular in classrooms in Japan is that the grammar translation method is used and there is a strong focus on memorization. This, however, also suggests that in countries where this type of learning is not characteristic, shadowing could easily become boring for students.

The participant who mentioned that the very thought of shadowing stressed her out and made her shake (Excerpt 1) shared the following overall impression:

(8) I felt super frustrated. (...) But now I feel like I've accomplished something with it and I've improved, I feel better. But mostly I am just relieved this is over. My head started to hurt because of it. But I just realized thanks to this task that I need to push myself more in order to improve my English.

The comment shows that even the student who expressed being most anxious of the task seemed to notice some positive effects. In addition, Excerpt 8 is a good example that the task could potentially initiate a self-reflection process which eventually affects the whole language learning process, not just listening or pronunciation. She also added that she felt more comfortable after she did a simple reading of it and not the shadowing, so the main source of her frustration here seemed to be the fact that she had to speak like someone else at exactly the same time. On the other hand, there were still a few students who did not feel they achieved what they could have, and there are certainly many participants who did not reach their maximum potential in the task due to the anxiety they felt for various different reasons. The feeling that they were trying to adjust their speech to sound more like someone else, the fact that they had to record themselves in the knowledge that somebody was going to listen to it and that they had to listen to themselves were all factors that may well cause a person to be anxious,

especially if it is their first time doing such an exercise, and naturally, this anxiety could change their performance.

IV.4. A comparison of the first and the final reading

As a final step of the process, the students were asked to compare their Reading 1 and Reading 2, and comment on it (Reading 1 was done at the beginning of the process, before any shadowing took place, and Reading 2 was recorded after handing in the Shadowing recording and the Shadowing diary). Of the 43 participants, only 25 answered this question. The leading improved aspect of production was intonation (33.33%), followed by pronunciation (25.49%), speed (17.65%), and stress placement (9.80%). Three comments mentioned that speech sounded smoother and there was a better flow to it (5.88%), and more specific things were also mentioned, such as sounding more confident, improved linking, improved rhythm or a general sense of improvement (1.96% each).

The reading aloud recordings will primarily serve as data for an upcoming study, but here it was used as a reference point for students, with the help of which they had the opportunity to observe the changes in their pronunciation, if any. It was important that it happen without the original speaker in the background so that students can exclusively focus on how they sound. The above results indicate that the students who did answer felt shadowing most useful for improving intonation and pronunciation. These realizations are illustratively described in the following comments:

(9) To be honest, I was kind of in a shock when I compared the two recordings. I do not know how else I should put it, but I sounded like a robot in my first attempt. So, I can state that these recordings are totally different. I think I was able to sound more like a person who is talking to someone and not an emotionless robot who just reads the text out loud.

(10) They are so different, oh my...like two different people...the first one is so monotonous, I messed up a few words, I sound so uncertain, so shy, and the final attempt is so much better, my voice is so much stronger, I sound so "colourful". Not only my intonation, but I think my pronunciation improved as well.

(11) I have definitely improved. First, I sounded like a robot and my speaking was not life-like. In my last reading, I sound more confident, more life-like, and I am faster. My intonation is much better and I feel where I should take a break or take a breath.

(12) The difference sounds incredible. I feel so happy now, I cannot express it. In the first tape, I barely used intonation, and the word stress was a mess. I feel like I definitely improved. I really enjoyed playing with the rising and falling intonation! I also noticed that in the first recording, I pronounced sentences "word by word". Native English speakers usually join the words together as they pronounce them, and in this way, they clip them. In the second recording, I can hear that I acquired this ability, and it sounds more natural. In the future, I would like to practice more with this method! It would certainly help to eliminate my muttering.

Excerpts 9 and 11 both refer to sounding robotic as a result of lack of correct use of intonation, which they feel has improved thanks to shadowing. Excerpts 10 and 11 both use the word confident, which indicates that using the correct intonation and stress pattern gives them the

impression of being more confident speakers. Excerpt 12 is yet another example of how shadowing could raise awareness for various features of speech and pronunciation. Although the student clearly lacks the terminology for phonetics and speech production, they demonstrated and increased awareness of the characteristics of spontaneous and native speech, in this particular case how connected speech affects word final and word initial sounds.

The above observations indicate that shadowing could serve a great purpose as an integral part of any phonetics- and phonology-related class in English programs at universities, not only in general skill development classes. The participants of the present study were teacher trainees, of whom awareness of and reflectivity on their language use is somewhat expected, and indeed, many students demonstrated an outstanding ability to monitor the improvements and changing phenomena in their own speech during the shadowing process. This points to the possibility of using shadowing not necessarily with the purpose of improving a specific aspect of speech, but also as a tool for increasing students' ability to reflect on the aspects of their own speech and pronunciation, and draw conclusions about the characteristics of L2 speech, how accent and pronunciation work and what it is they would like to achieve as speakers and future teachers of English when it comes to speaking and pronunciation.

V. Conclusion

The purpose of the study was to delve into how Hungarian teacher trainees experience the shadowing process and what conclusions they drew from doing the task. The results of this study indicate that the shadowing task was generally experienced positively by students, who felt that it helped them work on and improve their intonation and other aspects of pronunciation and speech. The novelty of the present study is that it focused on the qualitative aspect of shadowing, which served not as an end but rather a means to gain detailed insight into how the students were feeling during the ups and downs of the process, what they were anticipating as problematic, what the problems truly were and how they coped with it, and what made them happy or anxious. The diaries also demonstrate how exactly the task pushed students to explore the possibilities of improving their performance for the sake of mastering this task in the form of strategies that they applied, but this aspect was outside the scope of the present study and will be discussed in a separate paper.

A task where students need to actively focus on their pronunciation can increase students' reflectivity and may lead them to be more aware of their pronunciation. In their study, Dłaska and Krekeler (2008) pointed out that regardless of their high proficiency level, L2 learners had difficulty in assessing their own pronunciation skills when it came to identifying inaccurate sound production, for which reason they need training and guidance to improve. Although this particular task did not happen in the classroom, the diaries seem to have achieved the purpose of guiding students' attention to the aspects of their pronunciation they are still dissatisfied with.

Naturally, the present study does have its shortcomings. Diaries are tools of self-reflection and as such, there is no possibility to check to what extent students were reporting their experiences as they really were. Also, if participants did not immediately fill information in, some of it may have gotten lost in the meantime. Still, having students monitor their own production in a period that could be considered longitudinal gives access to invaluable information on self-assessment, self-reflection, learning strategies and coping strategies because of having to complete a task which is slightly or considerably above their current level and which, to many, caused anxiety. The university setting and the short semesters do not enable the development and application of a long-term, structured practice to see what further changes happen in pronunciation and attitude. Still, the diaries raise interesting ideas and thoughts that could and should be discussed with the participants, so future research could take the insights

further, possibly in the form of an interview following data analysis, in which questions formulated based on the diary comments could help gain even more understanding of the processes students went through while practicing shadowing.

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The Development of Ecclesiastical Architecture in Egypt during the Late Antique and Medieval Periods

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Abstract: The ecclesiastical architecture of Egypt during both the Late Antique and Medieval periods has been studied by several scholars, from various aspects. However, it is still in need for more analytical overlooking, especially when it comes to recognition the manifestations of its development through centuries, and when the questions of influences and identity are present. The significance of these questions actually comes from the importance of the Coptic Church and the story of its isolation from the universal Christian world after the Council of Chalcedon 451. As well as the considerable changes that happened to Egypt after the Arab conquest 641.

Keywords: ecclesiastical architecture, Christian archaeology, Copt, antique, medieval, Chalcedon, Arab conquest, Egypt

I. Introduction

In comparison to the activity of research into Pharaonic monuments in Egypt, the interest in research into Egyptian ecclesiastical architecture began late. The first professional architect who paid attention to ecclesiastical architecture in Egypt was Somers Clarke (1912).¹ While the well-known historian Butler (1884), wrote about Coptic Churches in one of the oldest writings on Coptic Church architecture confirms by saying:

*“The Coptic builders seem to have had no liking for or no knowledge of the cruciform groundplan.... The result is that in the majority of cases the architecture of the Coptic churches is of a mixed type, half-basilican and half-Byzantine: while in other cases there is a type entirely non-basilican yet not entirely Byzantine. But there is no case, as far as I know, of an architecture unleavened by either of these two elements, however variously they enter into combination with each other and with other elements.”*²

Bishop Samuel and architect Badei Habib made another form of classification -(1962-1981)- for the Coptic Orthodox Church designs. The element on which the classification was focusing was the church dome and its shape and location within the roof of the church.³ In 2002, Capuani came out with a new typological classification. He splits the churches of Egypt into two geographical zones. The first is the Mediterranean coast and Delta, where the church style is mostly affected by Byzantine architecture. The second is the Nile Valley, where local cultural impact on the church designs in his point of view is recognized. He further analyzes church designs chronologically as Bishop Samuel and Badei Habib did but focused on the plan design itself and not the ceiling design.⁴ Nicolas in 2004 updated the church classification into a more detailed one and discussed the sanctuary design, and sometimes mentioned the dome roofing system and its locations.⁵

In this paper, I tend to follow Capuani's typology chronologically, in order to be able to focus on the plan design itself, which will hopefully illustrate the steps of the evolution of the ecclesiastical architecture at that time, and the influences which have had impacted and played a role in forming the Coptic architecture through those ancient times.

II. Architecture of the Antique Period

II.1. 4th - 6th Centuries (Basilica with nave and four aisles)

General Characteristics:

- ❖ Location: it is found only in the provincial areas.
- ❖ Impact: imperial form of churches with a few local traits.
- ❖ Design: generally, it consists of the central part, the nave and the inner aisles, encircled on its four sides by a relatively narrow ambulatory; the east part of the ambulatory gives access to the sanctuary. The nave is particularly narrow in relation to the inner aisles.⁶
- ❖ Example: *Antinoopolis (Antinoe-Ansina) - the church near the south cemetery (fig. 1)*

¹ Grossmann, Gabra ed. 2014, Coptic Civilization: 177.

² Butler, F.S.A. 1884: 6,7.

³ Morgan 2016: A3.

⁴ Capuani 2002: 41-44.

⁵ Nicolas K. 2004: 218-220; Morgan 2016: A6-A8.

⁶ Capuani 2002: 42.

It is furnished with an apse encircled by a concentric series of columns and has a nave with four side aisles quite distinctive in appearance: the outer aisles are very narrow and served only as ambulatories; the intermediary aisles are almost twice as wide, whereas the nave is narrower than the intermediary aisles. The church is covered by a wooden flat roof. It is one of the longest churches in Egypt to date with 22 column axes. It has a narthex to the west, where apparently a staircase was housed. In addition, this basilica has a very anciently structured sanctuary with a central apse and side rooms distributed asymmetrically on sides. The apse itself is provided with an inner line of pillars. A field marked in the front part of the floor by a special stone flooring covering may have been intended for the position of the altar. The presbytery drawn into the area of the naos in front of the apse occupies the entire central area of the east corridor of the basilica. There were two semicircular corridors around the front pillars of the apse. You can get to the southern side room only from the inside of the apse. There are flat wall niches in both the south and east walls. The slightly larger northern interior side room has access from the northern section of the east bypass and contains several wall niches. The room in the northeast corner of the sanctuary contains a staircase. The design of this church is nowhere proven to exist outside of Egypt. It clearly represents Egyptian originality, probably due to very early role models influenced by ancient Pharaonic funerary temples and later only applied in some monastic churches. The edifice probably dates from the fourth century and represents the Egyptian architectural tradition of that time within a basilica plan.¹

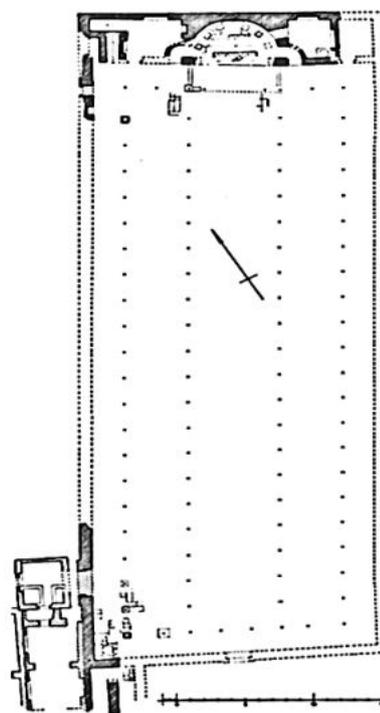


Fig. 1: Ground plan of Antinoopolis basilica - Capuani

II.2. 5th-6th centuries (Basilica with Transept)

General Characteristics:

- ❖ **Location:** This type of church was mainly located in the Delta or middle Egypt.
- ❖ **Impact:** considered to be imported architectural model from Constantinople and present throughout the Byzantine world.
- ❖ **Design:** this basilica has a nave separated from the side aisles by two ranks of columns which in general also encircle the transept. A common trait of the transept was that its north and south ends are either rectilinear or semi-circular.²
- ❖ **Example:** *The Basilica of Hermopolis Magna (Al-Ashmunein) (fig. 2)*

In middle Egypt, in Menia region, the ruins of the ancient city of Hermopolis are located. The dimensions of this huge basilica are 66 m in long and 46 m in width at the transept, proves that it was certainly the episcopal church of the city. Constructed probably between 410 and 440 A.D.,

¹ Grossmann 2002: 434-436; Capuani, et al 2002: 178.

² Capuani 2002: 41.

over the remains of a temple dating from the era of Ptolemy III (247-222 B.C.), the basilica belongs to the type of church with a nave, two side aisles, a western return aisle, as well as transept. The nave is lined with granite columns which are crowned with precious Corinthian capitals (*fig. 3*). In addition, the colonnades of the side aisles encircle the triconch transept and frame the altar placed before the apse, in the center of the transept.

The church complex had two great gates: the first one, at the west end, one went from the atrium into the basilica through a narthex; the second, on the north side, was an impressive entrance preceded with four columns. The number of rooms built against the church is unusual; the one in the northeast corner has a baptismal font left in the ground. Therefore, the other rooms beside it might be additional preparatory rooms for the Baptistry. There were several stairs that are connected from outside to the church. The narthex was on the west side and was connected to the naos of the church through three doors. The main entrance of the church seems to have been on the north side. The door frame and the preceding stages are much richer in their formal design than the corresponding links on the west side. In addition, this north entrance is connected to the northern propylaeum of the church district. All in all, this church is an important edifice that is entirely in the Hellenistic tradition.¹

II.3. 5th-7th centuries (Tri-conch church)

General Characteristics:

- ❖ **Location:** This type of church was mostly constructed in middle Egypt, with examples in both urban and monastic settings.
- ❖ **Design:** It provides an enrichment of the presbytery with the sanctuary characterized by three semi-circular apses on its north, east and south sides arranged like a clover pattern. The two rooms next to the sanctuary are in the shape of a capital *gamma*.
- ❖ **Impact:** represents an evolutionary development of the basic basilica with a nave and two side aisles.²
- ❖ **Example:** *Monastery of Saint Shenuda – White Monastery (fig. 4)*

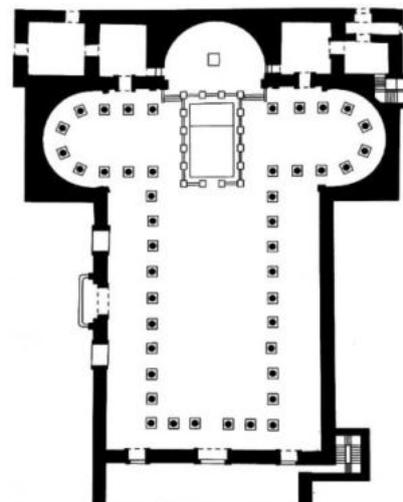


Fig. 2: Ground plan of Hermopolis Magna basilica - Capuani



Fig. 3: Ruins of Hermopolis Magna– Gabra Gawdat, Gertrud J.M., Van Loon

¹ Grossmann 2002: 441-443, Capuani 2002: 176.

² Capuani 2002: 43.

The extraordinary fame of the White Monastery is due to the works of Saint Shenuda. The famous monastery near Sohag, founded about 440 AD and dedicated to Saint Shenuda, gained its popular name because it is built of white limestone or because of the light-colored sandstone.

The area of the presbytery of the ancient church, which today is separated from the nave by a high wall, has an exceptional structure (*fig. 5*), the “tri-conch”, characterized by three apses opening on three sides of the rectangle and the 4th side opening onto the nave. The walls of the apses are decorated with niches framed by columns; each apse contains two superposed orders of five niches and 6 columns. The alternation of niches and columns is not an architectural innovation but continues a Hellenistic tradition. The three apses are made of burnt brick and dedicated to Saint Shenuda (center), Saint George and the Virgin Mary (*fig. 6*).

The mass of the edifice is particularly impressive recalls those of the architecture of Pharaonic times (*fig. 7*), the church much resembles an ancient Egyptian temple, without any exterior decoration but endowed with an extraordinary monumentality in its size. The exterior walls are made of large stone blocks taken from buildings of the Pharaonic era in the neighboring city of Athribis (*fig. 8*). On some of these stones, decorative motifs and hieroglyphs indicate their original destination. What encouraged Shenuda and his monks to use these stones was not only their obvious concern for economy but also due to their situation against the remains of paganism.

The rectangular exterior walls are 75 m in length and 37 m in width. The interior of the church is a basilica with nave ending in a tri-conch sanctuary, two side aisles, and on the west a return aisle, as well as a narthex also in the west, and a large rectangular room along the south wall. This room in the southwest corner has traces showing that it might have had a well when the monastery was founded. Toward the center of the nave, against the north colonnade, a granite monolith in which five steps were carved is all that is left from the abbot’s chair. Behind the south apse, a staircase gave access to the upper galleries. Originally, the building had six huge entrance gates: two on the west, two on the south, and two on the north sides. The nave is 12 m in width, and the side aisles are separated from it by two series of columns which are connected on the west side. These columns differ from one another both in their dimensions and structure.¹

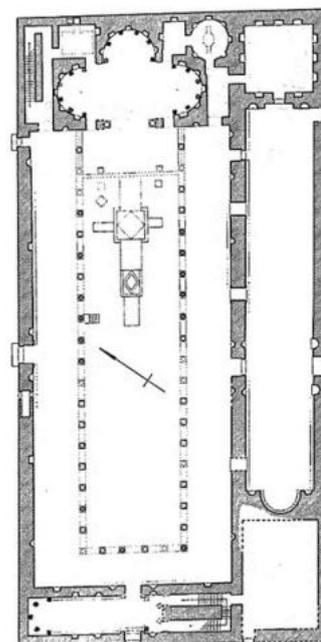


Fig. 2: White Monastery ground plan – Grossmann

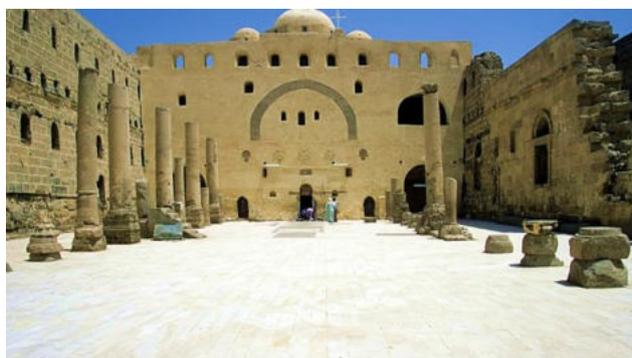


Fig. 3: White Monastery – Gabra Gawdat, Gertrud J.M., Van Loon

¹ Grossmann 2002: 528-536; Kamil 1987,1990: 134,135.

There was a secret underground room. Within the adjoining gable area between the eastern and northern conches of the tri-conch, there is a small, dark rectangular space. It later functioned as the library of the monastery. The eastern wall of the room contains a narrow and deep niche. Its floor consists of a stone slab that can be moved to the left in the masonry, which opens to a shaft leading to an underground chamber. The niche is therefore a secret access to an underground hiding place.¹



Fig. 6: Sanctuary of the White Monastery – Gabra Gawdat, Gertrud J.M., Van Loon



Fig. 8: Exterior walls of the White Monastery – Gabra Gawdat, Gertrud J.M., Van Loon



Fig. 7: Exterior walls of the White Monastery – Gabra Gawdat, Gertrud J.M., Van Loon

II.4. 6th century (Church with a central plan “Tetra-conch”)

General Characteristics:

- ❖ **Location:** The edifices with a central plan are rather rare in Egypt and are found only in the delta region, in urban and monastic churches.
- ❖ **Design:** the tetra-conch is formed by masonry walls delineating the perimeter of the edifice by means of four semi-circular apses, but it can also be outlined by four groups of columns arranged in semicircles within a rectangular space.²

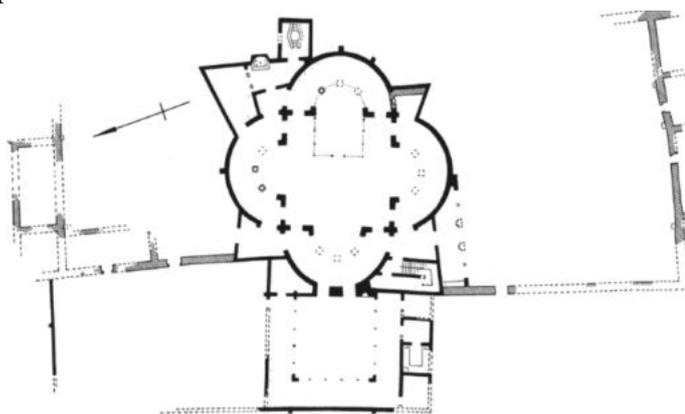


Fig. 9: Ground plan of St. Minas church - Capuani

¹ Grossmann 2002: 530,531.

² Capuani 2002: 43.

- ❖ Impact: Influenced by Byzantine architecture.
- ❖ Example: *The Sanctuary of St. Minas (Dayr Abu Mina) -The East Basilica (fig. 9)*

The complex of Saint Minas is situated in Maryut (Mareotis), southwest of Alexandria.¹ This building dates from Justinian's time, middle of 6th century. It is a tetra-conch, and each apse is semi-circular, accented by 3 columns on the inside and curvilinear masonry on the outside. The central room, intended to support the weight of the roof, probably a cupola, has four massive pillars. On its west side, the church is flanked by an atrium with porticoes on the north, west, and south sides. A room with a baptismal font occupies the northeast angle. The edifice was probably a monastic church. There are about one hundred cells (about one hundred) discovered in its surroundings.²

This church was erected above an earlier mudbrick basilica which might have been destroyed by the time of erecting this one. In comparison to the typical Justinian tomb church of Abu Mina, this new building is considerably more modest, but it represents the type of a four-conical complex much more clearly. Several irregular rooms in the northeast corner of the church belong to the baptistery of the church. It is possible to distinguish between an outer vestibule with surrounding benches, an inner vestibule with an altarpiece and a baptismal room provided with a deep piscina. The piscina itself sits exactly above the piscina of the former building. The staircase to the roof is in the diagonally opposite southwest corner of the church.³

Although the tetraconch architectural style of this church was very rare in Egypt, it was common throughout the Byzantine Empire, especially in Asia Minor and Syria. Thus, the tetra-conch church type represents the imperial Byzantine architecture in Egypt.⁴ Moreover, the presence of square or rectangular courtyards, surrounded on all four or at least on three sides by pillar or column portraits is familiar in Hellenistic architecture, but are also found in numerous palaces of the Roman Empire.⁵

III. Architecture of the Medieval Period

Although the remains of original medieval churches in Egypt are few because they were often destroyed and consequently rebuilt or intentionally demolished by their owners to be replaced with new ones, which caused that almost nothing was left from the original shape, we are still able to trace the few survived fragments.⁶ It is going to be distinguished clearly from the architectural typology explanation below supported by study cases.

III.1. 7th century (Church with nave and two Aisles)

General Characteristics:

- ❖ Location: In various areas; Alexandria region, Old Cairo and Upper Egypt.
- ❖ Design: Traditional Basilica with a nave and two side aisles, the nave being wider and more impressive than the aisles. Usually, the small western return aisle is present, which

¹ Kamil 1987,1990: 120.

² Capuani 2002: 53.

³ Grossmann 2002: 490, 491.

⁴ Ibid: 37.

⁵ Ibid: 105.

⁶ Grossmann, Gabra ed. 2014, Coptic Civilization: 185.

connects the side aisles and allows access to the two galleries on the upper story. The sanctuary, either semi-circular or rectangular, is normally flanked by two adjacent rooms.

- ❖ **Impact:** Basically, traditional basilica. This type is existed from the 5th century. ¹
- ❖ **Example:** *The Church of St. Barbara-Old Cairo (fig. 10)*

This church is in the east section of the Babylon fortress, against the Roman walls. It was built by “Athanasius” the clerk of the prince “Abd al-Aziz ibn Marawan” (685-705 AD), destroyed by the great fire of Fustat in 750, and subsequently restored in the eleventh century to its current status. Originally it was dedicated to Saints *Abakir*² and John (Abu Qir and Youhanna). The church was subsequently dedicated to St. Barbara, the daughter of a rich pagan. The church is a sister building to that of St. *Sergius* and St. *Bacchus*, which was built by Athanasius too.

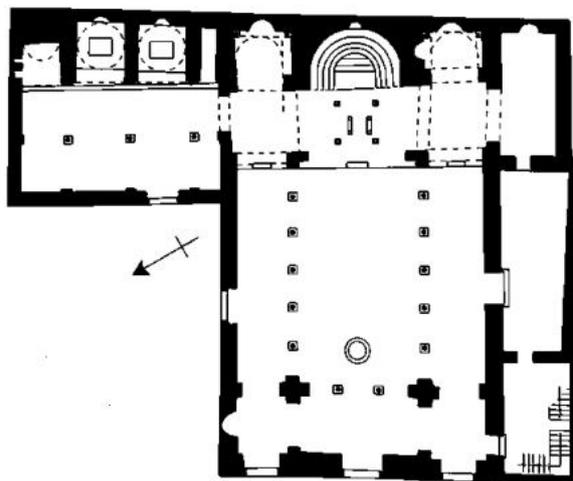


Fig. 10: Ground plan of St. Barbara church - Capuani

The edifice has a basilica plan with the nave separated from the two side aisles by ten marble columns (five on each side) and with a triple sanctuary. Two pillars and two marble columns separate the western return aisle from the nave. The columns have Corinthian capitals (fig. 11) (except for one of them which has palm leaves) and support a wooden architrave on which rest a series of arches, these in turn support the upper gallery.

In the northeast part of the nave, there is a beautiful marble pulpit supported by ten columns. A wooden iconostasis from the 13th century, with inlays in ivory and ebony representing floral designs, divides the middle nave from the middle sanctuary. The main altar is behind the iconostasis and surmounted by a ciborium resting on four columns. A semicircular *synthronon* with seven steps decorated with colorful marbles around the apse. This church has the usual division of narthex, nave with side aisles, and three apses or sanctuaries.³



Fig. 11: St. Barbara church - Gabra Gawdat, Gertrud J.M., Van Loon

III.2. 7th-12th centuries (Church with A *Khurus* “Choir”)

¹ Capuani 2002: 42.

² It is the Coptic name.

³ Capuani 2002: 108, 109; Gabra and van Loon, Ludwig ed. 2007, Churches in Egypt: 122; Kamil 1987,1990: 86-88; Grossmann 2002: 417.

General Characteristics:

- ❖ **Location:** The *khurus* was probably introduced into monastic churches before being adopted by urban architecture.
- ❖ **Design:** The *khurus* is a complementary space which lies crosswise between the nave and the sanctuary, thus creating a clearer separation between the area reserved for the laity and the reserved area for the clergy.
- ❖ **Impact:** The addition of the *khurus* (choir) shows an evolution of the traditional basilica plan.¹
- ❖ **Example:** *The church of the Holy Virgin-Dayr al-Suryan, Wadi al-Natrun (fig. 12)*

This church goes back to approximately 645 AD. Its plan is rectangular and measures 28 meters in length and twelve meters in width. The church is divided to three sections: the nave “*naos*”, the triple sanctuary, and the choir “*khurus*” between them which is the first of its kind which remained in good condition and indicates that it has been included in the design from the outset.² The full length of the nave is roofed with a barrel vault and flanked by two small side aisles which are connected in the west by a return aisle.

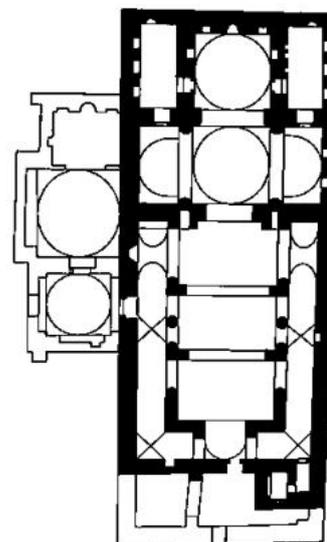


Fig. 12: Ground plan of the Holy Virgin-Dayr al-Suryan church - Capuani

A wooden portal separates the center nave from the choir. The architectural structure of the choir, transverse in relation to the nave, is typically Syriac. Two large steps lead to the main sanctuary. The door between the choir and the sanctuary is an extraordinary work of inlay from the beginning of the 10th century. The door is made of 42 panels arranged in 7 horizontal rows and 6 vertical ones. The sanctuary is square and covered by a high cupola. In the center, under a canopy from the 19th century, is the altar from the 10th century, made of black stone instead of the white marble which is the Copts' usual choice. The stucco friezes decorating the walls are from the beginning of the 10th century and bears a striking resemblance to the stucco reliefs of Muslim workmanship. The taste of this sort of ornamentation was brought to Egypt by Ibn Tulun when he was sent there as governor in 868.

There were also some defensive arrangements because of barbarian attacks. In this monastery there was the two main architectural elements of those enhancements: the keep and the wall.³

The keep⁴

It was built in the middle of the 9th century. It comprises a ground floor and 3 stories above it. There is an access to it on the second floor through a wooden drawbridge, which insured the inviolability of the edifice against pillagers' raids. The first floor contains the rooms employed in the past for the storage of food supplies and the production of flour, oil, and wine. Also, a well insured complete autonomy for a long time. The second floor was for centuries the location of the

¹ Capuani 2002: 44.

² Gabra and van Loon, Ludwig ed. 2007, Churches in Egypt: 72.

³ Capuani 2002: 97, 98; Grossmann 2002: 501-503; Gabra and van Loon, Ludwig ed. 2007, Churches in Egypt: 72.

⁴ It is called also “the tower”, but its common name nowadays, especially in the monastic life is “*al-hesn*” the Arabic word which means fortification. In my opinion the closer word to both the design and the function of the edifice is the keep, rather than other names.

library. The third story of the keep is divided by a corridor onto which open four vaulted rooms on one side and two on the other. Usually the top story (here the 4th) is a chapel dedicated to the archangel Michael. It comprises a nave and a choir “*khurus*” separated by the traditional wooden screen and roofed with a barrel vault.¹

The walls probably dated from the end of 9th century and their height vary between 9.5 and 11.5 meters.²

III.3. 10th-12th centuries

The type of a **church with *khurus* “choir”** continued till the end of the 12th century. In addition, another ecclesiastical architectural design started to emerge during this period, and sometimes both types were combined together. Hereunder, the newer design with an example, shows the last evolutions of the Coptic church architectural design at that time.

Church with nave roofed with cupolas

General Characteristics:

- ❖ **Location:** In both lower and upper Egypt.
- ❖ **Design:** In lower Egypt, the barrel vault is used to roof the central nave and choir, but in upper Egypt, architects have recourse to a church structure comprising a nave roofed by two cupolas, which around the 12th century is transformed into another structure comprising one cupola supported by four massive pillars located in the center of the nave. In contrast to the wooden roof, this one is not threatened by neither fire nor insects and bypass the problem of the rarity of wood suitable for construction.
- ❖ **Impact:** The basilica edifice which was dominant up to the 10th century undergoes the profound change when a vaulted roof is adopted.³
- ❖ **Example:** *The church of St. Anthony-The Monastery of St. Anthony (fig. 13)*

The church of St. Anthony is the oldest in Dayr Anba Antonius. Its foundation goes back to the original settlement of the saints’ disciples. The present structure is dated from the 12th century till the beginning of the 13th century.⁴ It consists of narthex, nave, choir, and sanctuary. The nave is divided from narthex and choir by two stone screens (arches) (fig. 14). The western bay of the nave was reserved for the laity (fig. 15). The whole church is roofed with cupolas, except for the choir, which is vaulted. The altar stands at a considerable elevation above the

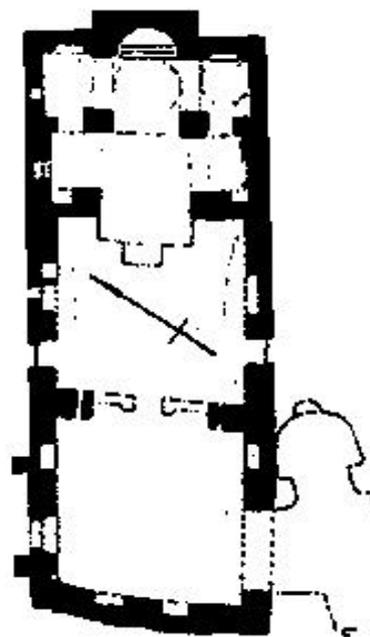


Fig. 13: Ground plan of the church of St. Anthony-The Monastery of St. Anthony - Capuani

¹ Capuani 2002: 97.

² Ibid: 96.

³ Ibid: 44.

⁴ Ibid: 162.

floor of the nave.¹ The three sanctuaries facing the choir are dedicated to St. Anthony (center), St. Athanasius (south), and the evangelist Mark (north). The church is entirely decorated with wall paintings, which is the most complete work we got from the Coptic pictorial universe.² The church is inside the monastery walls, and it is a mudbrick building. It was built over St. Anthony's tomb.³

It is important also to mention the defensive architectural arrangements of St. Anthony monastery.

The Walls

The oldest walls probably correspond to the limit of St. Anthony church. It was erected certainly before the Armenian church historian Abu Saleh, who described the monastery about 1200.

The last phase of the construction dates from 1854 and has given the enclosure its present configuration. The walls are between ten and twelve meters high and are surrounded by a covered way along their full length.

The keep

Undoubtedly, this keep is one of the oldest edifices in the monastery and has kept its original structure despite several restorations. As usual, in Coptic monasteries, one enters the keep on the second floor by a drawbridge (*fig. 16*) which once lifted completely isolated the building from the exterior world and enabled the monks to defend themselves against the incursions and destructive plunder of the Bedouins. The ground floor is reserved for the storage of foodstuffs and has a well. The second floor comprises several rooms used by the monks as cells during sieges and other dangerous periods. The third and last floor is occupied by a chapel dedicated to the archangel Michael, the traditional defender of Coptic monasteries.⁴



Figure 16: The Keep of St. Anthony Monastery - Gabra Gawdat, Gertrud J.M., Van Loon

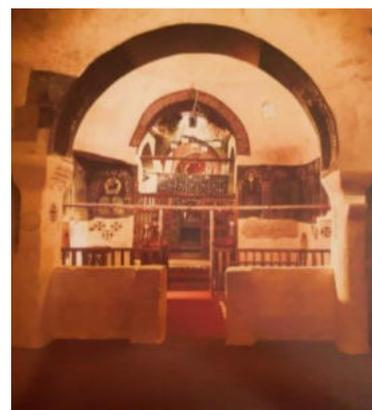


Figure 14: St. Anthony Monastery - Gabra Gawdat, Gertrud J.M., Van Loon

¹ Butler, F.S.A. 1884: 345; Capuani 2002: 162; Kamil 1987,1990: 129; Gabra and van Loon, Ludwig ed. 2007, Churches in Egypt: 212.

² Capuani 2002: 162, 163.

³ Gabra and van Loon, Ludwig ed. 2007, Churches in Egypt: 212, 215.

⁴ Capuani 2002: 162.

IV. Results

During the Roman period, mostly, the walls were made from crude brick, and the roofs were made of palm tree trunks covered with a layer of mud brick. After the Arab Conquest, stones were being significantly used for the ecclesiastical edifices because of the lack of wood, marble and even the old temples' remains. Architecturally, the earliest churches followed the Roman basilica type with central nave wider than the side aisles, and the nave was raised higher than the aisles to be able to make clerestory above the colonnades. The tri-conch and the tetra-conch "cruciform" churches were very few. The 7th century witnessed the creation of the choir "*khurus*". Originally, the narthex is a Roman architectural element, but it continued actually during the medieval era at least until the 11th century. Defensive arrangements were very significant in the Coptic ecclesiastical architecture during both periods Roman and Medieval.¹



Figure 15: St. Antony Monastery - Gabra Gawdat, Gertrud J.M., Van Loon

V. Conclusion

The types of building **materials** were influenced by many factors; economic, political in addition to climate and environment. When the Roman Empire became Christian, churches were freely erected, not only that, but also, they were able to obtain the various needed building materials which is a strong economic sign. In the medieval era, Egypt is no more Roman, they had no political or economic support from the Roman Empire, while the Arabs neither kept the churches very safe all the time nor provided the monks and clergy with great supports to build or rebuild their churches with the needed materials continuously. From another side, the whole Egyptian environment played an important role, since some changes have already happened because of weather in order to facilitate the monks' life in the desert.

During the Roman period, the Coptic ecclesiastical **architecture** was highly influenced by the Roman arts, and witnessed artistic richness, not only because Christianity became the official religion, but also because of the financial support from the Roman emperors especially from the 5th century.² Gradually, this influence disappeared after the Arab Conquest, and signs of a new so-called identity appeared in the scene. The local environment and traditions were somehow dominant. The lack of woods resulted in using stones significantly, also some local architectural changes were made, new elements, or modifying older elements to make it fit to the local traditions or habits. May be the spirit of nationalism was one of the reasons behind this, especially after the post-Chalcedon events which paved the way somehow for Arabs, of course, alongside with the political and economic factors. But still some Byzantine impact continued, like the narthex, also the domes were widespread within the Byzantine Empire.

Copts faced one of the hardest waves of persecution ever throughout the history of Christianity, whether by rulers and governors or by barbarians and Bedouins. Thus, they were continuously in need for **defensive arrangements**. Egypt, in the beginning, the monks were not experts enough in

¹ Clarke 1912: 18.

² Qadus, al-Sayyid 2002: 38.

designing the defensive arrangements, but also the dangers were not that tough like in the medieval times. After the Arab Conquest, Copts lost the rest of the religious spiritual support on part of the ruler, which put them among the fangs and the claws of the desert without the minimum level of protection. That gave them the passion to develop their defensive arrangements. Of course, the more they got troubled, the more they learnt and obtained enough experience. At the beginning of monasticism, the monks lived in scattered caves or cells, then they started to live in groups only when the Bedouins started to attack them in 407. Thus, they built keeps between the 5th and the 7th centuries. Those keeps had limited defensive qualifications, the entrance was in the ground floor, with no doors or windows.¹ In the medieval times, high walls up to 10 meters high were built around the monastery complex. Stronger keeps with better defensive qualifications were erected, included food storage and accommodation places to guarantee the longest time of staying in the time of danger.²

Generally, Egypt was in a very good position in the universal Christian map until 641. Then, Egypt went through a very long and deep isolation from the Christian world. Unfortunately, Egypt lost its own architectural identity after the Pharaonic era and was always forced to be influenced by the regimes which ruled it. However, that gave special kind of richness to its architectural character, but at the same time resulted in the absence of a pure Egyptian architectural identity.

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¹ Haggagi 1984: 51.

² Ramzi 2012: 260-262.

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Among Us

Ildiko Beres, *Doctoral School of Lutheran Theological University, Budapest*

Despite the works of some respectable theologians like M. Eliade, W. Pannenberg or B. Witherington and the efforts of a number of clergy, protestants still seem to be alienated from the tangible experience of the Holy. Not like the people of Israel, nor other cultures of the ancient Near East. Are they to be followed?

My aim is to investigate the issue of the golden calf and compare it with the orthodox representation of JHW, with the ark of the covenant namely. Both are human-constructed objects: what's the difference though? Why JHWH is satisfied with the latter, why He decides to be represented in any way at all? And finally, isn't it risky starting again to have Him physically represented among us?

Results: Scholarly literature tries to find answers to the divine rejection of the golden calf in situating the text firmly in the ancient religious traditions of the surrounding peoples. The most characteristic need of humans is to have the Holy as near as possible – considering as well his lethal nature. JHWH's aniconic intent expressed in the second statement is especially severe. Among others, however, Carol Meyers concludes that the biblical adaptations were so similar in many ways to the other notions and practices of the ancient Near East that the strict prohibition of the material rendering of any divine representation is peculiar.

Brueggemann offers a reasonable explanation when he emphasises the otherness of JHWH, the counter-culture he represents/provides versus the anthropomorphic cult statues and structures, which assist the legitimization for monarchic rule.

Conclusions: My answer to my initial question is yes, for I believe the tangible presence of God is essential for our healthy spiritual life: we are flesh and bone creatures as well. It is true that material representation of JHWH has tempted Israel to forget about relationalism with God and neighbours (Brueggemann) and soon led to idolatry in a world of more material culture than ours. Similarly, we are tempted in a virtual world surrounding us. There seems to be no need for the division of the holy and profane today, since with the reformation, the notion of holiness has become a highly personal, individual category. Consequently, the non-tangible religious practices of Protestantism need to be balanced to prevent that the non-visible Immanuel completely disappear from among us.

Keywords: golden calf, ark of the covenant, representation of the Holy, sacred and profane, otherness

I. Introduction

Back then, in the 1500s it was truly important to prune down the proliferation of empty rituals and superstitions. In the 2000s, however, Lohfink is right to remind us that Jesus did not take sacramental laws as merely spiritual, but kept the importance of rituals *besides* internal sanctification. Still, protestants seem to be alienated from religion (cf. Bonhoeffer's expression of 'Religionless Christianity' in his letter of 30 April, 1944), from the cosmic dimensions of their faith, and from – which I want to focus on – the tangible experience of the Holy. Not like the people of Israel, nor other cultures of the ancient Near East.

Eliade attempted to reestablish the significance of such ancient religious practices. Efforts were also made by Pannenberg in his essays on Christian Spirituality (Pannenberg, 1983), while Witherington's study on the Lord's Supper (Witherington, 2007) offered as well an approach to the Sacraments in the Protestant liturgy and piety that emphasises the importance of the more material, more concrete community with the liberating Christ. In my present study I would like to add some contribution to these efforts for a spirituality, in which *the Holy is not only transcendent, but immanent*, something of „*which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked at and our hands have touched*” (1John 1:1). We, in the Protestant Churches of our modern Western world, too.

Thus, I have identified the subject of my investigation, next I am going to name one potential source of the problem. This problem of alienation, I believe, comes from the ways and means by which contact with JHWH is made possible, in other words: how we can have the Holy *among us*. What is more, this concerns what danger the presence of the Holy might represent *among us*, as the allusion to the popular tactical game puts forth in my choice of title. This rather potential danger likely derives from the phenomenon that Eliade describes. The objects belonging to the psychical domains of life could be dubious. While the notion of the Holy seems safely belonging to the metaphysical domains, any profane object might reveal itself as the representation of the Holy – or vice versa. The possibility of arousing divine anger makes any object like a potential killer among us. And this is something that can make us recoil.

Now, that my choice of title has been illuminated, let me clarify as well what content three important terms will have. I am going to refer to this equivocal presence or representation of the Holy among us as Sacred. Accordingly, no matter how complex the definitions of the Holy and the Sacred are, I am going to use the term 'Holy' to describe something abstract, irrational or transcendent, while 'Sacred' would imply something phenomenological, tangible or measurable which belongs in a special way to the Holy. As von Rad points out: a considerable portion of addressing something as Sacred covers sacred places, time, objects etc. in the Old Testament (von Rad, 1960). Besides, Brueggemann's Old Testament Theology describes holiness as having cultic rootage with careful emphasis on the practical details of worship (Brueggemann, 2005). Profane – borrowing a brief definition by Eliade – is simply the opposite of Sacred.

Likewise, when it comes to the physical representation of God among us, the subject of my interest, it also belongs to the delicate and dangerous issue of distinction between Sacred and Profane, in fact. As I have said, Sacred is an access point or transitional territory (not only in spacial, but in temporal dimensions) between transcendent and profane, and as such, has to be handled with care because of two reasons. First, the Sacred is in constant danger by the contamination of profane or impure things as Brueggemann observes. Second, it is constant danger for the transgressors of its realm.

This importance of properly detecting the borders of the Sacred is best exemplified by the narration of the golden calf in Exodus. The insult happens at a very specific time in the history of the relationship of God and Israel, and as such, it serves as a paradigm. It clearly exhibits the consequences of provoking JHWH's anger. It is even more important that all generations understand what role the ark of the covenant plays in the relation of JHWH and his people, when it comes to the question of physical representation of the Holy. Hereinafter, I am going to compare the problematic divine representation with the orthodox one.

II. Discussion

My discussion of the above subject will include the following points: First I am going to sketch the two, equally human-constructed ritual objects, the calf and the ark. Then I will emphasise the differentiation between the depiction or representation of the Holy as potential explanation of JHWH's satisfaction with the ark. Next to the result of the comparison of the bull-calf and the ark of the covenant, I will brief the necessity of representation of JHWH, among us, and Brueggeman's comment on the otherness of JHWH, especially related to his representation.

I expect that a proper evaluation of the means of having Him again more physically represented among us will result in a practical conclusion for us, 21st century Protestants.

At first glance the issue seems risky. JHWH's aniconic intent expressed in the second statement is especially severe. The first two of the ten commandments of JHWH strictly prohibit the worship of other gods and the fashioning of a divine image: *"You shall not make for yourself an idol, whether in the form of anything that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I the Lord your God am a jealous God, punishing children for the iniquity of parents, to the third and the fourth generation of those who reject me."* (Ex 20:3-5, NRSV) Furthermore, in Exodus 20-23, this same exclusiveness appears eight times (20:23, 22:20, 23:13, 23:21, 23:24, 23:25, 23:32, 23:33), as well Exodus 34 includes a prohibition of their worship (v. 13-14) or making molten gods (v. 17), too.

On the other hand, however, Meyers concludes that the biblical adaptations were so similar in many ways to the other notions and practices of the ancient Near East that the strict prohibition of the material rendering of any divine representation is peculiar (Meyers, 2005).

This tension between prohibition and practice results a difficult contradiction. Scholarly literature, however, does a lot to resolve this seemingly irresolvable incongruity and tries to explain – not without success – the divine rejection of the calf and the acceptance of the ark in situating the text firmly in the ancient religious traditions of the surrounding peoples.

Let us have a quick overview of the possible interpretations of the function of the bull-calf now:

II.1. The bull-calf

"When the people saw that Moses delayed to come down from the mountain, the people gathered around Aaron, and said to him, "Come, make gods for us, who shall go before us; as for this Moses, the man who brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we do not know what has become of him." Aaron said to them, "Take off the gold rings that are on the ears of your wives, your sons, and your daughters, and bring them to me." So all the people took off the gold rings from their ears, and brought them to Aaron. He took the gold from them, formed it in a mold, and cast an image of a calf; and they said, "These are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt!" When Aaron saw this, he built an altar before it; and Aaron made proclamation and said, "Tomorrow shall be a festival to the Lord." They rose early the next day, and offered burnt offerings and brought sacrifices of well-being; and the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to revel." (Ex 32.1-6; NRSV)

II.1.1. Sketching the interpretation theories

The profanity of the bull-calf and its textual source might form a parallel, since it is a composit text of various non-Priestly traditions. But what interests us now, first of all, is the meaning conveyed in these texts. The various functions, which the bull-calf could be used for has been thoroughly analysed

by e.g. Propp (2007), Houtman (2000) and Childs (2004). Without going into details regarding the Near Eastern options for realising divine presence, the calf might have been a *symbol* of divine strength, energy, fertility, and even leadership, in Biblical times. Thus, a symbol has wider appeal as to its interpretations, as well it lessens the chances of misrepresenting the given deity.

The calf might have been regarded as a realistic representation of *divine form*, a deity having the form of an animal. Further it might serve as a *pedestal*, a *mount* or *throne* of a visible, anthropomorphic deity. Gods are sometimes depicted standing on bulls as well gods with horned headgear are quite regular in ancient Near Eastern art. (Meyers, 259.o.)

Michael B. Hundley adds to this list an analysis of the bull-calf as a symbol. If it was a symbol, it could have been a cult statue or a more distant object like a standard. A cult statue functioned like a divine body in symbiosis with the deity, thus the people could influence the deity and earn divine assistance by presenting their offerings. A standard served as a movable but secondary access point to the deity as well as a guide or protector of the people. Pragmatically, the golden calf seems to be a combination of the two. Considering all the above, it is most likely that the bull-calf was merely considered as a tangible access point to the deity, and with less chance was it considered as a divine body.

Hundley has come to a conclusion, that I find most interesting. In his study he contradicts the popular scholarly theory of the calf as a pedestal. Regardless of what god it represents, Hundley considers this option the least probable. He argues that ‘elsewhere in the ancient Near East, objects and images either depict an anthropomorphic image atop the bull or have holes for a missing anthropomorphic figure’. And we can’t read anything about such hole. Besides, he denies that archaeological or textual evidences would verify that a bull or any other animal had served as pedestal for an *invisible* deity. Even if such invention could be hypothetically credited to Israel, the hardheaded people would have considered it too abstract. Furthermore, a pedestal would in no way guarantee the divine presence on top of it.

More importantly, an invisible representation goes against the emphasis on divine visibility here and elsewhere in the Pentateuch. (Hundley, 2017)

II.1.2. Textual considerations

None of these hypothesis above express certainty, so let us now turn to a survey of the textual data. To be sure, not only the intentions are particularly murky, but we shall find the same ambiguity of the text, too.

Our analysis reveals that *’ē-lō-hîm* as a plural may refer to the Hebrew for plural „gods” or to the single God, JHWH. In Ex 32 it is accompanied by plural verbs (32:2, 23 and 32:4, 8), as well by plural pronouns (*’ēl-leh*; 32:4, 8) but *’ē-lō-hîm* as an „abstract plural” refers to a single God only occasionally (Gen 20:13; 35:7; Ex 22:8) and appears never with a plural pronoun. Still, there was only one statue, or standard (see above) thus *’ē-lō-hîm* meaning “gods” appears nonsensical. Perhaps with an intention to correct this textual confusion we read in parallel verse Neh 9:18 “*this (zeh) is your god (’ē-lō-he-kā) who brought you up (he ’el-kā) from Egypt.*” (Hundley, 2017)

Nevertheless, we still seem to be in the dark. Perhaps, such opacity will not present itself regarding the ark of the covenant.

I.2. The ark of the covenant

“Then you shall make a mercy seat of pure gold; two cubits and a half shall be its length, and a cubit and a half its width. You shall make two cherubim of gold; you shall make them of hammered work, at the two ends of the mercy seat. Make one cherub at the one end, and one cherub at the other; of one piece with the mercy seat you shall make the cherubim at its two ends. The cherubim shall spread out their wings above, overshadowing the mercy seat with their wings. They shall face one to another;

the faces of the cherubim shall be turned toward the mercy seat. You shall put the mercy seat on the top of the ark; and in the ark you shall put the covenant that I shall give you. There I will meet with you, and from above the mercy seat, from between the two cherubim that are on the ark of the covenant, I will deliver to you all my commands for the Israelites.” (Ex 25:17-22; NRSV)

The most Sacred cultic object in the Hebrew Bible is the ark of the covenant.

However, one will not be struck to hear that undestroyed chests from the ancient Near East, particularly Egypt, reveal parallels to almost every detail of the ark. The degree of similarity is such that the study of Eichler could demonstrate how the investigation of Egyptian portable wooden chests aided the understanding of the biblical descriptions, and helped to solve an exegetical difficulty. (Eichler, 2016).

The ark is described in Priestly tabernacle pericopes of the Pentateuch and in other biblical texts. As for its function, Meyers regards it as a throne or pedestal on which the *invisible* presence of a god rests. Because of the topping cherubim associate storm, actually they are winged monsters in the language of Propp on which JHWH sits enthroned and rides to battle (2Sam 22:11; Ps 104:3) Propp relates the ark as well as representation of the storm’s power and mobility (2Sam 22:8).

(Propp, 2007)

R. J. Wassersug has a more peaceful concept considering cherubim. Though he is not a theologian, he has drawn my attention to some interesting details. He points out that angels or cherubim provide the same interceding and guarding services to JHWH that eunuchs of antiquity provided to emperors. A eunuch would fully represent his lord before the people. An emperor is distant, inaccessible for the mass he rules, and he would never be out in public without eunuch guards. Similarly, with permanent, concrete, tangible cherubim topping the ark, God’s presence could never be doubted. Cherubim also serve to direct the attention to the *invisible* ruler by facing inward, which is consistent with the way how eunuchs empowered their kings. (Wassersug, 2008)

Though Wassersug is in line with Meyers, there is nothing about the Priestly ark that would suggest that it marks the *invisible* divine presence, actually. The wording of NRSV translation ‘*There I will meet with you*’ (in harmony with the Hebrew original) seems to suggest merely that God’s glory did not *settle* but *appeared* (visibly) whenever he chose convenient. Moreover, the narration defines the space to be used: ‘*from above the mercy seat, from between the two cherubim that are on the ark of the covenant*’. Also considering especially Ex 40:20-21 and 34, I am even more inclined to accepting the proposition of *visibility* of divine presence atop the ark. The ark is hidden in the sanctuary, and it cannot be seen only on penalty of death (Lev 16:2, 13). On the other hand, however, God’s glory having been manifested as a pillar of cloud, is still visible for the lay people of Israel whenever it descends on the tent of meeting (33:9-10).

Thus, I accord with Hundley, who reasons that the ark serves as a podium for the *visible* divine glory of God, as a *visible* theophany, in the Priestly texts (Ex 25:22). In Genesis JHWH appears but occasionally, yet Exodus emphasises the continual, visual presence of God. (Hundley, 2013)

II.3. Depiction or representation?

Before turning to an analysis of JHWH’s preference of one material representation over the other, it is important to place the episode in its narrative context. The Exodus account, up to this point, has stressed divine visibility aside from stressing the importance of exclusive worship. God was visible when he delivered the people from Egypt, he was visible throughout the wanderings in the wilderness and settled visibly atop Mount Sinai (19:9, 11, 16, 18, 20). To be honest, however, this visibility meant not more than shrouded appearance, in elements of nature: in a pillar of cloud and of fire (Ex 13:21-22; 14:19, 24 and Deut 4:12).

Surprising or not, the cloud served as a symbol of deities in the ancient Near East. They symbolised Storm Gods in Mesopotamy while in Egypt it was a symbol of a Creation Deity. Besides others, the

Priestly texts adapted this image as well for their own purposes. Because of the aniconic principles we are presently discussing, the cloud was not only a symbol of a deity for them, but provided a convenient insubstantial object to demonstrate JHWH's presence. (Taylor Basker, 2006; Walsh, 2013) As for the other element of nature, the pillar of fire (Exod 13:21, 22; Num 14:14; Neh 9:12, 19), it is dominant as JHWH's representation in Priestly texts. Baukal summarises relevant scientific discussion of how the pillar might have been produced and reviews many theories offered to explain the phenomena. He informs us that the Persians and Greeks used fire and smoke to lead their armies, to which Propp adds that this way of guidance, protection, providence is an ancient Near Eastern motif of divine military guidance. And it is more than that: it separates Israel and the Egyptians. Fire represents Yahweh's danger, purity and intangibility, as well as his brightness. As first in the line of creation, light is of all things closest to God (Propp, 2007). Nevertheless, what is the most important of all: God used fire to manifest his presence (theophany), namely his glory (Baukal, 2018).

It is also important at this point that I define again in what sense I use an expression. To express the opposite of a rather concrete divine form, depiction or symbol, I am going to use the term 'representation' to convey a visible or even tangible manifestation or revelation of JHWH.

It is 'representation' in the sense of 're-presence', since Exodus 33:20 is straightforward that seeing the divine face directly is fatal. Walsh confirms after Brueggemann that encounter with God is dangerous, because holiness by its nature is existentially overpowering to mortals and nature alike. (Walsh, 2013) She assesses this threat merely as limits of humankind set by the Holy, rather than divine punishment or restraint. Though there is more than one account in the Hebrew Bible of a seemingly personal encounter with JHWH (Gen 18, 32; Ex 24:9-10) e.g. Exodus 33:20 devours to correct these otherwise direct encounters. Even in Exodus 24:9-10, elders of Israel see only what was beneath JHWH's (anthropomorphic) feet. Apart from such ambiguities, the presence of the Holy is never meant unmediated. Accordingly, encounters should be understood to be in some way veiled. The ark is as well a 'representation' in the sense of an actual manifestation of JHWH's presence as it has revealed itself on the top of Mount Sinai.

III. RESULTS

III.1. Result of the comparison of the bull-calf and the ark of the covenant

Summerising the above, the result of our comparison includes first that both *human-constructed* objects are considered either visible or invisible representations of God. Scholars does not see a difference between the calf and the ark in this regard. *Thus, the comparison of divine visibility connected to cultic objects will not help us in understanding JHWH's rage against the bull-calf.*

As for the functions, we can experience a partial collision: though the calf statue might have served as depiction of divine body or even divinisation of a profane object, too, it is common in the two that both objects are widely regarded as a pedestal or throne or podium of a deity.

As for the form, a calf could be a realistic depiction of a real animal or of a well-known cultic figure in the ancient Near East, while the ark is less direct in its allusion of earthly creatures or of references to contemporary deities.

Thus, function and form appear to be crucial elements of a proper representation of the Holy.

The calf is the very first cultic object that Israel manucrafts, so far elements of nature serve as means of theophany not to mention the sacred places where such theophanies occur. In Priestly texts, the pillars of cloud and of fire are not the form JHWH takes, but they at once reveal his presence and conceal his form. Similarly, the ark enshrines divine presence, but does not depict him. The calf, on the contrary, violates JHWH's aniconic intentions and the prohibition against bowing down to and serving images of living beings. The verb 'bow down' appears in both the Decalogue's stipulation

about images (20:4-6) and in JHWH's comments on the insult (32:8). In addition, the calf as a tangible, visible object, differs greatly from previous and future manifestations, the pillars of cloud and fire and the Sinai theophany.

I am arguing that this difference between *depiction* and *representation* is the clue.

The importance of this difference is shown in the shift of the intensity of the divine presence in the narration. With the sudden and shocking irruption of the profane in the Sacred area, theophanies will become restricted. Previously in the narration, God not only appeared some way visibly, but talked to the patriarchs and to Moses. But soon afterwards the bull-calf precedent the reductor makes JHWH 'disappear' in a sense. People of all times have to learn that their choices, i.e. messing around with an idol, can have consequences. The Priestly text, which is more and more dominant after Exodus 32 pictures divine potency downshifting as a pillar of cloud and of fire in the journey through the desert to the Promised Land (Ex 13:21; 14:19, 24; 33:9; Num 12:5; 14:14; Deut 31:15; Neh 9:12, 19; Ps 99:7). (Walsh, 2013)

III.2. The necessity of representation of JHWH

According to the testimony of Israel it is JHWH who wishes to affirm his presence not only to be recognised as a sovereign Lord, but he manifests himself in order to save people. His presence does not go without his actions. Every element of the narrative intends to witness the acts of JHWH, not only abstract notions of his deity. His presence is intimately related to the Covenant, for it is all about community with God.

Exodus reveals also the twists and turns of the development of this divine presence in the flow of narration. It does emphasise YHWH's continual, *visual* presence and he is the only deity actually in view. Considering, however, his lethal nature, this threat might have attracted Israel towards 'more manageable' gods. The text's continual prohibition of worshiping other gods implies that Israel was at least tempted to be practical polytheists. Representation of JHWH was a necessity. Friedman argues, it also opposes the similar traditions of peoples in the biblical-era: God's representation might be necessary as a polemy against depiction, e.g. the bulls of Jeroboam (Hundley, 2017).

The new generation of scholars e.g. Propp also seems to move the discussion on divine visibility beyond the dominant theories of previous theologians, who maintain divine invisibility or at least hiddenness, against the testimony of Exodus (Propp, 2006, Hundley, 2017).

For the evaluation of the necessity of having the Sacred among us, 'modern' Protestants, we should consider the words of Eliade, whose observations are still up to date. He says, it is the most characteristic need of humans to have the Holy as near as possible, even in a distorted form.

"The Profane man makes himself, and he only makes himself completely in proportion as he desacralizes himself and the world. The sacred is the prime obstacle to his freedom, he will become himself only when he is totally demysticized. He will not be truly free until he has killed the last god. But this profane man is the descendant of homo religious; the behavior of his religious ancestors has made him what he is today. In other words, profane man cannot help preserving some vestiges of the behavior of the religious man, though they are emptied of religious meaning.

Similarly, by contemporary cinematic myths as well through reading, the modern man succeeds in obtaining an "escape from time"." (Eliade, 1968)

III.3. Otherness of JHWH, especially in his representation

Cherubim atop the ark and looking inward may express that their king is different from an average emperor. A heavenly king would not need any physical protection with eunuchs surveying the surrounding crowd. Brueggemann's explanation accords with Wassersug when he emphasises the *otherness* of JHWH from earthly kings. More importantly, Brueggemann finds the anthropomorphic

cult statues and structures unacceptable to JHWH because they assist the legitimization of monarchic rules versus the counter-culture of freedom and equality God truly represents and provides.

IV. Conclusions

Although we can make not one educated guess, the text and its meaning is so complex and controversial, that it is still the narrator, who gives us the final and decisive clue of interpretation. The Priestly narration makes it perfectly clear that God's preference lies with the ark since it has just before been ordered by him. Likewise, there is no question that the exclusive source of the Sacred is God, his revelation is the last word. On its own, the ark would be simply a portable box covered in gold. The above investigation also resulted evidence that the ambiguity is inseparable from the Sacred. The majestic cloud at Sinai can be a neutral rain cloud, a symbol of a Mesopotamian or Egyptian god or the demonstration of JHWH's presence. Even the most Sacred cultic object of Israel, the ark can have multiple interpretations. It is also interesting to note that there is sometimes a similar pattern in temple-building accounts of ancient Near Eastern texts, in which a revolt follows the divine command to build an abode.

Nevertheless, scholars have long sought to understand the story of the ark and the calf, especially why there is this shocking break, turn of events in the flow of the otherwise majestic tabernacle texts. Because Israel has mixed up the Sacred with the Profane, as I understand. God cannot be symbolised, formed or depicted, only re-presented among us in objects where he reveals himself as Sacred. Thus, the problem is not with representation, it only has to be done properly. The Holy is like a camp fire. It supports life, but can easily cause death. Handle with care.

I conclude that the answer to my initial question is yes: there must be room for the tangible presence of the Word among us, for I believe it is essential for our healthy spiritual life. We are flesh and bone creatures as well.

It is true that the material representation of JHWH has tempted Israel to forget about the true nature and importance of relation with God and with neighbours, and soon led to idolatry in a world perhaps more practically minded than ours.

But we are similarly tempted in a virtual world surrounding us, only in a different way. There seems to be no need for the division of the holy and profane today, since with the reformation, the notion of holiness has become a highly personal, individual category. This policy rejects material presentation of the Sacred to avoid idolatry. But this precautionary principle has become counterproductive in my opinion. It seems that the non-tangible religious practices of Protestantism need to be balanced to prevent that the non-visible Immanuel completely disappear from among us.

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Regulatory issues of EV charging networks in the European Union

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Introduction: The European Green Deal, announced in December 2019, intends to play an important role in the fight against climate change and in reducing greenhouse gas emissions through electric transport, which requires an extensive EV charging infrastructure. Its Sustainable Mobility policy sets out the need for 13 million zero- or low-emission vehicles on the road across the EU by 2025, to be served by nearly 1 million electric chargers.[1] By 2030, the Sustainable and Smart Mobility Strategy already envisages 30 million zero-emission vehicles and 3 million charging points to meet the CO₂ reduction targets for road transport. [2]

Aim: The aim of this study is to highlight the contribution of current EU regulations to the objectives of the European Green Deal and related policies: how does regulation help the upswing of EV charging networks? Furthermore, how could regulation boost the development of EV charging networks compared to the current situation?

Method: The methodology is essentially based on the analysis of the current EU legislation, the analysis of policies and international statements, together with the examination of the relevant literature, as well as the grouping of legislation based on their content. In addition, the methodology covers the opinion of some EV charging network operators questioned through interviews.

Results: Within the framework of an exploratory analysis, the study has examined the content of the legislation, grouping them according to their content, how EU legislation currently promotes the spread of EV charging networks, and has pointed out the problems and shortcomings of certain regulations, which, with the help of the literature and recommendations of international organisations, are addressed in 6 proposals for future EU legislation and for the relevant bodies and authorities.

Conclusions: In order to develop an efficient EV charging infrastructure, it is essential to transpose Directive 2014/94/EU into a regulation, setting a minimum deployment quota for Member States and a corresponding deployment methodology for 2025 and 2030, as the targets set by Member States are not ambitious enough. The integration of charging networks into electricity systems is possible in the long term through the modernisation of the electricity grid and the introduction of back-and-forth charging solutions, which will require R&D&I resources. In addition, the introduction of a uniform pricing system and the prioritisation of the installation of fast and ultra-fast charging points should be emphasised.

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Keywords: EV charging networks, EV charging infrastructure, 2014/94/EU directive, TEN-T, EV charger deployment

I. The European Green Deal and its relations to the EV infrastructure

The European Green Deal, announced in December 2019, intends to play an important role in the fight against climate change and in reducing greenhouse gas emissions through electric transport, which requires an extensive EV charging infrastructure. Its Sustainable Mobility policy sets out the need for 13 million zero- or low-emission vehicles on the road across the EU by 2025, to be served by nearly 1 million electric chargers (European Commission, 2019A). By 2030, the Sustainable and Smart Mobility Strategy already envisages 30 million zero-emission vehicles and 3 million charging points to meet the CO₂ reduction targets for road transport (European Commission, 2020). Therefore, one of the key factors for the uptake of electric cars, and also an expectation of users, is an extensive charging network, which the European Commission expects to be achieved through the revision of Directive 2014/94/EU. The revision by the Commission is now complete and is currently being dealt with by the Parliament.

I.1. Summary of proposals from the EU and international analyses on charging network development

Transport is responsible for a quarter of greenhouse gas emissions in the European Union, with road transport accounting for 71.7 per cent of the total. The European Green Deal has set a target to reduce emissions by 90 per cent by 2050 (European Commission, 2019A). The uptake of electric cars is a major driver of this ambition, but like conventional fuel cars, they also need fuel, so it is essential to develop an adequate electric charging network across Europe. According to the European Alternative Fuels Observatory (EAFO) 2020 report, 199 250 standard and 25 288 fast chargers (including ultra-fast chargers) were available to consumers in the European Union in 2020, i.e. 9 electric cars shared one charging point (EAFO, 2020).

In parallel with the Commission, several EU and international organisations have made proposals on the development of electric charging networks, which the Commission and Parliament can take into account when drafting the new legislation. The solution, according to a number of organisations, could be to transpose the Directive on the deployment of alternative fuels infrastructure into a regulation: the idea is supported by ACEA, BEUC and Transport & Environment (T&E), because mandatory transposition and application without change would greatly reduce regulatory - and hence effectiveness - differences between Member States (European Commission, 2019B; ACEA, 2020; Vergne, Rutten, 2019; T&E, 2020).

In terms of infrastructure deployment, EAFO says a 6-fold increase is needed, ACEA says 14-fold (EAFO, 2021; ACEA, 2020), but all organisations agree that minimum quotas need to be set at Member State level to achieve the targets.

In addition, EAFO and Transport & Environment underline the importance of providing charging points and the necessary network improvements in the condominium regions, which also requires an appropriate funding programme at Member State level (EAFO, 2021; T&E, 2020). In addition, EAFO recommends the installation of ultra-fast chargers on motorways (EAFO, 2021), and Transport & Environment sets out further qualitative requirements for them: infrastructure should be equipped with smart meters, to achieve the inclusion of renewables in the system, charging optimisation and flexible pricing; charging points must be compatible with all cars and must be operated under continuous monitoring and maintenance (T&E, 2020).

As regards the method of funding, the ICCT's proposal should be taken into consideration: the ICCT suggests that the initial phase of charger deployment should be tailored to the needs of users, which will help to determine the optimal locations for residential and workplace charging, and that in the next phase, decision-makers should work with local authorities and network operators to plan the location of long-distance charging equipments (ICCT, 2021).

One of the essential clauses of the Commission's review is that the tariff for electric refuelling must always be more favourable than for conventional refuelling, and payment systems must operate across borders. Transport & Environment also added that prices should be set in euros/kWh across the EU and that card payment should be possible at all charging points (European Commission, 2019, 2016; T&E, 2020).

II. The aim and methodology of the research

The aim of this study is to highlight the contribution of current EU regulations to the objectives of the European Green Deal and related policies: how does regulation help the upswing of EV charging networks? Furthermore, how could future regulation boost the development of EV charging networks compared to the current situation?

The methodology is essentially based on the analysis of the current EU legislation, the analysis of the mentioned policies and international statements, together with the examination of the relevant literature, as well as the grouping of legislation based on their content. In addition, the methodology covers the opinion of three EV charging network operators questioned through interviews.

It has pointed out the problems and shortcomings of certain regulations, which, with the help of the literature and recommendations of international organisations, are addressed in 6 proposals for future EU legislation and the relevant bodies and authorities.

To answer the above questions, I did exploratory research and collected EU legislation on electric charging infrastructure. According to the functionalist methodology of legal comparison, the "juxtaposition and mechanical comparison" of legislation cannot be called a scientific result, and therefore the focus of the methodology is on the function of the legislation: the function and content of a given piece of legislation must be determined (Fekete, 2018, 3. o.).

I have therefore grouped the collected legislation according to its content. After examining the content of the legislation, I have the following groups:

1. Infrastructure and fuel availability rules,
2. Rules of installation guidelines and technical specifications,
3. Rules on the integration of infrastructure into the electricity grid,
4. Pricing requirements, and
5. Support requirements.

Once the groups have been set up, the following steps were made:

- classification of the legislation into each group according to their topic,
- outlining the shortcomings of the legislation concerned, based on EU reports and literature, and
- finally, the presentation of the various viewpoints and recommendations based on the literature, European Commission's documents and the advices of the charging network operators interviewed.

The latter's opinion is important because a regulation can be considered adequate if, in addition to EU and national requirements, it does not pose any difficulties of application for those for whom it was created and whose operations depend on it. In the framework of the complete research, which goes beyond the scope of the present study, I contacted a total of 12 inland charging network operators: three companies explicitly declined to participate in the survey, and two more did not send answers to the questions asked or did not agree to an online interview. At the request of the seven companies that gave in-depth interviews, their responses were anonymised, so I have identified the respondents by the letters of the alphabet (e.g.

Company "A"). As part of a larger study, this paper includes responses and opinions of a total of three companies.

III. The current EU legislation and its shortcomings

At EU level, two regulations and a directive must be highlighted:

- Regulation (EU) No 1315/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 December 2013 on Union guidelines for the development of the trans-European transport network and repealing Decision No 661/2010/EU,
- Regulation (EU) 2019/631 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17 April 2019 setting CO₂ emission performance standards for new passenger cars and for new light commercial vehicles, and repealing Regulations (EC) No 443/2009 and (EU) No 510/2011, and
- Directive 2014/94/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 22 October 2014 on the deployment of alternative fuels infrastructure (AFI Directive/AFID).

It is important to note that the Member States are bound by these EU rules, so the regulatory shortcomings discussed in this sub-chapter are the responsibility of the Member States, even if the infrastructure operators are affected by the specific rules. It is also the EU legislators themselves to whom the shortcomings are attributable, and it is no coincidence that Directive 2014/94/EU is currently under revision.

On the basis of the methodology described in Chapter II., I have categorised the provisions of the above-mentioned legislation dealing with electric charging infrastructure into the five content groups that are also written in Chapter II.

III.1. Infrastructure and fuel availability rules

Among the legislation concerned, not only Directive 2014/94/EU (European Parliament, 2021B), but also Regulation (EU) No 1315/2013 is revised by the Commission by October 2021 (European Parliament, 2021A). Not surprisingly, the regulation leaves something to be desired (European Commission, 2019). Regarding the spread of infrastructure and fuels, legislation stipulates the need to make alternative fuels, including electricity, as widely available as possible, which also implies setting minimum requirements for infrastructure installations. Unfortunately, the legislation does not contain a methodology for achieving optimal deployment, which has resulted that the national minimum targets being insufficient in several cases (European Commission, 2021). The same is true for installations on the TEN-T road network, only half of the expected amount have been deployed and still have not reached the desired 60km /1 station ratio. (European Commission, 2017; European Commission, 2021).

Table 1: Analysis of EU legislation on infrastructure and fuel availability

Legislation	Problem/Deficiency
1. Preamble (31) of 1315/2013/EU and 2014/94/EU: improve the availability of alternative, clean fuels.	1. The Directive does not contain a detailed binding methodology for Member States to set the right targets, and therefore, according to the European Commission (European Commission, 2021), national ambitions and levels of support are very different and repeatedly insufficient.
Article 1 of 2014/94/EU: sets minimum requirements for infrastructure deployment.	2/1. TEN-T core network 2020: only half of the goals achieved: instead of 440 000 electric charging points: 224 538. (European Commission, 2017).
	2/2. TEN-T's road network has still not reached the proposed 60 km / 1 charging station ratio and it is likely that the targets set are not even achievable under the current legal framework (European Commission, 2021).
Literature/Recommendations	
1-2. Until the Commission does not establish a mandatory methodology for revision, Member States could continue to consider Transport & Environment's detailed deployment methodology and proposals as guidelines; covering the TEN-T road network and motorways at least every 100 km/1 charging point until 2025; 2025, the highlighted part of the TEN-T should be covered with ultra-fast chargers; the access must be ensured 24/7, with 97 per cent availability on an annual basis (T&E, 2020).	

Source: own editing [2021]

III.2. Rules of installation guidelines and technical specifications

The preamble to Directive 2014/94/EU, paragraphs 22 and 23, as well as Article 3, deal in more detail with the minimum content requirements that national policy frameworks should meet. For example, when developing the infrastructure, the population density and geographical characteristics should also be taken into account. Also, the number of charging stations to be installed per Member State should be adjusted to the estimated number of electric cars registered in that Member State by the end of 2020. The directive recommends that 10 electric cars should share one charging point, which should be developed at public transport stations, workplaces, condominiums, office buildings and business districts. To go even further, Article 4 mentions areas favoured for installation: urban, suburban agglomerations, other densely populated areas, and paragraph 7 requires the installation of intelligent measurement systems or smart meters. Furthermore, the national strategic objectives were not ambitious enough in these areas either, the impact expected by the European Commission has been missed again, and national policies do not currently support enough the deployment of the smart charging network (European Commission, 2021). Moreover, in many cases the national strategies were unrealistic: either they set a deployment target that was almost reached or one that was unachievable and therefore ineffective (European Commission, 2017).

When designing the location of charging stations, Member States should take into account the recommendations of Csonka et al. who distinguish between "intra-city" and "inter-city" charging methods. The former refers to the installation of charging points within the city, where

fast chargers were basically planned and the distance between charging points was considered: the aim was to minimise the time lost in urban transport. In addition, road types were also taken into account, where roads with high traffic volumes were given priority for the installation of a charging point. For the latter charger deployment method, aimed at serving inter-city long-distance transport, not only the national but also the county level was considered: how widespread electric car use could be in a given area: this was estimated by the number of e-cars already in use, average population income and tourism. In a hexagonal territorial distribution, they examined which areas have higher charging demand during the day and night. Normal chargers would then be installed in areas where there was a greater demand for charging at night (Csonka et al, 2020).

Table 2: Analysis of EU legislation containing installation specifications and technical requirements

Legislation	Problem/Deficiency
1. Preamble (22), (23) and Article 3 of 2014/94/EU: installation should consider: population density, geographical characteristics, estimated number of electric cars registered in the Member State by the end of 2020. Maximum ratio: 10 electric cars/charger. Deployment: at public transport stations, workplaces, apartment buildings, office buildings and business districts.	1. There is no specific mandatory deployment methodology to achieve the targets (European Commission, 2021).
2. Article 4 (1) of 2014/94/EU: By the end of 2020, a sufficient number of public electric charging stations have to be built: at least in urban, suburban agglomerations and other densely populated areas, the possibility of electric transport should be ensured.	2. The Commission did not consider national strategies ambitious enough: there were Member States that had already set almost achieved targets in their national strategies, and there were some, who set themselves almost unachievable targets. (European Commission, 2017).
3. Article 4 (7) of 2014/94/EU: all charging points shall be equipped with intelligent measurement systems (smart meters), where technically feasible and economically reasonable.	3. Neither Directive 2014/94/EU, Directive 2019/944 nor the national policies of the Member States contain provisions that would support the deployment of smart infrastructure and the spread of smart charging (European Commission, 2021).
Literature/Recommendations	
1-2. Csonka and his co-authors propose: distinguish between "intra-city" and "inter-city" charging installation methods (Csonka et al, 2020).	
3. This is also true in our country (ITM, 2019), which can be remedied once a proper methodology is developed.	

Source: own editing [2021]

III.3. Rules on the integration of infrastructure into the electricity grid

Paragraph 13 of the preamble to Regulation (2019/631) draws Member States' attention to the fact that a successful transition towards emission-free mobility involves the deployment of an electric charging infrastructure and integration into energy systems. In order to achieve this, the

European Commission is calling for EU, national, regional and local measures (European Commission, 2021). In other words, there is already an expectation, that it is necessary to ensure that electric charging points are connected to the electrical grid and that adequate energy is provided, which by 2025 and 2030 could be so great that it could cause serious system problems without proper power grid improvements.

Table 3: Analysis of EU legislation on the integration of infrastructure into the electricity grid

Legislation	Problem/Deficiency
1. Preamble (13) of Regulation 2019/631: requires the deployment and integration of charging infrastructure into energy systems under EU, national, regional and local measures: it has to be ensured that charging points are connected to the electricity grid and that sufficient energy is available (Directives 2014/94/EU and 2019/944 have not yet addressed this issue).	1. The uptake of this amount of energy is initially negligible and may not represent a significant system load but reaching the 13 million electric cars and 1 million charging points planned for 2025 will certainly make a significant difference (European Commission, 2021). System integration, however, could lead to grid congestion and costly grid development.
Literature/Recommendations	
1. A back-and-forth charging solution could also facilitate the maintenance of grid flexibility and general management of the electricity system and could also play a role in the system integration of renewable energy production (European Commission, 2021).	

Source: own editing [2021]

III.4. Pricing requirements

Article 4 (10) of 2014/94/EU obliges Member States to take action: the prices of charging network providers should be reasonable, easy to follow, comparable and non-discriminatory. Still, users often face untraceable pricing and incomplete price indications, so comparison is difficult (European Commission, 2021).

In some cases, legal interpretation can also be a problem: Directive 2014/94/EU requires that all charging network operators have to provide the possibility of non-discriminatory or ad hoc charging, which essentially means that the ad hoc user can charge without registration. This imposes additional financial costs on the operators. However, there are service providers who obliged the add hoc users as well to register, so that they can gain a competitive advantage in the market. It would be welcome to clarify such situations, with illustrative examples and legal cases (Company „C”, 2021).

Not directly related to pricing, but if the following problem is not solved, operators can pass on the costs on to consumers: the EU VAT rules do not provide for a specific classification of e-mobility services, nor national legislation in the Member States. This situation may lead tax experts to classify e-mobility services as a supply of electricity under the current VAT rules. However, in the case of e-mobility services the supply of electricity is no longer a "supply of services" (what the operator actually does (Farkas-Csamangó, 2020), but should be taxed as "goods" or "products". This creates a contradiction or regulatory gap between the AFID legal framework and EU VAT legislation (Company „D”, 2021).

Table 4: Analysis of EU pricing standards

Legislation	Problem/Deficiency
1. Article 4 (10) of 2014/94/EU: Member States should ensure that the prices set by charging station operators are reasonable, easy to follow, clearly comparable and non-discriminatory.	1. Users often have limited information about the final price of a charge, prices are often not properly displayed at the station or in the mobile app, and are made up of many components, making it difficult to compare prices (European Commission, 2021).
2. Article 2 of 2014/94/EU: public electric charging stations should be accessible to users throughout the EU on a non-discriminatory basis, including in terms of authentication, conditions of use and payment, and ad-hoc charging.	2/1. In many places, direct debit or credit card payment is not available, only through an app, which is why Transport & Environment and Company „G” are proposing to make card payment available as well, as a simple, unregistered way to pay (T&E, 2020; Company „G”, 2021).
	2/2. The non-discriminatory provision of ad hoc charging is interpreted differently by operators; this should be standardised, even supported by examples and case law (Company „C”, 2021).
3. EU VAT rules do not have a specific classification for e-mobility services.	3. For this reason, the e-mobility service may even be classified as a sale of electricity, even though it is not (Company „D”, 2021).
Literature/Recommendations	
2/1. Simple, unregistered payment by debit or credit card should be available at all charging points (T&E, 2020): Regarding the business model, Company „G”'s senior manager believes that direct payment by credit card or mobile phone without registration will play a major role in the future service. The use of 15-20 different apps is likely to disappear, with an integrated system to serve consumers (Company „G”, 2021).	
2/2. Regulatory clarification and definition of the ad-hoc charging, preferably supported by concrete examples and explanations (Company „C”, 2021).	

Source: own editing [2021]

III.5. Support requirements

In China, where the world's most extensive national electric charging network is currently located, and in the United States, serious government funding, support and the entry of electricity suppliers and private investors on the market are increasing the spread of electric infrastructure. Moreover, in China, "municipalities" have also announced further programs in addition to national ones. Electricity suppliers are the biggest financiers in China after the state, as they are in the US. Furthermore, in the US additional incentives have been invented: those who use electricity as fuel will receive credits for the "unreleased" greenhouse gas that can be used to balance bills when charging (NRDC, 2020).

Directive 2014/94/EU states that electricity as fuel should be eligible for infrastructure development, not only under EU but also national programmes, in which the private sector must also play a role. The European Commission highlights this, especially in the area of super chargers: in this area, charging installations in individual Member States are lagging behind and state aid is therefore essential, given that charging networks are not yet profitable at this 'early' stage of market development (European Commission, 2021).

Table 5: Analysis of support requirements

Legislation	Problem/Deficiency
1. Preamble (14), (15) of 2014/94/EU: the eligibility of alternative fuels, including electricity, should be ensured through EU and national measures, and private sector actors should play a key role in supporting the development of alternative fuel infrastructure.	1. In addition to the development of a smart charging system, funding should place a strong emphasis on the deployment of networks with fast chargers, which has so far proved insufficient, and additional financial support is therefore essential, given that at this "initial" stage, the installation of charging stations is not profitable for the operating companies (European Commission, 2021).
Literature/Recommendations	
1. In the countries of Northern and Western Europe, infrastructure development is supported by states with millions of euros, and in some of their programmes commercial organizations can receive up to 35 per cent support (Finland) to build charging infrastructure for themselves. In some cases, the purchase of home wall chargers is encouraged by discounts or tax reductions, in the case of condominiums the state pays 50 per cent of the purchase and installation costs, and 40 per cent support can be claimed by companies (France). Germany also supports the installation of chargers with deployment and tax incentives (Wallbox, 2020).	

Source: own editing [2021]

The exploration and analysis of EU regulation identified a total of 9 current regulations or strategic policy requirements within 5 groups that currently facilitate the deployment of electric charging infrastructure and 12 gaps, deficiencies or problems associated with them, based on which the study will make regulatory proposals in the next chapter, taking into account the literature views and recommendations discussed.

IV. Regulatory proposals

The study has reviewed the main EU rules on electric charging infrastructure and networks and identified the gaps and expectations related to them, on the basis of which the following regulatory proposals are formulated along the previously identified groups:

- *Infrastructure/fuel availability rules:*

EU1. Agreeing with the proposals of ACEA, BEUC and T&E, following this year's revision, the Commission should take Directive 2014/94/EU to the regulatory level, setting a minimum deploying quota for all Member States, broken down by 2025 and 2030, and specifying the methodology for each member state, so that national targets can be sufficiently ambitious. The Commission's expectations about TEN-T's core network are also have to be highlighted in particular. In their work, the Commission and the Parliament should take into consideration the methodological and minimum quota recommendations presented earlier in Transport & Environment (2020): cover the TEN-T road network and motorways with a minimum of 1 charging point/100 km by 2025; cover the priority TEN-T with ultra-fast chargers by 2025; ensure 24/7 access with 97 per cent availability per year.

- *Installation guidelines and technical specifications:*

EU2. Also due to the lack of an appropriate methodology and the weak ambitions of member states' objectives, the EU target for installations and technical characteristics has not been achieved, which can be remedied by the proposal referred to in the previous point (EU1).

EU3. The installation of charging points with smart metering systems has so far been cancelled because neither Directive 2019/944 nor the national policies of the Member States contain provisions that would support the deployment of smart infrastructure and the spread of smart charging (European Commission, 2021). These provisions should be replaced during the revision and appropriate EU and national support should be provided for implementation.

- *Rules on the integration of infrastructure into the electricity grid:*

EU4. The integration of charging infrastructure into electricity systems is possible by modernising the electricity network and introducing back-and-forth charging solutions. The technology already exists in Germany and Japan, which is why it is recommended that the EU examine them, provide R&D&I support and disseminate good practice in the EU according to the standard.

- *Pricing requirements:*

EU5. In order to ensure price rationality, easy tracking, clear comparability and to resolve ad hoc charging – considering the recommendations of T&E, Company „C” and Company „G” – , the Commission should make it obligatory from 2025 to providers to display their pricing according to a uniform system for all TENT-E networks and from 2030 for all charging points. Also bank or credit card payments should be possible in order to ensure the realisation of ad hoc charging.

- *Support requirements:*

EU6. Regarding the proper development of infrastructure – as recognised by the Commission (European Commission, 2021) –, the emphasis should be on fast and ultra-fast charging installations. In order to increase private sector involvement, the Commission should provide them with new funding opportunities and examine the policies of Member States where this is successfully applied in State support schemes, for example in Finland, Germany and France (Wallbox, 2020).

V. Summary

In the framework of an exploratory analysis, the study analysed the content and function of the legislation, grouped it according to its content, and examined how EU regulation currently promotes the widespread deployment of electric charging infrastructure and networks, then pointed out the problems and shortcomings of certain regulations, which, with the help of the literature and recommendations of international organisations, were addressed by formulating own, forward-looking regulatory recommendations, answering the main question of the research: how could regulation boost the development of EV charging networks compared to the current situation?

In terms of groupings, EU regulations include infrastructure and fuel availability rules, installation guidelines, technical specifications, rules on the integration of infrastructure into the electricity grid, pricing standards and support requirements. In total, the study has formulated 6 EU regulatory proposals based on the analyses and the sights of charging network operators, which are presented in Chapter IV.

Given that the most important regulation on charging infrastructure, Directive 2014/94/EU on the deployment of alternative fuels infrastructure, has undergone a Commission revision and is

currently being discussed by the European Parliament, the study's proposals for EU regulation will soon be tested and will shed light on how well they have been formulated in line with the Commission's evolving vision.

The possible lack of correspondence does not mean that my conclusions are wrong, but they are based on a different set of ideas, which I will of course revise myself in the future in the light of the results of future legislation.

To summarise the results of the research, it is essential to transpose Directive 2014/94/EU into a regulation, to set a minimum deployment quota and an appropriate deployment methodology for Member States by 2025 and 2030, and to integrate charging networks into electricity systems, which will also imply the need to modernise the electricity grid, in order to develop an efficient charging infrastructure. At present, this is possible through the introduction of back-and-forth charging solutions, requiring R&D&I resources. In addition, the introduction of a uniform pricing system should be stressed, as well as the priority to be given to the deployment of fast and ultra-fast charging points.

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Interviews (2021):

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Singapore: zero to crypto

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After independence in 1965, Singapore embarked on a rapid economic development path as one of the Asian region's small tigers [1]. And today, as well as being one of the world's business hubs, Singapore is also home to a number of blockchain companies. Singapore's ability to absorb crypto has been greatly boosted by China's crypto ban in the second quarter of 2021, and the favourable solutions of the Payment Services Act of Singapore, which came into force in 2020. These facts could lead to a mass emergence of crypto exchanges in Singapore in the long term. The aim of this paper is to briefly illustrate how a country with a near-zero entrepreneurial culture, after becoming self-sufficient, has become a dominant and popular crypto sector player through a number of processes.

Kulcsszavak: Singapore, PSA, cryptoban, DPT, DEX, CEX

I. Singapore's favourable internal factors

In my view, the current high level of crypto adoption in Singapore can be attributed to several internal (government) factors. From the crypto sector's perspective, I would highlight the city-state's economic sphere, pervasive adaptive nature, openness to innovation and strong entrepreneurial culture. In addition, there is a favourable legal framework and an up-to-date and effective financial supervisory body. In this sub-chapter, I will limit myself to the internal factors listed above.

I.1. The role of SMEs and the consolidation of the legal system in Singapore

Today, it is a fact that Singapore is one of the world's financial centres, home to technology giants such as China's Tencent Holdings Ltd. and the company's Southeast Asian regional headquarters. There is also the presence of Byte Dance Ltd¹, the company behind the popular TikTok app, and the US-based Twitter Inc, which will set up its first engineering centre in Asia Pacific in Singapore.² The situation of enterprises, in particular the economic relevance and social acceptance of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), has evolved differently in the colonial period and after the country's independence.

In the colonial period (1819-1965), the social reputation of businesses was rather low it was far from positive. There was basically no stable entrepreneurial class or entrepreneurial culture in the colonial country. On the contrary, there were few enterprises and it was more the entrepreneurs from neighbouring countries who were mainly pioneers to entrepreneurs who set up the first businesses. The aim of the early settling entrepreneurs was not only to settle down but also to create an economic livelihood that would support their families. As a result, family businesses were predominantly created, predestined by the social background of the entrepreneurs who set up the business.³ The fate of early family businesses varied, as over the years they either ceased their activities or have become a major player in a particular sector, such as health care. Longer-term success is partly related to changes in the way businesses are perceived by the public and society.⁴

In the first decades after the country's independence (1985), the social perception of SMEs changed and their economic relevance increased. Globalization and the cross-sectoral diffusion of technology led to the recognition by the state that in the long term, the development of a knowledge-based economy will ensure the growth and preservation of the country's competitiveness. The knowledge-based economy is characterised by the dominance of highly skilled human resources employed in the SME sector, so it is not surprising that the government set itself the objective of strengthening the SME sector,⁵ which was successfully completed before the turn of the millennium. And the consolidation of the SME sector was one of the preconditions for the country's key role in the business and crypto scene today. The country's favourable economic and commercial legislation⁶ and the strict requirements imposed on the courts are other such preconditions.⁷ The relevance of the last two factors is unquestionable, but even more important for the crypto sector is the activity of the financial supervisory authority and the development of the legal framework for financial services.

I.2. The importance of the Monetary Authority of Singapore for the crypto sector

Effective and efficient supervision of financial markets is a guarantee for maintaining and preserving the transparent functioning of financial markets, and this is no different for crypto markets. The importance of the Financial Supervisory Authority lies, among other things, in its role as the supervisory authority for the authorisation of crypto related services such as crypto exchanges.

Historically, four main approaches to financial supervision have emerged from the different approaches to financial markets in different countries.⁸ These are the institutional (traditional), functional, twin peaks and integrated (unified) supervisory models.⁹

The basic concept of a supervisory system based on a traditional or institutional approach is that the financial market can be divided into three different sectors: 1) banks, 2) insurance companies, 3) securities¹⁰. In this approach, the core business of a financial institution core business determined its sectoral classification, which in turn predetermined the range of activities that could be authorised and carried out¹¹. This means that each sector was supervised by a separate supervisory body. However, this supervisory approach has faded away over time as the differences between the various sectors have merged¹².

The functional approach, quasi, is an alternative to the traditional approach, so it can be interpreted most simply in its light. Under the traditional approach, financial institutions belonging to different financial sectors are subject to different supervisory bodies, while in the functional approach, different activities performed by a given financial institution are subject to different supervisory bodies. A further feature of this approach is that it does not examine the legal status of the financial institution, it focuses specifically on its activities and the functions it performs, so a financial institution with several types of activities is subject to the supervision of several supervisory bodies.¹³

The twin peaks approach involves two authorities that are jointly responsible for ensuring the soundness of the financial system¹⁴ and protecting investors.¹⁵ In this supervisory structure, one authority is responsible for micro- and macro-prudential supervision¹⁶ and the other for investor protection.¹⁷

Finally, in the case of the integrated or unified approach, there is a single authority supervising the financial markets.¹⁸ It should be added that the supervisory models presented here exist in pure form only at the level of abstraction. In reality, a supervisor will be shaped by the historical path, culture and economic and legal set-up of a country. Regardless of the supervisory approach that actually works, there must be a relationship between the supervisor and the central bank that takes into account the potential relations between monetary stability and financial stability.¹⁹

In Singapore, the Monetary Authority of Singapore (MAS) is responsible for the supervision of the financial and crypto markets, as well as acting as the central bank of the state. For several decades, the MAS has been operating under the integrated model of the supervisory approaches described above.²⁰ Consequently, it has been carrying out its activities in four areas of supervision: banking, capital markets, insurance companies and payment services. Given that one of the seven payment services defined in the Payment Services Act, which will come into force in 2020, is digital payment token services, entities providing such services, such as crypto exchanges, are subject to the MAS and can only legally operate with a valid licence.

I.3. The amendment of the Payment Services Act 2019

On 14 January 2019, Singapore's Parliament passed the Payment Services Act 2019 (PSA) which came into force on 28 January 2020. The enactment of the PSA is partly due to the MAS' recognition that technological innovation, particularly the rise of fintech solutions, is transforming and reforming the world of finance and payments.²¹ Weighing these risk factors, the Singapore regulatory framework adopts a risk-based approach and focuses on prevention, by applying existing legislation where possible. In parallel with the proliferation of new payment methods, new forms of tax evasion²² and terrorist financing must also be expected.²³ Weighing these risk factors, the Singapore regulatory framework adopts a risk-based approach and focuses on prevention, by applying existing legislation where possible. One practical

manifestation of this is that the provision of financial services is subject to a valid operating licence and that authorised entities must ensure consistent compliance with the legislation on the prevention and combating of money laundering and terrorist financing in force at the time.²⁴ In the following, I will focus on the new legal terminology introduced by the PSA, such as digital payment token services, digital payment tokens, and the organisations providing such services.

In total, the PSA legislation operates seven separate named payment services,²⁵ one of which is digital payment token services, the subject of which is digital payment tokens. A further novelty of the legislation is that it defines *ex lege* the concept of digital payment tokens, thus creating a new and distinct category of instruments, distinguishing digital payment tokens from e-money.^{26,27} But at the legal definition level, it can prevent legal uncertainty.

Digital payment tokens are a separate legal category, in practice a *de facto* distinction can be made between utility, security²⁸ and payment token.²⁹ Other approaches operate with the currency token³⁰ category instead of payment tokens. Utility tokens, essentially, give the holder access to an existing or future service or product. Crucially, however, the holder does not have the rights and obligations that a security has.³¹ Security tokens, on the other hand, represent an ownership position and provide a share in the profits of a particular crypto solution, so in the absence of specific regulation, the rules applicable to securities apply.^{32,33} Payment tokens, such as Bitcoin (BTC), are cryptoassets whose function is to facilitate payment transactions between parties.³⁴ Although the list does not include the category of presale tokens, it is worth mentioning for a moment. The crucial importance of presale tokens was predominantly felt during the golden age of initial public offerings (ICOs).³⁵ Presale tokens were typically issued during pre-ICO and provided a right of first refusal to subscribe to crypto assets that were subsequently issued.³⁶

The distinction between tokens is relevant not only in theory, but also in practice, as not all token categories are subject to legal regulation. Thus, in Singapore, the existing legislation covers the categories of security and payment tokens, while utility tokens are outside the scope of the legislation. Since 2017, security tokens have been subject to the Securities and Futures Act,³⁷ provided that the legal conditions are met.^{38,39} For payment tokens, the provisions of the PSA Act will be relevant. Under the legislation, a digital payment token is any digital token that is a unit of value, is not denominated in or linked to fiat money, is a publicly (publicly) accepted means of payment and can be electronically stored, transferred and traded and meets any additional requirements that may be specified by the MAS. The legal requirements for digital payment tokens are conjunctive, so that in the absence of one of them, the instrument does not qualify as a digital payment token.

Crypto exchanges are regulated marketplaces under the Singapore Securities and Futures Act,⁴⁰ which are effectively online interactive platforms. The common feature of these online platforms and related services, regardless of the organisation, is that they can be accessed and used via the internet or through native smartphone applications. Traditional stock exchanges and commodity exchanges are characterised by the fact that they bring sellers and buyers together in one place (consolidated marketplace), which means that participants can easily enter and exit (bid and ask) positions, providing liquidity to the market. Crypto exchanges make trading in cryptocurrencies easily accessible. Crypto exchanges can currently be divided into two groups based on their operation, making a distinction between DEX⁴¹ (decentralised exchanges)⁴² and CEX⁴³ (centralised exchanges).⁴⁴

The CEX has many similarities with classical stock exchanges, as it is also a stock exchange/trading platform that acts as a trusted intermediary for transactions and provides a custodial service for fiat and/or cryptocurrency deposits. Because of this latter feature, registered users on CEX platforms do not have their own private key to the wallet in which they keep their cryptocurrencies, as they are "held in custody"⁴⁵ in a separate wallet on the crypto

exchange. Another feature of CEX trading interfaces is their strong focus on ensuring legal compliance. Thus, they carry out strict customer due diligence (KYC) and operate/explain their activities in compliance with the prevailing anti-money laundering and counter-terrorist financing legislation. In contrast, DEX trading platforms do not use KYC identification and do not store users' personal data. There is also a difference in that there is no trusted intermediary on the DEX platform, transactions are carried out directly between the parties (P2P) in a transparent manner. Users use the DEX trading platform essentially only to execute transactions, and store cryptocurrencies in their own wallets. A description of the advantages and disadvantages of the different crypto exchanges in operation will be omitted in this paper. According to their appearance, centralised crypto exchanges (CEX) appeared earlier than decentralised crypto exchanges (DEX). The emergence of the latter DEX trading platforms, such as UNISWAP, can be seen mainly as a response to the problems that CEX trading platforms have faced, such as cyber-attacks.⁴⁶⁴⁷ In my view, beyond this, the general hype about decentralised financial services (DeFi) may be behind the proliferation of DEXs, but ensuring adequate liquidity on DEX is still a task for the future, which may also give room for the emergence of hybrid platforms.

Regardless of their operation and popularity, crypto exchanges in Singapore are uniformly supervised by the MAS, given that they provide payment services on these platforms. And under current legislation, any entity providing any type of payment service is, as a general rule, required to be licensed unless otherwise exempt. The MAS is responsible for assessing the licence submitted. However, following the entry into force of the PSA, organisations have the possibility to start their activities subject to prior approval. The application of this exemption rule was subject to the condition that, prior to the entry into force of the Act, the organisations had to have carried out a regulated activity and had to have made a specific application for exemption from the authorisation procedure within the grace period. This grace period for digital payment service providers ran from January 2020 until July 2020.

According to MAS statistics, 480 licence applications were received after the entry into force of the PSA, 170 of which were from digital payment token providers such as Coinbase and Kraken. Of the applications received, 30 were withdrawn and 2 were rejected by July 2021, while the rest were in the final stage.⁴⁸ In this context, I would like to highlight three well-known organisations that have been positively assessed and awarded a licence by MAS to provide digital payment token services. The first is the Singapore-based fintech company Fomo Pay, the second is the Australian cryptocurrency exchange Independent Reserve⁴⁹ and the third is DBS Vickers⁵⁰. However, in addition to the positive decisions, there were also negative decisions too. One example is Bitcoin Exchange Pte Ltd, which provides a digital payment token service but was unable to take advantage of the preferential regulatory treatment.⁵¹ This trend, in my view, reflects the MAS' strict supervisory approach to maintaining legitimate operations and transparent market functioning.

II. Favourable external effects

In my opinion from the favorable external factors, I think it is precisely one of the restrictions and bans on the Chinese crypto sector that deserves to be highlighted.

In my opinion, among the favorable external factors, the restrictions and bans on the crypto sector should in China should be highlighted. The reason for this in the fact that these restrictions have been affected by both regional and global rearrangements, mainly in terms of mining activity and the operation of crypto exchanges.

II.1. Crypto bans of China

China's scepticism towards cryptocurrencies is not a recent phenomenon, given that it has taken strong action against the crypto sector several times over the past decade, introducing various restrictions.

In chronological order, China's first restrictive measure on the crypto sector dates back to 2013. In that year, the country banned financial institutions from conducting transactions with BTC. The underlying reason for the decision was that Bitcoin, which has no legal status and cannot be used as a currency, is also concerned about its decentralised nature.⁵² However, it is important to note that following the decision, individuals were still free to trade BTC, while acknowledging the risks involved. Subsequently, in 2017, the People's Bank of China (PBOC) banned initial public offerings (ICOs) of coins in the country due to the potential dangers of this alternative means of raising funds.⁵³ In relation to the 2017 Chinese ICO ban, however, it is worth noting that the Singapore MAS took a similar stance, stating in a position paper issued in August that "the ability of ICOs to raise large amounts of capital in a short period of time can be a breeding ground for terrorist financing and money laundering".⁵⁴ In addition, this year, further measures restricting the activities of domestic (resident) crypto exchanges have been introduced. As a consequence, 1) the exchange of cryptocurrencies and fiat currencies on trading platforms; 2) the trading of cryptocurrencies; and 3) the provision of commercial brokerage services related to cryptocurrencies or virtual currencies have been prohibited.⁵⁵ The imposition of the latter restrictive measure was largely due to the fact that investors began trading against the national currency Chinese yuan (CNY) in favor of BTC. (refer to). The restriction had a detrimental effect on both the cryptocurrency market and the operation of cryptocurrencies. Cryptocurrency rates began to fall, such as 30% for BTC, but historical data show that back in December of that year, BTC broke a new historical record in December, when it reached \$ 20,000. Thus, in my view, the detrimental consequences of this tightening did not significantly affect the cryptocurrency market, but rather opened the way for the harmful practice that offshore cryptocurrencies had begun to emerge. Examples are the Huobi and OKEx cryptocurrencies, which allow both spot and derivative trading and are registered in the Seychelles.

Then looking back 4 years, the restrictions on cryptocurrencies in May this year (2021) can be seen as an extension of the 2017 measures. The crackdown affected financial and payment services related to cryptocurrencies. In addition, the ban on mining activities has also been initiated in light of China's climate goals and its desire to maintain an environmentally friendly and sustainable economy. The Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, has launched a campaign to eradicate cryptocurrency mining in order to reduce carbon emissions. To this end, it has set up a platform where residents can report illegal "mining" activities.⁵⁶

The three associations under China's central bank, the China Internet Finance Association, the China Banking Association and the China Payment and Settlement Association, issued a joint statement warning financial institutions and financial companies against providing cryptocurrency services to their customers, directly or indirectly.⁵⁷ The new ban also covers services that were not previously covered. For example, it clarified that institutions cannot accept virtual currencies and use them as a means of payment and settlement. Institutions are also not allowed to offer exchanges between cryptocurrencies and yuan or foreign currencies. Finally, on September 24, 2021, the People's Bank of China issued a notice announcing that it had banned all operations related to cryptocurrency. According to the communication, all transactions in cryptocurrencies are considered "prohibited financial activities", which may also result in criminal prosecution. The widespread nature of the ban and its striving for completeness are reflected in the fact that, in contrast to the tightening that took place in 2017

targeting domestic cryptocurrencies, services provided to Chinese citizens by overseas cryptocurrencies are also considered illegal activities.

Finally, on September 24, 2021, the People's Bank of China published a statement announcing that it had banned all cryptocurrency-related operations. According to the notice, all cryptocurrency operations are considered "prohibited financial activities", which may lead to criminal prosecution. Reflecting the extensive nature and comprehensiveness of the ban, services provided by overseas offshore crypto exchanges⁵⁸ to Chinese citizens are now also considered illegal activities, unlike the restrictions that came into force in 2017 targeting domestic crypto exchanges.⁵⁹

In my opinion, the bans applied in recent years are a good reflection of the fact that they were basically always aimed at curbing the current trends in the crypt sector. In my view, these restrictive measures are fundamentally based on a conservative regulatory approach that prioritises the protection of the country's economy, the protection of investors' interests and the protection of the digital yuan (e-CNY)⁶⁰ under development

III. Final thoughts

In my view, because Singapore recognised the relevance of the SME sector and the knowledge economy before the turn of the millennium, the city-state has predestined its own economic path, which has made it one of the leading business and financial centres of today. The city-state's openness to technological innovation and its high adaptability, combined with a favourable regulatory environment, could help it to emerge as a major crypto centre in the coming years. In addition, I have also assessed the steady emergence of crypto bans in China over the past decade, which have resulted in a local shift in the crypto power balance in the region, as an external effect that has contributed to Singapore becoming a new and prominent target for crypto exchanges. However, the Chinese bans have also had consequences that go beyond the borders of the region and can be seen in the shifting power balance of mining capacity and the search for alternative mining solutions. The Chinese ban has led to an exodus of miners from the country, resulting in large quantities of used video cards appearing on online marketplaces. New areas and countries have been targeted from a cryptocurrency mining perspective, for example, the US crypto-regulated federal states⁶¹, could become a preferred region, leading the way in terms of mining capacity.⁶²

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If silence could speak
The literary representation of abuse - Dacia Maraini's *L'amore rubato* as contemporary women's trauma literature

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*If silence could speak
It would speak in four billion voices
Of all that lives hidden within us.
(Locomotiv GT)*

*Silence does not heal. Silence deepens your wounds and infects them.
So this is not the way to go.
You have to talk. It must be said. You have to yell and scream.
Through the wall, loud and clear.
(Kata Tisza)*

ABSTRACT

In this paper, I will examine Dacia Maraini's *L'amore rubato* (Milano: Rizzoli, 2012) from a trauma literature perspective. Through the analysis of a few short stories, I will present a textual universe that is seemingly bleak, sometimes operating with crude or hyper-realistic descriptions, and which, precisely because of this stripped-downness, conveys traumatic events that otherwise seem untellable. In a closer textual analysis, I analyse the primarily linguistic dimension of the depicted phenomenon of abuse in relationships, in the family and at the social level that underpins and sustains it, with particular reference to the state of being deprived of language, the dichotomy of silence and speech, while at the same time exploring the almost impossibility of reconstructing the female subject, deprived of desires and activity, from her past and future, as a result of the trauma she has experienced and her fixed position in society. Along these lines, I am also seeking answers to questions such as what literary value a text of this kind has and what purpose it can serve, how the reception of this taboo-breaking, sensitive subject can work, and, in general, how the reading of texts describing female abuse can be facilitated.

Keywords: Dacia Maraini, trauma literature, contemporary, abuse, female subject

I. Introduction

Dacia Maraini's *L'amore rubato*¹ explores an almost taboo subject that is still rarely discussed and socially difficult to digest and interpret:² her stories present violence against women, revealing scenes from the lives of women who have suffered physical, sexual and psychological abuse, and as such form part of the literature of women's trauma. Accordingly, the present study places the subject of its study within the framework of a literary narrative that narrates a traumatic event in a woman's life, and thus is able to linguistically present the reader fracture caused by trauma.³ My starting hypothesis is that the linguistic register of the narrative, such as the use of tropes and the operation of hyper-realistic descriptions, operates differently from the usual narrative, thus placing the recipient in an unusual situation. Through the analysis of three short stories, I will present this textual world, which seems empty, raw, and indifferent, working with hyper-realistic descriptions, which, precisely through this narrative, which seems too bleak for the reader, is able to narrate otherwise untold traumas. In the course of the textual analysis, the study focuses mainly on the linguistic dimension of abuse, i.e. how the dichotomy of speech and silencing, functions in the light of violence. From this, she asks how it is possible that the female protagonists are unable to recreate themselves as autonomous subjects in their given life situations. One of the fundamental ways in which trauma works is that it cannot be verbalized. However, in the course of the reading, it can be embodied in language and the repressed content can surface.

Italy is in a particular situation, because of its patriarchal system, where talk about the abuse of women is only just beginning to emerge, and in recent years the Italian media have been constantly reporting on violence against women. *Femminicidio* continues in Italy today.⁴ Violence is typically seen as a cultural problem, as it occurs in a male-dominated environment, domestic violence is often still not considered a crime, and victims are

¹ For the quotations in this paper, I use the ebook format of Dacia Maraini's *L'amore rubato*. Rizzoli. Milano, 2012. (*Rabolt szerelem*. Jaffa Kiadó. Budapest, 2020., trans. Lukácsi Margit)

² Slow but noticeable change: more and more books on women's trauma are coming out in Italy (Elena Ferrante: *L'amore molesto*. Edizioni e/o. Roma, 1992; *Il giorno dell'abbandono*, Edizioni e/o. Roma, 2002; *L'amica geniale*. Edizioni e/o. Roma, 2011; *Storia del nuovo cognome*. Edizioni e/o. Roma, 2012; *Storia di chi fugge e di chi resta*. Edizioni e/o. Roma, 2013; *Storia della bambina perduta*. Edizioni e/o. Roma, 2014; Chiara Gamberale: *L'isola dell'abbandono*. Feltrinelli. Milano, 2019; Donatella Di Pietrantonio: *L'arminuta*. Einaudi. Torino, 2019), and also in Hungary, there is a clear upward trend: for a long time, only Alain Polcz's novel *Asszony a fronton* (Szépirodalmi. Budapest, 1991) could be considered women's trauma literature, which tells the story of rape committed by Soviet soldiers against women during the Second World War, a specific taboo subject. More recently, the writings of Éva Péterfy-Novák (*Egyasszony. Aki nem félt elmondani, amiről mindenki hallgat*. Libri. Budapest, 2014; *A rózsaszín ruha*. Libri. Budapest, 2017; *Apád előtt ne vetkőzz*. Libri. Budapest, 2019), Eszter Babarczy (*A mérgezett nő*. Jelenkor. Budapest, 2019), Kata Tisza (*Most. Túlélő leszel nem áldozat*. Scolar. Budapest, 2019; *Kékre szeretni*. Scolar. Budapest, 2020) or Rita Halász (*Mély levegő*. Jelenkor. Budapest, 2021) have become very popular among Hungarian readers. The books by the authors listed above focus on the physical and emotional abuse within relationships and families, and the ways out of this situation.

³ Menyhért, Anna: *Elmondani az elmondhatatlant. Trauma és irodalom*. Anonymus-Ráció. Budapest, 2008. p. 5.

⁴ In 2012, the year of publication of Maraini's book, a UN report on femicide in Italy reports 73 victims in the first half of the year alone (Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, Rashida Manjoo, 15 June 2012) https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/RegularSession/Session20/A-HRC-20-16-Add2_en.pdf [Download time: 2021. 12. 08.] – and this figure is only an indicator of fatal tragedies. The good news is that the numbers are showing a steady downward trend, but even in 2018 the number of victims was still 142, most of whom were still victims of domestic violence (No Author: https://www.tgcom24.mediaset.it/cronaca/rapporto-eures-femminicidi-in-crescita-nel-2018-142-donne-uccise_11340305-201902a.shtml [Download time: 2021. 12. 08.]).

economically dependent on the perpetrators.⁵ The pandemic has in all likelihood deepened the inequality between men and women and increased the number of victims of violence against women.⁶

Trauma research has a special relationship with the interdisciplinary sciences. Cutting-edge research is being conducted in many fields, such as psychology, psychiatry, sociology, public health, history and literature, although no single discipline can fully describe and explain the phenomenon of trauma on its own.⁷ A traumatic event leaves a deep, long-term mark on the individual, both at the physiological level and in the areas of emotions, thinking and memory. In many cases, the integrated functioning of the whole organism may be disrupted in its wake.⁸ A traumatic experience may result in repeated, uncontrollable and unpredictable effects that persist long after the apparent trigger. It breaks the continuity in the personality between past and present, past and future.⁹ The present paper deals with individual trauma. Although it can be said that a common aspect of women's life trajectories, specific to almost all female individuals, is the violence or abuse they face in various forms, even in a subtle, euphemistic guise, since we can consider the male structure of our society as a fundamental one, I will focus here on traumas that take place primarily as individuals. From a social point of view, I am looking first and foremost at the relationship and attitudes of the environment, of people towards the phenomenon, and the impact this has on the woman who has suffered abuse.

Sexual and domestic violence has been in the public consciousness for only a few decades, and the socio-political background of this phenomenon is precisely the American and Western European feminist movement (although studies on trauma to women were already carried out in the early nineteenth century, see for example Freud's studies on hysteria¹⁰). The previously silenced victims who spoke out at these movements told of the horrors that had happened to them, and by 'speaking out', more and more people became aware of the existence and prevalence of violence against women.¹¹ It has been realised that the most common post-traumatic stress disorder is not experienced by men who have fought in wars and returned from them, but by women in civilian life.

It may come as a surprise that the most recent and far-reaching insights into trauma come from a field that at first sight seems remote from it: literature and literary theory. Over the past decades, the emergence of work on trauma and literature in critical theory has had a profound impact both within and outside literary studies.¹² This is largely due to the work of

⁵ D'Onghia, Silvia: *Violenza sulle donne, quando „l'amore” uccide*. Onu: „Crimini tollerati da Stato” <https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2012/06/26/violenza-sulle-donne-quando-lamore-uccide-onu-crimini-tollerati-dallo-stato/275686/> [download time: 08. 12. 2021.]

⁶ In Italy, 70% of the people who lost their jobs during the Covid emergency were women (Marino, Natalia: 8 marzo 2021, Dacia Maraini: „Le parole che mi stanno a cuore” <https://www.patriaindipendente.it/8-marzo-tutto-lanno/8-marzo-2021-dacia-maraini-le-parole-che-mi-stanno-a-cuore/> [download time: 08. 12. 2021.]

⁷ Marder, Elissa: *Trauma and Literary Studies: Some “Enabling Questions”*. Reading On. 2006. Vol. 1. no. 1. p. 1.

⁸ Herman, Judith: *Trauma and Recovery. The Aftermath of Violence - from Domestic Abuse to Political Terror*. BasicBooks. New York, 1997. p. 51.

⁹ In trauma theories and literature, we distinguish between cultural and individual trauma, the two should not be confused, as we have different interpretations of individual psychological trauma and a cultural process that spans a whole society (Takács, Miklós: *Sebek és szavak*. Kalligram. Budapest, 2018. pp. 13-14.) The former is mostly transmitted to us independently of specific individuals and affects the collective consciousness/subconscious (e.g. the Holocaust).

¹⁰ Freud, Sigmund. (Rieff, P. eds.): *Dora. An analysis of a Case of Hysteria*. Collier. New York, 1963.

¹¹ Herman: *op. cit.* p. 14.

¹² Marder: *op. cit.* p. 2.

Cathy Caruth¹³ and Shoshana Felman¹⁴ both of whom conduct their research in the field of literature and psychoanalysis. Caruth sees the real power of trauma in the moment of absence, in the paradox that the victim cannot be present in space and time at the moment of the event. This is also reflected in the female protagonists of Maraini's stories, who are completely removed from their lives for the duration of the short stories, the reader learns almost nothing about their past or their desires for the future, they are removed from the time of their lives, they only appear for a few minutes or an hour at the most, during the violence. The narratives are also symbolic in the way they depict space - the author presents her characters in foreign and transitory places (abroad, in railway stations, in wards), excluded from their own homes or even alone in their own homes, in landscapes abandoned by men. The violence always takes place in these places, which are either not part of the world of the female characters or deprive them of their own personal, safe spaces.

In fact, it is a question of the trauma coming late to the victim. But this does not only have negative consequences. Apart from the fact that the loss of time and space in the moment helps the victim to survive,¹⁵ it also creates new ways of understanding and new possibilities of connecting with others.¹⁶ Caruth argues that literature is one of the most important ways to bear the distancing caused by trauma, and even to reach others by talking about aspects of human experience through distancing.¹⁷ Literature is therefore one of the best mediums for people to share experiences that cannot be told through ordinary means of expression, and are perhaps even beyond human comprehension. Felman also links to this idea: she highlights the importance of testimony, which can offer new ways of thinking about how trauma, language and survival are intertwined in the process of talking about it. He argues that this is the most viable response to trauma.¹⁸ But it also points out that testimony puts the speaker and the recipient in a difficult position. Testimonial speech is different from most other language and ways of speaking, and it points to the consequences. The reader unwittingly takes on the position, feelings and experiences of the witness, and thus temporarily assumes the burden of being a witness. „*To bear witness is to bear the solitude of a responsibility, and to bear responsibility, precisely, of that solitude.*”¹⁹ – which is also the responsibility of the reader.

Anna Menyhért also thinks about this aspect, i.e. why it is so difficult to read trauma texts. Just as the person who has suffered trauma is unable to incorporate the violent life event (in the case of the volume under review) into his or her life story, the reader does not have the tools to absorb it, the trauma stories themselves traumatise him or her.²⁰ Moreover, the narrative of Maraini's short stories, with its harshness and its way of depicting violence in excessive detail, makes it even more linguistically difficult for the reader to absorb the trauma.

¹³ Caruth, C. (eds.): *Trauma. Explorations in Memory*. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Baltimore-London, 1995. and Caruth, C.: *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History*. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Baltimore-London, 1996.

¹⁴ Felman, Shoshana (co-authored with Dori Laub, M.D.): *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*. Routledge. New York, 1992.

¹⁵ Levin, Peter A.: *A tigris ébresztése*. Ursus Libris. Budapest, 2020. p. 26.

¹⁶ Caruth: *op. cit.* p. 10-11.

¹⁷ Marder: *op. cit.* p. 3.

¹⁸ *Ibidem* p. 4.

¹⁹ Felman: *op. cit.* p. 3.

²⁰ Menyhért: *op. cit.* p. 7.

II. The poetics of violence against women

Dacia Maraini is one of the most translated contemporary Italian writers and has made her mark in almost every field of literature: novelist, poet, playwright and essayist. She began her career in the 1960s and has become a reference point for an increasingly wide audience. Most of her oeuvre was devoted to exploring and depicting the tragedies of women and violence against women. She is still active in the civil arena, often speaking out and giving interviews, particularly as a protagonist of initiatives for the rights and protection of women and children. In 1973, she pioneered the creation of the Teatro della Maddalena, a theatre run exclusively by women. Her writings are often referred to as feminist because of her struggle against the subordinate status of women in relation to men, but she has never been included in this definition and her works have never been considered feminist. Feminism is important to Maraini not as an ideology, but rather as a movement that helped women to understand themselves.²¹ Nevertheless, she does not believe that this work, to which she has devoted almost her entire oeuvre, is nearing its end, that it has achieved its purpose. In one of her most recent books, *Il coraggio delle donne* (Il Mulino. Bologna, 2020), published in 2020 and co-authored with journalist and feminist essayist Chiara Valentini, she writes: „Può darsi che nel campo simbolico il dominio maschile sia stato intaccato, ma nella prassi mi sembra che siamo ancora lontane. È vero che le donne sono diventate più consapevoli e combattive, ma è anche vero che le richieste di autonomia e di rispetto per la loro professionalità hanno suscitato un'ondata di rancore, odio e violenza.”²²

The thought she shared with the audience at the launch of this volume in Messina can be considered her *ars poetica*: „Lo scrittore è quel testimone che lavora con dettagli fisici, con la realtà che si può toccare, cioè con la materia umana.”²³ In fact: many of her works on violence and abuse against women are based on real events.²⁴

The interesting thing about Maraini is that, although we are talking about one of the most influential and prolific contemporary Italian writers, the critics themselves do not really engage with her. Her work is mainly reflected on the themes she raises, namely the depiction of violence and abuse against women (and children), and is discussed from a feminist

²¹ Pagoto, Chiara: Dacia Maraini (1936) <https://diacritica.it/strumenti/profili/dacia-maraini-1936.html> [Download time: 2021. 11. 03.]

²² Maraini, Dacia- Valentini, Chiara: *Il coraggio delle donne*. Il Mulino. Bologna, 2020. p. 16.

²³ Dacia Maraini, l'impegno civile e la scrittura: «Credo nel cambiamento» <https://www.tempostretto.it/news/intervista-dacia-maraini-impegno-civile-scrittura-credo-cambiamento.html> [letöltés ideje: 2021. 11. 30.]

²⁴ In *L'età del malessere* (Einaudi. Torino, 1963), the protagonist is haunted by confused feelings that she herself cannot fully understand. Seventeen years old, she is searching for her identity, vacillating between feelings and sexuality, which seems fundamentally alien to her and which she ends up almost passively enduring. In *Donna in guerra* (Einaudi. Torino, 1975), the protagonist, Vannina, recounts the misfortunes of women living in an age when women's social role is completely subordinate to that of men, women condemned to a passive role, subject to men's choices and abuses. *Isolina: la donna tagliata a pezzi* (Mondadori. Milano, 1980) tells the true story of Isolina Canuti, a 20-year-old girl from Verona whose dismembered body was found in the Adige river on 16 January 1900. She was pregnant by a military officer and was forced to have an abortion against her will, which led to her death. The lieutenant who had forced the abortion on the girl was initially arrested, but the facts were later covered up and the perpetrator was released, given that as a soldier he was a symbol of his country and of honour. In *La lunga vita di Marianna Ucrìa* (Rizzoli. Milano, 1990), the protagonist is a deaf-mute woman in Sicily in the 1700s, deprived of any rights as a woman, and deaf-mute as a result of a childhood abuse. At the same time, she finds her form of expression in writing, using writing to communicate and express her inner world, to give voice to all the unspoken words and repressed cries, to find her own identity and to rediscover herself. *Buio* (Rizzoli. Milano, 1999), which won the Strega Prize the same year, contains twelve narratives featuring children and women who, behind the indifference of society, suffer violence, abuse or even murder. The stories are based on events that happened in real life, but despite media and journalistic attention, they were soon forgotten.

movement perspective, while there is little literary criticism that examines her texts from a narratological point of view. The present volume of narratives is the only one of a selection of essays on Maraini in a volume of selected studies,²⁵ and most of the other works that have analysed her oeuvre in a comprehensive manner do not even mention it.

L'amore rubato published in 2012 (2020 in Hungary), contains eight separate stories in which the female protagonists (even children) are victims of abuse and violence, mostly in their relationships and within the family. The stories are all set in Italy, or have female protagonists, each depicting violence against women in different situations. In five of the stories, the danger and the threat are present within the walls of the home, while in three of the stories the violence takes place outside, as a punishment for the free, autonomous female protagonist who studies and works.²⁶ The short stories are also a powerful critique of society: from the depths of the narratives, an accurate portrait emerges of the dark side of contemporary society which, through its behaviour, its attitude towards victims and, above all, its silence, provokes and supports the creation and perpetuation of abuse.

Through the analysis of three short stories, I will show how the female body and subject are constructed in culture, the linguistic world of the trauma narratives in the volume and how it affects the reader, and why these texts require a very different attitude of reception. I have chosen these three stories because the violence they depict against women is the most common type of abuse that occurs in real life.

Marina è caduta alle scale, the first narrative in the volume, describes some scenes in the life of a young wife in hospital who is regularly physically abused by her husband. The doctor treating her notices that Marina has been to the emergency room several times, always with serious injuries, clearly caused by physical abuse, but she denies having been abused („I fell down the stairs”). Doctor Lenti therefore orders a social worker to the young couple's apartment to find out what is really going on between the young woman and man within the walls of the home. The investigating professional finds only the husband at home, chatting blandly about his silly, disobedient wife, lulling any suspicion that might be directed at him with his lies.

In the narrative *Lo stupratore premuroso*, we are direct witnesses to the rape of a woman named Giorgia, who is rotting in a small train station in Spain because she missed her train. A kindly-looking man offers to drive her to the next stop so she can get on. On the way, however, the man suddenly changes his behaviour, locks the carriage and starts to behave

²⁵ Spinelli, Manuela: *Posseduto o cancellato. Il corpo femminile in Mio marito e L'amore rubato*. In: AaVv: *Curiosa di Mestiere. Saggi su Dacia Maraini*. Edizioni ETS. Pisa, 2017. pp. 47-57.

²⁶ A short plot of the short stories in the volume, which I will not analyse in this paper: *La bambina Venezia* is about a little girl who is constantly worn to beauty contests by her father, who disappears one day and then, years later, her body is found buried in a neighbour's garden. *Cronaca di una violenza di gruppo* is a story of gang violence against Francesca, a teenage girl in the countryside, told only by the perpetrators, witnesses and other community actors, with the ultimate lesson that the victim is responsible for the violence and the perpetrators are acquitted by both the justice system and the public. In the short story *La sposa segreta*, we follow a pair of sisters and a little girl through years of a paedophilic yet destructive jealousy-filled relationship with their foster father, about which their mother knows nothing, and even, at the first confession of one of the girls, does not believe that her husband is abusing her children. *La notte della gelosia* shows the continuous oscillation of a „love” relationship in which the man, through his jealousy, emotional and then physical abuse, gradually takes over all the time and space in his partner's life, depriving her of her human relationships and subjecting her to constant and severe psychological stress. The story almost ends in murder, only an unexpected friend and the two policemen who accompany him can prevent the tragedy. This is, incidentally, the only story in the book where we learn about the plot through the first-person narration of the victim. Finally, in the last story of the volume, *Anna e il Moro*, we are given an insight into a physically abusive relationship through the narration of the protagonist's father, a situation which worsens as the plot progresses and which the father watches on, suspiciously but not reacting. The story ends in a hospital, where Anna lies unconscious, comatose, beaten, stabbed, completely mangled, and shortly after her father's arrival, she dies.

violently with her, who is unable to escape his attack: he rapes her, using his superior strength and severe physical abuse. Giorgia then tries to flee, but finds no one in the middle of the desert, finally gets back into the car and (accompanied by the man's self-explanations and victim-blaming) they drive back to the station together. Giorgia tries to denounce her rapist, but the policeman who overhears her confession does not believe her.

Ale e il bambino mai nato is right in the middle of the volume. In the short story, we witness a girl's illegal abortion operation, which (as the story ends) takes place as a result of a gang rape. Ale waits in the street, distraught, barely finding the building of the secret clinic among the confused numbered houses. She almost gets lost in the stairwell and, through the open windows, sees a young girl cradling her newborn baby. Ale is so overwhelmed by the scene and so moved („*L'odore più buono del mondo, pensa Ale, un odore che la ubriaca e che le fa salire le lacrime agli occhi.*” p. 140), that she almost changes her mind, but finally knocks on the door: she cannot keep her fetus. In the surgery, pictures of saints and the Virgin Mary hang on the walls. The doctor himself does not speak to the girl at all, communicating only through the assistant. The operation takes place without anaesthetic, the girl's pain is ignored, and she is silenced with violent and victim-blaming phrases. After the operation, Ale is very ill, barely able to walk, so she sits down in the stairwell, where she accidentally meets her rapist again. He threatens her and almost punches her, but then the doctor suddenly appears and recounts his own complaints about Ale's abuser, a married, famous TV personality. Finally, he calls a taxi for her so she can go home.

The treatment of space and time in the stories of *L'amore rubato* (i.e. the exclusion from space and time) positions the female subject in the patriarchal and victim-blaming society depicted, or more precisely, their exclusion from their own place, that is, the *non-place* of women: we see Marina only in hospital, where she is regularly treated for her injuries, but in her home we meet her locked out on the terrace by her husband, while he talks to the social worker. Giorgia is in Spain for her work (lecturing at a university), far from home, and the violence itself takes place in a train station, in deserted landscapes, on dusty roads, in a locked car. We see Ale in an illegal operating room, and before and after the operation in a stairwell „between two worlds”. There is no one waiting for her at home (apart from her sister, who turns up later), and the (supposedly protective) father character is completely absent, having travelled abroad. As regards the use of time, the author always presents the female protagonists at the very moment of the trauma, limiting herself to the moments when the tragedy is unfolding in its stripped-down reality, leaving indescribable and untold scars on the bodies and souls of the victims.

The short stories, as (trauma)literature that depicts any kind of violence on the female body, raise questions about how the body is created in culture, and even how the female body is encoded as a victim through cultural constructions.²⁷ The female characters in Maraini's stories are not only victims of violence and abuse because their bodies are physically *female*, although this is just as much a part of the violence perpetrated against them: they are determined by a cultural context and social order in which violence is easy to happen, and in some aspects even taken for granted. Nóra Séllei basically takes Elizabeth Grosz's monograph²⁸ as the basis for her analysis, in order to understand „*how women can become - or in certain cultural contexts, how they »legitimately« become - victims, primarily through and because of their bodies.*”²⁹ Grosz denies that it is possible to separate the material body

²⁷ On this, and on corporeal feminism, see: Séllei, Nóra: A női test mint áldozat – Polcz Alaine: *Asszony a fronton*. Korall. 2015. Vol. 16. no. 59. pp. 108-132.

²⁸ Grosz, Elizabeth: *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism*. Indiana University Press. Bloomington, 1994.

²⁹ Séllei: *op. cit.* p. 109.

from its cultural representation, since the latter, as an ideological product, is part of the body itself, the promoter of its creation.³⁰ In other words, it focuses on the materiality of the female body, but also treats it as a cultural and socio-historical construct.

One of the most important revelations of the latter in the short stories is that the perpetrator is exonerated by himself *and* by society. At the end of Marina's story, the husband, feeling sorry for himself, manipulatively reminds his wife of their painful childhood and explains why they have to stay together, thus putting her in a dependent position:

„Siamo una cosa sola tu e io, lo sai? Tu mi ami e io ti amo. Nessuno può dividerci. Non ti ho sposata per questo? Abbiamo pochi soldi ma che ci fa! Ce n'è abbastanza per sopravvivere, no? Abbracciarmi amore mio, sei l'unica persona al mondo che abbia mostrato dell'affetto per me. Lo sai che ho perso mia madre a sette anni. Uccisa da mio padre, lo sai, te l'ho raccontato tante volte. Davanti ai miei occhi, quel cornuto, quel criminale... è stato tanti anni in prigione e poi, non so, è sparito. Io sono solo, capisci, solo al mondo. Se te ne vai tu, che faccio? Promettimi che starai sempre con me, amore, prometti!” – Marina lo stringe a sé chiudendo gli occhi. Anche lei è sola. Madre e padre sono morti in un incidente quando era piccola. È stata cresciuta da una nonna rigida e severa. Che è morta da qualche anno. Non ha fratelli, solo un cugino che ha perso di vista. (p. 36)

Bernhard Giesen introduces the concept of „victimhood”: he claims that it has its own „cultural foundations based on tacit assumptions”.³¹ He stresses that victims often have a damaged subject even before the violence they have suffered, as they are in a space where there are no laws or rights. This is exactly what happens to Marina: beyond her *femininity*, her childhood, that is, the fact that even as a little girl she was a „victim” of traumas and tragedies, even of her strict grandmother, has left her subject damaged. Thus, this experience, with all its social implications, also brings with it the role of the abused woman in her relationship.

In Ale's story, it is the doctor who is not surprised that the girl is lying on his operating table as a victim of rape – a fact that carries with it an almost totally uncompassionate attitude. He is almost defeated when it is revealed to him who the girl's rapist was, as some kind of natural phenomenon, he starts talking about his own problems with him instead of, for example, calling the police:

„È uno che si dà un mucchio di arie. Uno che protesta sempre nelle riunioni di condominio perché non è mai contento. Ce l'ha con tutti ma poi è il primo a non pagare la sua parte.” (p. 153)

From a socio-cultural point of view, it is almost impossible to escape from these permanent or recurrent *female* roles (whether we are talking about the violence itself or the emotional manipulation and abuse that goes with it).

The narrative process common to the short stories is one of the most important ways of depicting violence: the author sees the female body, and with it the female subject, as under

³⁰ Grosz: *op. cit.* xiv.

³¹ Giesen, Bernhard: *Triumph and Trauma* (The Yale Cultural Sociology Series). Paradigm Publishers. London, 2004. pp. 46-48. Cited by: Séllei: *op. cit.* p. 110.

the constant control of the male, unable to control herself, almost reduced to an object.³² In Maraini's stories, the objectification of the female body and the (almost total) eradication of the female subject is realised through the physical and emotional abuse of men, sexual violence, an illegal abortion operation, and the moments of inclusion or exclusion in space. The short stories show the reader, in excruciating detail and with pinpoint accuracy, how the autonomous female body, and with it the female psyche, is victimised and then almost completely eradicated.

One of the central questions in literary criticism of the female subject is how we relate to women as subjects to power and as subjects of agency, and on the other hand, it argues that their existence is strongly affected by viewing femininity as a social construct.³³ In this respect, the female characters represented in certain literary works usually undergo a process of subject construction, at the end of which we can speak of women as acting, speaking, autonomously constructing their own history. To do this, they must, as far as possible, challenge the roles (imposed on them by the patriarchal order) of passive, silent participant, excluded from symbolic signifiers and objectified.³⁴ However, the worlds of Maraini's stories do not offer such possibilities, the female characters live in a given, oppressive situation and social system from which they cannot escape, unable to take such self-reconstructive steps, since (beyond the given masculine order) the trauma they experience is also the essence of being taken out of the space and time of their lives. Thus, they have no choice, they do not reach a stage of their existence in which they can be truly appreciated as female subjects conceived as autonomous and acting subjects. This is precisely the absence of speech, of language, which is also an aspect of trauma: a traumatic experience cannot be verbally communicated.

III. Forbidden speech, enforced silence

The selected stories all present violence and the indifferent, even victim-aggressive social functioning that is given to it, the kind of complicity between men that maintains and protects this system, through the dichotomy of speech-silence.³⁵ In the narratives, the female protagonists are barely spoken, or what they say is almost without meaning or reception. They lose control over their bodies and their voices/language, i.e. their entire identity – since speech is a condition of conscious existence, an expression of active participation in life. In contrast, the external world and the male actors who strip them of their identity constantly speak for or about them, explaining the justification for their silencing. The female characters thus become passive, almost lifeless. This phenomenon should be understood in its duality: on the one hand, it represents the „un-narratability” caused by trauma, but it also fits perfectly into the

³² The observation and perception of the phenomenon of the *male gaze* is not new, yet it is mainly referred to in connection with visual media. The contemplation of women through the male gaze, the sexual objectification of the female body, appears practically everywhere, from advertising to pornography. The active male gaze projects its fantasies onto the passive female form, so that the latter is only shaped by the gaze of others, and this is what defines its existence. In films, the man represents power, he is the bearer of the spectator's gaze, his desires are perfectly projected onto the female characters by the male characters (Mulvey, L.: *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*. Screen. 1975. no. 16.3 pp. 6-18. *A vizuális élvezet és az elbeszélő film*. (Trans. Juhász Veronika) Metropolis. Feminizmus és filmelmélet. 2000. no. 4. pp. 12-23.).

³³ Séllei, Nóra (ed.): *A nő mint szubjektum, a női szubjektum*. Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó. Debrecen, 2007. p. 8.

³⁴ *Ibidem* p. 9.

³⁵ Spinelli: *op. cit.*

culturally traditional narrative of the male as active/hero/power/consciousness, and the female as passive/to be conquered/to be impregnated/unconscious.³⁶

Marina speaks a total of three times in the short story, while the narration is marked throughout with phrases such as „she says nothing”, „no answer”, „she keeps her mouth shut”, „she doesn't say a word” and similar phrases to indicate the silence of the abused, while her husband tells the investigating social worker about his silly little wife in her absence: „*Io preferirei che stesse in casa e uscisse solo con me, ma Marina è inquieta, le piace andare fuori da sola quando io sono al lavoro.*” (husband) (p. 29); or „*[Marina] è cocciuta come una capra. Non vuole ammettere di non essere autonoma. Non vuole che le si impedisca di uscire. E io non glielo impedisco, anche se sto sempre in pena.*” (husband) (p. 31)

The attitude of the doctor who treats her is also disturbing, acting as a facilitator when he suspects abuse within the walls of the home, his comment on the treatment form is the reason Marina's relationship with her husband is under formal investigation, but her constant condescending, victim-blaming comments and anxiety during the treatment of her injuries are frustrating, as he cannot cope with the physical abuse of a battered, „baby-faced” young woman: „*Vabbè, non importa, se non vuoi rispondere, peggio per te...*” (doctor) (p. 20).³⁷ The gesture of „I wash my hands” is carried out at the end of Marina's care („*dice lui mentre si lava le mani e la faccia sotto il rubinetto*” p. 24), symbolizing and finalizing the attitude of the outside world towards violence.

The initial situation of *Lo stupratore premuroso* is that Giorgia is in Spain and therefore does not speak the same language as her abuser, and her cries for help cannot be heard from the locked car. The physical reactions of the victim – her inability to speak – are perfectly portrayed before the rape takes place: „*Facile a dirsi. Il suo corpo è rattrappito dalla paura. La voce stenta a uscire dalla gola. Sente lo stomaco contrarsi e il pensiero paralizzarsi.*” (p. 95).

After the act, the man keeps talking, explaining to her, trying to convince her that she really wanted to be raped, while she remains silent:

Dopotutto cosa le ha fatto [the rapist]? Niente, solo un poco di piacere. Anche lei avrà goduto, no? le donne amano essere violentate, le dice, mia moglie dice che sogna sempre di essere violentata. E io ho fatto solo quello che ogni donna sogna. (p. 100)³⁸

At the end of the short story, Giorgia's denunciation is simply not accepted, the victim's word is not given any credence. The policemen, in a masculine communion, close ranks in front of the rapist and defend him *against* Giorgia, and the only response to her visible injuries is irony: „*Il poliziotto che scrive la denuncia la guarda incredulo. I nostri ferrovieri sono persone perbene, non farebbero mai una cosa simile.* (p. 103); or: „*Be', ribatte il poliziotto guardandola con ironia, questo non significa niente. Sa quante mitomani vengono qui a denunciare cose false?*” (policeman) (p. 104).

³⁶ De Lauretis, Teresa: *Desire in Narrative. Alice Doesn't. Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema.* Indiana University Press. Bloomington, 1984. pp. 103-157.

³⁷ Other examples: „*Quella ragazza magrissima e tutta occhi gli mette tenerezza. È il suo silenzio però che trova inquietante.* (p. 16); „*Oh, finalmente ti vedo ridere.*” (doctor) (p. 19); „*«Neanche un grazie! la incalza lui» [the doctor] a voce alta.*” (p. 24); „*Sei proprio buffa, pensa il dottor Gianni Lenti.*” (p. 25)

³⁸ And later: „*L'amore deve essere violento, altrimenti che amore è? Il sesso deve dare qualche brivido, deve essere pericoloso.*” (rapist) (p. 102).

In other words, the inability to communicate is not only present during and as a consequence of the trauma suffered, but also when the victim tries to verbalise it and expects society to protect and do justice.

In Ale's story, she is deprived of her voice during the abortion operation („*Stia zitta, zitta per carità!*” *le ingiunge la infermiera.* [p. 144]), a moment that is physically realised as her cries of unbearable pain are silenced by the assistant with a handkerchief stuffed in her mouth. However, every gesture and comment of her environment is an expression of Ale's insignificance and a denial of her victimhood: „*Se decidesse di andare a denunciarlo – e per me farebbe bene a farlo – non pronunci il mio nome. Non le conviene.*” (doctor) (p. 153).³⁹

The doctor here is also a contradictory character: he performs the operation, which causes unbearable pain, and deprives Ale of her fetus, all with detachment and condescension, yet his presence saves her from being beaten by her rapist:

Ale lo guarda chiedendosi se tutto questo abbia qualcosa a che fare con la violenza subita. Ma nello stesso tempo prova gratitudine nei confronti del medico che l'ha salvata da una pestata. [...] „Grazie” dice [Ale] a fior di labbra mentre lui con gentilezza l'aiuta a mettersi in piedi e a uscire all'aperto. (p. 153).

When confronted by her rapist, she is unable to speak, and he tries to physically assault her again, lest she tell anyone:

L'uomo la guarda e impallidisce. Anche lui l'ha riconosciuta. E ora sembra preso dal panico.

„Che fai qui a casa mia?” dice aggressivo. „Sei venuta per parlare con mia moglie? Sei venuta per denunciarmi?”

Ale è talmente sorpresa che rimane muta. L'uomo la incalza con aria cattiva. „Come hai fatto a sapere dove abito? Parla, chi ti ha dato il mio indirizzo?”

Ale vede la faccia dell'uomo che si fa sempre più vicina e minacciosa. Vede la sua mano che si solleva per colpire. E si ripara la testa col braccio piegato. (pp. 148-149)

Ale is thus caught up again and again in an ever-repeating pattern of violence. Once again, she is unable to speak, a state of repression and vulnerability that seems irreversible and impossible to escape.

The most striking feature of the narrative is that, although it always depicts situations of abuse, it does so in a completely dispassionate and unsympathetic way. The narrator often even slips into the role of the perpetrators, using free pendant language. In each story, the author uses a hyper-realistic narrative style which places the reader in an unfamiliar situation. The violence and trauma are described in a way that is as un-lyrical and exaggeratedly realistic as they are in their sheer reality. In *Marina è caduta alle scale* it is the images of blood and wounds that strike the reader's sensibility: „*È tutta coperta di lividi e il braccio penzola da una spalla rigida.*” (p. 14); „*Dal naso, che tiene tamponato con un fazzolettino azzurro, cola copioso il sangue.*” (p. 19); „*La ragazza si sfilava con gesto timido la camicetta rosa mettendo a nudo una spalla su cui spiccavano dei segni di frusta e il collo coperto di lividi.*” (p. 20). In *Lo stupratore premuroso* the blood returns, but perhaps more shocking is the meticulous description of the brutality of the aggressor: „*...le assesta un pugno su un occhio (...) manda un odore forte di sudore. Lui le assesta un altro pugno sulla bocca*

³⁹ On the ironic words of the assistant and the doctor see more: „*Ma non telefonare, tanto il dottore sta partendo. Non troveresti nessuno.*” (assistant) (p. 147); „*Finalmente riesci a muovere la bocca.*” (doctor) (p. 152).

*facendogliela sanguinare (...) Con il calcio le dà un colpo sulla fronte facendole una ferita da cui prende a sgorgare il sangue. (p. 97).⁴⁰ Finally, the reader is almost paralyzed by the description of the abortion operation in *Ale e il bambino mai nato*:*

[the doctor] comincia lo scavo nella carne viva. Ale lancia un urlo. Il dolore, mentre i ferri rovistano crudeli, si fa lancinante, intollerabile. (...) il ginecologo svuota coi ferri il piccolo ventre indolenzito. [...] Ma ha il ventre contratto e appena è in piedi, è presa da conati di vomito. [...] Vede l'infermiera che afferra la bacinella già piena di sangue in mezzo a cui naviga un corpicino morto. Vorrebbe trattenere il vomito ma non ce la fa e così rigetta e piange sul figlio perso. [...] Ale fa uno sforzo sovrumano per mettersi in piedi. Ha le gambe intorpidite, il ventre lacerato e la nausea le toglie il fiato. (pp. 144-146).

The aim of this literary language is to depict reality in an objective, impersonal, cold way, and to portray elements of reality that are more sharply and accurately perceived than human beings can see. In doing so, it raises questions about the relationship between the spectacle and reality, and whether this unmasked representation of reality can be used to confuse reality and fiction. In the case of Maraini's short stories: can we treat the world of (women's) trauma literature as reality. After all, these narratives are reality-specific texts that operate with factual elements of reality.

My starting hypothesis is that the linguistic register of the narrative operates differently from the usual narrative, and thus puts the recipient in an unusual situation. In fact: the reader has to create a new technique of identification in order to relate to the text. This, however, presents an unexpected and demanding task, since (1) it is difficult to connect with such a minimalist narrative language, a register that constantly dislocates; (2) from a literary point of view, the recipient has to renew his or her experience of the traditional narrative, he or she cannot rely on his or her previous reader's expectations, since the stories have hardly any antecedents and almost no continuity, no starting point, no breaking point, no recovery process and no new state of equilibrium, so no catharsis and no resolution in which to release the tension of the tragedy of trauma; (3) finally, she or he is psychologically unable to identify with both the passive female victim, seen as a mere body and object, and the male perpetrator of the violence.

Violence against women is still a sensitive, almost taboo subject, so the text puts the reader in a rather uncomfortable position: in addition to conditioning him/her emotionally, it also draws attention to his/her own social responsibility. The author's suggestion is that we are all, even if indirectly, participants in, and the cause of, the silencing and blaming of the victims. It is therefore no coincidence that the first reaction of the recipient is rejection: the only way to process what we have read is to remove it from ourselves.

It is a fundamental paradox that all these narrative procedures and techniques linguistically reveal to the reader precisely what is specific to trauma: it is not verbalizable – and so it is difficult, barely receptive, for the reader. The text is therefore a faithful reflection of the nature of trauma itself: it cannot be story-like, it cannot be controlled, it breaks the continuity of the personality, it separates it from everyday consciousness, it destroys all previous patterns of functioning. Furthermore, a trauma text, especially one that so bluntly presents reality through its hyper-realistic elements, can itself traumatise the reader, who, in the course of reading it, temporarily and involuntarily takes on the experiences and pain of the victim of violence.⁴¹

⁴⁰ See more: *L'uomo infine la penetra urlando. Lei gli sputa sulla guancia. (...) Poi, con un urlo rabbioso esplose in un orgasmo che gli fa lacrimare gli occhi e sbavare la bocca. (p. 98)*

⁴¹ Menyhért: *op. cit.* p. 7.

In contemporary (Italian) prose, there is a growing demand for a strong realism in which elements of reality become part of the narrative in their own pure form. In this way, texts of an almost documentary nature are inserted into the world of literary narratives.⁴² Maraini's volume fits into this trend, but the subject matter (both social and individual) is so sensitive that the volume itself is as much a matter of silence as the phenomenon it portrays, violence against women: it is hardly ever spoken about. And although the author has devoted almost her entire oeuvre to the treatment of abuse against women and children, the present volume is also anti-literature compared to her other prose works, none of her other works using such an extremely stripped-down narrative and language, endowing her female characters with an inextricably vulnerable life. As a consequence, the reception of *L'amore rubato* in the Italian public consciousness has been very divisive, rather dismissive, even by those who otherwise praise Maraini's work.

IV. Conclusions

In my thesis, I analysed Dacia Maraini's *L'amore rubato* in a trauma literature approach, I examined how literary texts about violence against women can linguistically reveal the untold reality of trauma. Through the presentation of three short stories, we have been able to see both the individual and the social side of the phenomenon of abuse, that is, the mode of operation in which the autonomy of the female subject (bodily and psychic) is dissolved through the moment of the withdrawal of speech, while the abuser and the environment represent the activity through speech, extending the phenomenon of silencing to the mechanism of operation of a participatory society often realized through violence.

My hypothesis was that the hyperrealistic and unlyrical language of the narratives operates in a different way from the usual narrative, thus putting the audience in an unusual situation. In my analyses of the narratives, I have shown that Maraini's present texts also affect the reader precisely because of the nature of the trauma: she makes the textual worlds difficult for her to access. In other words, it is the combined effect of these two phenomena, the linguistic register and the sensitivity of the choice of subject matter, that explains the need to develop a completely new strategy of reception. And although, precisely for these two reasons, the reception of the book has been very negative, both among readers and professionals, there is a growing and enthusiastic interest in the subject on the part of *women* readers.

To facilitate the reading of the book and the reception of the trauma texts, I see the solution in the method of bibliotherapy, especially in a process of literature therapy specifically for trauma.

Bibliotherapy is the interactive use of reading (and writing) in a supportive relationship that can accompany the enrichment of self-awareness, personal development, mental well-being and even healing of healthy or ill individuals. The aim is always to harness the therapeutic effect of reading – that is, to be able to relate to the reading from the point of view of the current life situation, to touch the reader and to evoke intense positive or negative emotions.⁴³ In the bibliotherapy process, the focus is primarily on the examination of

⁴² For hypermodern, see: Donnarumma, Raffaele: Ipermodernità: ipotesi per un congedo dal postmoderno. *Allegoria*. 2011. no. 64. pp. 15-50. and Mátyás Dénes: Poszt- után hiper-? A kortárs olasz próza alakulása. *Helikon*. 2018. no. 3. pp. 327-335.

⁴³ Béres, Judit: Azért olvasok, hogy éljek. Az olvasásnépszerűsítéstől az irodalomterápiáig. *Kronosz*. Pécs, 2017. p. 112.

character sketches. Participants focus on the characters, analysing their psychological functioning, psychological processes and motivations, and in the process of an initially unconscious and then emerging identification, they also discover their own problems and their solutions. It is essential that the readings motivate the recipient to express their emotions. The texts that are best suited and most effective for this purpose are those that can evoke their own experiences and memories, in order to initiate conversations that enrich the personality and/or help people to overcome their own blockages and traumas.

Trauma stories reveal and verbalize events that a traumatized person is unable to access linguistically because he or she cannot describe in words what happened to him or her – this is the nature of trauma: it is only accessible in bodily sensations, in the unconscious. However, by describing such an event, by stating it, by the reader's reception of it, by identifying with the victim-characters, and then by entering into a dialogue about it, the text is able to break the silence caused by the trauma. The therapist's guiding reading narrows the possibilities of meaning, manipulates the recipient, but at the same time reveals the essence, thus providing the key through which the therapeutic partner can access the layer of the text that, in a kind of cathartic realisation, confronts him/her with his/her own experience, that is, the repressed content can be revealed. It can be seen that, in the course of such an interpretation, the reading therapist himself enters the textual world, where the protagonist and his story become, as it were, reflections of him/herself and his/her own story. In other words, by stating the trauma itself, and through a manipulated, character-oriented reading, he or she unwittingly starts on the path to uncover and solve his/her own problems.

What makes the phenomenon even more interesting is that in a group, individual interpretations can be somewhat multiplied, since the therapist only guides the act of interpretation, but does not limit the meanings to a single reading: the interpretation experiences are in a constant state of interaction and change. Participants react not only to the initial text but also to each other, creating new texts by their own stories, and then reacting to these texts continuously.

Maraini's stories can therefore be a very rich resource for the recovery of victims of violence, giving language to the brokenness that an abused woman cannot express. Thus, in a bibliotherapy process, reading and talking about the text can re-establish a link between past and present/future, and restore continuity to the life and identity of the trauma victim.

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Convergence or heterogeneity? Assessing pathways and elucidating crises within the broadening economic liberalization in the European Union and its common market

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Introduction

The perpetual shifting amidst mutual European sense and national disengagement have not slowed down in the recent years. It seems, that Hobsbawm's Western rich infrastructural system developed with a strong European sense have found its fragility once again. From the perspective of a necessary and continuous enhancement on European Union economy, various solutions have emerged from a wide array of scientific fields over the years.

For instance, European economic assets may attract larger awareness if they can be connected to a cultural heritage from the perspective of the nation states inside the European Union but of course the variety of such ideas is much broader. In this study, our aim to locate and discern the aspects and crises of economic liberalization within the European Union to assess that the current extent of heterogeneity can still be challenged with the same convergence that made European achievements unified and has set them in the same direction in the past.

When we are contemplating the European Union's economic status, we see a dense and competitive modern market system that has strengthened since the founding of ECSC and EEC. Contemporary measures in liberal democracies in Europe are one aspect; antecedent risk calculation within the same market economies is another. While democratic measures are definitely considerable help to 'boost' the economy, they are also more vulnerable to certain crises than their non-democratic market counterparts.

Results

The 2008 crisis showed that the EU common market is highly sensitive to external output and it is also vulnerable towards economic insufficiencies. Convolutated administrative systems and veto can block swift implementation of satisfactory market fixes as in many cases they got stuck at the legislative branches of the EU. The timing and manner of crisis management is imperative on how we handle them.

Studies also keen to associate economic crises with similar factors such as mismanagement on a macroeconomic level (Gavin and Hausmann, 1996¹, Eichengreen & Rose, 1998²), financial liberalization (Ranciére, Tornell & Wastermann, 2008³), lack of proper crisis response

¹ Gavin, Michael, Hausmann, Ricard: The Roots of Banking Crises: The Macroeconomic Context. In Banking Crises in Latin America, edited by Ricardo Hausmann and Liliana Rojas-Suarez, Washington, Inter American Development Bank, Office of the Chief Economist Working Paper 318., 1996. (<https://publications.iadb.org/publications/english/document/The-Roots-of-Banking-Crises-The-Macroeconomic-Context.pdf>) Accessed: 2020.09.07.

² Eichengreen, Barry, Rose, Andrew K.. Staying Afloat When the Wind Shifts: External Factors and Emerging-Market Banking Crises NBER Working Paper No. W6370., 1998. (<https://www.nber.org/papers/w6370.pdf>) Accessed: 2020.09.07.

³ Ranciére, Romain, Aaron Tornell, and Frank Westermann: Systemic Crises and Growth. The Quarterly Journal of Economics 123 (1):359–406., 2008. (<https://www.nber.org/papers/w11076.pdf>) Accessed: 2020.09.07.

(Primarily Rosas at 2006 and 2009⁴, Keefer, 2007⁵), regulatory policy problems (Copelovitch & Singer, 2017⁶), and international spill-over in the financial and banking system originated in the International Monetary Fund (Lipsy, 2017⁷).

Conclusion

In the study, observing of various economic crisis types within the European Union have been made priority thus we can gain deeper understanding into the process of the EU's continuously broadening economic liberalization and its policies.

Keywords: European Union, economic liberalization, crisis, fiscal boundaries, crisis response, regulatory policy, polity, contemporary measure

I. Economic crises in democracies

According to Lipsy (2018⁸) the common ground between democracy and crisis was the most fragile during the “Washington Consensus”⁹ (1980-1990).

Indeed, both democratic and non-democratic states started extensive market liberalizations after the Second World War. In many cases, the negative sides of some policies implemented were put to side lane that – as we saw lately – was a grave mistake. By all means for a newly restructured market it is a challenge to locate itself in the new market economy system, moreover to implement proper liberalization methodology and risk-assessment.

These analyzed somewhat volatile elements closely tied also to each other in a liberal democracy. Due to the complexity in the intertwined eco-political system several of them can be a recent source of a possible crisis within the European Union. But of course one fragile component does not mean a new crisis however in the case of today's modern liberal democratic systems of Western Europe we can observe the fragility of the current situation that is becoming more and more feeble with the constantly expanding umbrella of the coronavirus pandemic as we step into the year of 2022.

Naturally the economic and fiscal consequences of an international pandemic are wholly different than the elements mentioned above, however the rolling effect is similar. Due to proper implementation routes in our modern economic system the spreading of the pandemic can cause not just only grievous losses in the population, it also blocks traditional working methodologies and forces all economies to reinvent themselves within. Reinvention is not a dreadful

⁴ Rosas, Guillermo: Bagehot or Bailout? An Analysis of Government Responses to Banking Crises. *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (1):175–91., 2006.

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⁵ Keefer, Philip. “Elections, Special Interests, and Financial Crisis.” *International Organization*, vol. 61, no. 3, 2007, pp. 607–641. JSTOR, (www.jstor.org/stable/4498159). Accessed: 2020.09.07.

⁶ Copelovitch, Mark, and David A. Singer. “Tipping the (Im)balance: Capital Inflows, Financial Market Structure, and Banking Crises.” *Economics & Politics* 29, no. 3 (September 19, 2017): 179–208., Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), 2017. (https://dspace.mit.edu/bitstream/handle/1721.1/119457/Copelovitch_Singer.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y) Accessed: 2020.09.07.

⁷ Lipsy, Phillip Y.: *Renegotiating the World Order: Institutional Change in International Relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

⁸ Lipsy, Phillip Y.: *Democracy and Financial Crisis*. *International Organization* 72, Fall 2018, pp. 937–968. The IO Foundation, 2018.

⁹ See I.1: Economic liberalization, this volume.

phenomenon in itself from this perspective however, it requires additional layers of support to fully expand its original purpose. Now that we have mentioned different and equally important variables regarding to the economic situation of current Europe let us look at their analysis.

I.1. Economic liberalization

There is an inclination in the philosophical debate on the typologies of democracy that civil liberties are quintessential for a working democratic system and as is, the principles of democracy can be measured (for example: Freedom House analyses). Normally, citizens expected to engage in economic and fiscal activities without any problematic boundaries regarding to their outreach (Quinn, 2000¹⁰.) As we know from the history, economic liberalization is not always goes hand in hand with the democratic prospects of the country. The prime example for this type of split is an economic crisis itself. Since governments and federal economic and fiscal bodies are prone to prevent any more crises to happen or to block the current one to deepen even more, they must limit the financial tools of the citizens in economic engagements to block further economic downfall.

This is only logical however from the perspective of modern nation states, financial extension of their markets have two different approaches: the first (1) one is that liberalization coax macro- and microeconomic liability thus it is leading to more crises. The second one (2) argues in favor of liberalization, and based on this view, long-term financial development and growth are also established on the necessary appliance of economic liberalization. The 1st thought is based on the findings of Bekaert, Harvey & Lundblad¹¹ (2005) with the addition that market liberalization cause prosperity augmentation primarily in middle-income countries (Klein¹², 2005). The 2nd aspect is backed by Kaminsky and Schmukler¹³ (2002) who highlighted the additional risks of financial liberalization as stock market exposure and stronger predilection to impasse.

The complexity of the issue can be shown on the usage of this phenomena in national public spheres during voting campaigns in politics and tampering with institutions to gain stronger support to the local government in non-democratic countries. In a traditional sense, economic liberalization can be a force of disjunction with the implementation of free market, price competition and such. More freedom also comes with a higher probability for economic deadlock as an aspect of liberalization in democratic governments. Lipsy also emphasizes that democratic governments may have more liberalized financial sectors but they are also more prone to have an economic crisis as a result.

As previously shown, the weakest common point between democracy and crisis was the most fragile between 1980 and 1990. During these years, the monetary elements of a total new market liberalization have been adopted in a wide spectrum by European Union countries that have led

¹⁰ Quinn, Dennis P.: Democracy and International Financial Liberalization. Working Paper, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, 2000.

¹¹ Bekaert, G., C. Harvey, and R. Lundblad: "Does Financial Liberalization Spur Growth?" *Journal of Financial Economics* 77, 3-56., 2005.

(https://www0.gsb.columbia.edu/faculty/gbekaert/papers/financial_liberalization.pdf) Accessed: 2020.09.07.

¹² Michael W. Klein: "Capital Account Liberalization, Institutional Quality and Economic Growth: Theory and Evidence," NBER Working Papers 11112, National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 2005.

¹³ Schmukler, Sergio & Kaminsky, Graciela: Short-Run Pain, Long-Run Gain: The Effects of Financial Liberalization. International Monetary Fund, IMF Working Papers. 03. 2003. Accessed: 2020.09.07.

to a specifically high chance of a new economic crisis in the Euro-area. If we examine the crisis-affected countries at the peak of their economic crises over the decades it is shown that most countries that we affected were primarily democratic in nature: the Great Depression in 1930 affected the United States and other dominant democracies at the time; the most recent event of the 2008 Eurozone and US subprime-housing crisis were also primarily affected advanced democracies. Regarding to this, Lipsky has used data sources based on Boix-Miller-Rosato from 2013¹⁴.

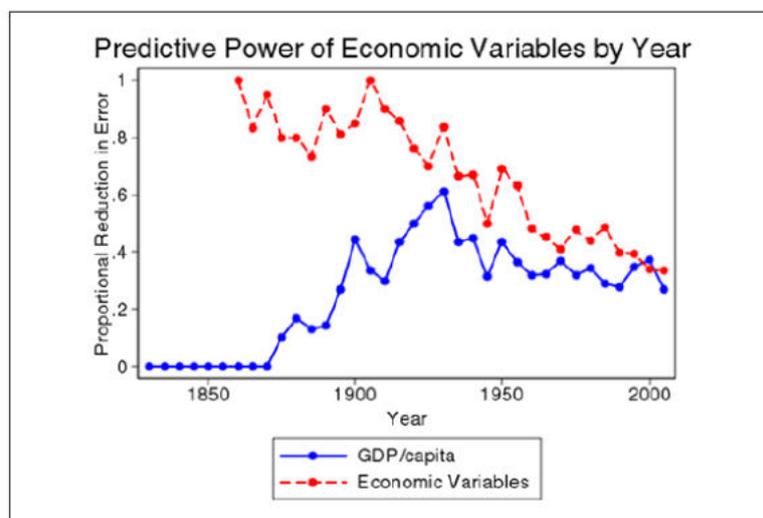


Figure 1: Predictive Power of Economic Variables by Year. Source: Boix, Carles, Michael Miller, and Sebastian Rosato. "A Complete Data Set of Political Regimes [2013]"

Figure 1 of Boix-Miller-Rosato¹⁵ above shows the predictive power of the economic variables is shown in relation to the GDP/capita by year. Boix-Miller-Rosato have used a set of five standard economic modernization variables: GDP/capita, land equality, urbanization (Vanhanen, 2003¹⁶), literacy rate and employed shared population in the agricultural industry (World Bank, 2008¹⁷). Boix added that during the last forty years, GDP/capita predictability has decreased significantly. Consequently, the GDP/capita variable produces no significant predictability in democracy factors after 1920.

I.2. Economic impartiality and willingness

As shown, a broad mind is a needed tool on solving the economic or humanitarian condition that has affected the selected area of the European Union or affected the EU as a whole such as the current (2022) pandemic situation. This open mind can be interpreted as the duplication of the EU open trade policy. Free trading within Europe's open market has the inclusion effect on its citizens so as is itself can act as a form of common good and support tool in the adjustment of the current economic policies.

¹⁴ Boix, Carles, Michael Miller, and Sebastian Rosato. "A Complete Data Set of Political Regimes, 1800–2007." *Comparative Political Studies* 46, no. 12 (December 2013): 1523–54. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414012463905>. Accessed: 2020.09.07.

¹⁵ Boix, Carles, Michael Miller, and Sebastian Rosato. "A Complete Data Set of Political Regimes, 1800–2007." *Comparative Political Studies* 46, no. 12 (December 2013): 1523–54. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414012463905>. p. 1543. Accessed: 2020.09.07.

¹⁶ Vanhanen, Tatu. (2003). *Democratization and power resources 1850–2000* (FSD1216, Version 1.0, 2003-03-10). Tampere: Finnish Social Science Data Archive. (<http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:fsd:T-FSD1216>)

¹⁷ World Bank. (2008). *World development indicators online*. (<https://data.worldbank.org/>) Accessed: 2020.09.07.

The key is in the implementation of these policies; with the restructuring, we must divide between former and latter types of polity variables to sufficiently understand the differences in enforcing them. The first underscored element is the presence of democratic operation. Greater international developments can be realized from a democratically emancipated industry than their semi-democratic or autocratic equivalent (Mansfield, Milner & Rosendorff¹⁸, 2002; Milner and Kubota¹⁹, 2005; Eichengreen and Leblang²⁰, 2008 and Yu²¹, 2010.) As suggested, member states with democratic governments (naturally all member states have democratic governments, but it must be stated for the clarity of the wording) are more prone to have economic crises in the future due to the previously mentioned factors. Also, if a specific crisis tends to appear in one area or country, the surrounding state areas are also keener to take from them thus causing more than a nation-wide turning-point. The disparity between the democratic and non-democratic state adaptation of a crisis can be determinable through the country's political leadership.

I.3. Crisis response in democratic countries

(1) First, in a liberal democracy, leaders have more official restrictions thus they cannot act as fast as their counterparts in an autocracy in case of economic hardship, (2) secondly, accountability means that government bodies have to implement or change policies through a longer lifespan that can be further delayed by non-governmental veto or political clash. (3) Thirdly, the financial liberalization means that the system itself is more receptive of international crises. Due to these aspects, non-democratic crises tend to be more apportioned than their counterparts are. It is also crucial to mention that susceptibility of democratic regions to economic crises does not mean that this type of government is not efficient enough compared to non-democratic states. Liberal democracies have multiple advantages especially from the standpoint of citizens compared to their counterparts, nonetheless their receptiveness could make them more vulnerable to international economic and financial hardships.

II. Convergence and core reinforcement. Directions of progress

Notwithstanding crisis results in the European Union, it seems that from a perspective of economic development and market growth, the main pillar of EU convergence remains strong and steady. Naturally, politics on a national level with the addendum of single-market decisions can add to the possible heterogeneity of the common market and structure, nonetheless participating nations within this regional sphere still prefer convergent economic and financial decisions and allocation.

From the perspective of readiness, despite the European Union's prone stature towards specific crisis types, with the ending of the European (and global) fiscal crisis after 2008, strengthening of antecedent policies have been constantly applied in the Eurozone area. Thus in the latest

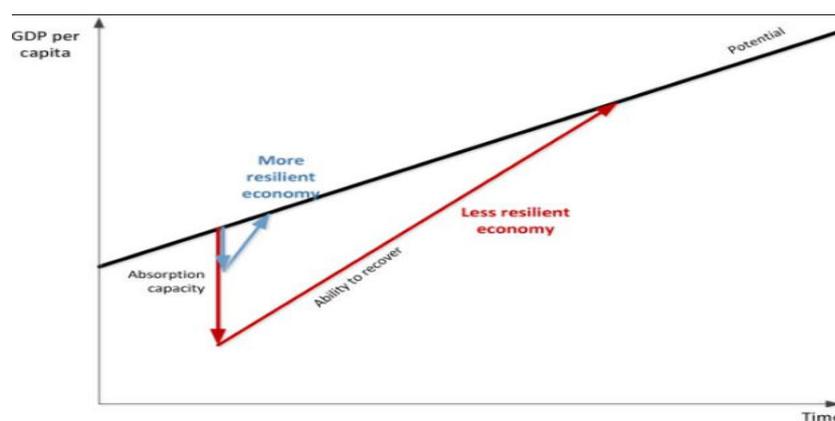
¹⁸ Mansfield, Edward D., Helen V. Milner, and B. Peter Rosendorff. "Why Democracies Cooperate More: Electoral Control and International Trade Agreements." *International Organization* 56, no. 3 (2002): 477-513. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3078586>. Accessed: 2020.09.07.

¹⁹ Milner, Helen V., and Keiko Kubota. "Why the Move to Free Trade? Democracy and Trade Policy in the Developing Countries." *International Organization*, vol. 59, no. 1, 2005, pp. 107-143. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/3877880. Accessed: 2020.09.07.

²⁰ Eichengreen, Barry and Leblang, David A., *Democracy and Globalization. Economics & Politics*, Vol. 20, Issue 3, pp. 289-334, November 2008, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0343.2007.00329.x> Accessed: 2020.09.07.

²¹ Miaojie Yu, Trade, democracy, and the gravity equation, *Journal of Development Economics*, Volume 91, Issue 2, Pages 289-300, 2010. ISSN 0304-3878, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2009.07.004>. (<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0304387809000789>) Accessed: 2020.09.07.

years, policy convergence enhancement remains an upward trend. We must highlight the importance of specific data usage since there are not many unique convergence forecasts of the future that are based on data. Of course, previous estimations have been made from both by the European Central Bank²² (ECB, Hoyo et al. 2017) and the International Monetary Fund²³ (IMF, Franks et al. 2018) respectively. Both studies identify aspects on positive convergence approach inside the EU area, such as the common market and its integration with the addendum of capital mobility as a structural pillar towards economic enhancement specifically in countries that have joined the European Union as states that needed financial and economic stimulus from the ECB and the IMF. It is also important to mention that there is a regular quarterly report from the European Commission that focused (in 2018²⁴) specifically on the euro area cohesion thus can be used as another pillar on pro-convergence attitudes inside the European single market. Regarding to crisis approach, the newest report focuses on the impact of the coronavirus pandemic on the euro area (Volume 20, No 2 [2021]²⁵). Based on the three working papers, convergence remains significant in the euro area with the addendum that we must distinguish between convergence types such as nominal, real, social and cyclical. Regardless of different types of convergences (as we do not have the option here for a more extended analysis), the mutual standpoint that have been appeared is that convergence tends to move towards resilient economic structures²⁶ as seen in Figure 2.



²² Diaz del Hoyo, J. L., Dorrucchi, E., Heinz, F. F., & Muzikarova, S. (2017, December). Real Convergence in the Euro Area: A Long-Term Perspective (ECB Occasional Paper No. 203). Frankfurt: European Central Bank

²³ Franks, J., Barkbu, B., Blavy, R., Oman, W., & Schoelermann, H. (2018, January). Economic Convergence in the Euro Area: Coming Together or Drifting Apart? (IMF Working Paper WP/18/10). Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund.

²⁴ European Commission. (2018a). My Region, My Europe, Our Future (Seventh Report on Economic, Social and Territorial Cohesion). http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/official/reports/cohesion7/7cr.pdf.

European Commission. (2018b, February). Sustainable Convergence in the Euro Area: A Multi-dimensional Process. Quarterly Report on the Euro Area. https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/economy-finance/ip072_en_i_sustainable_convergence_euro_area.pdf.

²⁵ European Commission. (2021a, July). examines the macroeconomic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the euro area as a whole, as well cross-country macroeconomic divergences triggered by the pandemic. Quarterly Report on the Euro Area. https://ec.europa.eu/info/publications/quarterly-report-euro-area-qrea-vol-20-no-2-2021_en (Accessed at 2021-11-10)

²⁶ European Commission. (2018b, February). Sustainable Convergence in the Euro Area: A Multi-dimensional Process. Quarterly Report on the Euro Area, p. 12. https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/economy-finance/ip072_en_i_sustainable_convergence_euro_area.pdf. (Accessed at 2021-11-10)

Figure 2: Economic resilience. Source: Commission Services [2018]; European Commission. (2021a, July)

As the quarterly report states, moving towards resilient economic design is quite imperative from the standpoint of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) also, since those states that are in dire need to move forward from an economic standpoint can attach to a leading economy as they will be able to increase their economic capabilities and GDP per capita respectively.

Interestingly enough, the tense resistance of possible market heterogeneities has brought the states closer regarding new and sustainable convergence policies that have been made a prior element of EMU fiscal debates since 2018. Of course, being a multi-dimensional process, the complexity of convergence policies and their change is a much larger topic than the current publication. Nonetheless, the close interconnectedness, the coronavirus pandemic, and possible aspects of crises in the future forced states to work together in the euro area like never before. This ‘collaboration’ has shown a new way to solve crises with the usage of enhanced economic convergence policies in the European Union in the upcoming years.

III. Post-crisis heterogeneity effects on EU member states

If we would like to grasp on how heterogeneity effects can appear in a state of mutual convergence, primarily we need to look for the participating countries’ fiscal policies and their background during and after times of a crisis that have affected their respective euro area. During crisis management analysis disparate routes and policies can be found not just regionally but also on a state level. Generally, when a region would like to handle a crisis, it would choose a short-term route as it provides a somewhat immediate solution for a specific economic situation. It is imperative to highlight that a calling for a more modern and unconventional monetary policy have been lingering for a while. The implementation of such policy was established between 2014 and 2016, some six and eight years after the European debt crisis. With the immersive asset purchases that have been made by the Euro system, the excess liquidity was expected to solve and vitalize demand for financial assets with greater return thus generating lower financial and economic costs in the European Union.

However, the exorbitant liquidity was distributed disproportionately thus it generated a fiscal-type heterogeneity within the convergent mutual policies. This has led to external vulnerability towards countries that have allocated financial background resources in a different manner thus the heterogeneity has deepened even further between states.

As an answer, the ECB have tried to reduce radius between monetary regulations and authorities that have been indeed successful to a degree. But naturally with the large asset-class purchases the disparity caused by the Euro system was not directly connected to ECB structural guideline changes nonetheless it is still viewed as an important factor. It is also important to highlight that even with the governmental bond purchases and constantly expanding regulatory policies the heterogeneity between countries could not have been avoided at this point. It substantial for us to comprehend that this reason did not come only from the perspective of a post-crisis Euro area but from the basic difference between system of finance and economics between countries (Figure 3) of the European Union. These institutional and structural differences with the addendum of a constantly challenging financial situation have made financial sub-heterogeneity inevitable between the respective countries.

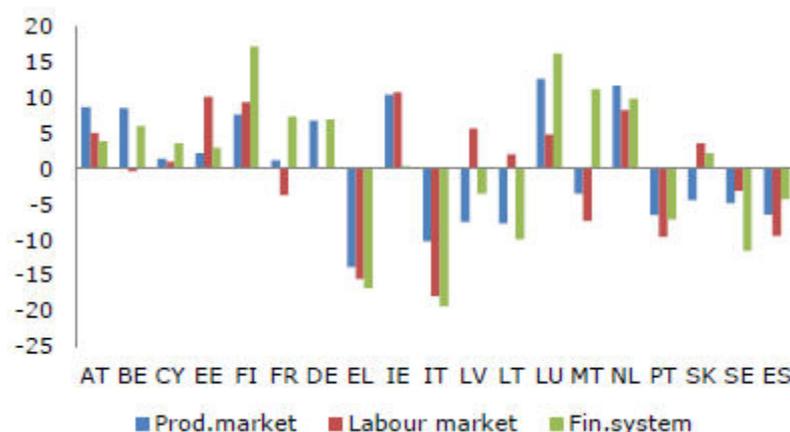


Figure 3: Structural characteristics of the euro area countries. World Competitiveness Database (WEF) and World Development Indicators (WB). In: Quarterly Report on the Euro Area, p. 32. Volume 16, No 3 (2017).

For the prompt dispersing of the crises' spillover effect, the general recommendation is constant clarification and a simpler narrative towards general EU citizens from the side of the EU economic institutions. Also, it is recommended that in the case of driving up a member state's economy, it could be done without serious harm if the market liberalization slows down and gets adjusted after reaching a specific goal. This way the elements which may cause or disrupt normal economic order for the EU market can be identified and filtered beforehand.

It is important to perceive that for an effective anti-crisis response state that is based on a sustainable convergence development program to minimize specific area heterogeneity, institutional framework, monetary and economic policy, and financial stability must all be viewed as aspects that have to be in line with not just mutual euro area but also local policies to prevent more significant crises in the future.

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Events in the life of György Cziffra in the light of the sources

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George Cziffra (1921-1994) is one of the outstanding figures of Hungarian and international performing arts in the 20th century. His adventurous life, career, fate, the virtuosity of his technical skills and his international fame have created a cult of his own, especially in recent years. However, his professional career and general biography have not yet been studied, and little or no literature has been written, including in the two and a half decades since his death. Thus, the reader/researcher can rely almost exclusively on his autobiography (*Cannons and Flowers*) and on personal reminiscences and anecdotes, which, as my research has shown, resemble a very limited extent of reality. Therefore, doing the source-based research of Cziffra's life is an increasingly urgent and incomplete task made timely by the centenary of his birth (5 November 1921).

Based on my research in archives, libraries, in Budapest and outside the capital, as well as on a survey of the entire digitised press of the period (1921-1956), it is possible to get an accurate picture of the first thirty-five years of György Cziffra's life based on sources and facts. In view of the countless conversations, interviews, statements, academic/semi-academic videos, writings and lectures on Cziffra that have been produced during the commemorative year, I would like to clarify some information and events that have been considered to be facts but are still inaccurate. The aim of my study is to gain a better understanding of the life of Cziffra, a pianist of undoubted extraordinary importance.

Keywords: Cziffra, pianist, biography, Liszt Academy, source study

I. Introduction

György Cziffra (1921–1994) is one of the outstanding figures of Hungarian and international performing arts in the 20th century. His adventurous life, career, fate, the virtuosity of his technical skills and his international fame have created a cult of his own, especially in recent years. However, his professional career and general biography have not yet been studied, and little or no literature has been written in the two and a half decades since his death. Thus, the reader/researcher can rely almost exclusively on his autobiography (*Cannons and Flowers – Ágyúk és virágok*) and on personal reminiscences and anecdotes, which, as my research has shown, resemble reality to a very limited extent.¹ Therefore, doing the source-based research of Cziffra's life is an increasingly urgent and incomplete task made timely by the centenary of his birth. In view of the countless conversations, interviews, statements, academic/semi-academic videos, writings and lectures on Cziffra that have been produced during the commemorative year, I would like to clarify some information and events that have been considered as facts but are still incorrect.

In my study I would like to highlight and discuss only four periods: Cziffra's family and childhood, Cziffra's musical academic studies, some moments from his popular musical career (1937-1954) and Cziffra's year in 1956, including his interpretation of Bartók's Second Piano Concerto and his winning the Liszt Prize.

II.1 Cziffra's family and childhood

Before I start to introduce the Cziffra family, I would like to clarify one thing. This clarification is already mentioned in my previous sentence, because the spelling of "Cziffra-family" is not a misprint, but the hero of our story is listed in the registration of his birth and of his, marriage and in all official documents as Cziffra György with one "f".² And in the first two as György László Cziffra. So this should be the official spelling of his name, though for simplicity I use the commonly found form of the name, except when talking about his family.

I have chosen to introduce the family not only because there are many misconceptions in the public domain, but also because it illustrates the nature of *Cannons and Flowers* and its relationship to the facts. If somebody opens up the autobiography and reads the first 20-30 pages he will learn the following about the Cziffra family:

¹ Cziffra, Gy.: *Ágyúk és virágok*. Transl.: Tóth, Á. N. Magyar Közlöny Lap- és Könyvkiadó. Budapest, 2015. (Hereinafter: Cziffra)

The first edition of the book was published in French in 1977: Cziffra, Gy. jr.: *Cziffra – Des canons et des fleurs*. Robert Lafont. Paris, 1977.

The first Hungarian edition was published in 1983: Cziffra Gy.: *Ágyúk és virágok*. Transl. Fedor Á. - Herczeg Gy. Zeneműkiadó. Budapest, 1983.

My study is based on the 2015 edition, but uses the text of the 1996 English translation (John Hornsby) wherever possible (due to the complexity of the origins, different editions differ, but the 2015 Hungarian edition is the most complete).

² Budapest City Archives (hereinafter: BCA): birth certificate, 6th district 1921-1922, current number: 3215. See also the macse.hu and familysearch.org databases. [last download: 2022.01.06.]

Czifra family		
Parents		
Name	Date of birth	Place of birth
Father	?	?
Mother	circa 1882	?
Children		
Jolán Cziffra	circa 1910	Paris
? Cziffra (girl)	circa 1910 (adopted by a Dutch family)	Paris
? Cziffra (girl)	circa 1920 (died around 1922 in Budapest)	Budapest
György Cziffra	1921 [birth date not shown]	Budapest

On the contrary, in the archives of the registers of his birth, marriage and death it appears that his father's name was Gyula (and not György Cziffra senior, as it says on the Internet). Cziffra's father was born in Albertirsa, 60 km from Budapest, and worked as a musician in Budapest and later in Paris. Because of the First World War, when Austria-Hungary was at war with France, he had to return from Paris to Budapest without any work. Cziffra's mother was Ilona Nagy, born in Budapest. Cziffra's parents were married in Budapest in 1906. Their first child was Jolán, about whom Cziffra wrote more in his autobiography, which is not surprising since she was the only one of his siblings he knew. Of Cziffra's other sister, Franciska Henriette we know that she was born in Paris in 1910 and was then adopted by her aunt who lived in the Netherlands. Cziffra wrote of his youngest sister, Margit, that she died at the age of two, but in reality she died before György's birth and at the age of eight, not two. In his autobiography, Cziffra does not give an exact date of his birth, but it is certain that he knew when he was born. Indeed, the birth register of November 7, 1921, indicates that he was born in Budapest on November 5. So, to sum up, the Czifra family looks quite different in the archive documents than it does in *Cannons and Flowers*.

Czifra family ³		
Parents		
Name	Date of birth	Place of birth
Gyula Czifra	23.05.1879.	Albertirsa
Ilona Nagy	16.01.1889.	Budapest
Children		
Jolán Czifra	25.06.1907.	Budapest
Franciska Henriette Czifra	13.07.1910.	Paris
Margit Czifra	?.?.1911. – (17.03.1919.)	Paris – (Budapest)
László György Cziffra	05.11.1921.	Budapest

At this point, I will make a leap in time to Cziffra's wife. Sulejka Abdin was of Egyptian descent through her father and was born in Rome in 1921.⁴ Concerning the marriage of György Cziffra and Abdin Sulejka we read in *Cannons and Flowers*:

“I was eighteen. Less than a year later I met Soleilka. It was love at first sight and a few days later we got married without our parents’ permission, stealing our identity cards to do

³ See the macse.hu and familysearch.org databases. [last download: 2022.01.06.]

⁴ The spelling of Sulejka Abdin's name is different (in Cziffra's autobiography it is spelled Soleilka).

so. At the town hall we were told that two witnesses would have to sign the marriage certificate.”⁵

Allegedly they were married in 1940, whereas archival material indicates that they were married on July 8, 1942, and the two witnesses, of course, may be coincidental, but the Cziffras lived close to their former homes (József Preczer and Tibor Posch).⁶ After their marriage their first child was born, György Cziffra Jr., who later in 1981 died tragically.

If we compare the two tables, we can see that Cziffra was battling with dates and facts, and I have not even gone into anything other than the names and birth dates of the family members. This kind of inaccuracy generally characterizes the autobiography

About the 1920s, about the everyday life and living conditions of the Czifra family, we can only speculate, as well as about Cziffra's studies and, what is particularly unfortunate, his musical studies. We first learn of Cziffra's circus career, mentioned in *Cannons and Flowers*, from the press in 1956, but after that it is an essential part of any memoir.⁷ But the exact details and circumstances of this are not known for certain.

II.2 Cziffra's academic musical studies

There are so many misconceptions and so much misinformation about Cziffra's admission to the music academy and his studies circulating in the public domain, online sources and books that I cannot discuss them fully, but I would like to clarify a few misconceptions. There are several versions of Cziffra's encounter with Dohnányi in connection with his admission. According to some press reports of the time, an engineer who came to renovate their tenement house noticed the talented boy and gave a letter of recommendation to Dohnányi, who heard the young Cziffra and thus gained him admission to the Liszt Academy.⁸ A similar story can be read in *Cannons and Flowers*, although in that story the novel's mysterious nemesis sent them to Dohnányi's villa on Széher út on Friday 13th, where, although unaware they would arrive, Dohnányi greeted Cziffra and his mother with open arms.⁹ According to the autobiography, upon hearing his playing, Dohnányi made arrangements and as a result Cziffra found himself at the Liszt Academy. First of all, Dohnányi could not have welcomed Cziffra and his mother in his villa on Széher út, as he did not live there at the time, since Cziffra's autobiography suggests that the incident occurred immediately after his circus career, in 1927 (a fact that belies the date is that Dohnányi only resumed teaching at the Liszt Academy in 1928). Cziffra, in his 1956 interview, puts the events to when he was eight years old, which is also obviously wrong, since Cziffra was only admitted to the Liszt Academy in 1932.¹⁰ His meeting with Dohnányi may have taken place in 1936, as *Magyarország* reports that Dohnányi invited him to his home after a highly successful student concert.¹¹ I think it is likely that both his admission to the Music Academy in 1932, the radical

⁵ Cziffra. p. 75.

⁶ BCA, marriage certificate, district 6, 1 January 1942-31 December 1942, current number 705.

⁷ Cziffra. pp. 37-50.

Béke és Szabadság 11.04.1956. (Because of the many press sources, I use the form I used before except when quoting or when it is a music review.)

⁸ E. g. *Ujság* 29.01.1933.

⁹ Cziffra. pp. 54-65.

¹⁰ *Béke és Szabadság* 11.04.1956.

¹¹ [?]. Cigánykirályok ünnepelték Cziffra Gyurit, a cigánycsodagyereket tegnapi hangversenyén [Gypsy kings celebrated the gypsy prodigy György Cziffra at yesterday's concert]. *Magyarország* 28.03.1936.

transformation it brought to his life, and his later encounter with Dohnányi (even in the villa on Széher út) were such lasting experiences for Cziffra that he 'put together' these two early miracles of his life: thus the story we can read in *Cannons and Flowers* was born.

The list of Cziffra's teachers at the Academy of Music is quite extensive.¹² Typically, it begins with Dohnányi, although there is no evidence that he ever taught Cziffra, followed by Leó Weiner, with whom Cziffra should have studied chamber music, but in all cases the place for the grades given is crossed out. Then follows György Ferenczy, with whom Cziffra never studied at the Liszt Academy officially.¹³ And last but not least, the name of István Thomán appears. This astonishing information comes from Cziffra, from *Cannons and Flowers*. Moreover, Cziffra wrote about the location of the lessons as follows:

I can still hear his voice roaring like an old lion's after a pupil had played Liszt's Grande Polonaise and Chopin's Fourth Ballade. "I once played these pieces to Liszt in this very room." [said Thomán]¹⁴

The mentioned location: "in this room" can only refer to the old Music Academy on Vörösmarty Street, where there was no teaching in the 1930s, so it is quite certain that Thomán could not have been teaching there at that time either.¹⁵ Moreover, there is no official information to suggest that Béla Bartók's former teacher was reinstated at the Liszt Academy after his retirement in 1906/1907. The situation with Thomán is similar to that of Dohnányi: Cziffra had been claiming the title of heir apparent to the romantic piano tradition of Liszt all his life, and wanted to prove it personally, but this is not based on facts.

It is much more likely that Cziffra met Imre Keéri-Szántó and/or Jolán Tauszky via means until now unknown, who helped him to complete his musical studies in an institutional setting, first at the Steinitz Music School and then, on 13th September 1932, after his being successfully admitted, at the Liszt Academy. Cziffra's official piano teachers were Keéri-Szántó and Jolán Tauszky.

In the academic year 1937/1938 György Cziffra was still officially a student at the Academy of Music, but he did not complete the first semester. He took a different path and interrupted his studies after the second academic year, and did not subsequently obtain a piano diploma. He was then taken under the tutelage of the pianist István Kovács, a former student of Kodály and now assistant teacher to Keéri-Szántó. The newly formed duo began preparing for their first concert and mastered their repertoire in leaps and bounds. Their programme consisted mainly of Kovács' own virtuoso transcriptions for two pianos. The duo played to great acclaim in Budapest and around the country for over a year. The reason for the break-up of the Kovács-Cziffra duo is not known, but it is striking that Cziffra later did not mention Kovács at all, although he owed him a great deal, and Kovács presumably supported and provided for him financially, since Cziffra often stayed in

¹² Morrison. B.: Cziffra György. 2001.

<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000007038?rsk=K3HFcL>

Seidle, P.: Cziffra György. 2016.

<https://www.mgg-online.com/article?id=mgg03323&v=1.0&rs=mgg03323>

¹³ See the Liszt Academy yearbooks.

¹⁴ Cziffra. pp. 66-67.

¹⁵ Mátéka B.: Az Andrásy-úti régi Zeneakadémia érdekes múltjából. [From the interesting past of the old Academy of Music on Andrásy Street.] Székesfőváros Házinyomda. Budapest, 1940. pp. 3-8.

his Bajza Street apartment.¹⁶ In addition, Kovács must have been his teacher, as the programmes show that Cziffra had acquired a considerable repertoire in just one year. Thus, along with Jolán Tauszky and Imre Keéri-Szántó, István Kovács was an extremely important teacher of Cziffra in his youth, and his last one. On the other hand, in June 1940, Kovács wrote affectionately about Cziffra in his obituary on the death of Imre Keéri-Szántó he wrote in the *Ujság* newspaper, so it would be interesting to know whether Cziffra decided not to mention Kovács' name in *Cannons and Flowers*, out of consideration or from dislike.¹⁷

In January 1939 the professional collaboration between Cziffra and Kovács did not continue. Cziffra was faced with a choice of paths and options: on the one hand, there was the question of how and where to continue his career, and on the other, the door was open to the Academy of Music, where he could continue his unfinished studies as a pianist. Given his age, it would have been an absolutely logical decision, as he had just turned 18 - but he chose not to. The period 1939-1943 in Cziffra's life is difficult to describe. The outbreak of the Second World War and all its consequences were certainly not favourable for a young artist, and Cziffra had no serious concert career, and after the death of Keéri-Szántó in 1940, he seems to have lost touch with the concert and professional life of classical music for a while. He therefore played at concerts of popular music in the diverse concert scene in Budapest - and was able to make a more secure living from a regular income, as opposed to uncertain classical music concert engagements. As we read in *Cannons and Flowers*, after Keéri-Szántó fell ill, he first fell in with the wrong crowd and then:

„After a short time [...] I became a dance musician, and for a long time that was my vocation.”¹⁸

But all in all, Cziffra's professional career between 1937 and 1943 is summed up in *Cannons and Flowers* in that single sentence. He did not mention István Kovács, nor any of his other performances, although from the beginning he played at the Music Academy, the Vigadó, and as far as venues were concerned, the Hangli Kiosk, the Lukács Bar and the Arizona, among others, which were without exception Budapest's elegant and elite venues.

II.3 In the shadow of the Second World War

The next period of Cziffra's life was defined by the Second World War. The date of his enlistment in the army is described in several places in *Cannons and Flowers*:

„I was eighteen. years old at the time. Less than a year later I met Soleilka. Not long afterwards, I was called up and had to leave my wife behind.”¹⁹

„Our little boy was born in 1943. I was already doing my military service in the Hungarian army at the time.”²⁰

„The autumn of 1942 was drawing to an end when my call-up papers arrived. [...] When I left my family one winter dawn, I was bitter at heart, so certain did I feel that I was leaving

¹⁶ *Magyarország* 16.07.1937.; *Ujság* 10.08.1937.; *Ujság* 07.11.1937.

¹⁷ *Ujság* 09.06.1940.

¹⁸ Cziffra. p. 73.

¹⁹ Cziffra. p. 67.

²⁰ Cziffra. p. 75.

this life behind for a considerable time. My presentiment turned out to be true. My young wife was expecting our son, György, when we parted.”²¹

According to the latter two quotations, Cziffra enlisted in the army between the autumn of 1942 and the spring of 1943. The first quote, however, says that he was already 19, in the winter of 1940. However, Cziffra's claims are called into question by his actions, as his name appears regularly in the press during 1942-1943. The last such advertisement was a performance at the Academy of Music on 31 October 1943.²² So Cziffra presumably joined the army in the winter of 1943, but we know almost nothing about his years at the front. The dates of his enlistment and discharge are also unknown.²³

The long pause in the press was broken by the *Új Idők*. In its 11 May 1946 issue, the news appeared that Cziffra was playing the piano in a café on Andrásy Avenue, the Adlon.²⁴ And on the afternoon of 22 May 1946, a chamber performance was held in the chamber hall of the Edison Café, organised by the Ady Society, in which Cziffra also participated.²⁵ For the rest of the year, Cziffra sought work in the elegant restaurants that opened after the war.²⁶ He played at the Adlon from May, then at the Garden Club from mid-October and finally at the Capri from 1 December.²⁷ But Cziffra wrote of the post-war years as follows:

" I wandered about the seedy districts [...] After a week of constant refusals, I was at last engaged in an establishment [...] The owner, took me on as a pianist on the express condition that if need be I would lend him a hand between tunes in throwing out such trouble-makers as were more mindful of their flick knives than their beer mugs. Thus I was enthroned as official bodyguard and minstrel.”²⁸

This was the kind of "hell of murderous vapours" full of criminals that Cziffra had to play in, according to *Cannons and Flowers*, although we have seen that he worked in elegant places from 1946 onwards and that remains unchanged.

²¹ Cziffra. p. 77.

²² „Rákosi–Horváth szerzői est” [Rákosi-Horváth authors' evening]. *Pesti Hírlap* 23.10.1942.; *Függetlenség, Magyar Nemzet, Magyarság, Népszava, Pester Lloyd, Új Magyarság, Ujság* 24.10.1943.; *Függetlenség* 26.10.1943.; *Magyar Nemzet, Magyarság, Nemzeti Ujság, Népszava, Pester Lloyd, Pesti Hírlap, Új Magyarság, Ujság* 28.10.1943.

²³ Cziffra, on the other hand, talks in detail about this period: Cziffra. pp. 76-164.

In search of an official document, I received the following reply from the Military History Archives of the Ministry of Defence's Institute and Museum of Military History: “I hereby inform you that the records of the HM HIM Military History Archives do not contain any data on György Cziffra's military service in World War II, including the personal data provided. I am therefore unable to provide any information on this.”

According to a press source (*Pápai Néplap* 31.10.1945.), Cziffra (with the rank of sergeant) performed at a concert of the First Regiment.

²⁴ *Új Idők* 11.05.1946.

According to *Cannons and Flowers*, Cziffra received his discharge in September 1946 and was allowed to return home to Budapest (Cziffra. p. 164).

²⁵ *Kossuth Népe* 22.05.1946.; *Kossuth Népe* 23.05.1946.

²⁶ According to Cziffra's autobiography, he chose his workplace from a selection of dubious and uncivilised suburban pubs. (Cziffra. pp. 168-173).

²⁷ Garden Club: *Világ* 11.10.1946.; *Világ* 12.10.1946.; *Világ* 15.10.1946.

Capri: *Kossuth Népe, Magyar Nemzet, Világ* 01.12.1946.

²⁸ Cziffra. p. 171.

Cziffra continued to play the piano in restaurants between 1947–1950: in the Capri, Füzék, and Lugano restaurants. In addition, he earned his income from radio appearances and from performances in Budapest and outside the capital, where he appeared with some of the most famous Hungarian singers and actors of the 20th century, such as Maria Mezey, Kálmán Latabár, Kamil Feleki and Rátonyi Róbert, especially in the last years of the decade.

II.4 1956

Subsequently after a failed attempt to defect from communist Hungary, followed by imprisonment, Cziffra returned to the world of popular music, and after a 1954 conversion, at the age of 33, he began his coveted career as a concert pianist. His rapidly ascending career culminated in the last year, 1956, which saw two important events. A mere 25 months elapsed between March 1954 - the first classical concert - and April 1956. Professionally, however, it was enough time for Cziffra to shed the despised title of café pianist and receive the Liszt Prize. Although the Ministry's documents show that it was not a foregone conclusion that Cziffra would receive the first degree of the Liszt Prize, since on 5 January 1956 György Littasy was named, and in the next proposal György Cziffra and Vilmos Rubányi were named, and only then was Cziffra chosen.²⁹ Thus, on 3 April 1956, to crown all the years that had passed, he was awarded the first degree of the Liszt Prize at the House of Artistic Associations, "for his interpretation of the piano works of Ferenc Liszt".³⁰

The prize was followed by a request to perform at the final concert of the Bartók Festival, the Liszt Competition, scheduled in the autumn of 1956, on 22 October 1956. In the last part of my study I would like to talk about the concert of 22nd October 1956, which has since become legendary. For posterity, the most memorable event of the year in terms of classical music concerts was also the concert of 22 October, when Cziffra played Bartók's Piano Concerto No 2 (conducted by Mario Rossi of the Állami Hangversenyzenekar [Hungarian State Concert Orchestra]). According to Cziffra, six months earlier a talented colleague had been asked, but he had cancelled in July, then a Chinese pianist had been asked to perform, but he had also cancelled in early September, because of the difficulty of the Bartók work.³¹ And, according to Cziffra's autobiography, it was only after this that he was approached to take the solo part in the Bartók Piano Concerto, leaving him six weeks to learn the work, in addition to other concerts. Learning the work was indeed a huge task, but documents from the Ministry of Culture show that when planning the Bartók Festival for the concert in October, the Béla Bartók Memorial Committee had already proposed Cziffra as soloist for the Bartók Piano Concerto in an attachment sent out on 17 May.³² And finally about the concert, this is how Cziffra remembers it:

²⁹ „Liszt Ferenc díj” [Liszt Ferenc Prize], 05.01.1956. National Archives of Hungary (hereinafter: NAH): XIX-I-3-a 106. box. The Liszt-Erkel Committee, appointed by the Presidency of the Federation of Musicians to decide on the awarding of the prizes, was composed of the following members: József Ujfalussy, Ferenc Farkas, Endre Rösler, Lajos Kiss and Gusztáv Rác.

³⁰ László M. Csikai: "Invitation". In: NAH: XIX-I-3-a 106. box.

"Announcement of results" in the press: *Esti Budapest* 03.04.1956.; *Népszabadság, Szabad Ifjúság* 04.04.1956.; *Magyar Nemzet* 07.04.1956.

³¹ Cziffra. p. 209.

³² „Proposal to the Secretariat to amend the decision on the Bartók celebrations", 17.05.1956. NAH: MDP Scientific and Cultural Department, M-KS 276. f.91. cs.

Some two thousand people, normally so disciplined, rushed from the hall singing the National Anthem and ripping down anything bearing emblems other than the national flag as they ran along the nearby streets and avenues.³³

Péter Várnai, the critic of *Népszava*, also said that the interpretation of Bartók's work was a huge success.³⁴ However, Cziffra's description is exaggerated to say the least, not to mention the fact that the Bartók Piano Concerto was the concluding piece of the first half of the concert, while the second half was Brahms' Symphony No. 2.³⁵ Perhaps it is because of the revolutionary events of the following day that the concert is remembered as such, in Cziffra's memory and for posterity. After the concert, however, Cziffra not only walked to the surrounding avenue and then to their apartment at Bálvány utca, but in the following days he saw the time had come to try what he had not been able to do before - he defected to Vienna with his family, and thus ended the Hungarian period of his life.³⁶

III. Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to say that there are many biographies and autobiographies in music history. In almost all cases they need correction, but they are also extremely important sources. I trust, and it is the aim of my work, that we will obtain a better understanding of the life of Cziffra, a performer of undoubted importance, which, even after the inaccuracies have been corrected, is still adventurous, varied and instructive.

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³³ Cziffra. p. 210.

³⁴ V. P. [Várnai Péter]: „A fesztivál záróhangversenye” [Final concert of the festival], *Népszava* 24.10.1956.

³⁵ Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Centre for the Humanities Institute for Musicology, Archives for 20th-21st Century Hungarian Music (hereinafter: ZTI), Concert database.

³⁶ The exact date of his defection is uncertain, as Cziffra wrote to Lajos Hernádi from Montigny on 22 February 1957: 'Not denying my adventurous nature, on 3 October 1956 [sic!] I set off again for the fields, forests, meadows, mountains - together with my family, so that I could finally share in the many good things I had only heard of [...]'. The date of the beginning of October is obviously wrong, but 3 November would be possible. (ZTI)

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Reconstructing the Southern Door of Saint John Cathedral of Jubayl

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When Crusaders took the Levant, they constructed huge strongholds to make sure they stayed. The elements of their structures, from the smallest to the greatest, ensured a secure shelter in the newly conquered lands. The need to build defensive fortresses and buildings resulted in the effective employment of security measures. One of the most significant elements were the openings that were needed to be protected. Therefore, shutters, which were simple protective movable barriers in the past, became major architectural features to transform a building into a shelter in the Near East. In addition to playing a tangible role, doorways had a symbolic weight in ecclesiastical architecture and reflected power and prestige which led to the ornamentation and the use of specific details in the design of door leaves. This research aims to underline the main characteristics of medieval doors of the 12th and 13th centuries and the security measures employed in them in order to try to visualize the original design of the door of the Crusader cathedral of Saint John Mark in Jubayl as a prestige symbol and once-imposing defensive barrier. The investigation of the cathedral door is done through an architectural survey of the remains of past closing systems still existing in the doorway, an attempt to date the door, gathering information on how shutters were made and installed in the medieval period, studying the European parallels of the cathedral, and using a 3D design software for the reconstruction.

The survey and the understanding of medieval construction techniques and elements of the 12th and 13th centuries resulted in a more realistic approach to rebuilding the door of Saint John Mark cathedral in Jubayl.

Keywords: doors; leaves; medieval architecture; Crusader architecture; closing systems.

I. Introduction

Doors have been installed to protect humans from weather and unwanted intruders since Antiquity. Knowing that these are major pieces of architecture to make any structure defensible or secure, their crucial role during the Crusades is often unnoticed or disregarded. Today, many medieval sites in the Levant still do not have leaves or shutters, and even if they do, closing is often done in a bad or impractical way.

The reconstruction example of the southern door of Saint John Cathedral in Jubayl provides the opportunity to visualize the door in its original state which may demonstrate the relevance of medieval doors in the Crusader states. One challenge has been the lack of preserved original door leaves dating to the 12th or 13th centuries or any documentation and information about doors in the Near East. Nonetheless, given the information provided by travellers, archaeologists, architects, and orientalists combined with a survey on site led to a possible remodelling of the door.

II. Topic discussion

II.1. Methodology

The reconstruction of a doorway is done by focusing on four main strands:

- Information provided by past research and documentation reports on how shutters were made and installed in the medieval period. This will help to conceptualize the construction of door leaves from a carpentry and architectural point of view.
- The history or the chronology of the construction of the medieval building that will help to date the door.
- The material evidence and the details, still existing in the thresholds, that we can date, document, and scrutinize in order to come to a clearer picture of how the original leaves were.
- Parallels stated by historians and travellers that would question the building's design origins whether it's Eastern, Western, or a merge of both.

II.2. 12th and 13th century leaves

II.2.1. Boarding and metal elements

There are different types of medieval door shutters. Theoretically, the structure of medieval leaves had to be resistant and manageable.¹ In order to meet all criteria, medieval shutters were usually made of wooden boards. They could be double-leaved or single-leaved and usually rotate using pivots or hinges. In order to make the door stronger, the leaves can be made of several layers of wooden planks. In some churches, the door is decorated by carving shapes or inscriptions into the wood.

In addition to the wooden boards, metal elements, such as nails, pegs, and hinges, were added to reinforce the leaf further, especially in the 12th and 13th centuries. The craftsmen of the medieval period were so skilled that they used to weld complicated pieces without breaking them.² In case of a frame, the boards of the exterior face are usually fixed to it with nails. Certainly, iron elements from the 11th to the 13th centuries were thicker than those of the 14th and 15th centuries in the East as well as in the West.

¹ Yeomans, D. - Harrison, H. - Smith, A. Repairing a Medieval Door. *Advanced Materials Research*. 2013. 778. pp. 738-739.

² Viollet-le-duc, E.: *Serrurerie*. In: *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle 1854-1868*. Paris, 1856. p. 294.

As stated before, the rotation of doors was ensured by pivots or hinges. In the first case, the vertical pivoting of the leaf on its own axis or by the use of dowels set in the wood ensure the rotation. This principal was known since the Antiquity and consists of dowels, cut in the jamb or doorpost, which enter cavities in the soffit (lintel).³ In the case of hinged doors, the hinges are fixed to the wooden boards using nails, the rod of which is bent on the interior facing. The width of the hinges used in the Latin East is rarely preserved or documented. Some occasional examples of preserved hinges are the ones of the little room over the kitchen in Margat Castle in Syria and those in the eastern doorway of its stables. In Europe for example, hinges had a width of 0.5 to 2 cm approximately and took different forms.⁴ They are long iron straps, one end of which is rolled into a knot to receive the pin, and are sealed in the masonry for the rotation of the shutter as well as for its reinforcement. Their length corresponded approximately 4/5th of the width of the shutter in case of a castle or a fortification.⁵ These hinges manipulate the leaves easier by eliminating the friction of heavy wooden pieces and keep the boards together while ensuring the rotation.⁶

Between the 11th and the 14th centuries, three main types of hinges can be considered: spiral hinges, branching hinges, and C-shaped hinges (fig. 1). The decorative hinges were placed on the exterior face either for maintaining the joined planks, for decorative purposes, or for both.⁷ Moreover, they can be real or false, welded together or independent. When welded together, the whole form a complex network with a geometric pattern embellished with curves, animal patterns or plant figures. In some cases, the ends of the iron bars have shapes of human or animal heads. As for the placement of the hinge straps, they can be fastened to the rail or ledge of the door, or they can be put between two rails. Both cases were common. They can also be “sandwiched” between two sets of wooden boards to increase the thickness of the leaves without preventing their movement, but this technique was more difficult and required on-site work.⁸ Although some doors had three hinges, a two-hinge door is more common in the medieval period.⁹ In the end, the development of carpentry has limited the hinges to the sole purpose of suspending the leaves, and they lost their decorative role by the end of the medieval period.

In addition, nails can cover a large part of the door and constitute a network so dense that their function goes far beyond fixing the various elements composing the leaf. These nails, very widespread on the exterior facing of structures with vertical planks, are used as decorative elements especially in the Gothic period and are often treated as an independent network.¹⁰ A dense network of nails can be seen in small churches as well as in big cathedrals. The heads of nails can have various shapes, they can be pyramidal, round, square, or even shaped as rosettes. In fact, rosettes can efficiently prevent the nail from going in the wooden leaf too deep and damaging it. In France, some leaves were found with the network of incisions preliminary to the installation of the nails visible, and this network would play a key role in the *in situ* locations of the nails.¹¹ Other kinds of decorations used in the beginning of the 12th century were paintings, nail heads, bronze or iron plaques.¹²

³ Viollet-le-duc, E.: Vantail. In: Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle 1854-1868. Paris, 1856. p. 346.

⁴ Touzé, R.: Vantaux de porte à planches jointives du XI^e au XIX^e siècles. Paris, 2009. pp. 19-21.

⁵ Saint-Wandrille, P.: À la recherche des vantaux perdus. Maignaut Passion Info. 2003. April N13. p. 2.

⁶ Touzé, R.: Vantaux de porte à planches jointives du XI^e au XIX^e siècles. Paris, 2009. p. 44.

⁷ *Ibid.* 9.

⁸ Saint-Wandrille, P.: À la recherche des vantaux perdus. Maignaut Passion Info. 2003. April N13. p. 2.

⁹ Yeomans, D. - Harrison, H. - Smith, A. Repairing a Medieval Door. Advanced Materials Research. 2013. 778. p. 741.

¹⁰ Touzé, R.: Vantaux de porte à planches jointives du XI^e au XIX^e siècles. Paris, 2009. p. 24.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 23.

¹² Viollet-le-duc, E.: Vantail. In: Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle 1854-1868. Paris, 1856. p. 348.

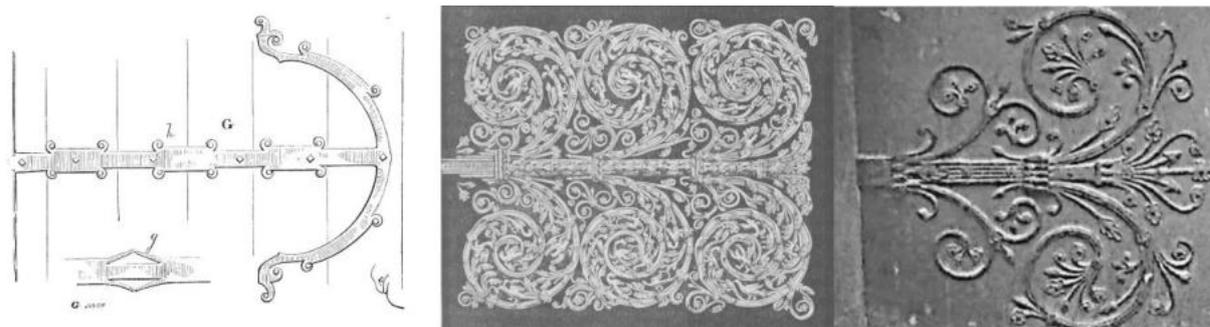


Figure 1. From left to right. C-shaped hinge of the church of Blazincourt, Gironde [Viollet-le-duc, E. in *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle*]; Spiral hinge of Notre-Dame executed by Boulanger [P. Havard, H. in *Les arts de l'ameublement. La serrurerie.*], Hinge with ramifications of the church Saint-Étienne, Beauvais [POP: *La plateforme ouverte du patrimoine*].

II.2.2. Locking systems

Bars or bolts, used to lock a space, are the oldest locking mechanism; they were used from the Antiquity until this day because of their simplicity and efficiency. In the medieval period, castles and churches were often a target of raids and required a high level of protection; therefore, these buildings needed a drawbar for both windows and doors.¹³ It is a long sliding cross bar made of wood, steel, or iron attached by means of brackets to the inside or outside of a door leaf, and fitted into a hole or channel in the door jamb. This means that usually the person locking the door would remain inside unless the bar lock is on the exterior face of the leaf or shutter. A ring was placed at its end to pull the bar and a mortise was carved to allow the hand to bring it out of the socket.¹⁴ Sometimes, there are two bars, one towards the upper part of the leaf and another one towards the bottom, and at other times, there is only one bar so heavy that it required several people to fit it into the hole.¹⁵ There are two methods for using the bar to lock a door. The first one is to push back the bar inside a hole in the doorpost which was deep enough to fit the full length of the bar. The second one simply consists of removing the bar whenever people needed to open the door, and in this case the socket where the bar is secured is triangular or rectangular in the wall. In this case, when the bar is set parallel to the floor, it fits the deepest point of the socket from one end, and the other end would be attached to the shutter by means of brackets. In some double-leave doors, such as the ones of the Narbonne gate of the city of Carcassonne, the bar is fixed horizontally to one of the leaves and held to the other one to have time to lock the door with latches and install other movable bars.¹⁶ Simple drawbars are usually strengthened with padlocks; so in case of an attack, the leaf is pushed and the bar is pulled in order to keep it securely closed and give time to lock.¹⁷

With the evolution of the mechanical lock and key system, drawbars fell in disuse, the holes in the wall were filled or left purposeless. In all fortifications, the locks were installed on their interior face; in no military case should it be installed from the outside.¹⁸ Locks of the medieval period were not necessarily made of iron: some of them were wooden, and some others had a wooden box but an internal metal system.¹⁹ Excavations have produced no key in the Latin East; however, they have

¹³ Potter, J.: *Bar Locks and Early Church Security in the British Isles*. Oxford, 2020. p. 2.

¹⁴ Viollet-le-duc, E.: *Barre, Barrière*. In: *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle* 1854-1868. Paris, 1856. p. 122.

¹⁵ Potter, J.: *Bar Locks and Early Church Security in the British Isles*. Oxford, 2020. p. 6.

¹⁶ Viollet-le-duc, E.: *Barre, Barrière*. In: *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle* 1854-1868. Paris, 1856. p. 122.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 123-124.

¹⁸ Saint-Wandrille, P.: *À la recherche des vantaux perdus*. Maignaut Passion Info. 2003. April N13. p. 3.

¹⁹ Dervieu, C.: *Serrures, cadenas et clefs du Moyen Age*. Bulletin Monumental. 1914. Tome 78. p. 200.

shown some evidence of using it: a lock was found on a door of a farmhouse in Jerusalem as well as the posthole of the threshold.²⁰ It is known that they were used in the Latin East because key drawings frequently appear on glazed bowls and masons' marks.²¹ The iron padlocks were for sure more expensive than wooden ones. They could be cylindrical, octagonal, or flat.²²

Fig. 2 shows an example of what typical 12th century locks would look like. They were padlocks with a hasp flat or raised. These locks had a bevelled edged box, square or rectangular, placed on an iron plate (f) with the bolt (b) outside the plate that slides horizontally. The box is usually fixed on the wood by nails (d). The entrance hole of the key (e) is then pierced in the iron plate, above or under the bolt which could be held back by tie-backs (a), and manipulated by a handle (c). The end of the bolt that does not penetrate the striker was sometimes bent and decorated with the head of an animal. If the door is thick, the box can't be seen on the outside because it is embedded in the thickness of the leaf. The mechanism consists of putting the key inside the hole of the box and turning it to manipulate the bolt.²³ These types of locks usually have only one entry and are still used up to this day but, some padlocks were found with several entries. Their mechanism doesn't change much until the 15th century, the only modification that is seen in the medieval period is the box and its ornamentation.

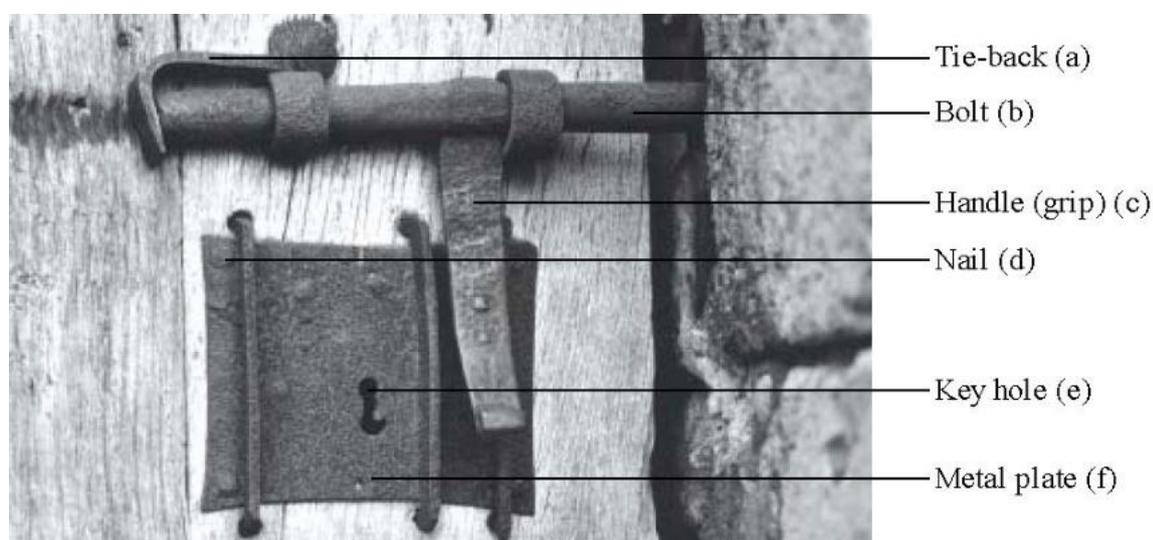


Figure 2. Lock of Billy castle, Allier, France (XIV^e – XV^e centuries), personal annotation. [Saint-Wandrille, p. 2005].

II.3. Choosing and dating the door

In the 12th century, the small episcopal town of Jubayl, which was built on the ruins of ancient Byblos,²⁴ was besieged by the Geonese noble Hugues who was nicknamed L'embriac. The maritime town was known to the Crusaders as Giblet or Gibelet as we find in the letters of Jacques de Vitry for example.²⁵

²⁰ Boas, A.: Domestic settings: Sources on Domestic Architecture and Day-to-Day Activities in the Crusader States. In: The Medieval Mediterranean: People, Economics and Cultures, 400-1500. Vol. 84. Brill. Leiden and Boston, 2010. p. 96.

²¹ *Ibid.* 62-63.

²² Saint-Wandrille, P.: Verrous et serrures dans les bâtiments du XII^e au XV^e siècle. Maignaut Passion Info. 2005. January N18. p. 5.

²³ Viollet-le-duc, E.: Serrurerie. In: Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle 1854-1868. Paris, 1856. pp. 318-319.

²⁴ Rey, E.G.: Les colonies Franques de Syrie aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles. Paris, 1883. p. 367.

²⁵ Fresne, C. - Rey, E.G.: Les familles d'Outre-Mer de du Cange. Paris, 1869. p. 316.

The church was established in the year 1115 and was dedicated to Saint John the Baptist. However, even if the precise date of the establishment of the cathedral is known, the construction of the church probably took decades. It was also disrupted and was restored several times after the earthquake of 1170 and the invasions of 1188, 1190, and 1266.²⁶ With the return of Christians in 1190, the whole cathedral was also restored.²⁷ Therefore, it is easy to suggest that not all doorways were built in the same year.

Historians agree that the Romanesque church belongs to the first half of the 12th century.²⁸ Actually, its plan is rather irregular and has three naves and three apses facing the northeast. The French archaeologist Camille Enlart, who gave the first comprehensive study of Crusader architecture, states that the irregularity of the plan and the sudden shift of the northern half from the East to the West is due to rectifying the error of the orientation of the plan by respect to the liturgical rules.²⁹ The church has five doors: one in the northern façade, one in the southern one, and three in the western one. The western façade must be a new addition as the church was bigger and was once extended further to the West probably in the 18th century.³⁰ Therefore, the three doors of the western façade cannot be medieval. Moreover, above the door of the northern façade, to the left of the baptistry, a marble plaque is embedded bearing a Syriac inscription of four lines stating 1776 A.D.³¹ Although the historians Max Van Berchem and Julius Heinrich Petermann attributed this date to the restoration of the western façade,³² Enlart doesn't agree and affirms that the northern door was obviously an Arab and recent work.³³

All in all, in order to avoid the enigma of the date in which the northern door is built, the southern door of the church was a clear choice for the reconstruction as it was evidently medieval.³⁴

II.4. Survey

Some details of past closing systems are notable at times, and even though they might seem marginal to some, they are the most informative in terms of knowing how the original door looked like in the past. Consequently, in order to make a proper reconstruction, these features must be investigated.

The southern door of Saint John Cathedral is pointed arched, relatively small, and with decorated mouldings richer than those of the northern one.³⁵ The doorway is now closed with leaves that have a length of 2.40 cm and a width of 1.60 cm without the arch. The original leaves most certainly had the same dimensions because of the upper stone gudgeons that still exist in the inner face of the door (fig. 3). As the church is modernised and has been restored several times, the lower stone gudgeons are not visible because they are probably covered with modern tiles.

Moreover, a bar-socket is noticeable in the right door jamb, 50 cm from the ground (fig. 4). No evidence of another one in the left jamb can be seen. It is square shaped with 10 cm long sides, and is 7 cm deep.

²⁶ Enlart, C.: *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile. Vol. II.* Paris, 1928. p. 118.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 119.

²⁸ Vogüé, E.M.: *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte.* Paris, 1860. p. 374; Van Berchem, M.: *Voyage en Syrie.* Cairo, 1914. p. 111.

²⁹ Enlart, C.: *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile. Vol. II.* Paris, 1928. p. 118-119.

³⁰ Van Berchem, M.: *Voyage en Syrie.* Cairo, 1914. p. 111; Enlart, C.: *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile.* Paris, 1928. p. 122.

³¹ Van Berchem, M.: *Voyage en Syrie.* Cairo, 1914. p. 112.

³² Petermann, J.H.: *Reisen in Orient. 1.* Leipzig, 1861. p. 330; Van Berchem, M.: *Voyage en Syrie.* Cairo, 1914. p. 111.

³³ Enlart, C.: *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile. Vol. II.* Paris, 1928. p. 121.

³⁴ Vogüé, E.M.: *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte.* Paris, 1860. p. 375; Enlart, C.: *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile.* Paris, 1928. p. 121.

³⁵ Van Berchem, M.: *Voyage en Syrie.* Cairo, 1914. p. 111.



Figure 3. The upper stone gudgeons of the southern door of Saint John in Jubayl [Dania Keyrouz, 2021].

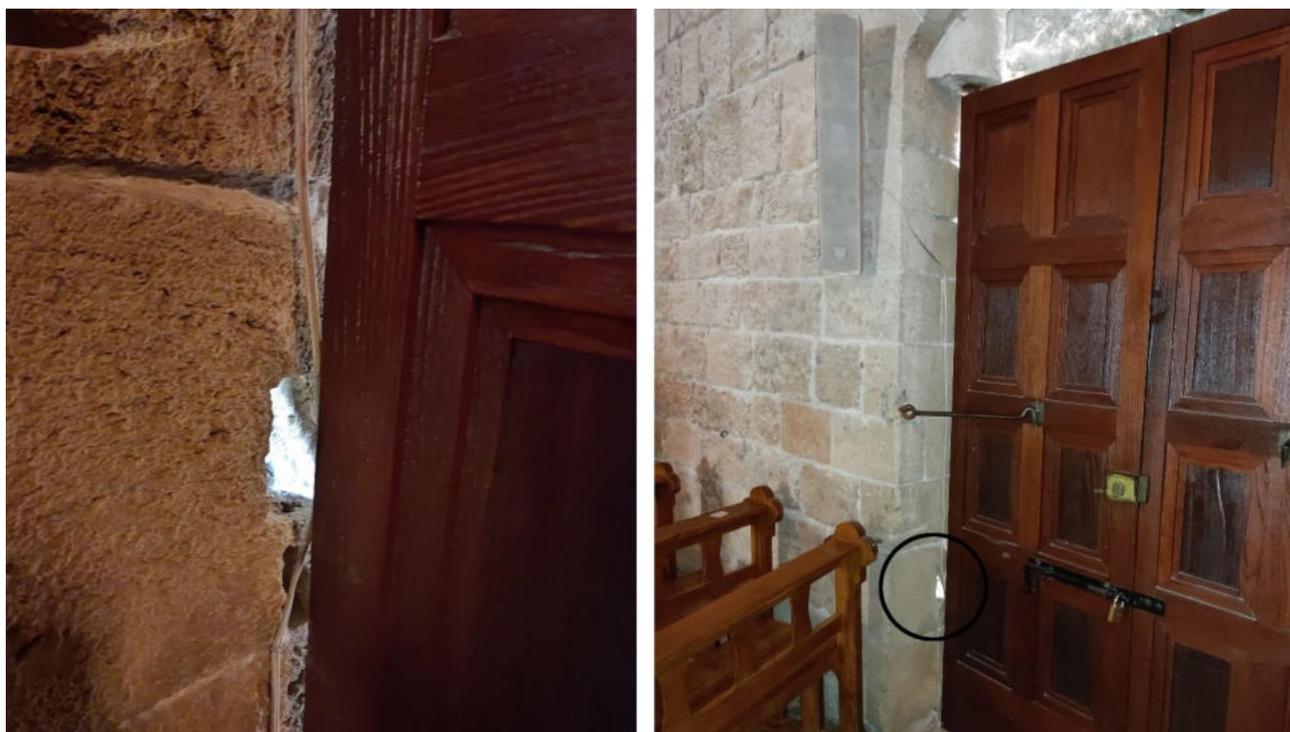


Figure 4. The right door jamb of the southern door of Saint John in Jubayl [Dania Keyrouz, 2021].

II.5. Parallels

Historians usually characterize Crusader monuments as “Frankish” art rather than “Crusader” art because the word “Frankish”, or “Franj” as named by Arabs, would describe all Western settlers who arrived in the Levant regardless of their ethnic origins.³⁶ The lands conquered by the Crusaders, where the emergence of most of this so-called “Frankish” art occurred, included the County of Edessa, the

³⁶ Boas, A.: *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East*. London and New York, 1999. p. 7.

Principality of Antioch, the County of Tripoli, the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and some parts of Cilicia. The artistic phenomenon of the Frankish architecture exhibit details of works of Eastern Christians, Western Christians, and even Muslims.³⁷ Even with the evidence of the role of Eastern visual traditions, most of the previous researchers tend to neglect it and view Frankish art and architecture as a French colonial enterprise. Influences from Italy are also noticed by some. Accordingly, theoretically reconstructing doors or any architectural element of Crusader buildings is often subject of debate. In this study, the reconstruction of the southern door of Saint John in Jubayl will be based on travellers, historians, and architects who described the monument. Therefore, in order to rightly reconstruct it, it is crucial to understand from which parts of Italy and modern France the artisans and engineers might have migrated to build the church.

First of all, in the 19th century, Melchior de Vogüé set up a corpus of churches in the Levant and portrayed them as part of the French Romanesque. For example, he states that the cathedral of Saint John has an oriental-shaped baptistery executed by European hands, and that its southern door's decoration can be observed on French doorways of the 12th century.³⁸ He clearly viewed that Syria, Rhodes and Cyprus all followed the architectural evolution of France. Moreover, Albert Gabriel, French professor, architect and archaeologist, states that the measurement methods in the Crusader states are from the region of Provence in France.³⁹ Therefore, it is clear that the artists and engineers remained faithful to the methods adopted in France. On the other hand, the 19th century architect Rhené-Spiers noticed the similarity between Crusader and French and Italian art. He emphasizes the influence of Italian architecture, especially that of Sicily, when building Frankish structures. He even claims that everything, including the pointed arches and the domes, came especially from France and Italy; there is nothing German or English.⁴⁰ Although Enlart agrees that the Frankish architecture in Syria has some Italian inspirations, he does not agree with Rhené-Spiers' statement as, according to him, Italian influence in the Crusader states seem to be mediocre compared to the French one despite the important role of Italians in the conquest and colonization.⁴¹

Enlart described attentively the church of Saint John. He emphasized that the areas of Burgundy and Southern France influenced the architecture of Crusade churches in general, and the architecture of the cathedral in particular. He also commented on the profile of the archivolt of the southern door being fairly used in Burgundy and Provence.⁴² According to him, in addition to Burgundy and Southern France, the capital's decorations are seen in the area of Ile-de-France as well.⁴³ Less frequently he mentions the Auvergne region and Northern France (Hauts-de-France). On the other hand, he notes some Arab influence like in the columns of the southern apse and the modillions.⁴⁴ Table 1 represents the sites containing the analogous elements of Saint John Church mentioned by Enlart.

Based on table 1 and the writings of travellers and historians, the architecture of the church was fairly observed in churches of France, and sometimes in churches of Italy such as Saint-Marie of Agramunt

³⁷ Leson R.A.: Art of the Crusader period in the Levant. Commissioned for Oxford Bibliographies Online. 2017. <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199920105/obo-9780199920105-0109.xml>. [accessed 2021.10.09]; Enlart, C.: Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile. Vol. I. Paris, 1925. p. 207.

³⁸ Vogüé, E.M.: Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte. Paris, 1860. p. 375.

³⁹ Gabriel, A.: La cité de Rhodes. T.2. Paris, 1923. pp. 111-120.

⁴⁰ Rhené Spiers, R.: Architecture East and West: A Collection of Essays Written at Various Times during the Last Sixteen Years. London, 1905. p. 209.

⁴¹ Enlart, C.: Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile. Vol. I. Paris, 1925. p. 25.

⁴² *Ibid.* 96.

⁴³ Enlart, C.: Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile. Vol. II. Paris, 1928. p. 119.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 120-121.

in Catalonia,⁴⁵ and the Burgundian Church of Casamari.⁴⁶ Whether the architecture of Saint John in Jubayl affected the churches of France or the other way around, collecting examples in France is required for a reconstruction in the closest way possible to the original state of the door. Accordingly, the regions less frequently repeated in literature were Hauts-de-France (Nord-Pas-de-Calais-Picardie), Île-de-France, and Auvergne, hence this study concentrated more on the regions of Grand-Est (Alsace-Champagne-Ardenne-Lorraine), Burgundy, and Provence (fig. 5).

Table 1. The parallels of Saint John Church stated by Enlart.

	Elements	Region in France
Saint-Marthe of Tarascon	The southern door	Provence-Alpes-Côte d'azur
Our Lady of Étampes	The angles of the threshold of the southern door	Île-de-France
Verdun Cathedral	Transoms and abacuses	Grand-Est (Alsace-Champagne-Ardenne-Lorraine)
Epinal Cathedral	Transoms and abacuses	Grand-Est (Alsace-Champagne-Ardenne-Lorraine)
Relanges (Vosges) Church	Transoms and abacuses	Grand-Est (Alsace-Champagne-Ardenne-Lorraine)
Wassy Church	Transoms and abacuses	Grand-Est (Alsace-Champagne-Ardenne-Lorraine)
Cloister of Fréjus	Transoms and abacuses	Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur
Vézelay Church	Narthex	Bourgogne-Franche-Comté
Noyon Cathedral	The profile of the southern door	Hauts-de-France (Nord-Pas-de-Calais-Picardie)
Saint-Wlmer of Boulogne	Capitals of the northern windows	Hauts-de-France (Nord-Pas-de-Calais-Picardie)

Sources: Enlart, C.: Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile. 2 Vols. [1928].

⁴⁵ Enlart, C.: Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile. Vol. I. Paris, 1925. p. 88.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 95.



Figure 5. Highlighted regions containing the churches listed by Enlart in table 1 [Dania Keyrouz, 2021]

III. 3D-Reconstruction

The southern door of the church was a clear choice for the reconstruction as it was evidently built together with the southern wall of the cathedral in the beginning of the 12th century.⁴⁷ With the date being clear, the reconstruction is made by understanding theoretically how the leaves were made in the early 12th century, the material evidence still existing in the doorway, and the parallels of the church.

III.1. Inner side of the door

Firstly, the door is more or less small, and as mentioned before, the whole building was subject to several invasions.⁴⁸ Therefore, the door must have been made strong enough to withstand intruders and attacks. The most logical way of boarding would have been installing a two-layered door made of horizontal and vertical wooden boards. This technique avoids rotation in their joints and prevents the flexing in the direction of the width of the boards by their own weight.⁴⁹ Furthermore, doors would have been locked with a padlock and key at that time.

The evidence of the past closing system on site makes the picture of the original leaves clearer. The upper stone gudgeons indicate that the door rotated with the assistance of wooden dowels or pins that pivot in them. In addition, the bar-socket shows that the door, which opens to the inside, could have

⁴⁷ Vogüé, E.M.: *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte*. Paris, 1860. p. 375; Enlart, C.: *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile. Tome I*. Paris, 1928. p. 121.

⁴⁸ Enlart, C.: *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile. Tome II*. Paris, 1928. p. 118.

⁴⁹ Yeomans, D. - Harrison, H. - Smith, A. *Repairing a Medieval Door*. *Advanced Materials Research*. 2013. 778. p. 739.

been locked with a half-bar that assisted a padlock. Accordingly, in case of an attack, the leaves were closed and the bar was set in order to have time to lock the door with a key and a latch.⁵⁰

III.1. Outer side of the door

The doors of churches were often seen as a shifting point between the secular and the sacred. The outer face of the door would have been decorated as a way of visual engagement that enable the leaves to act as status symbol in the feudal system for those passing through and across them.⁵¹ First of all, door knockers were more or less widespread on the outer face of church doors in the medieval period. We can see them in various medieval depictions and on original church leaves.⁵² Moreover, as stated before, the door was probably locked with a key, so a key hole must have been visible on the outer face.

Since most of the towns of the Crusader states are situated along the Mediterranean littoral with a climate more or less humid, wooden structures rarely survived in this weather because of its organic nature.⁵³ Additionally, the instability witnessed by the Levant would mean that door leaves were often changed so iron elements on them usually don't survive; besides many iron pieces would have been stolen. As for France, wooden doors rarely survived as well, but a small number of medieval iron hinges and locks remained and sometimes reused on more recent wooden leaves. 12th century doors could not be found in Provence. Examples of original pieces of doors that belong simultaneously to the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries and the areas of Grand-Est and Burgundy, are represented in fig. 6:

- In Grand-Est: Church of Montangon in Val d'Auzon (11th or 12th century), Saint-Etienne Church in Marmoutier (3rd quarter 12th century), and Saint-Flavy in Aube (12th or 13th century).
- In Burgundy: Saint-Martin Church in Chablis (12th century), Mont Saint-Vincent Church in Saône-et-Loire (1100 – 1220 A.D.), Abbey Church in Pontigny (first half of the 12th century),⁵⁴ and Saint-Pierre Church in Châtillon-sur-Seine, now known as the abbey of Our Lady (13th century).

Collecting the examples led to the following conclusion: highly decorated leaves were common in these areas in the 12th and 13th centuries. Particularly, the use of C-shaped hinges was widespread on churches' wooden leaves. These hinges can be real or false, independent from other iron elements, but predominantly they are false and are fixed to the wood by nails. In fact, false hinges, used to reinforce the leaf and join the boards as tightly as possible, were very widespread in the medieval period but, they were suddenly abandoned because they couldn't keep up with the evolution of carpentry techniques. Only rare examples of these hinges were seen until the 19th century like in Notre-Dame cathedral in Paris.⁵⁵ If the Crusaders brought their traditions from Europe, the church of Saint John in Jubayl is likely to have had decorated false C-shaped hinges on its outer face as the door is pivoted. There is also a slight possibility that the ornamentation of the door influenced that of the

⁵⁰ Viollet-le-duc, E.: Barre, Barrière. In: Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle 1854-1868. Paris, 1856. p. 123.

⁵¹ Boulton, M.: Decorated Thresholds in Early Medieval Churches. 2020. <https://youtu.be/xPES9Mis23o> [accessed 2021.10.26].

⁵² Dervieu, C.: Serrures, cadenas et clefs du Moyen Age. Bulletin Monumental. 1914. Tome 7; Folio 99v in "Dictys Cretensis, De bello Trojano libri sex" (National Library, Rome, 1300-1325); Folio 38v in "Seven Sages of Rome" (BNF Français 22550, National library, Paris, 1325-1350).

⁵³ Boas, A.: Domestic settings: Sources on Domestic Architecture and Day-to-Day Activities in the Crusader States. In: The Medieval Mediterranean: People, Economics and Cultures, 400-1500. Vol. 84. Leiden and Boston, 2010. p. 34.

⁵⁴ Aubert, M.: Abbaye de Pontigny. Session Congrès archéologique de France. Vol. 116. 1959. pp. 163-168.

⁵⁵ Touzé, R.: Vantaux de porte à planches jointives du XI^e au XIX^e siècles. Paris, 2009. pp. 47-48.

churches in Burgundy and Grand-Est. All in all, fig. 7 and fig.8 show the possible reconstruction of the southern door.



Figure 6. Hinges of churches in Burgundy and Grand-Est in France [POP: La Plateforme Ouverte du Patrimoine, Monuments historiques. <https://www.pop.culture.gouv.fr/>]



Figure 7. Reconstruction of the outer side of the southern door of Saint John in Jubayl [Dania Keyrouz, 2021]



Figure 8. Reconstruction of the inner side of the southern door of Saint John in Jubayl [Dania Keyrouz, 2021]

IV. Conclusion

To conclude, this study underlines the significant role of closing systems in the protection of people from weather and unwanted intruders during the Crusader period. The proper reconstruction of a door would mean a combination of theoretical and practical work. Theoretical work is based on historical sources like photos, documents, and depictions and reports on shutters production and installation in the medieval period. As for the practical part, it lies in the survey of the doorway and documenting the material evidence of past closing systems. The two parts are then completed with dating the door and understanding the parallels of the buildings. This methodology can be a guide for the renovation of medieval monuments in the Near East such as the Cathedral of Saint John, as well as in any other European country.

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Analysis of Academic Motivation and Self-regulation among students in higher education (Russia, Chelyabinsk State University)

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Abstract: In line with the growing importance of students' motivation and self-regulation for successful students' performance, an increasing number of educators pay attention to the necessity to help students become motivated and self-regulated learners (Pintrich, 2000; Schunk, 2005; Boekaerts & Niemivirta, 2000). The present study aims to investigate the relationship between academic motivation and self-regulation among students in higher education. Academic motivation refers to the cause of behaviors in some way related to academic functioning where self-regulation of psychic activity assures goal setting and achievement of results corresponding to these goals for successful students' performance (Eggen & Kauchak, 1994). The main components of self-regulation system are goals planning, modeling of significant conditions, programming of actions to achieve the goals, and estimation of results. And stylistic features that characterize the function of all components of self-regulation system are at the same time personal traits - independence and flexibility (Morosanova, 2010).

To fulfill the aim of the study two questionnaires were administered to 200 bachelor students with an age range from 18 to 27 years at Chelyabinsk State University, Russia. Data were gathered using the "Academic Motivation Scale" developed by Rean & Yakunin and modified by Badmaeva (2004), and the "Self-Regulation Profile Questionnaire – SRQM" developed by Morosanova (2004).

The study shows a significant relationship between academic motivation and self-regulation. Self-regulation is connected with academic motivation such as motivation to get a certificate of higher education, knowledge, teachers' and parents' respect, intellectual satisfaction, successful studying, continue studying, acquire profession, readdress for lessons, meet pedagogical requirements, to get respect, and to be an example for other students. Motivation to get a certificate of higher education is connected with goals planning and skipped other important components of self-regulation.

Students' academic motivation can effect successful goal settings and achievement through self-regulation and its different components and stylistic features. The study offers insights into working with academic motivation to enhance students' self-regulation for successful students' performance.

Keywords: Academic motivation, self-regulation, higher education, students.

I. Introduction

Higher education is usually associated with some social and economic benefits. According to OECD (2019) higher levels of education translate into better employment opportunities and higher earnings. Hence it is no surprise that individuals with higher levels of education are more likely to get employed, remain a job, learn practical and technical skills, and earn more compare to those with lower levels of education. High education also stimulates social mobility, and individuals can move up the social ladder with their knowledge and skills. A lot of people attempt to get a higher education degree to be more competitive and qualified.

For successful functioning in educational, professional and any other activity, the initiating factor of this activity, namely motivation is significant important. Motivation could be certainly perceived as one of the main psychological concepts in education, which energizes and directs behavior toward a goal (Eggen & Kauchak, 1994). Motivation is an inner desire and drive required for successful performance among students. According to Bandura's definition - academic motivation refers to the cause of behaviors that are in some way related to academic functioning and success, such as how much effort students put forth, how effectively they regulate their work, which endeavors they choose to pursue, and how persistent they are when faced problems (Bandura, 1997). There is the self-regulation takes place, it assures goal setting and achievement of results. The self-regulation is conscious activity of a person, an integral system of psychic means by which a person is able to control his/her purposeful activity, and these psychic means provide a systematic movement to the goals and their achievement in education and other activities (Morosanova, 2010). Academic motivation and self-regulation can predict whether students will perform well (Zimmerman, 2002).

That is why there is the growing importance of students' motivation and self-regulation for successful students' performance, an increasing number of educators pay attention to the necessity to help students become motivated and self-regulated learners (Pintrich 2000; Schunk 2005; Boekaerts & Niemivirta, 2000). Academic motivation as an inner desire and drive for study with self-regulation where the student becomes a competent and independent learner, who is able to plan, monitor, control, and reflect studying process are part of successful student's performance (Pintrich & Schunk, 2002). Self-regulated learner monitors his/her behavior in terms of goals and self-reflect on increasing effectiveness. This enhances learner's self-satisfaction and motivation to continue to improve the methods of learning (Pintrich & Schunk, 2002).

According to the literature review, a lot of empirical studies were conducted on motivation and self-regulation in higher education, which played the relationship between motivation and self-regulation. Motivational control and the process of regulation lead to positive conditioned results on academic performance (Schunk, 2005). Self-regulation is related to motivation (Schraw, Crippen, & Hartley, 2006; Schunk & Ertmer, 2010; Pintrich, 2010; Zimmerman, 2010). Self-regulation increases learning and maintains motivation (Schunk & Ertmer, 2010). Motivation predicts self-regulation (Schunk, 2008). There is a significant relationship between motivation and self-regulation (Mahmoodi, Kalantarib & Ghaslanic, 2014).

The study aims to investigate relationship between academic motivation and self-regulation among students in higher education (Chelyabinsk State University, Russia). To fulfill the aim of the study two standardized questionnaires Self-Regulation Profile Questionnaire (SRQM) developed by Morosanova (2004) and "Academic motivation scale" developed by Rean & Yakunin and modified by Badmaeva (2004) were distributed among students in Russia. The data was statistically analyzed by using mean, standard deviation, and Pearson's r – correlation. The present study starts from literature review on academic motivation and self-regulation in educational context, follows by method section, presentation of results, discussion and

conclusion on students' academic motivation and self-regulation, and relationship between two phenomena.

II. Theoretical background

Motivation has a number of definitions, ranging from “an individual’s desire to act in particular ways” (Walter & Hart, 2009, p. 163) to more complex interpretations such as “a potential to direct behavior that is built into the system that controls emotion,” a potential that “may be manifested in cognition, emotion, and behavior” (Hannula, 2006, p. 166). Freedheim et al. (2003) indicate that motivation is the capacity to generate behavior or performance. Reeve (1996, p. 2) defines motivation as the “internal processes that give behavior its energy and direction.” Motivation as an inner desire and a drive is required for successful performance among students. A complete definition of motivation should include its relationship with concepts such as behavior, attitudes, learning, and choice. The definition of Dörnyei and Ottó (1998, p. 65) meets these requirements, they state that: “In a general sense, motivation can be defined as the dynamically changing cumulative arousal in a person that initiates, directs, coordinates, amplifies, terminates, and evaluates the cognitive and motor processes whereby initial wishes and desires are selected, prioritised, operationalised and (successfully or unsuccessfully) acted out.”

According to Abraham Maslow’s needs hierarchy theory person is motivated by the needs he or she wants to satisfy. This human-centric hierarchy of needs has been widely applied to educational and non-educational fields (Fisher & Crawford, 2020). The hierarchy is leveled from a base of lower-order or deficiency needs to the top higher-order or growth needs. The lower three levels require relatively to be satisfied before the higher needs are activated to begin to motivate behavior. Once a need is satisfied, it no longer dominates on the behavior and another need arises to take its place (Maslow, 1943). The foundational level of this model remains psychological or basic needs, the fulfillment of these needs is essential for survival. Each student requires food, water, rest, oxygen, and bodily needs. The next level in the hierarchy addresses the safety needs of students. These needs include security and protection from physical and emotional harm. This step refers to a student’s needs for love and belonging, students need to be part of the community, experience affection, belongingness, acceptance, and friendship. The level of esteem needs focuses on a student’s need for self-esteem, respect, achievement, competence, autonomy, self-confidence, status, recognition, and attention (Maslow, 1943). Self-actualization takes the top level of the needs hierarchy, and this level refers to the continuous desire to develop a student’s fullest potential.

Motivation “is operationalized as the underlying “why” of behavior” (Vallerand, Pelletier, Blais, Briere, Senecal, & Vallieres, 1992, p. 1008). At the same time, academic motivation represents the question “Why does student go to college?” (Vallerand, Pelletier, Blais, Briere, Senecal, & Vallieres, 1992, p. 1008). Thus, academic motivation is the driving force influencing a person to attend university and obtain a degree (Clark, Middleton, Nguyen, & Zwick, 2014). In other words, academic motivation refers to the cause of behaviors that are in some way related to academic functioning and success, how much effort students put in, how effectively they regulate their work, which endeavors they choose to pursue, and how insistent they are when faced with barriers (Schunk et al. 2008). According to Zimniaia (2000) academic motivation is determined by educational system, by university where students study, by students’ personal characteristics, teachers and professors’ personal characteristics, and by subject’s specification.

Academic motivation energizes and directs behavior toward students’ goals at the university. At the same time students are not just passive recipients of information from teachers, professors, parents, or other adults, but rather active, constructive meaning makers as they go

about learning. Students actively construct their own meanings, goals, and strategies from the information available in the external environment and internal environment (information in their own) (Wolters, Pintrich, & Karabenick, 2003). According to self-regulation concept learners can potentially monitor, control, and regulate certain aspects of their own cognition, motivation, and behavior as well as some features of their environments. Students can monitor and control their cognition, motivation, or behavior not at all times or not in all contexts, but some monitoring, control, and regulation are possible according to biological, developmental, contextual, and individual differences and individual efforts at regulation (Wolters, Pintrich, & Karabenick, 2003).

Also, there is some type of criterion or standard (goals or reference value) against which comparisons are made to assess whether the process should continue as is or if some type of change or correction is necessary (Pintrich, 2000). Students can set standards or goals to strive for in their learning, monitor their progress toward these goals. After that adapt and regulate their cognition, motivation, and behavior to reach their goals (Wolters, Pintrich, & Karabenick, 2003).

The self-regulation is conscious activity of a person, an integral system of psychic means by which a person is able to control his/her purposeful activity, and these psychic means provide a systematic movement to the goals and their achievement in education and other activities (Morosanova, 2010). Morosanova proposed the main components of self-regulation system, firstly, goals planning, modeling of significant conditions, and programming of actions, and estimation of results based on the system criteria of success. Evaluation and correction of the results are based on the established criteria. Secondly, stylistic features are at the same time personal traits, such as independence and flexibility. The main mechanisms of self-regulation provide success in various kinds of activity is enabled by the formed integrated self-regulation system (Morosanova, 2010). A lack of development of any structural or functional component can seriously limit the effectiveness of actions in all kinds of activity. Conscious self-regulation avoids overwork and focuses on working capacity, what is significant important for students, who have to work with a huge amount of information and academic tasks.

According to the previous studies, self-regulatory activities are directly linked to outcomes such as students' achievement and performance. Self-regulatory activities are mediators between personal and contextual characteristics and actual achievement and performance. The individuals' self-regulation of their cognition, motivation, and behavior can mediate the relationships between the person, context, and achievement. At the same time, much of the research examines self-regulatory activities as outcomes in their own right (Boekaerts, Pintrich, & Zeidner, 2000). This study investigated relationship between academic motivation and self-regulation among students in higher education.

III. Method

III.1. Sample

The population of the study is bachelor students who study at Chelyabinsk State University, Russia. The sampling procedure involved convenience sampling based on the students' location in Russia, studying at Chelyabinsk State University on full-time basis, their accessibility, and willingness to take part in this research. The sample consisted of 200 students (140 female, 60 male, mean age = 20 with an age range from 18 to 27 years. All participants state their faculty of study, level of study, and gender. Russian is the medium of instruction in the module. To ensure that students had sufficient time for adaptation at Chelyabinsk State University, the survey was conducted at the beginning of the second semester. The total time required to complete the questionnaire is approximately 15 minutes. Students provided their background

and demographic information. All students represented in this study are Bachelors. The half of the sample - 100 students from faculty of Law, 52 students from faculty of Economics, and 48 students from faculty of Education and Psychology. Table 1 contains the demographic data of the sample.

Table 1. Demographic data

Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Male	60	30%
Female	140	70%
Age		
18-22	184	92%
23-27	16	8%
Level of study		
Bachelor	200	100%

III.2. Instruments

The standardized questionnaire “Academic Motivation Scale” developed by Rean & Yakunin and modified by Badmaeva (2004) was applied to gather data about academic motivation. It is composed of 44 items assessing different orientations of academic motivation (motivation to get knowledge, certificate of higher education, scholarship, intellectual satisfaction, teachers and parents’ respect, to continue studying, to be example for other students, successful learning, to be continuously ready for lessons, to meet pedagogical requirements, to acquire the profession). On this questionnaire, the students were required to rate, based on a Likert scale with 1 point as a minimum and 7 points as maximum, the extent items correspond to why they are studying at Chelyabinsk State University. Four questions are related to each subscale.

The standardized questionnaire “Self-Regulation Profile Questionnaire – SRQM” developed by Morosanova (2004) was used to analyzed students’ self-regulation during studying. It is composed of 28 items assessing main components of self-regulation, such as planning, modeling of significant conditions, programming of actions, and estimation of results based on the system criteria of success, general level of self-regulation, also stylistic features that are at the same time personal traits, such as independence and flexibility. On this questionnaire, the students were required to rate, based on a Likert scale with 1 point as a minimum and 7 points as maximum, the extent items correspond to how they regulate their studying at Chelyabinsk State University. Four questions are related to each subscale. The scales for both questionnaires were formulated in Russian.

III.3. Procedures

The questionnaire was formed in Google form service and distributed online among students who are studying at Chelyabinsk State University through social media in a personal message and special faculty groups on Facebook. The participation was voluntary and anonymous; each participant could choose the most comfortable time to fulfill the questionnaire. The research was conducted in higher education, so ethical considerations were managed and processed through dedicated structure within the institution as the research ethics committee of Chelyabinsk State University. The approximate length of filling this questionnaire is fifteen minutes. In this study, the research data were analyzed using the software of SPSS 20.0 (Statistical Package for the Social Science). For all the statistical analyses conducted, the level of significance was taken as .05. Descriptive statistics were used such as mean and

standard deviation. Pearson correlation was also conducted to estimate relationship between academic motivation and self-regulation among students in higher education.

IV. Results

Collected data was coded and the questionnaire was scored and analyzed based on eleven scales from “Academic Motivation Scale” developed by Rean & Yakunin and modified by Badmaeva (2004). The eleven scales represent the eleven motivational orientations under investigation – motivation to get knowledge, certificate of higher education, scholarship, intellectual satisfaction, teachers and parents’ respect, to continue studying, to be an example for other students, successful learning, to be continuously ready for lessons, to meet pedagogical requirements, to acquire the profession.

Participants in the study endorsed more items related to motivation to get certificate of higher education (M = 6.25, SD= 1.41), to acquire the profession (M = 6.23, CD=1.21), to get knowledge (M=6.03, CD=1.13), to get intellectual satisfaction (M= 5.52, CD= 1.61), after that to successful studying (M= 5.38, CD= 1.59), to be continuously ready for lessons (M= 4.87, CD= 1,7), to meet pedagogical requirements (M= 4.86, CD= 1.74), to get teachers and parents’ respect (M= 4.82, CD= 1.86), to continue studying (M= 4.8, CD= 2.05), to be example for other students (M= 4.22, CD= 2.12), and to get scholarship (M=3.32, CD= 2.66). The table below depicts participants’ response patterns on the eleven motivation scales.

Table 2. Eleven motivation scales

Motivation scale	Mean	Standard Deviation
To get certificate of higher education	6.25	1.41
To acquire the profession	6.23	1.21
To get knowledge	6.03	1.13
Intellectual satisfaction	5.52	1.61
Successful studying	5.38	1.59
To be continuously ready for lesson	4.87	1.7
To meet pedagogical requirements	4.86	1.74
To get teachers and parents’ respect	4.82	1.86
To continue studying	4.8	2.05
To be example for other students	4.22	2.12
To get scholarship	3.32	2.66

Data collected with the help of the standardized questionnaire “Self-Regulation Profile Questionnaire – SRQM” developed by Morosanova (2004) was scored and analyze based on seven scales. This questionnaire was used to analyzed students’ self-regulation during studying. Five scales assess the main components of self-regulation, such as planning, modeling of significant conditions, programming of actions, and estimation of results based on the system criteria of success, the general level of self-regulation, and two scales assess the stylistic features that are at the same time personal traits, such as independence and flexibility. Participants in the study endorsed average level to items related to planning (M = 5.73, SD= 2.19), modelling (M= 5.43, CD= 1.72), programming of actions (M= 5.83, CD= 1.84), general level of self-regulation (M= 29.48, CD= 5.97), high level to estimation of results (M= 6.14,

CD= 1.67) and flexibility (M= 6.15, CD= 1.68), and lower level of independence (M= 4.9, CD= 1.69). The table below depicts participants' response patterns on the seven self-regulation scales.

Table 3. Seven self-regulation scales

Self-regulation scale	Mean	Standard Deviation
Planning	5.73	2.19
Modelling	5.43	1.72
Programming	5.83	1.84
Estimation of results	6.14	1.67
Independence	4.9	1.69
Flexibility	6.15	1.68
General level	29.48	5.07

For the purpose to analyze the relationship between academic motivation and self-regulation among students in higher education the Pearson correlation was conducted. The level of significance was taken as .05. There are positive and significant relationships between motivation to get certificate of higher education ($r= 0.164$, $p= 0.024$), successful studying ($r= 0.148$, $p= 0.044$) and planning of educational activities. There is, also, positive relationship between motivation to get knowledge ($r= 0.155$, $p= 0.034$) and general level of self-regulation, strong and significant relationships between motivation to continue studying ($r= 0.241$, $p= 0.001$), to acquire profession ($r= 0.246$, $p= 0.001$), to get intellectual satisfaction ($r= 0.348$, $p= 0.000$) and general level of self-regulation. Moreover, there are strong and positive relationships between motivation to meet pedagogical requirements ($r= 0.215$, $p= 0.003$) and be continuously ready for classes ($r= 0.2$, $p= 0.006$) and estimation of results based on the formed criteria. Positive relationship is between motivation to be example for other students ($r= 0.188$, $p= 0.010$) and flexibility. On the other hand, there are negative and significant relationships between motivation to get parents and teachers' respect ($r= -0.169$, $p= 0.021$), motivation to be an example for other students ($r= -0.167$, $p= 0.023$) and students' independence. The table below represents relationship between academic motivation and self-regulation among students in higher education.

Table 4. Pearson Correlations among scales of academic motivation and self-regulation

Academic motivation		Self-regulation				
		Planning	Estimation of results	Flexibility	Independence	General level
To get higher education certificate	r p	0.165* 0.024				
Successful studying	r p	0.148* 0.044				
To get knowledge	r p					0.155* 0.034
Continue studying	r p					0.241* * 0.001

To acquire profession	r					0.246* * 0.001
To get intellectual satisfaction	r p					0.348* * 0.000
To meet pedagogical requirements	r p		0.215** 0.003			
To be ready for lessons	r p		0.2** 0.006			
To get parents and teachers' respect	r p				-0.169** 0.021	
To be an example for other students	r p			0.188* 0.010	-0.167** 0.023	

*Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

**Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

V. Discussion

The current study was designed to investigate the relationship between academic motivation and self-regulation among students in higher education. To fulfill the aim of the study academic motivation and self-regulation were analyzed. The results of the analyses indicate that students' dominant motivation to study at Chelyabinsk State University is motivation to get certificate of higher education, an official document that can prove the received degree as a final goal of studying. The next dominant type is motivation to acquire the profession, to become a competent specialist or expert in the field. It can be related to students' motivation to be more competitive in the labor market, to get a better position for personal and professional development, and receive a higher salary in the future. The third dominant type is the motivation of getting knowledge through studying at Chelyabinsk State University. These students do a study activity for the feelings associated with exploring new ideas and developing knowledge. Students enjoy the feeling of acquiring new knowledge in their fields of study and knowledge of students' way of life. Followed by motivation to get intellectual satisfaction during studying. They feel satisfaction with passing the examination, completing assessment, asking questions, discussing ideas and suggestions, making research, solving the problem during studying, accomplishing students' duties such as homework, presentations, and projects.

Students are motivated to study successfully, to get higher grades and scores that can prove their academic success. They are motivated to be continuously ready for lessons with readings and tasks. Also, students are motivated to study and meet pedagogical requirements, according to the formal procedures. It is significantly important for students to complete different assessments, homework, tasks, projects in an appropriate way and meet teachers and professors' requirements.

These students tempt to study because they are motivated to get teacher and parents' respect based on their successful studying, academic performance, and high grades. They are motivated to study on the bachelor level to continue their studying on the master and doctorate levels, so it is important to get a bachelor's degree and move to the next level of study. Also, students are motivated to study to be an example for peers, to be visible among other students. These students demonstrate a low level of motivation to study to get the scholarship. It can be related to the students' funding because some of the students are state-financed and some of them are self-financed, and they do not receive the scholarship.

The representatives demonstrate the formed need for conscious planning of educational activities, the goals of which are accepted personally and set independently, students have clear plans of what they want to achieve. They can represent significant internal (readiness to study, encouragement, or working capacity) and external conditions (learning environment, space organization, or university environment) to achieve the goals more effectively. Students can create programs of actions how to move from the goals to the final result. These students demonstrate the adequacy of the subjects' assessment of themselves, their behavior, and the results of activity. The self-assessment and estimation of results are highly developed, and it influences the formation of stable subjective criteria for evaluating results. Students can assess the difference between expected goals and achieved results, based on the formed criteria, identify the reasons which led to that and correct the program of actions. These students demonstrate flexibility in most regulatory processes. But these representatives indicate a low level of independence, which indicates the incomplete formation of autonomy in the organization of the activity. Students can plan their activity, represent significant internal and external conditions to achieve the results, make a program of actions, adequately assess themselves and their actions, make necessary corrections and changes for desired results, but they are depending on the parents, teachers, and professors in their activity organization because of the incomplete formation of autonomy.

The significant relationship was investigated between academic motivation and self-regulation among students in higher education. Motivation to get the certificate of higher education is connected with planning of educational activities, the same as motivation to study successfully. Receiving the certificate of higher education can be considered as a final goal of study, and study successfully as an intermediate goal to achieve the final. Motivation to get the certificate of higher education and successful studying are connected only with planning of activity and skipped other components of self-regulation, students with motivation can set the goals, but it can be hard for them to achieve the results.

Motivation to get new and deep knowledge is connected with planning, modeling of adequate conditions, programming of actions, flexibility, resistance to interference, general level of self-regulation. Students with this motivation are able to set the goals and provide purposeful movement to the results. Motivation to continue study is connected with detailed plans of activity, highlighting of significant cognitions in the present and in the future, development of the programs, and ability to assess the results of the activity. Motivation to acquire the profession is connected with goals set, representation of significant conditions to achieve these goals, programming of actions, formed criteria for results estimation, and flexibility in regulatory processes. Motivation to get intellectual satisfaction is connected with the general level of self-regulation. These students can easily change plans or programs because of changing external or internal conditions, can adequately react to the changes, and take a risk if necessary.

Motivation to fulfill pedagogical requirements is connected with stable criteria for results' assessment, adequate and developed self-esteem. Students can compare expected and achieved results and analyze the reasons which led to that. Pedagogical requirements can represent an example of adequate assessment of different activities and results, based on this

example, students can assess the results of activity by themselves. Motivation to be continuously ready for lessons is connected with assessment. Readiness stimulates systematic completing of homework, assignments, readings for better orientation in academic materials, so students can assess what they already know and can do, and what should be improved.

Motivation to get respect from the parents, teachers, and professors is negatively connected with independence, students are not able to plan and achieve their goals autonomously because of the pressure and expectations. Students are willing to study successfully, meet pedagogical requirements, to continuously ready for lessons, but their independence in actions is limited by expectations from parents, teachers, and professors. Motivation to be an example for other students is connected with flexibility, students can easily change or correct their actions because of changing conditions. Students would like to keep the same position among their peers and demonstrate flexibility in regulatory processes to do that. At the same time, students are strongly depending on their peers, their expectations, opinions, and attitudes. They are not autonomous in the activity planning and achievement of results. Motivation to be an example for other students limits their autonomy in most regulatory processes.

VI. Conclusion

In line with the growing importance of students' motivation and self-regulation for successful students' performance, an increasing number of educators pay attention to the necessity to help students become motivated and self-regulated learners (Pintrich 2000; Schunk 2005; Boekaerts & Niemivirta, 2000). Academic motivation as an inner desire and drive for study with self-regulation where the student becomes a competent and independent learner, who is able to plan, monitor, control, and reflect studying process are part of successful student's performance (Pintrich & Schunk, 2002). Self-regulated learner monitors his/her behavior in terms of goals and self-reflect on increasing effectiveness. This enhances the learner's self-satisfaction and motivation to continue to improve the methods of learning (Pintrich & Schunk, 2002). Academic motivation and self-regulation can predict whether students will perform well or not (Paulsen & Gentry, 1995; Zimmerman, 2002).

Also, in some findings regarding motivation and self-regulation in higher education, the relationship between motivation and self-regulation was investigated. Motivational control and the process of regulation lead to positive conditioned results on academic performance (Schunk, 2005). Self-regulation is related to motivation (Schraw, Crippen, & Hartley, 2006; Schunk & Ertmer, 2010; Pintrich, 2010; Zimmerman, 2010; Zimmerman & Schunk, 2004). Self-regulation increases learning and maintains motivation (Schunk & Ertmer, 2010). Motivation predicts self-regulation (Schunk, 2008). There is a significant relationship between motivation and self-regulation according to the literature review (Mahmoodi, Kalantarib & Ghaslanic, 2014).

The results of this study indicate that students' dominant motivation to study at Chelyabinsk State University is motivation to get a certificate of higher education, followed by motivation to acquire the profession, motivation to new knowledge, intellectual satisfaction, and successful studying. These students demonstrate the formed need for conscious planning of educational activities, modeling of significant conditions, programming of actions, assessment of actions and results based on the stable criteria. They demonstrate flexibility in most regulatory processes but indicate a low level of independence, which shows the incomplete formation of autonomy in the organization of the activity. Students' independence can be developed by teaching methods, training, discussions, case studies, and internship.

The significant relationship was investigated between academic motivation and self-regulation among students in higher education. Motivation to get a certificate of higher education and successful studying is connected with planning and skipping other self-regulation components. Students can set goals, but it can be hard for them to achieve these goals. Motivation to get respect from parents, teachers, and professors and motivation to be an example for other students are negatively connected with independence, students demonstrate the incomplete formation of autonomy. Motivation to get knowledge, continue studying, acquire profession, intellectual satisfaction, meet pedagogical requirements, and readiness for lessons are connected with the main components of self-regulation, such as planning, modeling, programming, assessment, flexibility, and independence. Students with this motivation are able to set goals, adapt to the changing conditions, and achieve results in educational activities. Also, promotion of motivation to get knowledge, intellectual satisfaction, continue studying and readiness for lessons can be promoted in higher education through different events, training, workshops, teacher's methods, case studies to enhance students' motivation and contribute to the formed level of self-regulation. The formed system of self-regulation can be transferred from the educational field to professional and other activities for successful performance. The formed system of self-regulation can be transferred from the educational field to professional and other activities for successful performance.

There are a few limitations of the current study that need to be addressed in future studies. Firstly, the study is self-reported. While the work does offer some confirmatory evidence for the relationship between academic motivation and self-regulation among students in higher education. Future field experiments or intervention studies can be conducted to tease out the relationships of academic motivation, self-regulation and students' educational outcomes. Second, the data could be extended by the level of study of International students (Bachelor, Master, or Doctorate), future studies can examine the difference in academic motivation and self-regulation based on the level of study. The current study confirmed the relationship between academic motivation and self-regulation among students in higher education.

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Lipopolysaccharide mutants of *Shigella sonnei* in the service of antibiotic research

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Abstract: *Shigella spp.* are Gram-negative, rod-shaped intracellular pathogenic bacteria belonging to the family *Enterobacteriaceae*. Gram-negative bacteria have complex and asymmetric outer membrane containing lipopolysaccharides as major component. Structure and length of lipopolysaccharides are important virulence determinants, bacteria with short lipopolysaccharides are thermosensitive, more sensitive to detergents, antimicrobial peptides and natural defensive mechanisms like antimicrobial chemokines.

This study presents the genomic analysis of two *S. sonnei* lipopolysaccharide mutant strains (*S. sonnei* 4303 and *S. sonnei* 4351) providing the description of biosynthetic background of LPSs to complement the structural studies of the strains. Both strains are part of a mutant line that originated from a phase I *S. sonnei*, isolated in Pécs, 1954. *S. sonnei* 4351 is a heptose biosynthetic mutant with short lipopolysaccharides. *S. sonnei* 4351 is thermosensitive and has increased susceptibility to Primycin, Erythromycin and Cefalexin. Aberrant cell division was also identified under electron-microscope, short chains from 2-5 cells with septa were formed as a unit. Considering the changes in bacterial fitness in the observed strain, comparative analysis of lipopolysaccharide biosynthesis in *S. sonnei* 4303 and *S. sonnei* 4351 from both structural and genetic points of view have the potential to identify new targets to develop antibiotic adjuvants and antimicrobial agents.

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Keywords: *Lipopolysaccharide, bacillary dysentery, shigellosis, Shigella sonnei, lipopolysaccharide biosynthesis*

I. Introduction

Shigella spp. are Gram-negative intracellular pathogens causing bacillary dysentery or shigellosis. *Shigella spp.* are widespread, with 125 million diagnosed patients each year, and a 14,000 annual death rate in Asia only. Resistant *Shigella spp.* are considered a serious threat by CDC's Antibiotic Resistance Threats in the United States, 2019 [1].

The genus *Shigella* is differentiated into four species: *S. sonnei*, *S. flexneri*, *S. boydii* and *S. dysenteriae*. Recent studies demonstrated that *S. sonnei* became more dominant in developed countries while *S. flexneri* is more prevalent in other parts of the world [2]. There are several possible explanations of this shift, one of which is the presence of *Plesiomonas shigelloides* in the less developed regions. *P. shigelloides* has the same lipopolysaccharide as *S. sonnei*, so it reduces the risk of infection by immunization against *S. sonnei* strains too. This bacterium is mainly encountered in the form of contaminated water. The other theory is also related to drinking water, according to which *Acanthamoeba* is able to protect *S. sonnei* strains during modern water treatment. This amoeba is able to provide intracellular habitat not only for *S. sonnei* but also for *Vibrio cholerae*, and the amoeba survives chloride water treatment processes. While the amoeba taken up by *S. sonnei* strains is viable, and the bacterium is also able to survive in this way within the amoeba for 3 weeks, whereas *S. flexneri* inhibited the growth of amoebas under laboratory conditions (30°C). In this way, the phenomenon selectively help the survival of the *S. sonnei* strains [2].

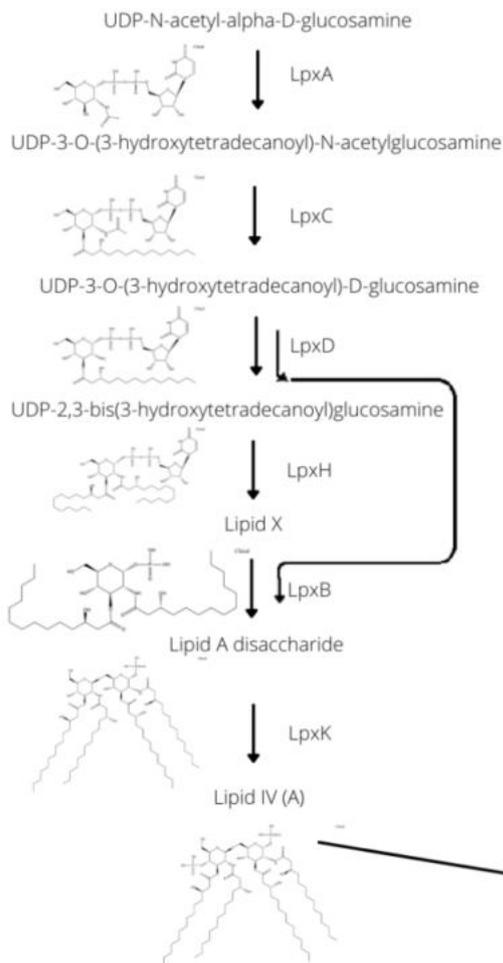
Lipopolysaccharides (LPS) are the most abundant macromolecules on the surface of Gram-negative bacteria. Serum sensitivity, biofilm formation ability, and pathophysiological effects of Gram-negative bacterial strains strongly correlate with the composition and structural variability of their LPSs. These molecules are composed of three parts: a hydrophobic lipid A, a hydrophilic oligosaccharide core, and a hydrophilic O oligosaccharide side chain. Although LPSs are very heterogeneous, most Gram-negative bacteria have some common conserved features: a lipid A oligosaccharide part with an inner core section. The full-length structure of the LPSs is essential for optimal survival especially in the presence of host defense peptides and antimicrobial products. On the other hand, LPS-deficient bacteria are more sensitive to hydrophobic antibiotics and different environmental factors. In this context, LPS biosynthesis inhibitors are important for the development of new antibiotic adjuvants and antimicrobial agents.

Lipopolysaccharides are heterogeneous but the biosynthesis of LPSs is a highly conserved pathway, only few differences are known. The heterogeneity of the different strains came from the alternative activity and availability of the same gene set belonging to the pathway.

Lipopolysaccharide biosynthesis starts with the separate synthesis of a tetra-acylated lipid A precursor (Lipid IV_A), the 2-keto-3-deoxy-octanoic acid (Kdo) sugar, and the heptose (Hep) sugar. Carefully laboratory designed bacterial strains can survive without the Kdo and core heptoses but these strains need other factors to stabilize the outer membrane [3].

Biosynthesis of lipid IVA (*Figure 1.*) starts with UDP-N-acetyl- α -D-glucosamine: LpxA acetylates, then LpxC deacetylates the molecule, LpxD incorporates a second hydroxymyristate to the structure in the cytoplasm. LpxH, a peripheral membrane protein cleaves UDP moieties from the structure, creating a so-called lipid X molecule. Another peripheral membrane protein, LpxB then combine this lipid X and the preceding UDP-2,3-bis(3-hydroxytetradecanoyl)glucosamine and form lipid A disaccharide. An integral membrane enzyme, LpxK phosphorylates the 4' position of this lipid A disaccharide resulting in lipid IVA, the molecule able to connect with CMP-Kdo, creating Kdo2-lipid A at the end of the biosynthesis [4].

Amino sugar and nucleotide sugar metabolism



KDO biosynthesis

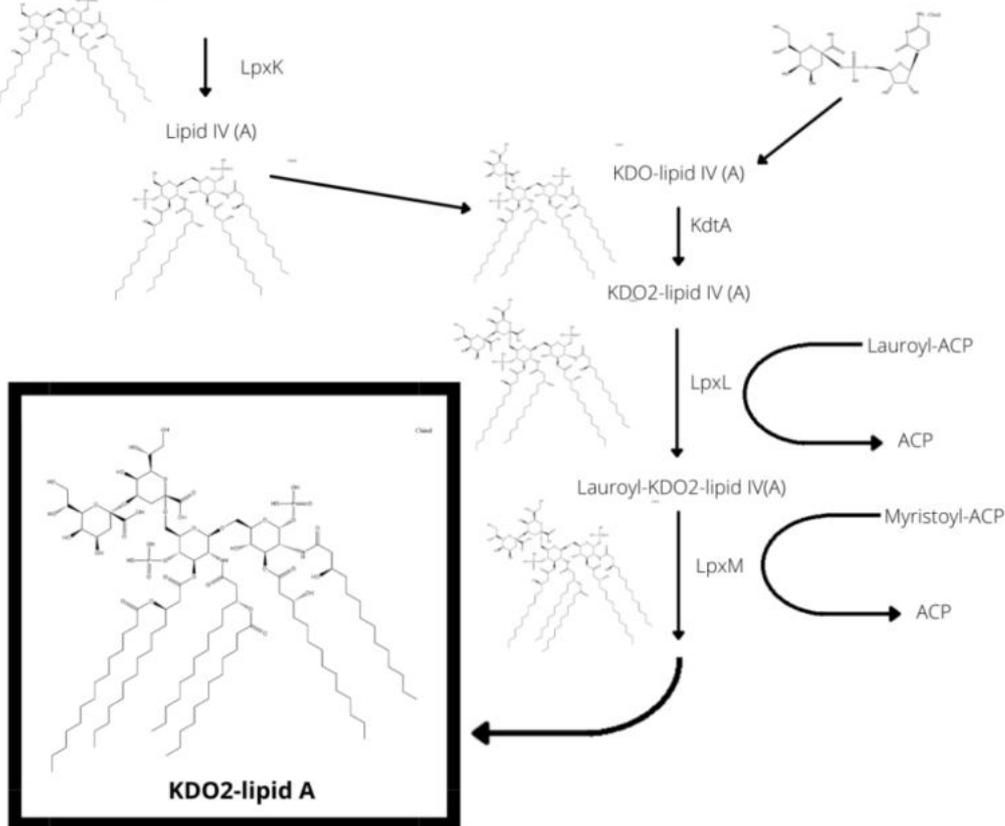
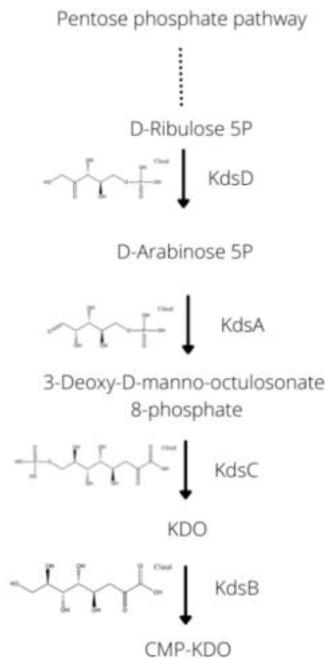


Figure 1. Biosynthesis of Kdo₂-lipid A in *Shigella sonnei* strains

Biosynthesis of Kdo (Figure 1.) starts with D-ribulose 5-phosphates originated from the pentose phosphate pathway: arabinose 5-phosphate isomerase (KdsD), Kdo 8-phosphate synthase (KdsA) and Kdo 8-phosphatase (KdsC) create Kdo molecules. CMP-Kdo synthases activate Kdo molecules and

KdtA transfer two molecules of activated Kdo-s to the above-described lipid IV_A structure. As additional steps, laurate and myristate are added to the structure. These secondary acyl chains create a molecule with six acyl chains at the end of the reaction.

Heptose biosynthesis (Figure 2.) starts with sedoheptulose-7-phosphate, originated from the pentose phosphate pathway, similarly to the D-ribulose 5-phosphate of the Kdo synthesis. GmhA enzyme catalyzes the isomerization of the molecule and in *S. sonnei* strains a bifunctional enzyme (GmhC) phosphorylates the heptose resulting in a D-glycero-β-D-manno-heptose-1,7-bisphosphate. GmhB removes phosphate from the C-7 position. The formed D-glycero-β-D-manno-heptose-1-phosphate is then activated by GmhC. The last enzyme involved in the heptose biosynthesis is the isomerase GmhD (formerly named RfaD) to yield ADP-L-glycero-β-D-manno-heptose molecules.

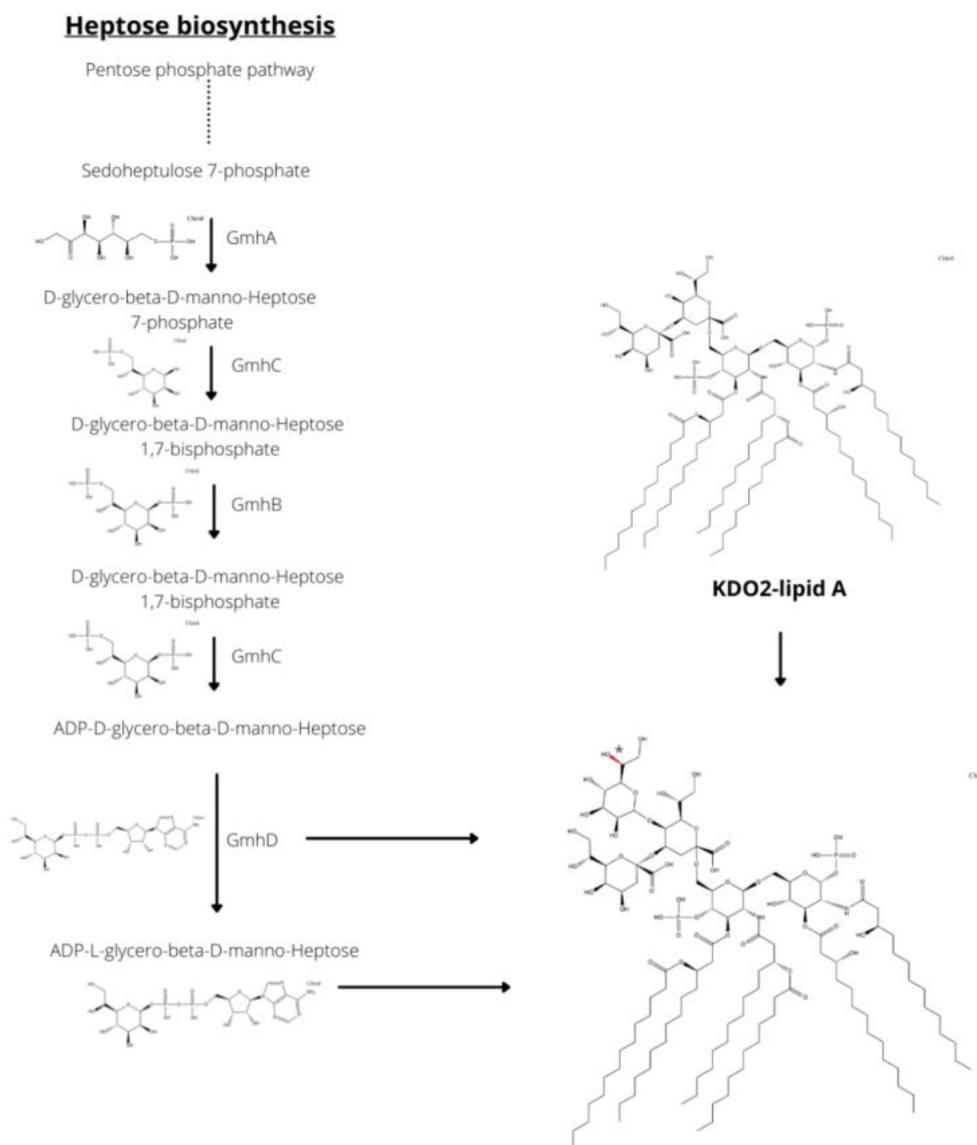


Figure 2. Heptose biosynthesis in *Shigella sonnei* strains. The shown structure on the right presents the full lipopolysaccharide structure of *Shigella sonnei* 4351 containing lipid A, two Kdo molecules and one core heptose. The asterisk shows the chiral difference between the lipopolysaccharidic structures of *Shigella sonnei* 4303 (containing L,D-heptose) and *Shigella sonnei* 4351 (containing D,D-heptose).

Bacteria containing only the described minimal structure of LPSs can sustain the viability up to 42°C, show only mild differences in standard laboratory conditions (normal agar medium, 37°C) nevertheless, those cells will exhibit temperature sensitive growth, permeability defects, hypersensitivity to hydrophobic antibiotics, antimicrobial chemokines and detergents.

II. Materials and methods

I.1 Strains and storage

Two *S. sonnei* strains were used to create references for further analysis of lipopolysaccharide biosynthesis. *S. sonnei* 4303 is a plasmid-cured phase II bacterial strain originated from a highly pathogenic phase I *S. sonnei* strain, isolated in Pécs [5]. *S. sonnei* 4303 formed by passages and used to generate a lipopolysaccharide mutant line [6] by random mutagenesis with ethyl methanesulfonate. These LPS mutant strains helped to describe LPS biosynthesis [7-11]. Previous studies described LPS structure of the mutant line involving *S. sonnei* 4303 as the mother strain and *S. sonnei* 4351 (formerly *S. sonnei* 562H) containing D-glycero-D-manno-heptose in the core structure. *S. sonnei* strains are stored frozen with liquid nitrogen with addition of 38% glycerol and in -80 °C.

Minimal inhibitory concentration (MIC) of Primycin, Erythromycin and Cefalexin was determined by tube dilution methods [12].

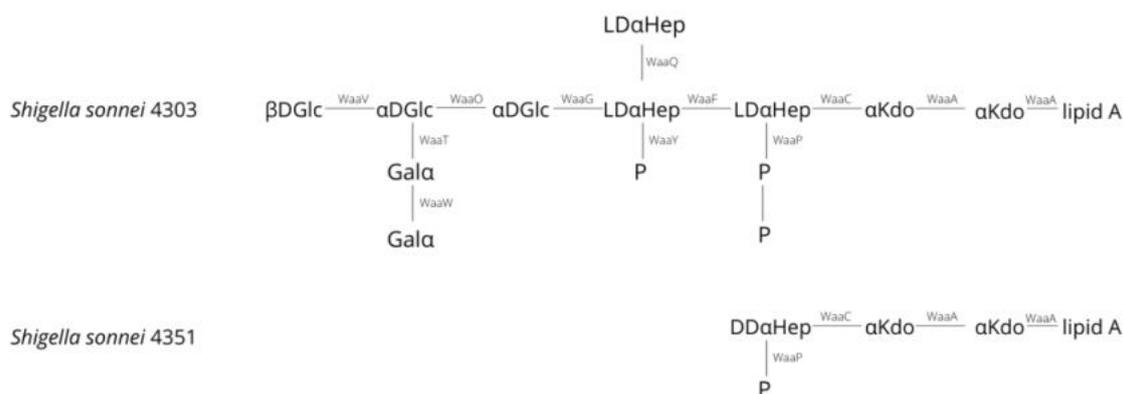


Figure 3. LPS structure of *S. sonnei* 4303 and *S. sonnei* 4351

I.2 Isolation

For nucleic acid isolation, cells were cultured overnight in liquid Luria-Bertani (LB) medium and collected by centrifugation. Bacterial cells were transferred to sterile mortar and disrupted with mechanical strikes using liquid nitrogen. Nucleic acid was isolated using Qiagen DNeasy Plant Mini Kit (Qiagen, Hilden Germany).

I.3 Genomic library preparation

Genomic library preparation was performed with Ion Xpress Plus Fragment Library Kit (Thermo Fisher Scientific Inc., Waltham, MA USA) by enzymatic fragmentation of genomic DNA with Ion Shear Plus reagents. After ligation of adapters, size selection with 2% agarose E-Gel SizeSelect Gel (Thermo Fisher Scientific Inc., Waltham, MA USA) and amplification was performed. Agencourt AMPure XP (Thermo Fisher Scientific Inc., Waltham, MA USA) was used for purification of the fragmented size-selected DNA. Agilent Bioanalyzer 2100 lab-on-a-chip system (Agilent, Santa Clara CA United States) was used to determine the concentration and size distribution of the DNA

fragments. Samples were sequenced using Ion 316 Chip with Ion Torrent PGM sequencer (Thermo Fisher Scientific Inc., Waltham, MA, USA) according to the manufacturer's recommendations.

I.4 Assembly and analysis

De novo assembly of the genomes was performed using SPAdes v3.1 Genome Assembler software [13]. For whole-genome alignment, scaffolds in the draft assemblies were reordered to a reference genome (*S. sonnei* 53G) in Mauve software with default parameters [14]. Sequence annotation was performed using Prokka v. 1.9 [15]. The contigs of *S. sonnei* 4351 were scaffolded by the use of *S. sonnei* 4303. Genome sequence of *S. sonnei* 4303 and *S. sonnei* 4351 have been deposited in the GenBank under the accession number PRJNA361576 and PRJNA400697. Nomenclature of LPS genes were used according to Kyoto Encyclopedia of Genes and Genomes database [16].

Genes involved in lipopolysaccharide biosynthesis were examined with Basic Local Alignment Search Tool (BlastN), searching in database Nucleotide collection (nr/nt) using Megablast [17].

While *S. sonnei* 53G is the closest sequenced relative of *S. sonnei* 4303 according to Clustal Omega analysis with 16S rRNA and 5 housekeeping genes (*adk*, *fumC*, *gyrB*, *mdh*, *purA*) [18]. We also used *S. sonnei* Ss046 as reference genome as it is the only *S. sonnei* strain presented with whole lipopolysaccharide pathway in the Kyoto Encyclopedia of Genes and Genomes database [16].

II. Results and discussion

Analyzing the structure of *S. sonnei* 4351 it was expected that the minimal structure of LPS had phenotypic disadvantages. Cells of *S. sonnei* 4351 were not able to grow above 42 °C. An increased susceptibility to some macrolides and cephalosporins was also found. The MIC of Erythromycin decreased radical in *S. sonnei* 4351 in contrast to the measured value of MIC in *S. sonnei* 4303. The MIC of Cefalexin changed in a less drastic way. On the other hand, measured values of MIC of two aminoglycoside antibiotics (Gentamicin and Tobramycin) were unchanged but we can state that their MIC was low in *S. sonnei* 4303 too.

Table 1. Minimal inhibitory concentration of different antibiotics against *S. sonnei* 4303 and *S. sonnei* 4351

	MIC against <i>S. sonnei</i> 4303 (µg/mL)	MIC against <i>S. sonnei</i> 4351 (µg/mL)
Erythromycin	125.00	15.62
Cefalexin	125.00	62.50
Gentamicin	1.00	1.00
Tobramycin	0.50	0.50

Although morphological differences were barely noticeable to the naked eye on LB medium, at 37°C, cell division and morphological characteristics of the two *S. sonnei* strains was examined by scanning electron microscopy. While *S. sonnei* 4303 showed normal morphology, an aberrant cell division was identified for *S. sonnei* 4351, as elongated chains from 2-5 cells with multiple septa were formed.

Mutation of *gmhD* causing severely truncated LPS structure that is further associated with significant physical and biochemical modifications of the bacterial outer membrane in *S. sonnei* 4351, leading to membrane destabilization and enhanced permeability.

Taken together, the above-described features confirm the pleiotropic effects on *S. sonnei* 4351 bacterial cells associated with a single mutation of the *gmhD* gene. While the mutation of *gmhD* led to the inactivity of GmhD epimerase, analysis showed elevated expression of the gene in the mutant strain. This effect can be explained by the activation of RpoE-dependent envelope stress. Recent studies have shown that defects in the LPS heptose biosynthesis (more precisely the instability of the membrane by less phosphorylation between LPS core molecules) initiate envelope stress responses and stimulate the activation of the RpoE sigma factor through the Rcs phosphorelay cascade system [21]. Mutation of the *gmhD* gene leads to a constitutive induction of the heat-shock regulon RpoE, resulting in the activation of different LPS biosynthetic genes like *gmhD* [22-23].

The aim of this project was to create reference genomes to clear up the genetic background of known LPS mutant phenotypes [10] and better understand LPS biosynthesis. As a follow up of this study highly detailed LPS structure and whole genetic background make *S. sonnei* 4303 and *S. sonnei* 4351 ideal subjects to perform further experiments with substances related to hypothetical effect on LPS biosynthesis or regulating mechanisms, like the two-component system dependent envelope stress signal.

An ideal LPS inhibitor is expected to target enzymes involved in the Kdo2-lipid A or heptose biosynthesis. The most promising LPS biogenesis inhibitors are currently compounds that target LpxC playing role in lipid A biosynthesis [24-27]. While substances disturbing the synthesis of Kdo or lipid A have the disadvantage to be nonselective and harm the normal flora, agents that act on the level of heptose biosynthesis weakens the resilience and adaptability of bacteria but do not destroy the global microbiome. Changed LPS structure can lead to viable cells and immeasurable or low bactericidal effect but increased sensitivity to other materials as shown by this study. Weakening the integrity of the outer membrane or preventing adaptations may lead to the sensitivity of affected cells to elevated temperature, detergents, certain antibiotics or natural defensive mechanisms like antimicrobial chemokines.

Considering the pathway of the heptose sugar, GmhA and GmhD are the best candidates to use as targets, because GmhC is not completely universal (the function of that enzyme is carried out by two separate proteins, HldA and HldC, in some bacteria). GmhB knockout mutants do not lose the ability to generate heptoses completely, mutants shows both whole and truncated LPSs suggesting that other enzymes may compensate for the loss of the gene with less effectivity [23].

The indirect relation between two component regulatory systems and LPS biosynthesis was described also with NtrC [28]. However, attempts to disturb LPS biosynthesis through the NtrB/NtrC two-component system was not successful so far [29].

Our results highlight the importance of GmhD beyond the core biosynthesis and suggest targeting it in Gram-negative bacterial infections.

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Linguistic analysis of "*I don't know*" in guided interviews conducted with individuals with schizophrenia

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Introduction: Individuals with schizophrenia reportedly exhibit severe speech and mentalizing difficulties. The study of schizophrenic speech is a multifaceted research field, recently requiring a functional linguistic approach as well. In order to understand the nature of patients' linguistic dysfunction, the primary task is to identify the occurrence of linguistic disturbances during mentalizing processes. As speech can be considered as the reflection of thoughts, the analysis of schizophrenic speech can also provide useful insight into patients' mentalizing skills. The study being part of an interdisciplinary research is based on guided interviews related to Hemingway's short story entitled *The End of Something*.

Aim: The primary purpose of the research is to describe the language use of patients with schizophrenia and classify typical recurring mental state terms associated with their mentalizing capacities. The present case study particularly focuses on the varied functions and use of the mental state term "*I don't know*".

Material and Methods: The corpus includes 20 guided patient interviews, which were digitally recorded and transcribed. The qualitative analysis was performed with the help of Sketch Engine corpus analysis tool, which assisted in the identification and classification of collocations associated with the interviewees' mental processes.

Results: The results show that "*I don't know*" has multiple communicative functions ranging from the expression of uncertainty to a strategy of avoidance in the schizophrenic language use.

Conclusions: The findings are thought to offer some possible indications for psychotherapists how to detect linguistic impairments in schizophrenic speech and correctly interpret mental state terms, particularly "*I don't know*", in order to improve mentalizing capacities in this patient group, thereby contributing significantly to therapeutic success.

Keywords: schizophrenic speech, discourse analysis, conversation analysis, mentalization, mental state language

I. Introduction

Analysing doctor-patient communication with special regard to individuals with mental disorders is of outstanding relevance nowadays. According to WHO's data¹ one in four people are affected by some form of mental disorder, including schizophrenia (Pilling, 2018, cf. WHO data). Schizophrenia is a mental state associated with symptoms of hallucinations, delusions, disorganized speech and behaviour, leading to the impairment of attention, memory, language use, executive functions, and emotions (McKenna – Oh, 2005).

Since the second half of the 1990s, a large number of studies investigating mentalizing skills of individuals with schizophrenia have indicated that their skills are reportedly impaired or underdeveloped (Thibaudeau et al., 2017), suggesting that they are likely to face difficulty detecting and interpreting others' mental states (Dodell-Feder et al., 2013). These deficits can create substantial handicaps for these individuals on the level of communication and interpersonal skills. As a consequence, individuals with schizophrenia cannot adequately take part in social life, their standard of living is low, and they are exposed to marginalization in all aspects of life. Hence, communication impairments associated with schizophrenia are a central issue to investigate in order to optimize their quality of life and functioning in society on both personal and professional levels (Joyal et al., 2016).

Recent studies aim to establish appropriate speech and language therapy (SLT) as part of rehabilitation for patients with schizophrenia by improving their pragmatic or expressive discursive skills. Evidence shows that certain areas of language can be treated through therapy (Joyal et al., 2016). However, it is difficult to define the type of approach that should be implemented to treat language impairments in schizophrenia because linguistic characterization of schizophrenia depends on which aspects of speech are affected (Joyal et al., 2016). The impairment of speech production typically refers to formal thought disorder, anomalies in speech perception are associated with verbal hallucinations, and impaired speech content may point to delusions (Hinzen - Rosselló, 2015). Previous studies have outlined that schizophrenia can be clearly indicated by certain communication impairments, and more specifically in the areas of pragmatics and discourse understanding (Joyal et al., 2016). Furthermore, pragmatic deficits in schizophrenia have been associated with impairment in the theory of mind (ToM) (Brüne & Bodenstern, 2005; Mazza et al. 2007 in Joyal et al, 2016).

I.1. Mentalizing skills and language use

Theory of mind (also known as mentalizing skills, mindreading, or mentalization) refers to the capacity and skill to impute mental states (beliefs, knowledge, emotions and intentions) to oneself and others. "A system of inferences of this kind is properly viewed as a theory because such states are not directly observable, and the system can be used to make predictions about the behavior of others." (Premack-Woodruff, 1978). Mentalizing skills have two major types: cognitive and affective skills, which can be either implicit (automatic) or explicit (deliberative) (Turner et al., 2017). Cognitive mentalizing skills are understood as the capacity to draw inferences from others' beliefs and intentions, whereas affective mentalizing skills imply drawing inferences from others' emotions (Sebastian et al., 2012). The success of communication – the pragmatic aspect of language – depends on the extent to which one is able to adequately infer the conversation partner's beliefs and intentions. A significant part of communication can be successfully realised with the help of linguistic tools. Multiple studies have maintained that improving mentalizing skills cannot be separated from language use, these capacities at least partially depend on it (Hinzen - Rosselló, 2015).

¹ World Health Organization: Mental disorders affect one in four people.

Language is a crucial instrument in the development of mentalizing skills. Out of the different linguistic fields, pragmatics studies the interlocutors' intentions and language use, that is, the way utterances are interpreted. Reflecting on others' mental states and the capacity of adequate language use are closely related processes; hence, the investigation of mentalizing skills and pragmatics may also yield some corresponding results (Herold, 2005). Former studies have shown evidence that language and mentalizing skills are closely related phenomena, which explains how the low mentalizing performance of individuals with schizophrenia is linked to their linguistic-pragmatic skills (Herold, 2005:16). As language is closely related to mindreading capacity, impaired mentalizing skills are likely to reflect themselves in impaired linguistic expression.

Studying schizophrenic speech requires a multidisciplinary approach involving psychology, psychiatry, neurology, sociolinguistics, and applied linguistics, particularly pragmatics. In a previous study, Joyal et al. have suggested that data on linguistic-pragmatic disturbances in individuals with schizophrenia are scarce. More specifically, few studies have aimed at establishing effective methods to improve speech and language skills in individuals with schizophrenia. Improving mentalizing skills via language use is an unexplored area, especially in the context of psychiatry, where the place of SLT is small and circumscribed. However, in recent years, projects have started to explore the potential development of SLT in adults with schizophrenia in hopes of legitimating SLT in adult psychiatry (Joyal et al., 2016). Due to the lack of evidence, there is currently no consensus on the most efficient language or communication therapy available for treating patients with schizophrenia (Joyal et al., 2016).

The primary objective of the present case study is to explore linguistic-pragmatic impairments in this patients group with the help of a functional linguistic approach to analyse the language use of individuals with schizophrenia, to describe and categorize supposedly recurring linguistic patterns. The present study undertakes the linguistic analysis of the language use of individuals with schizophrenia by targeting patients' mental state talk, which is a set of verbs related to cognition used for attributing cognitive (e.g., knowing, thinking, understanding, remembering, forgetting, etc.) state to others and has commonly been implemented to measure several aspects of mentalizing capacities. (Pinto et al., 2017). The analysis primarily focuses on one specific form of mental state language, the 'negative' epistemic marker claiming insufficient knowledge (Doehler, 2016) expressed as 'I don't know' (IDK).² IDK is also termed 'negative mental verb construction' and 'first person negative epistemic expression (Lindström - Maschler - Doehler, 2016), but in this paper the denomination 'negative epistemic marker' claiming insufficient knowledge will be preferred.

In order to describe patients' language use reflecting mentalizing deficiencies, the functional linguistic analysis focuses on the phenomenon of IDK token used in the referenced corpus in its original Hungarian version '*nem tudom*' (IDK).

II. Material and Method

II.1. Material

The corpus of the functional linguistic research involved guided interviews between a PhD student of psychology and individuals with schizophrenia displaying mentalizing difficulties treated at the Department of Psychiatry of the University of Pécs and separate guided interviews with controls. The interviews were conducted in Hungarian and centred around Hemingway's short story entitled *The End of Something*.

² Throughout this paper, the abbreviation IDK will be used to refer to *nem tudom* 'I don't know'

The entire corpus consists of 95 guided interviews including 47 individuals with schizophrenia and 48 controls. However, the subcorpus regroups the matched pairs of 20 patients and 20 controls upon the recommendations of a professional psychiatrist. Hence, the criteria of selection consisted of the sociodemographic data including age, gender and education level.

As a first step of the functional linguistic analysis, the focus of the research has been narrowed down to the patient group counting 13 female and 7 male patients. The age of the patients ranged from 18-70. In terms of education level, patients' educational attainment covered the span of elementary school to postgraduate qualification. The patient group showed varied properties in all evaluation criteria.

II.2. Method

The guided interviews were recorded in WMA files by the PhD student of psychology (investigator) originally for the purpose of a previous research conducted by psychiatric professionals (Fekete et al., 2020) targeting the assessment of cognitive mentalizing skills of patients with schizophrenia contrasted with healthy participants with no diagnosis of mental disorder. The study design was approved by the Committee on Medical Ethics, University of Pécs (ethical permit number: 6539). In line with previous research methodology (Dodell-Feder et al., 2013), the research material was translated and adapted to Hungarian conditions. Before reading the short story, participants received the following instructions:

*"You are going to read a short story called *The End of Something*. The story is only a few pages, but take your time reading it. Try to get a sense of what happens and what the relationships are between the characters. After you're finished, I'm going to ask you some questions and tape-record your responses. Do you have any questions before we begin?"* (Dodell-Feder et al., 2013)

Participants were asked to read the short story in Hungarian prior to the interview. Next, the experimenter asked 14 open-ended questions in a structured format (see Appendix 1). Participants were allowed to consult the text in case they needed to check specific details. Before starting the guided interview, the participants were instructed as follows:

"Now I'm going to ask you some questions about the story. Here is a copy of the questions I'll be asking so you can read along. For most of the questions, there are no right or wrong answers and the questions can be answered with short responses. We're also interested in the character's thoughts, feelings and intentions when it applies to the question." (Dodell-Feder et al., 2013).

The interviews were structured and guided in the sense that participants were given 14 questions related to the literary work targeting the assessment of their cognitive-mentalizing performance. Of them 5 questions were related to comprehension, 1 question investigated spontaneous mental state reasoning (participants are invited to give a brief summary of the plot), and 8 questions were focused on explicit mental state reasoning (inferring the characters' thoughts, emotions and intentions) (Dodell-Feder et al., 2013).

Continuing the research conducted by Fekete et al., the present study contributed to the interdisciplinary research by pursuing further functional linguistic analysis after digitally transcribing the interviews in Hungarian in Word format. The subcorpus constituted by the 20 patient interviews was created for the purposes of classifying and describing cognitive expressions, more specifically IDK associated with cognitive mentalizing skills. The patients' language use was described in order to gain insight into the extent to which it reflects linguistic impairments suggesting mentalizing deficiencies.

The present study applied a bottom-up approach combining quantitative and qualitative aspects when analysing the conversation between the experimenter and the patient.

II.2.1. Quantitative method

The subcorpus incorporating the 20 patients interviews was evaluated by Sketch Engine online text analysis tool.³ After loading the subcorpus selected, the program generated quantitative data under the corpus info tab detecting counts of tokens (all instances of words occurring in the corpus) and words (distinct types of words).

The frequency of each qualitative category also displayed quantitative data. However, due to the special focus of the research targeting the description and evaluation of IDK tokens, the quantitative aspect of the analysis was proportionally less emphasized than the qualitative profile.

II.2.2. Qualitative method

IDK was selected as the point of reference and analysis criterion because this negative epistemic marker claiming insufficient knowledge showed the highest occurrence from the point of view of word frequency in the corpus.

Relying on the principles of discourse and conversation analysis, the core aspects of the functional linguistic analysis covered the formal, syntactical and organizational-sequential order (the position IDK tokens occupied in conversational turns and utterances) and also interactional properties (referential or interpersonal) of IDK tokens. Some categorical aspects were adopted from previous research similarly targeting the analysis of IDK tokens in mental health interviews (Pichler – Hesson, 2016 & Hesson - Pichler, 2016), however, certain adjustments and additions were required for the purpose of the functional linguistic analysis owing to the fact that the study was meant to deal with persons with schizophrenia by means of guided interviews.

2.2.1. Form

Under formal characteristics, IDK tokens were classified on the basis whether they are full (*nem tudom*-I don't know) or reduced (*nem tom*-I dunno) forms.

2.2.2. Syntax

The syntactical traits were used for identifying unbound (independent IDK tokens not followed by any complement) and bound forms (IDK token followed by a dependent clause either in the form of subordinate clauses or coordinate clauses). Subordinate clauses are further classified into two categories: the first one regrouped IDK tokens followed by either a wh-word question clause (a question starting with an interrogative word, e.g. what, why, who, how) including modal subordinate clauses ('*hogy*'-how), causal subordinate clauses ('*miért*' –why) and personal subordinate clauses ('*kicsoda*'/'*ki*'-who), whereas the second category incorporated or object subordinate clauses following the pattern of an IDK token complemented by the conjunction '*hogy*' (if/what).

³ <https://www.sketchengine.eu/>

By contrast, coordinate clauses have two distinguishable types, either the IDK token complemented by another clause introduced by the coordinating conjunction ‘és’ (and) or IDK joined by an independent clause without any explicit linguistic marker.

2.2.3. Organizational use

In order to analyse the organizational-sequential order of IDK tokens, patients’ utterances were observed when responding to the interview questions in terms of the organisational position of IDK tokens (turn-initial, mid-turn, turn-final or isolated turn). Utterances, also referred to as a TCU i.e. turn-constructive unit established by Sacks et al. (1974, 1978), are generally realised as a sentence, clause, phrase or even a word recognized as a meaningful unit by the participant. Conversation is jointly constructed by the questioner party (investigator) and the interlocutor (patient), hence, each utterance within a TCU should be examined in view of the preceding and subsequent unit instead of only focusing on isolated turns or utterances. For instance, in the turn-initial position, the investigator’s (hereinafter DR) question was followed by the patient’s response *nem tudom* (I don’t know; PT IDK) followed by the patient’s (in)correct answer. In the mid-turn position, the DR question was followed by one or two PT (in)correct answer(s) further continued by PT IDK and closed by PT (in)correct answer. In the turn-final position, the DR question was followed by PT (in)correct answer followed by PT IDK, then another DR question and a final PT IDK closing the turn (Hesson – Pichler, 2016), serving as a TRP, i.e. a transition-relevance place marking the boundary of the conversational unit (Sacks et al., 1974, 1978). As an additional category, the present analysis also identified and investigated IDK tokens appearing as independent turns, where the DR question was followed by a PT IDK only.

2.2.4. Interactional functions

Similarly to previous research, IDK tokens were divided into two broad categories, referential and interpersonal functions (Pichler – Hesson, 2016). The referential function implies reference to the speaker’s lack of knowledge. LOK category signifies and attributes a literal sense to IDK, whereas the non-LOK category is also necessary to distinguish where a different content other than lack of knowledge is indicated. Three sub-types of non-LOK IDK tokens were adopted from previous research termed as hedging use, bridging use and redirecting use (Hesson – Pichler, 2016) at the same time linked to the interpersonal dimensions of the discourse as they express communicative functions on the level of pragmatics.

The examples were drawn from the original Hungarian transcriptions and were translated into English by the author in such a way that similar morphological and syntactical forms and the semantic content be preserved and correspond with each other to the greatest possible extent in the two languages.

III. Results

III.1. Quantitative results

The subcorpus incorporating the 20 patients interviews was evaluated by Sketch Engine online text analysis tool for quantitative data. Based on the software, the corpus analysed included 2,959 tokens (all instances of words occurring in the corpus) and 2,923 words (distinct types of words). The selected corpus included 2,959 tokens and 2,923 words, out of which altogether 76 IDK tokens could be identified.

III.2. Qualitative results

This section presents the results of the bottom-up approach related to the categories investigated as part of the qualitative analyses. The excerpts are based on the Hungarian transcripts and are also provided in English in italics maintaining the conventions regarding the orthography of the transcripts. IDK tokens of the selected transcript excerpts are labelled in bold.

III.2.1. Form

The first important finding was that IDK tokens appeared in two distinctive forms, full forms and reduced forms, including only constructions in the first person present tense. The former includes patterns of '*nem tudom*' (don't know), while the latter '*nem tom*' (I dunno). The full form had 75 occurrences, whereas the reduced variant had only one count, therefore it was excluded from the corpus. Table 1 illustrates the above categories.

Table 1: formal properties of IDK tokens

Form	full	<i>nem tudom</i> I don't know (<i>n=75</i>)
	reduced	<i>nem tom</i> I dunno (<i>n=1</i>)

III.2.2. Syntax

IDK tokens presented highly variable syntactic properties. The data clearly demonstrated that IDK tokens can be classified into two major categories, unbound and bound tokens, based on the absence or presence of a complement. Unbound tokens are defined as constructions which occur without any complement, i.e. are syntactically unrelated, meaning that IDK stands alone by itself as an independent item. The corpus comprises as few as 32% of unbound forms (*n=24*) as opposed to 68 % of bound IDK tokens (*n=51*).

Unlike unbound tokens, bound tokens do have a complement, and are typically followed by a dependent complement clause either a subordinate or coordinate clause. Coordinate clauses in general referred to one of two or more clauses in a sentence that are of equal importance and usually joined by 'and', 'or', or 'but', whereas a subordinate clause did not form simple sentences by themselves and were connected to the main clause of a sentence by conjunctions related to reason (because, so), manner (how), and pronouns (who).⁴

Subordinate clauses were classified into the following sub-categories: IDK tokens followed by wh-questions (*n=6*), object subordinate clauses (*n=13*), and causal subordinate clauses (*n=2*).

IDK tokens followed by wh-questions comprised two examples for modal subordinate clauses introduced by *hogy* 'how' (*nem tudom hogy mondják* 'I don't know how to say and *nem tudom hogy raktak belőle tüzet* 'I don't know how they made a fire'); two examples for causal subordinate clauses introduced by *miért* 'why' (*nem tudom miért nem megy gyalog* 'I don't know why he doesn't go by foot' and *nem tudom miért ül háttal* 'I don't know why she is sitting with her back toward him') and two examples for subject subordinate clause introduced by

⁴ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/>

ki/kicsoda 'who' (*nem tudom kicsoda* 'I don't know who' and *nem tudom ki volt benne a Bill* 'I don't know who Bill was [in the story]).

As for object subordinate clauses following IDK tokens, most commonly the IDK token was followed by *hogy* 'if/what', for example *nem tudom pontosan hogy hölgy vagy férfi* 'I don't know exactly if it's a he or a she' and *nem tudom hogy mire gondol hogy nem kapnak* 'I don't know what he means when he says "They [the fish] aren't striking"'.
 Examples for causal subordinate were observed in two instances, where the IDK token was followed by *mert* 'because', e.g. *nem tudom mert háttal ül neki* 'I don't know because she is sitting with her back toward him' and *nem tudom mert nem tudom* 'I don't know because I don't know'.

Coordinate clauses, on the other hand, figured less commonly, and were typically following an IDK token in the form of an independent clause with or without an explicit conjunction *és* 'and', the latter typically including utterances *nem tudom ugorjunk* 'I don't know let's skip it'.

Table 2 summarises the syntactic representation of IDK.

Table 2: syntactical properties of IDK tokens

Unbound	Bound (IDK+dependent complement clause)					
	Subordinate clauses				Coordinate clauses	
'nem tudom'	IDK+ wh-word questions			object subordinate clause	coordinating conjunction	independent complement
		modal subordinate clauses 'hogy' how	causal subordinate clauses 'miért' why	subject subordinate clause 'ki/kicsoda' who	IDK+conjunction 'hogy' what/if	IDK+'és' and
<i>n</i> =24	<i>n</i> =2	<i>n</i> =2	<i>n</i> =2	<i>n</i> =13	<i>n</i> =1	<i>n</i> =9

III.2.3. Organizational use

With regard to organizational use, IDK tokens were investigated using the conversation analysis method to explore their sequential order, i.e. order of utterances (investigator's (DR) questions and PT answers) constituting a conversational turn. Based on the corpus, four major categories could be identified, including (1) turn-initial (*n*=15), (2) mid-turn (*n*=20), (3) turn-final (*n*=31) and (4) isolated turn (*n*=13) positions (see *Table 3*). Furthermore, the analysis also revealed that IDK tokens in turn-initial position can appear in responses to questions, as shown in example (1). Example (2) demonstrates how IDK token can be identified in a mid-turn position. Example (3) illustrates when IDK closes an utterance and consequently the turn ends. Finally, in example (4) IDK functions as an isolated turn, and is not followed by any further complement.

Table 3: organizational use and structure of IDK

Organizational use			
turn-initial	mid-turn	turn-final	isolated turn
DR question + PT IDK+ PT (in)correct PT answer	DR question + PT (in)correct answer + PT (in)correct answer + PT IDK+ PT (in)correct answer	DR question + PT (in)correct answer +PT IDK	DR question + PT IDK
n=11	n=20	n=31	n=13

(1) (coll 3.7.) IDK in turn-initial position

DR: miért ül marjorie háttal nicknek amikor azt kérdezi hogy "unod a szerelmet"?

why does marjorie sit with her back toward nick when she asks, "isn't love any fun?"

PT: ezt **nem tudom** asziszem az eget felfelé bámul

[i don't know] I think she is staring up at the sky

(2) (coll 14.5.) IDK in mid-turn position

DR: mit érez nick amikor azt mondja hogy "ó menj el bill menj el egy kis időre"?

what is nick feeling when he says, "oh, go away, bill! go away for a while!"

PT: talán hogy gondolkodjon és és azért hogy **nem tudom** ezt nem nem értem ezt a bill hogy megjelenik

maybe to think it over and and also to i don't know [i don't understand] that this bill shows up

(3) (coll 5.2.) IDK in turn-final position

DR: miért van nicknél és marjorienél egy vödör élő sügér?

nick and marjorie have a pail of perch for what purpose?

PT: hát öö pontyról volt szó hogyha jól láttam [...] öö nem ez nem ez a nem ez a csali ugye?

well, er, carp was mentioned, if I saw it right [...] er, no, it's not this, it's not this one, it's the bait, right?

DR: én nem tudom

i don't know

PT: de nem lehet belenézni

but I cannot look into it [the book]

DR: nyugodtan dehogynem hogy miért van náluk egy vödör élő sügér?

feel free to do so why do they have a pail of perch with them

PT: hát akkor ezt **nem tudom** jó menjünk tovább

well then [I don't know] let's move on

(4) (coll 4.1.) IDK as isolated turn

DR: miért nem mer nick marjoriere nézni?
why is nick afraid to look at marjorie?
 PT: ezt **nem tudom**
i don't know [this]

III.2.4. Interactional functions

In addition to the formal, syntactic and organizational patterns of IDK tokens, the interactional aspect was used for classifying and assessing the interactional- communicative functions (see *Table 4*). The two major categories include referential and interpersonal functions.

The corpus illustrates the two distinguishable types of referential functions of IDK tokens, firstly LOK (speaker's lack of knowledge in a literal sense), secondly non-LOK (non-cognitive aspect of lack of knowledge) uses. LOK function ($n=39$) could be noticed in the corpus in a slightly higher number than non-LOK uses ($n=34$). Extract (5) provides an example for the LOK-referential function, while extract (6) illustrates the non-LOK referential function.

(5) (coll. 8.1.) LOK-referential function of IDK

DR: mit néz nick és marjorie a part mentén ahogy eveznek a fok felé
 hogy felállítsák horgászbotjaikat?
*what do Nick and Marjorie observe on the shoreline as they are
 rowing to the point to set their fishing lines?*
 PT: (...) a partot hát valami mocsaras part volt arról írtak ott az
 elején de (.) hogy azt tudom hogy a végén a felkelő holdat nézik de
 itt ezt **nem tudom**
*the beach well there was some kind of swampy beach that was written
 at the beginning but (.) I know that at the end they are looking at
 the rising moon but here [in this part] [I don't know]*

(6) (coll. 1.3.) non-LOK referential function of IDK

DR: hogy érti nick hogy unom a dolgot?
what does nick mean when he says, "It isn't fun anymore"?
 PT: hát őö nincs őö bennük semmilyen közös tehát ez amit őö eddig
 együtt csináltak ez a horgászat meg ez az építkezés vagy fahordás vagy
nem tudom mi hát az már a számára unalmas
*well, they don't have anything in common so what they've been doing
 together so far, this fishing and this building or woodworking or [I
 don't know] what, it's boring for him*

The interpersonal function of IDK tokens is realized in three principal types in the corpus. Excerpt (7) is an example for the hedging use of IDK tokens.

(7) (coll. 14.2.) hedging use of IDK

DR: miért mondja nick Marjorienak hogy "te mindent tudsz"?
why does nick say to marjorie, "You know everything"?
 PT: hát azt **nem tudom** így pontosan hogy miért mondja de hát kicsit
 összeszólalkoztak és mondta hogy te mindent tudsz és akkor mondta hogy
 nem igaz hogy mindent tudok és akkor a végén mondta neki hogy mindent
 tudsz

well [i don't know] exactly why he says that but they had a little argument and he said that you know everything and then he said that it's not true that I know everything and then in the end he said that you know everything

IDK tokens can also serve a bridging function, predominantly situated in the mid-turn position, as illustrated in (8).

(8) (coll. 3.2.) bridging function of IDK

DR: miért van nicknél és marjorienél egy vödör élő sügér?

nick and marjorie have a pail of perch for what purpose?

PT: hát én úgy vettem ki hogy **nem is tudom** hogy csalinak de nem vagyok biztos benne

well I took it as (...) [i don't know] it was bait but I'm not sure

Finally, extract (9) represents a case where IDK serves a redirecting function in a turn-final position.

(9) coll. (11.16.) redirecting function of IDK

DR: miért viszi el marjorie a csónakot és mit érez közben?

why does marjorie take the boat and leave and what is she feeling at that moment?

PT: miért viszi el? hát mit érez ő? hát valami szar dolga van mert éppen elmegy a barátnője meg éppen neki kell túrázni gyalog öö meg jön fel a hold meg mit tudom én. Mit érez **nem tudom** hát átugrom.

why does she take it? what is she feeling? well, he's got some shit going on because his girlfriend's leaving him and he's got to go hiking and the moon's coming up or what not [i don't know] what she's feeling, so I'm gonna skip it

Table 4: Interactional functions of IDK

Interactional function	
Referential	
LOK (lack of knowledge)	non-LOK (non-cognitive use)
<i>n</i> =39	<i>n</i> =34

Interactional function		
non-LOK uses with interpersonal dimensions		
hedging use (face-saving/ mitigation strategy)	bridging use (hesitation, floor holding)	redirecting use (avoidance or resistance strategy)
<i>n</i> =8	<i>n</i> =24	<i>n</i> =49

IV. Discussion

The present study introduced a functional linguistic methodology for analysing linguistic-mentalizing impairment, focusing on IDK tokens used by persons with schizophrenia within guided interviews structured around a specific literary work. The relatively large number of IDK expressions in the transcribed patient interviews proved to be potentially suitable for describing the varied formal, syntactical, sequential and interactional functions and properties of the negative mental verb construction ‘*nem tudom*’ (I don’t know). The examples illustrated the relation between mentalizing deficits and linguistic disturbances in the above categories.

As part of the qualitative analysis, special emphasis has been laid on the form, syntax, sequential-organizational order and interactional functions of IDK tokens. The first important finding regarding formal properties was that IDK tokens almost exclusively appeared in full form as *nem tudom* (‘I don’t know’) with one exception. Therefore, it was impossible to prove whether IDK tokens could be associated with different interactional functions (i.e. hedging, bridging and/or redirecting) when they are in a phonologically full or reduced form. Previous studies suggested that full forms are more likely to be used as epistemic-hedging markers, whereas reduced forms tend to function as a discourse-marker (Doehler, 2016). Future research should investigate this aspect on an extended corpus, including controls as well.

The syntactical positions suggested that patients tend to use bound forms, especially subordinate clauses either in the form of IDK followed by a *wh*-question word or the conjunction *hogy* (what/if) when trying to reflect on the characters’ inner mental world or details of the short story. As the examples suggest, patients indeed have difficulty interpreting the characters’ thoughts (e.g. *nem tudom mire gondol hogy nem kapnak* ‘I don’t know what he means when he says “They [the fish] aren’t striking”’), motivations (e.g. *nem tudom miért ül háttal* ‘I don’t know why she is sitting with her back toward him’), intentions (e.g. *nem tudom miért nem megy gyalog* ‘I don’t know why he doesn’t go by foot’), do not understand the process of events (e.g. *nem tudom hogy raktak belőle tüzet* ‘I don’t know how they made a fire’), are unable to identify the characters’ identity or specific role in the short story (e.g. *nem tudom kicsoda* ‘I don’t know who’; *nem tudom pontosan hogy hölgy vagy férfi* ‘I don’t know exactly if it’s a he or a she’). These instances may indicate that patients’ mentalizing skills are impaired when attributing mental state to others, as described by Fekete et al., 2020. Bound forms could also be detected in coordinate closes, in such cases IDK was most commonly followed by an independent clause expressing the patients’ intention to move on, skip the question and to steer away or definitively avoid the topic, hence employing avoidance or resistance strategy possibly in order to conceal their uncertainty or as a face-saving technique (e.g. *nem tudom ugorjunk*).

A special form of syntactical position of IDK has been identified in the corpus which seems to be related to two distinctive semantic meanings in Hungarian, one referring to the lack of knowledge (‘don’t know’ attributed with an epistemic-cognitive sense discussed here) and another one to the inability to do something (‘cannot’). Such instances manifest in the form of IDK followed by an infinitive complement (e.g. *nem tudom az angol neveket kiejteni* ‘I cannot pronounce the English names’). Although this category is not discussed here in detail, however, may indicate additional aspects of further analysis.

The organizational–sequential order of IDK shows a varied pattern. Uncertainty or hesitation is expressed in excerpt (1), where the patient does not know the answer, still a sign of communicative-mental effort can be detected in order for her to engage in the conversation. The claim of insufficient knowledge could be noticed with the highest incidence when positioned at the end of a turn (e.g. (2) and (3)), possibly used by patients in order to signal that they are

unable to provide a more detailed expression because they may not remember or may not intend to continue the turn. For this reason, they could use an avoidance strategy to exit the turn and (implicitly or explicitly) request the investigator to move on to another topic or raise a new question. IDK functioning as isolated turns showed a relatively low incidence. Cases similar to extract (4) may suggest more severe form of lack of knowledge as the patient's sole response is IDK and there is no sign of any further mental effort or attempt to recall any details. Based on the preliminary results, isolated IDK turns may indicate severe forms of mentalizing deficiency, as illustrated in (4). In (4), the patient answers a question related to explicit mental state reasoning '*why is nick afraid to look at marjorie?*' which is directed to the character's feeling. In this example, the patient either could not or did not want to respond to this question, which is structurally underlined by the turn-final position of IDK. Further instances of turn-final IDK included in the analysed corpus may be exemplary for signalling the patient's inability to attribute mental states to others. Similarly to (4), in (3), the patient could not provide the exact information related to a fact ('*nick and marjorie have a pail of perch for what purpose?*'). Based on the above, it seems that the turn-final position of IDK may suggest the patient's inability to execute their communicative task either when answering a question related to comprehension or explicit mental state reasoning.

IDK tokens serve two major, although hardly distinguishable interactional roles since sometimes lack of knowledge may also indicate non-cognitive interpersonal functions either expressing uncertainty or hesitation, linguistically marking a pause while reflecting on a response or demonstrating an avoidance strategy used for moving on to another topic or as a turn-exchange signal.

IDK serving a LOK function is typically associated with a literal mental-cognitive inability, "a cognitive claim of insufficient knowledge" (Pichler – Hesson, 2016). However, non-LOK function gives rise to multiple non-cognitive, communicative, interpersonal functions classified as hedging use, bridging use and redirecting use (Hesson – Pichler, 2016).

Hedging use serves as a non-verbalized *but*, or as illustrated in (5), the speaker uses it to qualify the reliability of her statement, and mitigate her accountability for her accuracy (Pichler–Hesson, 2016), which may also be considered a face-saving strategy.

As the data showed, IDK tokens can also serve a bridging function, predominantly situated in the mid-turn position. Its core function is to link two parts of a turn that are otherwise unrelated. As previous studies have pointed out, it is not only the IDK token, but the strings surrounding IDK that indicate that the patient is unable to supply the requested information. The speaker is still present in the communicative process while working to recall the information requested or planning the reformulation or continuation of an interrupted utterance (Pichler – Hesson, 2016). IDK as a bridging function is demonstrated in (6), where the patient hesitates for a short moment and searches in his memory. His intention to continue his utterance is supported by the mid-turn position of IDK.

In the above examples, the patients were willing to provide an answer to the interviewer's question and actively cooperated in the conversation unlike in the last category of examples, which illustrate the redirecting function of IDK tokens, being the third interpersonal function. These non-LOK IDK tokens signal the patient's resistance, rather than inability to respond to the interviewer's question. By using avoidance or resistance strategies, the patient steers away from the topic, and redirects the conversation, or can also stop the turn, using IDK token as a turn-exit device (Lindström - Maschler - Doehler, 2016). Example (7) represents a case where

IDK is used both as an avoidance strategy and as a turn-exit device as the patient explicitly states that he wants to move on after listing some elements from the plot, but eventually decides to abandon the answer.

Confirming the results of the short story task assessing theory of mind capacities in adults with schizophrenia (Dodell-Feder et al., 2013), cognitive mentalizing skills are clearly reflected in language use, for example the patient expressed uncertainty on several occasions, which was linguistically realized with the help of cognition terms applied in negation forms (e.g. *nem tudom miért ül neki háttal* ‘i don’t know why she is sitting with her back toward him’; *nem tudom pontosan miért viszi el a csónakot* ‘i don’t know exactly why she takes the boat’). As a result, the patient’s language use expressed hesitation and uncertainty, combined with a less confident content knowledge (e.g. *talán hogy gondolkodjon és és azért hogy nem tudom ezt nem nem értem ezt a bill hogy megjelenik* ‘maybe to think it over and because i don’t know this i don’t understand this that this bill shows up’). Moreover, the patient had poorer capacities to draw logical inferences of the characters’ thoughts, intentions, beliefs, desires and other mental state contents.

In addition to cognitive mentalizing impairment, affective dullness (e.g. (7) and (8)), further typical features characterizing the speech of individuals with schizophrenia could be identified, including tangentiality (e.g. (2)), derailment (i.e. loose associations, steering away from the topic, e.g. (1)), and deficiency of content of speech and thought (e.g. (7)) (McKenna – Oh, 2005). Therefore, when patients use IDK expressions, they presumably try to compensate their impaired cognitive mentalizing skills, or employ avoidance or face-saving strategies to conceal their insufficient knowledge, uncertainty or deficient thought when they do not know, do not understand or do not remember details related to the characters’ inner mental states (thoughts, beliefs, intentions, desires).

As part of future research, the quantitative results of the token and word counts may be significant to describe vocabulary variability.

V. Conclusion

The paper indicates the necessity for further research in order to confirm the preliminary results and to be able to describe IDK production frequency and categorize its specific functions in a more nuanced way applied to an extended corpus involving healthy controls.

The findings may contribute to the success of psychotherapeutic sessions by offering further linguistic methods and a somewhat deeper understanding of patients with mental disorders. Hopefully, a systemic and detailed description of patients’ language use focusing on cognitive mentalizing expressions, especially IDK, may be particularly useful for psychotherapists to be able to adequately interpret and respond to patients’ underlying motivations when using IDK whether it has a literal or non-cognitive meaning. The implementation of this knowledge may significantly contribute to the success of psychotherapeutic counselling.

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Appendix 1. Interview Questions

1. In just a few sentences, how would you summarize the story?
2. What do Nick and Marjorie observe on the shoreline as they are rowing to the point to set their fishing lines?
3. What does Nick mean when he says “They aren’t striking”?
4. Nick and Marjorie have a pail of perch for what purpose?
5. Do Marjorie’s actions suggest that she is experienced or inexperienced at fishing? What makes you say that?
6. Why does Nick say to Marjorie, “You know everything”?
7. Why does Marjorie reply, “Oh Nick, please cut it out! Please, please don’t be that way”?
8. Why is Nick afraid to look at Marjorie?
9. What does Nick mean when he says, “It isn’t fun anymore”?
10. Why does Marjorie sit with her back toward Nick when she asks, “Isn’t love any fun?”?
11. Why does Marjorie take the boat and leave and what is she feeling at that moment?
12. Who is Bill and what does he reveal when he asks Nick, “Did she go alright? ... Have a scene?”?
13. What is Nick feeling when he says, “Oh, go away, Bill! Go away for a while!”?
14. The story is called “The End of Something.” What is the title referring to?

Source: Dodell-Feder, D. et al.: Using fiction to assess mental state understanding: a new task for assessing theory of mind in adults. 2013. PloS one. Vol. 8(11)

Thoughts on the difference between mind and consciousness¹: first steps toward an alternative theory of consciousness

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Abstract:

Thoughts on mind and consciousness have occupied philosophers since ancient Greek thinkers. Descartes' dualist theories placed questions of the mind-body problem on the table. Since then, philosophers have been trying to explain and circumscribe the mind through a diversity of theories. Chalmers 1996 raises *the hard and easy problems of consciousness*, which as a warning on the philosophical investigations of the late 20th and early 21st centuries gave the philosophy of mind a new impetus. The puzzles that have persisted to this day place consciousness at the center of contemporary philosophy of mind. In the present paper, starting with the theories of Wilfrid Sellars, I compare several contrasting contemporary thoughts with Kant's Transcendental Philosophy. My aim is not only to present the non-identical conceptual statuses of “mind” and “consciousness” but beyond the practical (linguistic) use of the two concepts to offer insight into alternative possibilities based on modular brain (and mind) theory. I do not support physicalism but instead embrace a minimalist empiricism, as defended by McDowell. The study is placed above analytical thinking and incorporates a slice of philosophy of mind that deals with consciousness in its historicity. The thoughts explored here—on the unity of consciousness, and about the possibility of the creation of consciousness—may provide brain and artificial intelligence researchers to explore new paths with novel ideas.

Keywords: Kant; Sellars; Chalmers; mind; consciousness; brain modules; philosophy of mind

¹ Consciousness is understood mainly as “phenomenal consciousness,” as elaborated in (Chalmers 1996:31). “In everyday language, the term “awareness” is often used synonymously with “consciousness,” [...]” (Chalmers 1996:28). In this thesis we differentiate awareness and consciousness in that consciousness is a mental structure, a framework, whereas awareness is an attribute of certain mental states, similar to conscious states with the difference that awareness is always accompanied with attention, or focus.

Thesis:

In this paper I present my thoughts on the difference between mind and consciousness. The differentiation is important because in discursive practice we see the two used interchangeably or as synonyms. Although rare, this is not uncommon in academic writings. I also present alternatives to current theories of mind and consciousness.

Can we determine that man thinks because whoever thinks may claim to be thinking? Can reportability be accepted as sole proof of the reality and existence of an intentional mental state or action? I do not intend to discuss the existence of thinking, nor its reality, although it may just be a concept correlating to a specific type of functioning of the human brain. Similar to arguments about the illusion of consciousness (see Dennett 1991), thinking may be an illusion. To accept our use of the concepts of mind and consciousness as non-synonyms, it is sufficient to accept the non-illusory existence of thinking. In this thesis, we accept that thinking, mental states, and occurrences **exist**; they are **real**, at least for the thinking and experiencing subject.

In the *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant says that “our concern here is not to treat of empirical (e.g., optical) illusion, which occurs in the empirical use of otherwise correct rules of the understanding, and through which the faculty of judgment is misled through the influence of the imagination; rather, we have to do only with transcendental illusion, which influences principles whose use is not ever meant for experience, since in that case we would at least have a touchstone for their correctness, but which instead, contrary to all the warnings of criticism, carries us away beyond the empirical use of the categories, and holds out to us the semblance of extending the pure understanding.”² Thus, illusion can be an empirical appearance that may lead to incorrect judgments in the interplay of reason and imagination. Transcendentally, on the other hand, it refers to the action of the power of judgment that does not take into account the boundaries of pure reason; that is, it transcends the boundaries of experience. This would be the transcendent principle. “[...] in our reason (considered subjectively as a human faculty of cognition), there lie fundamental rules and maxims for its use, which look entirely like objective principles. [...] the subjective necessity of a certain connection of our concepts on behalf of the understanding is taken for an objective necessity, the determination of things in themselves. [This is] an *illusion* that cannot be avoided at all, [...]”³

We cannot experience thinking in other minds, only in our own minds. Freud states generally on consciousness that “The assumption of an unconscious is, moreover, in a further respect, a perfectly *legitimate* one; inasmuch as in postulating it we do not depart a single step from our customary and accepted mode of thinking. By the medium of consciousness each of us becomes aware only of his own state of mind; that another man possesses consciousness is a conclusion drawn by analogy from the utterances and actions we perceive him to make, and it is drawn in order that this behavior of his may become intelligible to us [...]. The assumption of a consciousness in him (viz. in our fellow-man) rests upon an inference and cannot share the direct certainty we have of our own consciousness.”⁴

If the statement of the person experiencing thinking, that is, “I think!” is valid and true to oneself, we can assume that every mind is capable of making such a statement independently

² Kant, I.: *Critique of pure reason*. Guyer, P. & Wood, A. W. (trsl., eds.). Cambridge University Press. USA. 1998: B351-352.

³ Ibid.: B353.

⁴ Dilman, I. (quoted from Freud): ‘The Unconscious’ in *Mind*, Oct., 1959, New Series, Vol. 68, No. 272, pp. 446-473. Oxford University Press. 1959:457.

of other minds. A thinker cannot deny oneself thinking. For the mind, the non-existence of thinking, except for unconscious states of mind, is impossible. We can say that thinking is a conscious mental activity, so the experience corresponding to it is also conscious. Here we can divide the conscious experience of thinking in two. The first (1) relates to the consciousness *of* what one thinks of (*of* the “object” of thinking), which can again have two forms: (1a) the consciousness *of* the subject of thought, and (1b) the consciousness of the thought *on* the subject. The second (2) relates to the act of thinking itself, the consciousness of thinking (not the consciousness of the general action of thinking as a classification of a mental action). If I can say of myself that “I think of my thinking,” I justify the experience of thinking. At this point, we encounter a problem. If all thinking were preceded by a preparatory phase, which is thinking about what makes thinking a conscious action, then this, as we read in Ryle (1949), would create an infinite, recessive circle into which we cannot break into. Therefore, it is important to show that the process does not consist of two phases. Thinking takes place in consciousness and does not form a (mereological) part of it. The consciousness of thinking (thinking as a mental action) belongs to consciousness together with the existence of a theme, subject matter, object, or phenomenon “as thought,” but not as conceived or perceived. It belongs to consciousness in the sense that the experience itself is a conscious experience; it belongs to the reality of the thinking subject; therefore, it exists.

When a line of thought or a garland of thoughts seems linear, it is always accompanied by further parallel thoughts and an informational (non-physical) space (which we may call *reason*), which allows thinking. Perhaps the closest and descriptive term to the informational space of reason is the *logical space of reasons* that Wilfrid Sellars discusses in *Empiricism and the Philosophy of Mind*.⁵ The difference is that while the expression he uses is epistemically applicable, it is not applicable phenomenally. Therefore, I rewrite it as the *(in)formational space of reasons*. This space must have two properties, one is phenomenal, and the other is psychological/logical; it also reflects a structural (formational) property.

In moments when we do not think consciously, that is, during non-conscious thinking (similar to programs running in the background on computers that do not appear on the interface and we cannot be aware of them unless we use intermediate programs that (when running) make background programs traceable—but even then they do not appear—they do not come to the surface or the experiential level of the interface), that is, during the background operations of the mind, several such actions are present in parallel (and connected, conjoined as necessary; sometimes intertwined). Even though this is only an analogy, this kind of operation, if acceptable, may refer to a multi-layered nature of thinking. The framework for this functioning is consciousness; the nature or attribute of its operation in some cases is conscious, and elsewhere self-conscious.

Non-conscious movements, motor reflexes, and instinctive or instinct-based reactions attest to the non-self-conscious functioning of the mind, which may be accompanied by conscious sensorimotor actions and may become (evolve to being) self-conscious in their nature. Accordingly, we can talk about two kinds of conscious mental functioning. The first is what has the attribute of being self-conscious, the second is what has not the attribute of being self-conscious but is possible only within the framework of consciousness. We hardly have the possibility to talk about the nature of the functioning of an unconscious mind in the case of a healthy human because unconsciousness would imply that there is no consciousness, meaning that the functioning is not within the conscious framework. Combining this proposal with that

⁵ Sellars, W.: ‘Empiricism and the Philosophy of Mind’ in *Minnesota Studies in the Philosophy of Science*, vol. I, H. Feigl & M. Scriven (eds.), Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1956: 253–329.

said about self-consciousness above, we may call “self-conscious” an attribute of certain mental actions (similar to “conscious”), and for these to be intelligible, consciousness must be a necessary condition and framework of these types of mental actions. I try to shed light on my thoughts with the help of modular mind theory:

Research to date suggests a multi-layered hierarchy of mind. I propose that instead of a hierarchy, we may talk about a symbiotic operation in which several acting mental modules (hereafter, subunits) refer to each other, stimulate each other or rely on each other. We can imagine this where one subunit depends on the other, or another provides support to the former. If we were to accept this type of operation, the question would be, how do these subunits determine, what to do, when to do it? There may be a need for some form of central management (or coordination), but this may not necessitate a hierarchy; these subunits, relative to the coordinating unit, need not be hierarchically located in the mind. The subunits differ in their functioning, while the nature of their actions may be identical, similar, or substitutive. Moreover, in the event of a failure of one or another subunit, some functions may be taken over by other subunits, or the capacity of weakened or incapacitated subunits may be strengthened (their scope of action expanded or their ability to act increased) to make up for missing or damaged functioning.

The supposed central coordination unit shall not be dictating but determining. It may determine what these independent but singly inoperable units shall do, and when they can return to their passive (standby) positions, e.g., when they are not needed (in case of sleep, rest, or similar), and perhaps when they can change areas of operation (e.g., the difference between hearing in speech or music-making). It may be the central coordination unit that creates consciousness. In other words, this coordination unit may be the neural structure, mental framework, consciousness. Daniel Dennett, in *Consciousness Explained*, presents a similar theory in which he argues not directly about consciousness but the “I.” Regarding the unity of consciousness of ‘myself’ and its structure, he says it to be a short-lasting ‘virtual captain,’ which is the temporary dominance of a group of small information parcels over similar groups, resulting in self-monitoring, self-reporting and it becomes possible through cognitive activities similar to these. Accordingly, “we consider these transient phenomena to be more than they are (we give them more significance) because each is related to the “I” of a given moment and each to a previous transient self through a special type of autobiographical memory. If the grouping of victorious conscious states always forms the ‘I,’ i.e. ‘myself,’ then all the transitional pieces of the ‘I’ will be located in different places in the brain; thus, the multiple NCCs⁶ of the unit of consciousness will be in different places.”⁷ This argument is partly consistent with my argument above. What they have in common is that the parts that create consciousness can come from different areas of the brain. However, the differences between the two arguments are large. I do not limit the creation of consciousness to cognitive actions, and I do not link the possibility of consciousness to “I.” Perhaps it is better to say that, if Dennett’s argument is valid and true, it would rather explain the creation of self-consciousness—and that, through certain types of mental actions—about which I argue that self-consciousness is not a mental state but a type of mental action.

One of the hottest issues in current consciousness research is the issue of how brains achieve consciousness and what parts of the brain are most involved in doing so, what the ‘neural

⁶ The neuronal correlates of consciousness (NCC), defined as the minimal neuronal mechanisms jointly sufficient for any specific conscious experience

⁷ Dennett, D. C.: *Consciousness Explained*, Little, Brown. NY. 1991:228

correlates of consciousness (NCC)' are. Any real insights into the NCCs of consciousness, in general, are also likely to contain insights into the NCCs of unified consciousness.⁸

Units are not to be thought of as separate spatial parts. It is also possible that the coordination center is not a separate unit, but all subunits partially contribute to the creation of this “consciousness-evoking” (sub)unit or the unit we may call consciousness. In other words, given that we have many brain modules, each able to function and act individually but interdependently, and each one is a neural network—although they are unable to make a person viable without cooperation, so to speak, without symbiotic functioning—these networks may lend one part of themselves to the purpose of a joint operation (cooperation), and these partial networks combine to form a hyper-network that results in consciousness as a structure. So far, this structure has been treated as a grouping of networks and their collective. In the next step, we focus not on the neural pathways but their connection points and the types of these connections.

To illustrate this, imagine a multitude of cables rolled tightly into a three-dimensional ball, where almost every cable and almost all parts of all cables are in contact with parts of other cables. The cables are thus connected to each other in several places, at several points, in different forms. This way, an impulse that passes through the bundle gets an almost infinite number of possibilities to spread. My idea is that not just the cables and their tracks make up the networks, but their connections create another network, a network of connection points. Let us imagine a three-dimensional map of the brain consisting of these attachment points, like a three-dimensional star map. Depending on the types of connection points, it may be possible to map the brain in a novel way and reconstruct a three-dimensional image of these connections by examining the differences.

The subunits are not independent entities (neither physically nor theoretically) but complex networks that, in many cases, use common paths, tracks, connection points. (By the word complex, I mean that the unit testifies several categorically different ontological properties.) These units are not to be understood as specialized areas correlating to the five senses, but as higher-level networks, the operation and interaction of which correlate to our abilities, talents, and mental/personal characteristics, each providing the network of consciousness a certain type of connection or a subsystem. Therefore we can say that the brain regions associated with the five senses are not independent and do not function fully independently. It can be said that — based on the achievements in brain research today—in the functioning of a healthy brain, we cannot talk about regions of the brain that function independently and exclusively and specialize in that one function; we can only talk of necessarily cooperating regions.

If we are not talking about regions in the brain related to the processing of sensations, but regions responsible for more complex, higher-level mental states and actions, such as emotions, memories, thinking, and so on, then we must talk about the source of a set of cooperative actions, not strictly divided into subunits, resourcing from each other (e.g., memories, remembering), lending resources to each other (e.g., olfactory sense; the intertwining of smell and taste), requiring additional reserves if necessary (e.g., mathematics and logic requiring reserves for abstract thinking and reasoning), or creating, evoking emotions, and combining them with other actions (creative actions, recreative actions). This set (rather group, because it

⁸ Chalmers 2000 has the most extensive exploration of the conceptual issues on this topic to date. Chalmers, D. J.: ‘What is a Neural Correlate of Consciousness?’ in *Neural Correlates of Consciousness: Empirical and Conceptual Questions*. Thomas Metzinger (ed.). MIT Press. Cambridge. MA. 2000:17–39.

has functional attributes) must also include more complex mental actions such as compassion, doubt, and the like, not leaving out the possibility of the arts coming into being.

In most cases, thinking can be thought of as an action within the network of consciousness. If we have managed to get closer to the conception of consciousness I have proposed, it is worth asking questions about self-consciousness. When and how does self-consciousness arise? In most cases, thinking can be thought of as an action within the network of consciousness. When the actions within the network of consciousness affect the network itself, the type of action may be called self-conscious; it is not a mental state. We act consciously, not self-consciously; we think consciously, not self-consciously. Self-consciousness cannot know itself because self-consciousness is a type of action; an action cannot be self-knowing, but the result of a mental activity can lead to self-knowledge, or the by-product of the action can be self-knowledge; thus, we can call *transitive consciousness self-consciousness*.

According to some theories, self-consciousness may be called the unity of the mind as the unity of cognition, which must necessarily accompany every cognitive action of the mind. However, it can be argued that the unity of cognition does not always have to be conscious or self-conscious. There may be cases where we are not aware of this unity, e.g., when we keep balance or maneuver between objects in space. Thus, naming self-consciousness as a unity of mind may not be valid in all cognitive action or all cases (environments) relevant to cognition. My argument, against the suggestion above, is that self-consciousness is not directly associated with the mind but with consciousness, i.e., we do not call it a unity of mind but a type of action within consciousness. Cognitive mental actions are impossible without consciousness. The unity in all examples shall refer to consciousness, not self-consciousness. We have said that consciousness is a mental structure; it must be the potential location of certain mental actions. Additionally, these actions are possible only in the unity of consciousness with respect to states of mind. This argument is in contrast with Rosenthal's that "a [mental] state's being conscious consists in its being accompanied by what I've called higher-order thought (HOT)—a thought to the effect that one is in the state in question."⁹ It is in contrast with Freud's statement as well, that "[...] being conscious [...] is only a quality of what is psychological, and an inconstant quality at that—one that is far oftener absent than present."¹⁰

Kant analyzes the mind on several levels and in a hierarchy. Contemporary modular brain-mind theory, which starts with Jerry Fodor, can explain the abilities Kant calls a priori (with a modern term, innate)—the abilities that precede all cognition and related mental actions; he thinks and qualifies them as synthetic—that is, synthesizing. Brain network units can be sources and spaces of certain sets of functions (we call abilities), or these abilities can be thought of as fixed in such networks as possibilities similar to the organs of a living organism that through evolving receive their final biological structure but their rules of functioning is based on the genetic code. According to genetics and its co-sciences, we know that our genetic coding includes the codes of our abilities, traits, deficiencies, structural disorders, etc. It is also possible that a map of connection points that are genetically given may provide opportunities for brain networks to function, which includes the rules of collaboration and "communication." Simply put, attachment points are given based on genetic coding. Networks can only connect to each other based on the genetic connection map. The question can be asked, if only the

⁹ Rosenthal, D. M.: 'Unity of Consciousness and the Self' in *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, New Series, Vol. 103 (2003), pp. 325-352. 2003:347.

¹⁰ Freud, S: *Some Elementary Lessons In Psycho-Analysis*. Freud-Complete Works. Smith, I. (ed.). EPUB® (Freud_Complete_Works.epub). 2000/2007/2010/2011:5068.
https://oapw.files.wordpress.com/2018/02/freud_complete_works.pdf

connection points “count” in operation and the trails only connect them, what happens at these points?

These points (neuronal synapses) do not exist as physical connections. In synapses, the connection is not made by physical contact, but on the contrary, there is no contact. The cavities are the connection spaces. Here we run into an impossible thought: How is a connection possible where there is no physical contact but a cavity and the connection is provided at the molecular level by the reciprocating motion of certain molecules in the cavity? How can we talk about networks when nothing is “physically” in contact with each other? In response, we can say that at the micro-structural level, the atoms do not come into contact with each other either but are mostly made up of cavities and have cavities between each other. Yet, they can form “solid” materials. Therefore, the question can be dropped, and macro structures can be accepted. As a side idea, it is worth mentioning that in the analysis of causality, the relationship between the macro and micro worlds and the contrast between the deterministic worldview and the unpredictability of quantum physics can serve as a scientific, physical model for the above arguments. We find a similar gap in the relationship between mind and body.

The *explanatory gap* and the *hard problem of consciousness* are two interrelated philosophical theories; both can be seen as a warning within the current mind-body problem. The first is from Joseph Levine, the latter from David Chalmers, and nearly half a century before them, John Dewey’s remarks shed light on the mind-body problem. According to Marco Stango (2017), “for the Deweyan philosopher, the ‘hard problem’ of consciousness is a ‘conceptual fact’ only in the sense that it is a philosophical mistake: the mistake of failing to see that the physical can be had as an episode of immediate sentience.”¹¹ This opinion assumes that it is a mistake to think that emotions and functional behaviors are not the same physical processes. Other arguments refer to the origin of the problem as a category error.¹² Others suggest that consciousness is, according to higher-order theories, a representation and thus functionally analyzable, so that no hard problem of consciousness arises.¹³ The present position of contemporary philosophy regarding phenomenal consciousness is highly contradictory.

Bayne and Chalmers talk about phenomenal states, where having a state is like having a state of some sort. Paraphrased: if A is like something for S and B is like something for S, then A and B combined is like something for S. This is similar to Kant’s remark that “the latter [the representations] represent something in me only insofar as they belong with all the others to one consciousness; hence they must at least be capable of being connected in it.”¹⁴ The remark does not refer directly to experience, but to (re)presentations¹⁵, which, for them to be capable of presenting us something, impose a necessary condition of possibility to cognition, that we are aware of our own continuous identity. Thus, experience, which is a condition of cognition, is possible within the unity of consciousness (a concept Kant does not use here but can be inferred from his remarks), in which A and B can appear phenomenologically together. This explanation may support Bayne and Chalmers’ assumptions with the help of Kantian idealism. Based on these, not only the unity of individual mental states can be defended, but the existence of the unity of all mental states, as Bayne and Chalmers do: “It is difficult or impossible to

¹¹ Stango, M.: ‘A Deweyan assessment of three major tendencies in philosophy of consciousness’ in *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society*. 53 (3) (Summer 2017):466–490. doi:10.2979/trancharpeirsoc.53.3.06. S2CID 148690536.

¹² Pigliucci, M.: ‘What hard problem?’ in *Philosophy Now*, (99), 2013. <https://philarchive.org/archive/PIGWHPv1>

¹³ Carruthers, P.: ‘Phenomenal concepts and higher-order experiments’ in *Consciousness: essays from a higher-order perspective*. Oxford University Press. 2005:79ff. ISBN 978-0191535048.

¹⁴ Kant, I: *Critique of Pure Reason*. A116.

¹⁵ (Re)presentation is my revision of the English term [representation] used for *Vorstellung* in German.

imagine a subject having two phenomenal states simultaneously, without there being a conjoint phenomenology for both states.”¹⁶ According to their theory of unity, any set of conscious (mental) states in a subject is necessarily unified.

It is possible to bridge two opposing views of consciousness; the *no experiential parts* (NEP) and the *experiential parts* (EP) view if we can accept consciousness as a structural unity in which certain experiences become possible. Searle¹⁷ and Tye¹⁸ are defenders of the NEP view, who argue that only one experience is possible within consciousness; consciousness cannot be composed of several parts; accordingly, despite the polymodal nature of experience, we can always speak of a single experience.

In our attempt to bridging the two views, the unity of experience can originate from the structural unity of consciousness and is only possible *in* it. But we can also accept the smaller units of experiences belonging to the unified experience that appear in the unity of consciousness and think about these within a mereological relationship.

Suppose there are smaller units of consciousness in the *unity of greater consciousness* (UGC); this assumption will sound contradictory to what has been said above, that not these smaller units of consciousness form a larger unit, the consciousness. In experience, smaller units of consciousness arise within the UGC on the condition that there can be no self-sufficient and independent units that exist in parallel. Even if these units of consciousness are treated independently and as connected to each other, they will not form a unit but will be included in one unit and not as constituent parts of that greater unit. The existence of a unified consciousness (as a framework) is persistent, as is the synthetic unity of apperception. We apperceive everything at once. For a subject, the content of the units of consciousness is always different at every given moment. If smaller units of consciousness (mereologically) resulted in the UGC, a variety of UGCs would result at any given moment. If this were true, we could not talk about identity, nor could we talk about identifiability because we would not be identifiable to ourselves either.

In contrast to the EP and the NEP views, the difference in our assumption is that *attention* (a further experiential type of unity of mental actions) “selects” among smaller units within the constant UGC. The selection is continuous and conscious. While non-conscious apperception remains valid, the selection allows non-conscious unities to become conscious.

We have stated above that the smaller units of consciousness (experiential and other mental units with the structure of consciousness) cannot form the UGC but exist within it. In this argument, similar to the relationship between the unity of experience and the smaller units of experience, the relationship between the UGC and the smaller units of consciousness is mereological. But, a necessary precondition for accepting a mereological relationship is the existence of subunits (parts) that make up the unit. So how can this relationship be explained without contradiction? Perhaps by examining the *content* of experience, mental states, occurrences, and consciousness.

¹⁶ Bayne, T., & Chalmers, D. J.: ‘What is the unity of consciousness?’ in Cleeremans, A. (Ed.), *The unity of consciousness: Binding, integration, and dissociation* (pp. 23–58). Oxford University Press. 2003:23. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198508571.003.0002>

¹⁷ Searle, J. R.: ‘Consciousness,’ in *Consciousness and Language*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. MA. 2002. [Originally: *Annual Review of Neuroscience*, 23 2000:557–78. doi:10.1146/annurev.neuro.23.1.557]

¹⁸ Tye, M: *Consciousness and Persons: Unity and Identity*. MIT Press. Cambridge. MA. 2003.

It is not units of consciousness but units of experience that form a larger unit of experience. An empirical example: I lie in bed with high fever. With all sensations and experiences of discomfort, illness, etc. I have other conscious experiences in parallel. There are several sensual intakes at the same time, I have a consciousness of most of them, and while all this is happening, I become aware of other things in me through thinking and inference. I do not mix or confuse these units of experience; if necessary, or when one or another experience becomes more significant than the others, I can shift my attention. Throughout, I think; a mental process (thinking) is going on that not only do these units of experience appear in my consciousness as smaller units of consciousness that are randomly lined up in time, but I *think* of the whole complex set of phenomena (physical and mental) which is an independent experience from these, in the sense that the action of thinking does not come into contact with the units of experience caused by the disease and senses. The action of thinking as a unit of consciousness is located in my mind parallel to those units of consciousness whose source is physical; that is, the phenomenon refers to the world.

To all this, another mental phenomenon is added. The whole complex experience is accompanied by music, not (empirically) heard but inner-heard.¹⁹ One or another part of Grieg's piano concerto is running through my head, exactly at the same pace, my heart is pounding at. More specifically, I hear the music in the same tempo as my pulse. But not any music, only those parts that are in the same tempo as my pulse. During the day, we work on the musical work at orchestral rehearsals, and when I am not with an orchestra, I hear the work almost constantly in my head.

So, three things are happening simultaneously, each with their own phenomenal character: one (1) is the physical, biological states, and their mental equivalents caused by the disease, which have sensual effects manifested in moods, pain, etc. This is definitely attributed as being conscious; I know, I experience that I am sick and suffering. I feel pain, discomfort, accompanied by other physical, biological occurrences like coughing, sweating, etc. The second (2) conscious experience is the music that I hear in me. The difference between the two is that while I cannot control my illness and its physical consequences, including its phenomenal and experiential properties, I can control how I hear music, but partially. That I hear music in my head cannot be terminated. But it is up to me to decide and choose which part of a given work, from which point, for how long, at what speed, in what form to hear. The two larger (but not complete) units of consciousness—on the one hand, the consciousness of illness formed from many smaller units of consciousness; on the other hand, the consciousness of hearing and listening to music—can meet in one *phenomenal space*. Namely, when the tempo, speed, throbbing (pulsating) of the musical part I hear is the same as my heart rate, which depends on the current state of the illness. In fact, I can measure my heart rate by “knowing” the tempo (metronome marking) of that particular piece of music.

Now comes a third (3) element, which accompanies the two other elements and is entirely under my control. I *can decide* whether or not to think about all of the happenings, physical and mental. If, on the other hand, I have decided to think, I am not only aware of the first two

¹⁹ It can be argued that music is imaginary in this sense and not real. There are several cases (as Oliver Sacks explores with several clinical examples in the *Musical Hallucinations* chapter of *Musicophilia*) where patients complain that they hear music desperately ask – in vain – others to “turn off the music.” In reality, there is no music sounding nearby. In each of these cases, the music was what the person heard in the mind but thought (and experienced it) as if it came from the outside world. These were not imaginations, and in their own words, it was not music imagined but real. In each case, reference was made to a recording, radio, TV, or similar external source. Whether they were treated or not, a permanent remedy was not possible. Each had to learn to live with the phenomenon in their own way, as they attested.

unities, but also of a third element; that “I am thinking.” Plus, not just above the unity of consciousness of thinking, but above the three larger units of consciousness, I can start to argue about these and have a fourth unity of consciousness, which subsumes all three.

In the above example, we come across several approaches to our subject matter simultaneously: Consciousness covers (a) many experienced elements (unified content consciousness), (b) experiences of many objects (unified experiential consciousness), (c) access to oneself as the subject of many experiences (unified consciousness of myself). A fourth type, (d) the unity of focus (unity of focal attention; unified consciousness of attentive focus), according to Wilhelm Wundt, selects something within these “fields” (Blickfeld) what he calls Blickpunkt (viewpoint).²⁰

So if we are talking about any set of units of consciousness hierarchically, they must be located somewhere and shall not form a unit that could be called the unity of greater consciousness. For a subject (agent) the content of the units of consciousness (originating from units of experiences) are always different at every given moment. If the smaller units of consciousness should result in the UGC—at any given moment, mereologically speaking, a different greater unity of consciousness would result. If this were true, we could not talk about identity, nor could we talk about identifiability because we would not be identifiable to ourselves either. Therefore, the unity of consciousness, which is that of greater consciousness, contains and offers opportunities for smaller and versatile types and sizes of consciousness.

At first glance, the above theory is closer to the EP than to the NEP; it accepts the mereological relationship, which NEP rejects. Our theory accepts the EP, but it also complements it. On the other hand, the additional element also rules out the problem that NEP sets up. In some types of neurological disorders, the EP view of the unity of consciousness is compromised. The relationship between the unity of experience and the unity of consciousness, and the merits of mereological consciousness advocated by the EP, seem to be invalidated in some of these cases. The problem arises from the contents of consciousness. To describe the subject with the unified content of the mental states one possesses at a given moment would lead to a unified conscious experience that shall always be different. We must accept the opposite of this argument for the diachronic identity theory to remain valid; that the content must necessarily relate to its material, its object—additionally, in our case, to experience. Conversely, objects (matter, experience) must always be in some relation to the subject; it must be given to the subject, and at the same time, the subject must be one for whom “the given” shall be something. According to Kant, “all appearances, therefore, stand in a thoroughgoing connection according to necessary laws, and hence in a *transcendental affinity*, of which the *empirical affinity* is the mere consequence.”²¹

We cannot abstract content from the empirical; it is not the empirical that dictates and provides content to the subject, thereby giving content to experiences that add up to form a unified experience, and belong to a unified consciousness at the same time, but vice versa: a unified greater consciousness allows the validity of the empirical. Otherwise, a subject would have a random unity of greater consciousness at any given time. James (perhaps the earliest supporter of NEP) claimed the opposite of our arguments. According to him, while our experience is complex, this complexity is not the existence of more than one experience (or feeling) in an

²⁰ Wundt, W. M., [1874] 1893, *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie*, (Band I, II), Leipzig: Engelmann; transl. Edward Bradford Titchener in *Principles of Physiological Psychology*, (2 vols.), London: Allen, 1893. Page number relates to the translation: *Blickpunkt*; Wundt [1874] 1893: Vol. II, 67.

²¹ Ibid. Kant, I.: A113-114.

all-encompassing experience. Because „[...] we cannot mix feelings as such, though we may mix the objects we feel, and from *their* mixture get new feelings.” He argues that complexity is not the complexity of experiences and the unified experience that emerges from them. If one's experience becomes seemingly more complex, it is the complexity of the content of one experience and not the addition of multiple experiences (with different contents). “We cannot even [...] have two feelings in mind at once.”²²

James's argument above cannot be accepted because we empirically “know” that it is possible for multiple emotions, feelings, and moods to appear together in one mind at a given point of time. As an example, think of your mental states and occurrences while *listening to music*. Indeed, we can only have complex emotions and feelings towards individuals or social situations, as well as ourselves. These can be accepted as phenomenal units that are subordinate to a non-phenomenal unit. This non-phenomenal unit can be called consciousness. In this unit, the mereological relations can be substantiated as per the Kantian quote above. Otherwise, the following would apply to the content of the experience:

[... for otherwise] I would have as multicolored, diverse a self as I have representations of which I am conscious.²³

Based on what has been said so far, unity applies to a given moment, but it also remains valid in the case of continuity if we accept the diachronic nature of the UGC. So, it is consciousness that provides experiential unity. If not consciousness but self-consciousness were the coordination center, such a coordination center would not be able to know or recognize itself: it would be the non-conscious self-consciousness because it has no possibility of experiencing itself. Therefore, we propose that consciousness accompanies all cognitive actions, while self-consciousness is merely a *type* of mental actions, and in cognition, the real constant is consciousness itself. Using an analogy, the conception of “consciousness” is like the conception of “God,” or the conception of a “superior being” or a “power that explains the inexplicable.” It is the end product of brain actions or thinking in particular. Alternatively, we can say it is like the soul, which is also a conception (a product of thought) that can take the *form* of a (re)presentation—an inner (re)presentation—which serves to give an explanation of what the mind cannot explain to itself.

Let's look at an everyday experiential example: If someone speaks to me and I do not notice because I am busy with someone else, where is my consciousness? Just there, where I deal with what I am focusing on right now? Is one of my experiences conscious, the other non-conscious?

When sound waves arrive at my body, and the ear transforms them into signals, and they appear in the form of sensations in my brain or (re)presentations in my mind, and because I focus or concentrate on something else, (I can say I do not pay attention to or I am in a mental state not to “notice” these sounds, especially if I am “deeply immersed” in a world of thought), do these sensations not reach the level of consciousness? At such times, I cannot say that these feelings are waiting outside the “gates of the ear” until I let them in, waiting to become (re)presentations in my mind; I cannot say that the phenomenon of sound is not a phenomenon, it does not appear in my mind in the form of (re)presentations when it does not become conscious, that is, I do not realize that something is sounding beside me. Because if I would say it did not appear, what can I say about those sound waves? What happens to them? What do those become that entered the auditory organs in the form of waves through the ear canal, where they were transformed

²² James, W.: *Principles of Psychology*, Vol. 1. Macmillan. London. 1890:157.

²³ Ibid. Kant, I.: B134.

into signals through pre-processing and progressed to my brain, where my mind converted them into (re)presentations? In short, did I have any sensations? If so, where did they end up? How far have they come? Is it possible to talk about (re)presentations at all? Maybe psychology can answer these questions and, in part, biology²⁴. Or we can simply say that these experiences do not have phenomenal content.

Everything we have presented so far must be placed in a metaphysical space, and if we prefer a physicalist approach, in the brain. Because a permanent connection and mereological relation of consciousness to mental events, states, and occurrences cannot be established physically, we cannot state that consciousness has a constitutive permanent nature. Thus, metaphorically speaking, it must be placed somewhere. This space cannot be consciousness itself but must be the mind. If the two were the same, we would have a tautology.

Returning to the title and concluding this part of the second chapter, I use a linguistic approach to establish another difference in understanding and meaning of mind and consciousness. We can say that there are conscious and non-conscious actions, and also unconscious and subconscious, then consciousness cannot have the same meaning as the mind. We never say something is mindly, non-mindly, unmindly, or submindly. The mind is always there—and exists, we said—whether its actions are conscious, unconscious, or subconscious; the mind is that which is constant. In contrast, consciousness is a unit of the mind, a form (a framework), and cannot be the mind itself. Consciousness is created by its specific neural network. We have said of the permanence of consciousness that it is the possibility and space of cognitive actions.

One can ask the following question: If consciousness is a mental structure, how can we call mental actions, etc., conscious? The answer is that the differentiation is first a linguistic one, and second, it involves the references, and the referents become clear if we say the following: consciousness is a structure a metaphysical space, to be conscious is to have an attribute, a quality or property of a mental action. We can place actions within structures, where the attribute of these actions can refer to their relation to the structure where they occur. At the same time, we can generalize these properties independently of a specific location or structure. An example is to talk about Germany. We can understand the word as relating to a physical and/or geographic location on the surface of the world, including the relation of this geographic area to other areas, which, similar to Germany, have attributes, qualities, properties. We can place Germany into different contexts, historical, social, cultural, and so on. Now, if we talk about something or somebody being German, we place that object, person, or entity (in general that to which the concept refers) into a physical or non-physical location, into a structure, that is the complex structure of what Germany represents or refers to. German literature, German music, a German dog, a German woman, a German book, and so on. It does not matter if we indicate a single entity or a group of entities. All these examples use German as an attribute, a property, which indicates their relation to something that belongs to Germany, independent of its geographic, demographic, or physical state at a given moment. A German person has the property of having a relation to Germany. Consciousness as a structure is the mental location of conscious occurrences, occurrences that relate to the structure we call consciousness.

If, in some cases, we have unconscious reactions, such as when our face blushes, it is an action of the mind, or rather the result of a mental action that has intellectual and emotional implications. So far, the blush is not conscious. The experience is not conscious. If we notice that our face is blushing, the phenomenon resulting from mental action empirically gets placed in consciousness. Now the blush is the object of a conscious experience. In this example,

²⁴ Freud calls them preconscious states.

mental occurrences (states) have become available for perception. Similarly, many mental actions may have two types. The experiencing of these can be conscious and non-conscious. So there are two ways we can experience blush. Similarly, the appearance of forgotten things in memory for no reason (or without a cause), the recollection, and in other cases sudden appearances of memories and images belonging to the past, furthermore in rare cases, the appearance of sounds in the form of inner (re)presentations (memorial sound imagery) in the mind, unless associated with an external or inner trigger—in other words, the result of unconscious action—may indicate that the mind is not the same as consciousness. The mind cannot find the cause of such actions. Therefore, we have the phrase “*for no reason*” and “*without a cause*.” If we were to look for causation in such actions of the mind, only the effects would be revealed to us, and the causes would remain hidden from ourselves. This refers to those experiences where one end of the process of experiencing is unconscious, whereas the other end is conscious. The “cause” side of the causality is outside the structure of consciousness, while the “effect” side is in the structure of consciousness. Causality in the narrower sense is not accompanied by consciousness, insofar as causality can thus be called the condition of a mental state, which is the form of the appearance of certain mental actions; in a broader sense, the presumption of causation in experience does not necessarily belong to the outside world, while this does not preclude the possible connection of causality with external (empirical) phenomena.

Concluding, we can say that consciousness is not the equivalent of the mind, and mind cannot be the same as consciousness. I have attempted to show the conceptual difference between the two and that these concepts refer to two separate theoretical entities closely related to the mind-body and mind-brain problems. The unity of consciousness necessarily belongs to the mind as a structure. Further investigation of NCC issues and future results of brain research may place the mind and consciousness on physical grounds. Perhaps the seemingly impossible reducibility of consciousness to the physical will become a myth once and for all. Until then, all new philosophical ideas, thoughts, arguments, and theories will serve to better understand ourselves, humans, and the human mind, and pave new paths to future researchers.

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National system of entrepreneurship in Ecuador: an empirical study based on the Global Entrepreneurship Index (GEI)

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The positive correlation between productive entrepreneurship and the economic development of countries, regions, and cities has attracted increasing attention from researchers and policymakers. However, understanding and fostering entrepreneurship remains a challenge in theory and practice because entrepreneurship is a multidimensional phenomenon that results from the linked interplay of individuals and the local and global socio-economic context. In this complex scenario, the entrepreneurial ecosystems concept provides a comprehensive theoretical perspective and an operative tool for studying entrepreneurship at the national level. This study examines the quality of the Ecuadorian entrepreneurship system based on the Global Entrepreneurship Index (GEI) data from 2008-2017. The findings show that the Ecuadorian entrepreneurial ecosystem remains unfavorable for productive entrepreneurship and its performance is lagging by far, compared to well-performing ecosystems in the region. The most severe bottlenecks in the system are internationalization and risk acceptance while the strongest pillars are start-up skills and networking.

Keywords: entrepreneurship Ecuador, entrepreneurial ecosystem, Global Entrepreneurship Index

I. Introduction

Understanding the mechanisms for fostering productive entrepreneurship has attracted much attention from policymakers and researchers. A large body of literature found a positive correlation between high-quality entrepreneurship and the economic performance of countries, regions, and cities (Audretsch, Belitski, and Desai, 2015; Naudé, 2013). This positive effect of entrepreneurship is promising but also complex to understand and achieve. Nowadays, a solid body of literature in entrepreneurship exists and the main driving forces of entrepreneurship are well understood. Although the entrepreneurship concept is still a subject of academic debate, there is a broad recognition of the multidimensional and systemic character of entrepreneurship that allows envisioning it as a complex phenomenon. There is a growing realization that entrepreneurship is not happening in isolation. Local contextual factors and circumstances affect the behaviour of the entrepreneurs (Kalantaridis and Bika, 2006). Therefore, there is a prominent call for systematic, comprehensive approaches that consider both, individual (e.g., personality, psychological traits, of the entrepreneur) and contextual (e.g., physical, socio-economic, and political environment) factors). In this context, studying separate factors associated with entrepreneurship could provide an incipient contribution to the understanding of a complex phenomenon. Thus, more context-sensitive approaches for advancing conceptualization and policymaking in entrepreneurship seems to be the most appropriate.

Responding to these calls for context-sensitive approaches, the entrepreneurial ecosystem (EE) has become a predominant conceptual metaphor. The term ‘entrepreneurial ecosystem’ is used in its broadest sense to refer to all “those economic, social, institutional and all other important factors that interactively influence the creation, discovery, and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities” (Qian, Ács and Stough, 2013, p. 561). At the regional level, the entrepreneurial ecosystem concept is important since it is seen as a strategy for economic development by creating supportive environments that facilitate the development of innovative businesses (Isenberg, 2014; Spigel and Harrison, 2018). The entrepreneurial ecosystem concept has been evolving in entrepreneurship research for a long time and important advancement regarding its conceptualization and measurement has been developed (Malecki 2018; Cavallo et al. 2019). Despite the evolving nature of research in entrepreneurial ecosystems, by now, there is a good understanding of the main building blocks of general entrepreneurial ecosystems. In other words, the overall structure of an entrepreneurial ecosystem (i.e., the key constituent elements of most of the EE) has been determined and it allowed many researchers to go one step further and develop indicators for measuring quality and performance of entrepreneurial ecosystems.

In this context, several indicators, indexes, and methodologies have been created following the logic of the entrepreneurial ecosystem. One of the currently most widely used indexes to measure entrepreneurial ecosystem performance at the country level is the Global Entrepreneurship Index (GEI). The GEI is an annual index that measures the quality (characteristics and performance) of the entrepreneurship systems in more than 120 countries. Compared to other available indicators, this index is particularly advantageous for two reasons. First, it provides values at three levels: overall index value, sub-indices values (entrepreneurial abilities, entrepreneurial attitudes, and entrepreneurial aspirations), and fourteen pillars distributed under each of these three categories. It allows visualizing in detail the indicators that make up the EE. Second, GEI is currently the only available analytical tool which offers a special methodology to reflect the systemic perspective of the ecosystem, by applying the so-called Penalty of Bottleneck methodology. The GEI is yearly recalculated using updated and robust data from each country, thus it constitutes a practical and accurate tool that facilitates the measuring and understanding of the evolution of national-level systems of entrepreneurship of

the participating countries. Since the GEI includes all the South American countries it also allows comparative analysis of the EE of countries within the region.

This paper examines the Ecuadorian national entrepreneurial ecosystem using data from GEI, 2008-2017. The aim of this study is twofold. First, it presents a detailed analysis of the evolution of the Ecuadorian national system of entrepreneurship, pointing out the main system's strengths and bottlenecks. Second, it provides a perspective about the relative position of the Ecuadorian system compared to its neighbouring country Peru and Chile which has the most well-developed entrepreneurial ecosystem in the South American continent. This paper begins with a brief description of the GEI methodology and data. The second section analyses the evolution and the status of the Ecuadorian entrepreneurial system at the sub-index and pillar level. This section also shows the relative position of the Ecuadorian entrepreneurship system compared to Peruvian and Chilean systems. The third section provides a brief policy discussion that focuses on pointing out strategies for alleviating the main bottlenecks of the Ecuadorian system. The final section brings together the conclusions.

I.1. Country profile: development, country competitiveness and entrepreneurial activity

Ecuador is an upper-middle-income country located in the north of South America. Ecuador's total area is 283,560 km² and its population by 2020 is 17.4 million inhabitants. Ecuador showed a particular growth trend during the 2007-2017 decade which has been favourable for economic development. As observed in table 1, the major indicators of development show an overall sustained reduction in poverty and inequality, increasing in life expectancy, better national security, and enhanced human development over 2007-2017. Perhaps the most important milestone is the simultaneous improvement of GDP per capita and the sustained decrease of GINI index during that decade. By 2007, the GDP Per capita was \$3567 and by 2017 it almost duplicated to \$6213 (The World Bank, 2021) while the Gini Index decreased in 0.075 points.

Table 1. Key development indicators, Ecuador 2007-2017

Year	GDP per capita	Gini Index	HDI 0-1
2007	3567	0.522	0.695
2010	4633	0.487	0.716
2014	6377	0.450	0.750
2017	6213	0.447	0.757

Source: The World Bank, 2021, United Nations Development Programme, 2021, University of Groningen and University of California, Davis, 2021. Notes. GDP per capita in current USD, Gini index scale: ranges from 0 to 1, with 0 representing perfect equality and 1 representing perfect inequality.

During the 2008-2017 period, Ecuador showed a slow improvement in its global competitiveness. The Global Competitiveness Index estimates the country level competitiveness by evaluating the factors that drive growth, productivity, and human development through 12 macro and microeconomic pillars. The scale ranges from 1 to 7, where 7 indicates a competitive economy. Although by 2017 Ecuador still ranked among the lowest scores in the region, the county significantly improved its performance since 2007 (Figure 1). For the period 2007 - 2017 Ecuador experienced a yearly average growth rate of 1.52%.

Compared to other countries in the region, Ecuador shows the highest yearly average growth rate whereas Chile, with -0.11%, showed the lowest average growth rate.

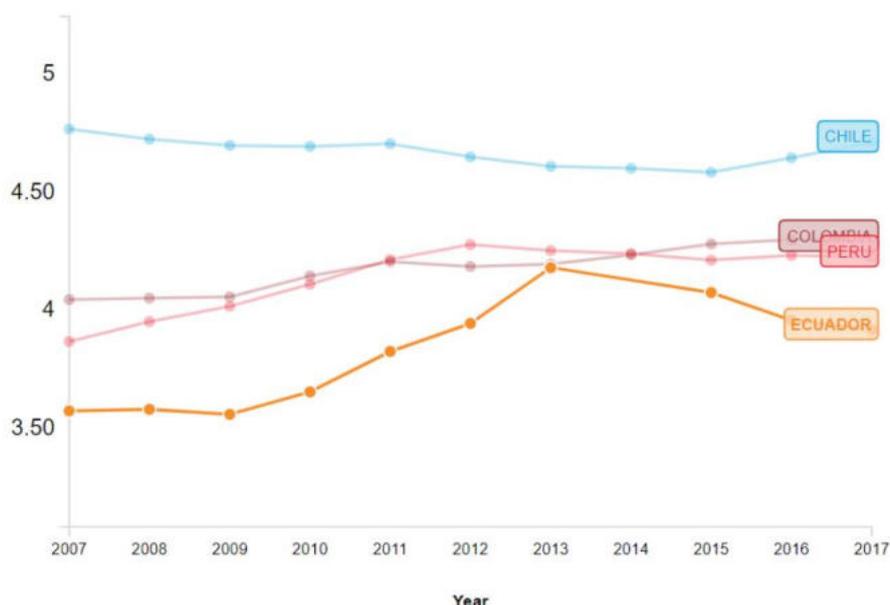


Figure 1. Global Competitiveness Index scores 2007-2017, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru and Chile.

Source: World Economic Forum, 2021

Entrepreneurial activity in Ecuador in the period 2010-2017 shows a steady increase. The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) measures entrepreneurial activity through the Total early-stage *Entrepreneurial Activity (TEA)* indicator which is defined as the percentage of the population between 18 and 64 years old who are either a nascent entrepreneur or owner-manager of a new business. Figure 2 shows the evolution of TEA scores during the last nine years in five Latin American countries. TEA in Ecuador has been substantially increasing from 21.25 in 2010 to 36.2 in 2019. During six years, from 2012 to 2017, Ecuador showed the highest rates of TEA among the selected Latin American countries.

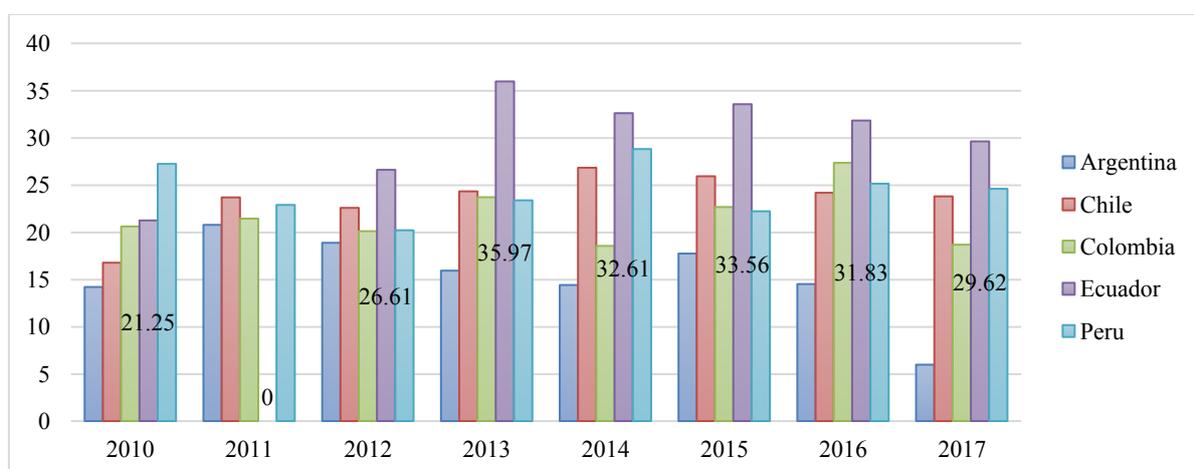


Figure 2. Total early-stage Entrepreneurial Activity (TEA) South America 2010 - 2017

Source: own elaboration based on Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2021

II. The GEI methodology

This section unpacks the characteristics of the Ecuadorian entrepreneurial ecosystem using data from the Global Entrepreneurship and Development Index (GEI) 2008-2017. The GEI score is expressed in a number between 0 and 100, with 100 equalling the most supportive and efficient entrepreneurial environment. Since the definition of entrepreneurship varies among researchers, it is important to clarify how this term is used in the GEI. The GEI defines country-level entrepreneurship as “the dynamic, institutionally embedded interaction between entrepreneurial attitudes, entrepreneurial abilities, and entrepreneurial aspirations by individuals, which drives the allocation of resources through the creation and operation of new ventures.” (Ács et al, 2018 p.21).

Table 2. The structure of the GEI

GLOBAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP INDEX	Sub-indexes	Pillars	Variables (ind./inst.)	
	ATTITUDES SUB-INDEX	OPPORTUNITY PERCEPTION	OPPORTUNITY	Opportunity recognition
			PERCEPTION	Freedom
		STARTUP SKILLS	STARTUP SKILLS	Skill perception
				Education
		RISK ACCEPTANCE	RISK ACCEPTANCE	Risk perception
				Country risk
		NETWORKING	NETWORKING	Know entrepreneur
				Agglomeration (urbanization*infrastructure)
		CULTURAL SUPPORT	CULTURAL SUPPORT	Career status
				Corruption
	ABILITIES SUB-INDEX	OPPORTUNITY STARTUP	OPPORTUNITY STARTUP	Opportunity motivation
				Governance
		TECHNOLOGY ADOPTION	TECHNOLOGY ADOPTION	Technology level
				Technology absorption
		HUMAN CAPITAL	HUMAN CAPITAL	Educational level
				Labor market
		COMPETITION	COMPETITION	Competitors
				Competitiveness
	ASPIRATION SUB-INDEX	PRODUCT INNOVATION	PRODUCT INNOVATION	New product
				Technology transfer
		PROCESS INNOVATION	PROCESS INNOVATION	New technology
				Science
		HIGH GROWTH	HIGH GROWTH	Gazelle
			Finance and strategy (venture capital*business sophistication)	
INTERNATIONALIZATION		INTERNATIONALIZATION	Export	
			Economic complexity	
RISK CAPITAL		RISK CAPITAL	Informal investment	
			Depth of capital market	

Note. Individual variables are marked in white while institutional ones are marked in grey background.

Source : Ács et al, 2018b

The GEI offers a concise framework to measure entrepreneurial ecosystem performance through a predefined set of key factors. As described in table 2, the GEI consists of three building blocks: entrepreneurial attitudes, entrepreneurial abilities, and entrepreneurial aspirations. Entrepreneurial attitudes represent how a country thinks about entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurial abilities sub-index measures people's perceived abilities to start a business. The population's aspirations sub-index measures the level of the intention of growth. These three sub-indices are composed of 14 pillars. Each of the pillars is composed of both an individual and an institutional variable.

III. Results

Analysis of Ecuador's overall GEI score

At a glance, Ecuadorian entrepreneurial ecosystems are not broadly supportive of entrepreneurship. As observed in the figure below, the scores have remained -relatively- low since 2008. A fast catch up and a significant improvement can be observed from 2010 to 2013 but from 2013 to 2017 the performance declines again reaching almost the initial scores.

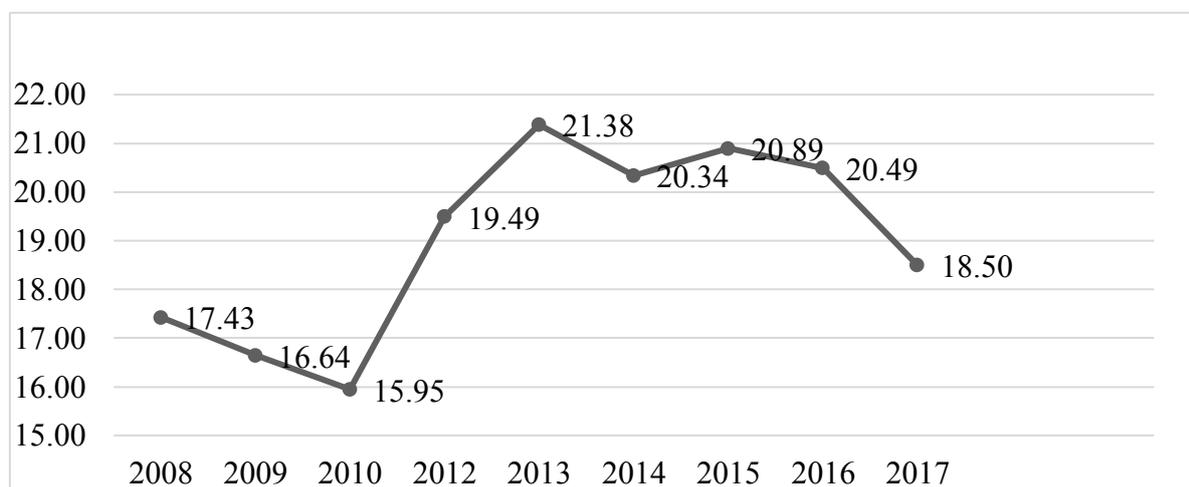


Figure 3. Ecuador's GEI scores 2007-2017

Source: GEI dataset

Since the overall scores of the GEI are low, it is reasonable to further examine their underlying causes, the ecosystem's strengths and weaknesses. The next section provides a closer examination of the three GEI subindices from the Ecuadorian entrepreneurial ecosystem.

Analysis of the three sub-indices' trends over time

As observed in figure 4, overall, there was no significant improvement in the abilities and aspirations scores during the 2008-2017 period. Abilities score increased from 20.85 in 2008 to 20.91 in 2017 while aspirations score increased from 15.53 to 15.73. Conversely, there is a significant improvement of +7.41 in entrepreneurial attitudes score which improved from 15.72 in 2008 to 23.16 in 2017

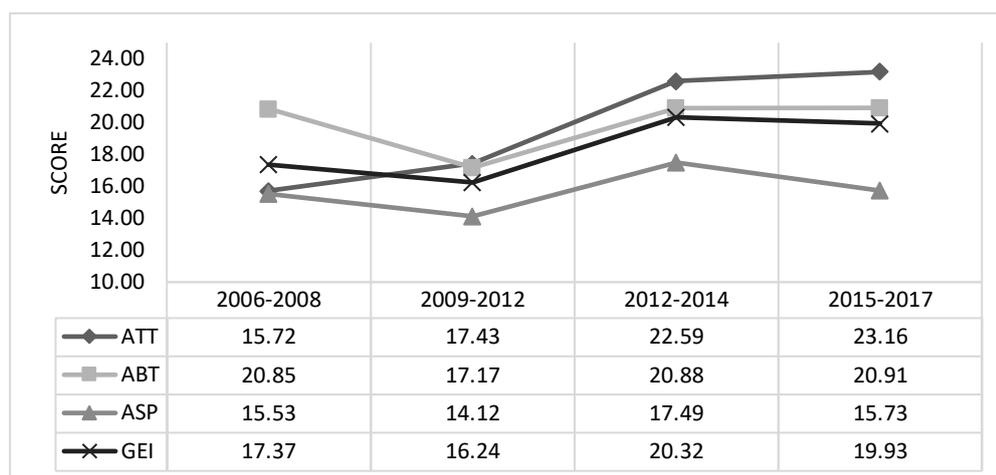


Figure 4. GEI subindices Ecuador 2008-2017

Source: GEI dataset

Entrepreneurial attitudes

It can be seen from the data in Table 3 that the best performing pillar within this sub-index is Start-up skills while risk acceptance remains the lowest. High individual skill perception coupled with increasing rates of participation in education (see. UNESCO, 2021) could explain the high score in start-up skills pillar. On the other hand, although individuals do not perceive high risk, an extremely low score in the country risk variable led to low scores in risk acceptance pillar.

Entrepreneurial abilities

Within this sub-index, all the institutional variables show low performance. Particularly, technology absorption is one of the biggest challenges for the Ecuadorian entrepreneurial ecosystem. Interestingly, the “competitors” variable performs particularly well, meaning that a high percentage of the businesses started in markets where not many other firms offer the same product. These pillars are relevant for planning productivity and differentiation strategies.

Entrepreneurial aspirations

This sub-index scored the lowest value. The low levels of “Internationalization” demonstrate the limited capacity of Ecuadorian entrepreneurs to export their products. Ecuadorian businesses show low exporting potential and low ability to produce complex products. The results also show that the country performs considerably better on the individual variables (0.53 average) than on those representing the traits of institutions (0.36 average). These two groups of variables are not balanced.

Table 3. GEI pillars' scores 2015-2017

	PILLARS		INSTITUTIONAL VARIABLES		INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES	
Entrepreneurial Attitudes	Opportunity Perception	0.19	Freedom	0.22	Opportunity Recognition	0.77
	Start-up skills	0.49	Education	0.48	Skill Perception	0.95
	Risk Acceptance	0.07	Country Risk	0.09	Risk Perception	0.69
	Networking	0.37	Connectivity	0.49	Know Entrepreneurs	0.60
	Cultural Support	0.18	Corruption	0.36	Career Status	0.51
	Entrepreneurial Attitudes	23.2				
	Entrepreneurial Abilities	Opportunity Startup Technology Absorption	0.22	Governance	0.39	Opportunity Motivation
Human Capital		0.17	Tech Absorption	0.38	Technology Level	0.77
Competition		0.27	Labour Market Competitiveness and Regulation	0.44	Educational Level	0.99
Entrepreneurial Abilities		20.9				
Product Innovation		0.24	Technology Transfer	0.44	New Product	0.50
Process Innovation		0.11	Science	0.40	New Technology	0.44
High Growth		0.07	Finance and strategy	0.30	Gazelle	0.88
Internationalization	0.06	Economic complexity	0.29	Export	0.88	
Risk Capital	0.24	Depth of Capital Market	0.34	Informal Investment	0.46	
Entrepreneurial Aspirations	15.7					
GEI	19.9	Institutional	0.36	Individual	0.53	

Source: GEI dataset

At the pillar level, the scores vary between 0.06 out of 1 the lowest, and 0.49 out of 1 the highest. This values evidence that the most severe bottleneck in the Ecuadorian entrepreneurial ecosystem is risk acceptance -measured by the country risk, combined with risk perception-. The strongest area, on the other hand, is start-up skills measured by Education level (tertiary education*quality of education), combined with individual skill perception.

Analysis of the fourteen pillars and comparison to other countries

Peru is a neighbouring country of Ecuador. It has been selected to compare with the Ecuadorian entrepreneurial ecosystem since both countries have a very similar economic profile. Ecuador and Peru are “middle income” countries and their GDP per capita are 6217 (2017) and 6728 (2017) respectively. Chile, on the other hand, is the best-performing country in the region. Taking Chile as a benchmark will allow a sounder comparison in the South American context. Figure 4 displays the relative position of the scores of each of the 14 pillars from GEI for Ecuador, Peru, and Chile.

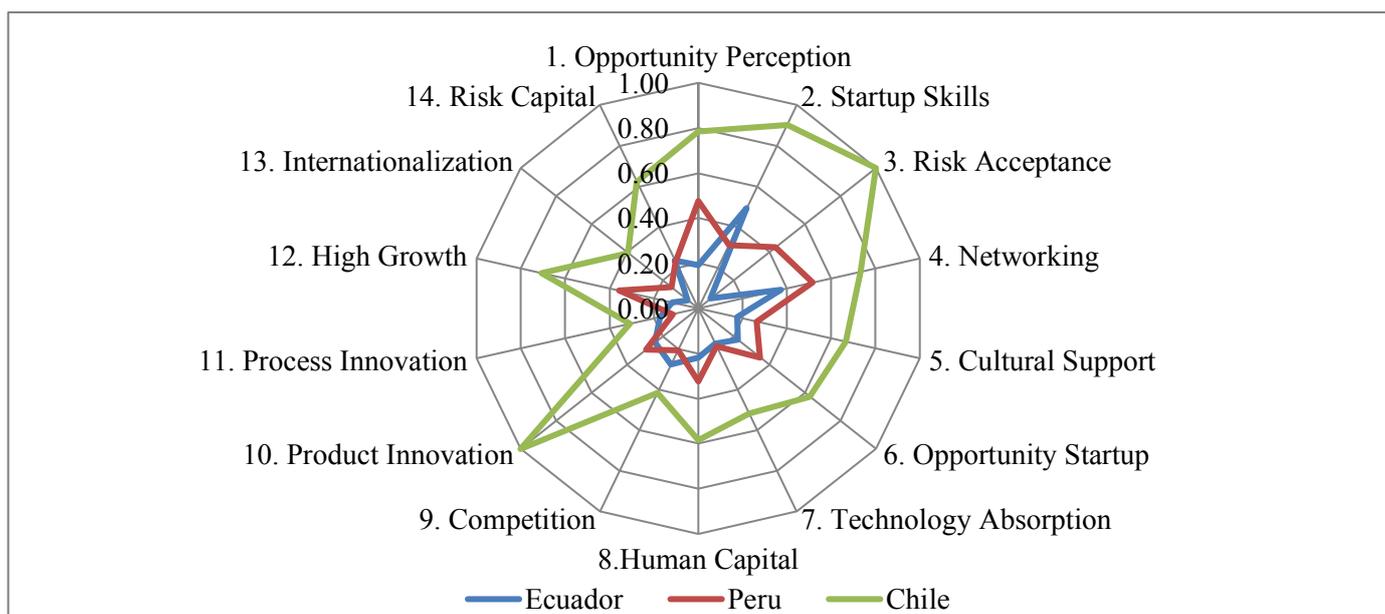


Figure 4. Comparative chart GEI pillars, Ecuador, Peru, and Chile
Source: GEI dataset

Looking at the figure, it is apparent that Ecuadorian and Peruvian ecosystems' quality is on the same level (both within the 0.5 area). However, Peru performs slightly better than Ecuador (Peru GEI 2015-2017=27.6, Ecuador GEI 2015-2017= 19.9). It is also evident that the individual distribution of the scores is very uneven. Ecuador and Peru perform similarly in start-up skills, networking, cultural support, opportunity start-up, technology absorption, human capital, product innovation, process innovation, and internationalization. Conversely, big differences can be observed regarding opportunity perception, risk acceptance, and high growth. Peruvian ecosystem is more supportive than the Ecuadorian ecosystem in all these latter pillars.

There is a big gap in performance between Ecuador, Peru, and Chile. Both, Ecuador and Peru are lagging behind by far from the Chilean entrepreneurial ecosystem quality (Chile GEI 2015-2017= 58.5). The most interesting aspect of this graph is a visibly more balanced distribution of pillars scores in the case of Chile. Chile shows exceptional performance in entrepreneurial attitudes (pillars 1 to 5) and product innovation. On the other hand, similarly to Ecuador and Peru cases, internationalization and process innovation are the weakest pillars.

Policy directions

As highlighted before, the GEI methodology provides specific guidance for policymaking by identifying the crucial areas that are restraining the performance of the ecosystem and calculating the required effort to efficiently overcome the identified bottlenecks. These values are the starting point for strategic improvement of the entrepreneurial ecosystem which follows the logic of first improving the weakest pillars. Due to the systemic nature of the methodology, it is stated that if these weak factors are addressed first, they can -more- efficiently yield overall improvement of the entrepreneurial system. In this case, the target change is set to 0.02, meaning that increasing the allocation of resources for policy in the identified bottleneck variables will lead to gain a 2% improvement in the performance of the country's entrepreneurial system.

Ecuador's most significant bottleneck is in internationalization. Therefore, policy actions must start from here. In this regard, it is necessary to identify the determinants of internationalization of new firms and provide incentives for the creation and improvement of these kinds of features. This can be achieved through market research and subsidies to businesses in specific economic sectors. (tailor-made solutions). Empirical research demonstrates that certain factors related to the individual and the national context has an effect on the likelihood of early firm internationalizing (See. Amorós Basco and Romaní, 2016; Li, 2018). Therefore, a proper diagnosis of the national/regional driving factors coupled with subsequent governmental support may affect positively entrepreneurs' early internationalization. The second focus of intervention in the Ecuadorian case is increasing risk acceptance (which is the combination of fear of failure and country's risk). However, this is not an easy task since attitude towards risk is a very complex and specific feature of the population which in some cases is associated with individual factors such as gender, education level, and entrepreneurial skills perception (Sepúlveda and Bonilla, 2011). Therefore, policies could manage this issue by tracing the characteristic of the "fear of failure" measurement in the country and design specific supportive policies considering the differential effects of fear on risk perception (e.g. provide financial information and support to women entrepreneurs). Moreover, risk perception could decrease by providing accurate and "easy to understand" financial information (for instance country risk statistics) for the population. Finally, a smaller effort is required to improve the high growth aspirations of entrepreneurs. This pillar could improve simultaneously with internationalization policies. However, specific policy interventions such as setting a favourable taxing scheme for new firms growing at a fast rate or providing financial support for existing business' sophistication could contribute to overcoming this particular bottleneck.

Table 4. Critical areas of the Ecuadorian entrepreneurial ecosystem

Target GEI Change	0.02	
Pillar	Required Increase in Pillar	Percentage of the total new effort
Opportunity Perception	0.00	0%
Start-up Skills	0.00	0%
Risk Acceptance	0.07	41%
Networking	0.00	0%
Cultural Support	0.00	0%
Opportunity Startup	0.00	0%
Technology Absorption	0.00	0%
Human Capital	0.00	0%
Competition	0.00	0%
Product Innovation	0.00	0%
Process Innovation	0.00	0%
High Growth	0.02	12%
Internationalisation	0.08	47%
Risk Capital	0.00	0%
Total effort	0.17	100%
Number of pillars Changed	3	

*Note. Dark green shows the most problematic pillar which is holding back the whole system
Source: GEI dataset*

IV. Conclusions

The historical data from GEI scores 2008 – 2017 show minor improvement of the Ecuadorian entrepreneurial ecosystem from 17.43 in 2008 to 18.50 by 2017. In this context, other important business-related indicators corroborate the limited improvement of the conditions for business development. According to the Global Competitiveness Index, from 2007, Ecuador showed a yearly average growth rate of 1.52% mainly driven by a substantial improvement in public infrastructure and education. By analyzing GEM's data on entrepreneurial activity, it was found that although Ecuador keeps high TEA rates since 2012, it is mainly composed of nascent entrepreneurs and the number of necessity- driven entrepreneurs within the TEA total is also increasing proportionally over time.

The results of GEI scores show that the overall performance of the Ecuadorian entrepreneurial ecosystem remains at a low level (between 15 – 22 points over 100). Ecuadorian performance is lagging by far, compared to well-performing ecosystems in the region (Chile, GEI 58.5). Examination at the pillar level showed that the lowest-performing pillar in the Ecuadorian entrepreneurial ecosystem is “internationalization” -measured by country economic complexity and firms' export capacity- while the strongest area is start-up skills measured by Education level (tertiary education*quality of education), combined with individual skill perception. More specifically, a closer view at the variable level showed that individual variables are performing considerably better than institutional variables. It suggests a particular adverse institutional environment for business in Ecuador. However, on the other hand, it also suggests the potential of strong individual entrepreneurial capacity. Ecuadorian population is increasingly educated,

healthy, and wealthier (according to national human development indicators) so, they are more able to choose to engage in productive entrepreneurial activities. Ecuadorian adult population shows high levels of motivation, they can recognize opportunities and they perceive themselves as skilled to start-up.

Furthermore, “risk acceptance” —measured by the country risk, combined with risk perception- and “high growth” are critical areas holding back the whole ecosystem's efficiency. Low scores in high growth pillar suggest that current entrepreneurial activity in Ecuador is concentrated on small traditional trade/services business rather than in high-performance ventures. Ecuadorian institutions must, therefore, invest in supporting more growth-oriented, productive activities mainly aiming to decrease the risk of bigger investment, process innovation, and improving international networks of trade. Ecuadorian policymakers must work on improving judicial effectiveness and government integrity while keeping a manageable tax burden for promising ventures. More efficient institutions, which promote rather than obstruct the entrepreneur's goals, are required to ease the internationalization process for business in Ecuador. It is argued in this paper that supportive policies from national and subnational governments together with entrepreneur's actions could have a positive effect on the ecosystem. It is important to note that, there is no single set of steps to follow in order to improve ecosystems performance in a country, policy procedures depend on a proper diagnosis of the particular needs of each ecosystem at the national level and the characteristics of its most constraining factors.

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Data availability

The data that support the findings of this study are openly available in <https://thegedi.org/datasets/>

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**Cavalry virtue and the Italian national identity.
The representation of the characters in *Ettore Fieramosca* by
Massimo d'Azeglio**

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The *Ettore Fieramosca ossia la disfida di Barletta* (1833) was the first literary work with which Massimo d'Azeglio wanted to spur the aspirations of the Italian *Risorgimento*. The following essay aims to examine the representation of the characters so that we can identify the virtues that d'Azeglio considered fundamental for the national identity during the formation in Italy.

The various ways in which the author represents the characters serve to make certain distinctions between them: while the invading French soldiers are described as vile men and without morals, the Spanish and the Italians - who fight to defend Southern Italy - are portrayed as people with courage and honesty. The Italian aristocracy is divided between two powers: the Piedmontese Grajano, in the hope of acquiring more power, supports the French invasion. The protagonist Ettore, on the other hand, is the best soldier of the Italian army who, according to our author, is highly cultured and has the virtue of the "*cuor gentile*", becomes a possible model for the new Italian nation.

With this historical novel, d'Azeglio made his debut not only as a writer but also as a political thinker. In fact, his anti-French ideas will remain a main point throughout his future political career.

Keywords: Massimo d'Azeglio, Ettore Fieramosca, Risorgimento, patriotic literature, character representation

I. Introduction

The *Risorgimento*¹ in Italy initially aimed to unite the territories of the peninsula in a single state, therefore to create a unity based on political principles.² As the events of the period unfolded, however, it was recognised that national unification was impossible without the development of an Italian sense of identity and that this required the emergence of a social, collective sense of community.³ It was after the Napoleonic era that Italians realised that unity was not so inconceivable: under the influence of Romanticism more and more Italians came to believe that the nation was a metaphorical family, in which everyone was a brother and sister, and whose harmony was preserved by the ideal (united) Italy portrayed as a female or maternal figure.⁴ As part of the struggle to shape a national identity, but going far beyond it, Italians sought to define and select the moral, social values and (patriotic) sentiments that would shape the collective, social consciousness. The *Risorgimento* imagined self-definition, the construction of a sense of fraternity, along a narrative of fundamental opposites: good and evil, love and hate, honour and shame, victory and defeat.⁵ Patriotism itself can be placed in this context: in Italy, the presence of foreign oppressive powers is a disgrace to the nation, and aggressive action against them is not an option but a duty. In other words, patriotism took two forms: nationalism and xenophobia. The *Risorgimento* was characterised by contradictory developments due to the diversity of political and ideological tendencies on the one hand, and on the other hand by the duality of *social emotions* as defined by Patriarca. On the one hand, the source of the nation's glory was thought to lie in the cultivation of contemporary culture and in the great moments of the community's history, on the other hand the sense of shame and humiliation that the nation's shortcomings and backwardness (especially in comparison with other states) brought to the *Risorgimento*'s struggles, and the latter emotions, despite their negativity, served as a kind of motor for the process of national unification.⁶ In addition to these nation-building factors, literature also underwent an important development during the period, as it increasingly denoted the role of shaping public thought. Many authors reflected on issues of national unity and identity, such as Alfieri as a literary forerunner of the *Risorgimento*, Foscolo, Leopardi or Manzoni. Manzoni's ideas on national unification are particularly relevant to the present work. Already in 1821, in his poem *Marzo 1821*, he identifies the possible factors for the creation of social unity: „*Una d'arme, di lingua, d'altare, Di memorie, di sangue e di cor.*”⁷ In the program poem, he points out that in addition to the traditional nation-building elements - a common *army, language, religion and origin* - there is also a need for the *memory and reliving of a common historical past* that influences the collective social consciousness, and for the invisible link of the heart, or patriotic sentiment, that binds the members of society together.

¹ Cf. Coggi 1997; Pete 2011, 2018; Scirocco 1990.

² Cf. Chabod 1979, p. 58.

³ More on national identity cf. Tóth 2012,

http://www.grotius.hu/doc/pub/PUXAYH/2012_126_toth_barbara_grotius_e-konyvtar_54..pdf?fbclid=IwAR2AgIeaMOizwJbixH9Ij7LsHLT6z1m5Iyvi9CThbeSn920dryVRAwyGQak, Ceserani http://italogramma.elte.hu/wp-content/files/Ceserani_La_costruzione_identit_nazionale.pdf

⁴ Such a representation of Italy is also an image of a glorious past or a turbulent present. In *All'Italia*, for example, Leopardi presents his country as a once glorious and beautiful woman („*formosissima donna*”) who is now a poor servant girl („*Che fosti donna, or sei povera ancella.*”). Cf. Leopardi 1988, p. 3. Manzoni in *Il proclama di Rimini* makes a similar point: Italy, once a strong and feisty woman, is not even worthy of being invited to the Congress of Vienna, which was to decide her fate („*Questa antica, gentil, donna pugnace/Degna non la tenean dell'alto invito [...]*”), cf. Manzoni 1988, p. 101.

⁵ Cf. Patriarca 2012, p. 134.

⁶ Cf. Idem, pp. 135-136.

⁷ Cf. Manzoni 1988, p. 99.

To achieve this, he focused on language as a nation-building factor: a common language and a culture based on it are what can unite a divided Italy. He created a unified linguistic model with his historical novel *I promessi sposi* (1827, 1840-1842).

In Italy, the historical novel underwent a major development during the period. This was linked to the *Risorgimento*'s desire to establish national pride by, among others, reintroducing the glorious moments of the common historical past into public consciousness. The objective of the age was to recover the old greatness, the source of which, and the patriotic moral standards and virtues, was believed to be found in the nation's past.⁸ Petrocchi saw one of the reasons for the genre's popularity in the fact that many of the historical novels of the period effectively conveyed the need to shape national identity by dealing with medieval events in Italy⁹: among these works are Guerrazzi's *Battaglia di Benevento* (1828), Grossi's *Lombardi alla prima Crociata* (1826) and *Marco Visconti* (1834). Manzoni canonised the genre of historical novel with *I promessi sposi*, but his poetic programme also articulates the impossibility of a perfect historical novel, since either historical truth (*vero storico*) or fiction is necessarily compromised. It is to these problems and crises of the historical novel that d'Azeglio's *Fieramosca* is linked. Despite the close relationship between the two authors and the short time between the publications of their novels, *Fieramosca* is a complete departure from the Manzoni narrative. This is reflected in d'Azeglio's letter¹⁰ of July 1831, in which he praises Manzoni's views on the historical novel, but adds that he believes that the majority will never embrace this concept of the novel. In any case, d'Azeglio replaces the purity of historical facts with the use of historical truth as a starting point, which he then modifies according to his own intentions, not to faithfully represent events but to capture and interpret their particular atmosphere, putting them in the perspective of the problems of the *Risorgimento* to be solved and, finally, to convey them to the reader.¹¹

De Sanctis, the most eminent literary critic of the period, also positions d'Azeglio's work precisely on the basis of its emphasis on historical elements: he considers the *Ettore Fieramosca* to be the first truly Italian historical novel, in contrast to *I promessi sposi* and *Marco Visconti*. He explains that, although Manzoni and Grossi also present the historical background to the plot, this serves them only as a kind of „frame“, despite the fact that they have chosen as a background the most significant moments in Italian history (and in the national consciousness). According to De Sanctis, it is in fact the love story that is the main focus of their narratives. In the *Fieramosca*, on the other hand, the historical thread is „not a frame but the image itself“¹²: not only is the historical thread central throughout, but d'Azeglio fills its events (even if he changes the facts in some cases) with a much greater proportion of patriotic messages and almost provocative questions than the other two authors.¹³

⁸ In this context, Riso also argues that the events of centuries earlier narrated in the *Risorgimento* historical novels were in fact the symbols of the conflicts in Italy in the early 19th century. Cf. Riso 2012, 17.

⁹ „[...] l'aggancio del romanzo storico al ribollire di passioni civili e morali del nostro Risorgimento. V'era pur un'intima necessita, da parte dei romanzieri romantici, a scegliere un dato argomento di storia, un'epoca da rappresentare, e nasceva dal bisogno di trovare un rapporto continuo e operante tra la storia che stavano vivendo e quella del passato.“ Cf. Petrocchi 1967, p. 46. See also Langella, <https://www.ateneo.brescia.it/controlpanel/uploads/supplementi-ai-commentari/S-2015b-05%20Langella.pdf>, p. 53.

¹⁰ Cf. Gigante 2013, p. 25.

¹¹ Confining the historical novel to precise definitions is highly problematic. One of its greatest theorists, György Lukács, for example, did not consider historical novels to be works that merely „use history as a set“, but in fact „the characters' psychology“ and „the morals they depict are entirely of the authors' time“. Cf. Lukács 1977, p. 17.

¹² „La storia dovrebbe essere cornice e per lui è il quadro, essa chiama la sua attenzione.“ Cf. De Sanctis 1922, p. 336.

¹³ Cf. Idem, p. 336-337.

My hypothesis is that d'Azeglio transforms the way in which the characters and historical events are portrayed and subordinates them to the author's intention, which is to plant the question of national unity and identity as firmly as possible in the public consciousness.¹⁴ The desire to communicate a patriotic message thus overrides the romanticising love story, so that the *interessante per sé* aspect dominates d'Azeglio's work instead of the *vero storico*: in my view, the love story functions as a fable in the fable¹⁵, while the historical story is the message of the construction of a unified Italian national identity. Furthermore, in defining the virtues, I believe that d'Azeglio took into account the *social emotion* and the social state of society of the period, in particular the contrasting narrative, since the role of the combined representation of glory and shame in shaping the plot allowed him to define the virtues necessary to shape the national consciousness.

II. Massimo d'Azeglio and the *Ettore Fieramosca ossia la disfida di Barletta*

A member of the Piedmontese nobility, Massimo Taparelli d'Azeglio (1798-1866) was a painter, writer, soldier and politician of extraordinary versatility. His career¹⁶ is associated to the patriotic attitude „expected” by the period: the cultural context and the individual's will to act inevitably make the figure of the literary man and the politician-soldier inseparable, as in the case of Giuseppe Mazzini or Ippolito Nievo.¹⁷

The military and patriotic upbringing of his parents played an important role in shaping his world view. The stories of his father's years as a prisoner of the French and the French invasion of Piedmont in 1806, which led the family into voluntary exile in Florence, formed the basis of d'Azeglio's anti-French convictions and his general struggle against foreign powers.

He worked as a painter from 1820 about to 1829. His interest in the history of Italy was already evident in this period, and he worked on a number of subjects of particular interest to Italians. The turning point in his artistic career came in 1831. In 1830, he began painting the Barletta duel, and it was during this work in 1831 that he realised that prose, rather than painting, might be a more appropriate means of stirring up national sentiment. He recalls this moment in *I miei ricordi*¹⁸:

¹⁴ Related to this is Risso's observation that the authors of historical novels of the period consciously shaped the plot and message of their works to serve the „formation of the nation, national character and patriotism”. Cf. Risso 2012, 18.

¹⁵ On the way to the French camp, Ettore tells Brancalone the story of his relationship with Ginevra. Cf. d'Azeglio 1923, pp. 41-61.

¹⁶ Cf. Brignoli 1988; Orilla 1969, pp. 2467-2484; Trombatore 1953, pp. 301-305.

¹⁷ Cf. Bellini - Mazzoni 1993, p. 99. In critical publications, the classification of d'Azeglio often fluctuates: Bellini-Mazzoni, Gigante, etc. are clearly understood as political authors, emphasizing his ideas on national unity and identity. Trombatore and Romagnoli emphasise his role as a fiction writer and his innovative, ironic style.

¹⁸ From 1863 until his death (1866), he worked on the unfinished *I miei ricordi*, published in 1867, in which he describes the stages of his career, ending in 1846. Ostensibly a classic autobiography, but the recollection of events provides a mere frame for the digressions that interrupt the narrative, leaving room for reflection on the political, social, moral and religious issues that preoccupied the narrator, and for the final disillusionment with the *Risorgimento*. On the basis of the manuscript *ASTo, Carte d'Azeglio, Mazzo 2; n. 2/10*. analysed during my research at the State Archives of Turin (*Archivio di Stato di Torino*), it can be assumed that d'Azeglio's intention may have been to interrupt the narrative before the events of 1848, because of the disappointment in *Risorgimento*. And the philological research has shown that the corpus as we know it today contains a number of insertions, often in the very places where d'Azeglio expresses his ideas on national unity. Gigante 2015, pp. 215-235.

„Un giorno, me ne ricordo come se fosse ora, [...] e mi venne considerato che, data l'importanza del fatto e l'opportunità di rammentarlo per mettere un po' di foco in corpo agli Italiani, sarebbe riuscito molto meglio, e molto più efficace raccontato che dipinto.' Dunque raccontiamolo! - dissi - E come? Un poema? Che poema! Prose, prose, parlare per essere capito per le vie e le piazze e non in Elicona!”¹⁹

From 1831 onwards, his interest turned towards literature and historical novels, and this enthusiasm continued to have an impact in the 1840s: in 1841, *Niccolò de' Lapi, ovvero i Palleschi e i Piagnoni* was published. After this, although he began work on *La Lega Lombarda*, it was eventually left unfinished. His literary career flourished when he moved to Milan in 1831, where, despite Austrian rule, the peninsula's most vibrant cultural life was still taking place. Most of the literary elite, including Manzoni, lived in the city and organised their cultural circle, of which d'Azeglio became a member, and had the opportunity to exchange ideas with him on the forthcoming *Fieramosca*: „Ed a Manzoni presentò il suo scritto, pregandolo dargliene giudizio. [...] Manzoni che gli voleva bene, restituendogli il lavoro, disse aver segnate tutte le parole e le frasi censurabili, errate.”²⁰ Although *I promessi sposi* was the author's yardstick all along, he tailored the shaping of the plot to his own literary vision, without getting involved in any theoretical questions about the historical novel.²¹

II.1. The representation of historical²² events in the service of national identity

In *I miei ricordi*, d'Azeglio says that he did not really study the sources before writing the *Fieramosca*, but only superficially consulted²³ Guicciardini's chapter on the duel of Barletta in the *Storia d'Italia*. However, it is likely that this was not the case, as critics point to two pieces of evidence: firstly, the novel's account of the cause of the duel differs from that of Guicciardini's, and, secondly, the *Storia d'Italia* does not name the French knights involved. The author must also have made use of Paolo Giovo's *Le Vite del Gran Capitano e del Marchese di Pescara* and Giovanni Antonio Summonte's *Dell'Historia della Città e del Regno di Napoli*. In the former, the cause of the duel is given as the event narrated by d'Azeglio, while in the latter the list of French knights is given as it appears in the *Fieramosca*.²⁴

¹⁹ Cf. d'Azeglio 1891, p. 464. Read more: Brignoli 1988, pp. 58-60; Bellini - Mazzoni 1993, p. 189; Guidobaldi <https://doi.org/10.4000/italies.5580>

²⁰ Cf. De Sanctis 1922, p. 333.

²¹ Cf. Romagnoli 1968, pp. 60-61.

²² The plot of the *Ettore Fieramosca* centres on the duel of 1503 in Barletta. This event was one of the chapters of the Franco-Spanish War of 1499-1504 fought in Italy, during which the Italians were the allies of the Spanish. The participation of the Italians needs some clarification: according to historical facts, the Italians did not fight exclusively on the side of the Spaniards in the Italian Wars, since Louis XII allied himself with the Pope and the Venetian Republic, and together they invaded the Duchy of Milan. In contrast, d'Azeglio envisages an anti-French Italo-Spanish alliance in his work. Under the Treaty of Granada, signed in 1500, King Louis XII of France and Ferdinand II of Spain divided up the territory of the Kingdom of Naples. However, conflicts of interest led to a renewed conflict between the two powers in 1503, which resulted in the French being permanently driven out of southern Italy. The military events near Barletta were interesting because they took place in one of the few areas where the Spanish were initially fighting at a considerable disadvantage: the French had cut off supplies from the Barletta castle. In response to this threat of plague and famine, the Spanish broke out of the castle one night, turning the tide of the war. They also took French prisoners, including the key figure La Motta: here starts the plot of the *Fieramosca*. Cf. Mallett - Shaw 2012; Pellegrini 2009.

²³ Cf. d'Azeglio 1891, p. 464.

²⁴ Cf. Gallina 1956, pp. 323-327; Gasparrini 1960, pp. 331-338; Gigante 2013, 31.

All this rules out the possibility that d'Azeglio's deviation from the historical facts is not due to a lack of sources, or ignorance of them. The „alteration” of events was a conscious decision on his part, and the changes were dictated by the need to give the question of Italian national identity and its possible components a more prominent position.

The first difference is the date of the duel. According to the actual events, it took place on the 13th February 1503, whereas d'Azeglio gives April 1503 as the date when the narrative begins. There is little in the scientific literature to explain this. In my opinion, it is hardly a case of carelessness, despite the author's admission that he set about writing the novel in a hurry.²⁵ In any case, he must have found the exact date with a minimum of study of the sources, and in *I miei ricordi* he says: „[...] volevo decisamente fare il meglio che potevo, anche dal lato storia, paese, color locale [...]”²⁶ The author thus wanted to place great emphasis on historical authenticity. The possibility of a „typo” is also unlikely, since Manzoni, Grossi and Balbo, among others, accompanied d'Azeglio throughout the process, providing him with advice and suggestions for changes. For my part, I do not rule out the possibility that d'Azeglio changed the date of the plot in response to the 1831 insurrection in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany during the writing process. The revolution started in February and was defeated in April, and d'Azeglio may have moved the duel from February to April in his work as a glorious moment in Italian history to ease the shame of defeat. A further possible explanation is that the author's painterly vein may have been absorbed into literature, with the romanticising images of southern Italy in springtime replacing the February landscape: „Al cadere d'una bella giornata d'aprile [...]”²⁷, „[...] fresco venticello della mattina. Poveri abitanti del settentrione! Non sapete quanto valga quest'ora sotto un bel cielo del mezzogiorno, in riva al mare [...]”²⁸ In addition, in the description of the strong young knights, the expression „fior di gioventù”²⁹ appears several times, which also carries with it a *Risorgimento* association of resurrection. Further research is needed to clarify this question, possibly by finding sources from d'Azeglio that provide information on the date.

In the context of the author's intentions, there are two fundamental modifications in the work: the first is the central element, the reason for the duel. In depicting the French invasion and the atrocities of the marching army³⁰, d'Azeglio goes beyond the anti-French stance of the time and his own anti-French stance to highlight the *Risorgimento*'s basic premise of independence from external forces in general. He modifies the cause of the duel in order to convey this message. According to Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia*, it was not La Motta who insulted the honour of the Italians, but the Italians provoked the French.³¹ This clearly did not correspond to the nationalist and xenophobic *social emotion* of the society at the time. D'Azeglio therefore transformed the moment of insult in order to strengthen national self-esteem:

„[...] abbiamo molto più veduto adoprar pugnali e veleni che lance e spade [...]; un gendarme francese [...] si vergognerebbe d'aver per ragazzi di stalla uomini che non valessero meglio di questi poltroni d'Italiani [...]”³²

²⁵ Cf. d'Azeglio 1891, p. 464.

²⁶ Cf. Idem, p. 502.

²⁷ Cf. d'Azeglio 1923, 1.

²⁸ Cf. Idem, 27-28.

²⁹ Cf. Idem, 34, 117, 127.

³⁰ „[...] risorsero più forti i pensieri delle miserie d'Italia, e lo sdegno contro i Francesi che n'erano autori. [...] - Ecco i bei presenti che ci recano questi Francesi; ecco il buono stato che ci portano!” Cf. Idem, p. 40.

³¹ Cf. Guicciardini 1987, pp. 555.

³² Cf. d'Azeglio 1923, p. 23.

D’Azeglio pronounces the insult with La Motta, witnessed only by the Spanish, the Italians are not even present when the accusation is made. The author can thus portray the Italians as the humiliated party who rightly trust in the moral justice of the duel: he merely focuses on the historical-military situation, in which Italy is under external attack and it is impossible for the Italians to even provoke their oppressors. Thus, by stressing partly the humiliation of the Italians, but above all their innocence, d’Azeglio makes them indirect victims of the conflict, since, since they are not present, they have no means of defending their honour. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the Italians become participants in the duel as a result of the Spaniards’ promise of comradeship:

„[...] ma poichè voi siete prigionie, e qui non sono che Spagnuoli, io, che sono amico di Fieramosca e degl’Italiani, dico in loro nome, [...] son pronti a starne al paragone [...] dove, e quando, e sempre che vi piacerà.”³³

In my view, this provides further meaning. For from this point of view, Italians are not active agents in the recovery of their honour, and this does not fit into the *Risorgimento*’s narrative of autonomy fundamentally. In this sense, it is possible that d’Azeglio was holding up a curved mirror to his readers with a kind of hidden cynicism, creating a sense of shame in them: if they do not take control of their nation’s destiny, others will determine when and against whom they can fight for their freedom.

Part of the construction of identity and social self-esteem was the shaping of a collective sense of overriding territorial unity. Linked to this is another significant change: d’Azeglio changes the nationality of Claudio Grajano d’Asti’s character to bring a sense of community to the fore. Of all the sources, only Giovo’s work refers to him as an Italian, while the works of Summonte, Cantalicio, and Passero present him as French.³⁴ Contrary to the vast majority of sources, the author does not portray Grajano as a Frenchman, but as an Italian fighting as a mercenary in the French army: with this modification, he himself takes up the theme of the „brother against brother” battle, a topos popular in Italian literature and used by the *Risorgimento*. Grajano fights alongside the French, but his actions are not motivated by ideological convictions or political interests in the invaders: as a soldier, his only motivation is money: he serves the French as a mercenary, and sees his service as a mere „job”.³⁵ He is aware that the duel is not simply a battle, but much more: the honour of the Italians is at stake, but he has no qualms about fighting against his countrymen.

When the French knights are chosen, Ettore and Grajano get into a heated argument, an important scene in terms of national identity. Ettore’s resentment initially stems from Grajano’s marriage to Ginevra, but when he learns of his rival’s participation in the duel, he is not only personally offended, but also hurt by national sentiment:

„Ora ditemi, di che paese siete voi? - Son d’Asti. - Ed Asti non è in Piemonte? Ed il Piemonte è Italia o Francia? Ed essendo voi soldato italiano, volete combattere co’ Francesi contra l’onore degl’Italiani? [...] in ogni paese vi son traditori? - Il traditore sei tu! - gridò come un tuono il Piemontese.”³⁶

At this point, two worldviews clash. Ettore’s anger is incomprehensible from Grajano’s point of view, since for him the duel is just a detour in a war in which he is taking part as a

³³ Cf. Idem, p. 24.

³⁴ Cf. Gallina 1956, 325. It is worth noting, however, that all three authors give Grajano’s name in Italian: Claudio Graiam d’Aste (Summonte), Claudio Graian de Asti (Cantalicio), Gian Joanne de Aste (Passero).

³⁵ „[...] servo chi mi paga, [...] per noi soldati dov’è il pane è la patria?” Cf. d’Azeglio 1923, p. 66.

³⁶ Cf. Idem, p. 66.

mercenary, as a „foreigner”.³⁷ Ettore, on the other hand, is trying to make Grajano realise the moral indefensibility of his decision, motivated by nationalist sentiments. But the protagonist becomes an object of ridicule, and d’Azeglio warns that there are many enemies of unity even within Italy, and that anyone who wants to defend patriotism and Italian identity must be very firm.

Grajano is therefore an enemy of Ettore only partly because of Ginevra, but rather because of a denied sense of nationalism. The narrative, however, is that it is La Motta, not Grajano, who has offended the Italians, and that it is the latter who will be Ettore’s opponent in the duel. Ettore is fighting primarily to regain honour and not to „win” Ginevra. This further reinforces the assumption that the love thread is subordinated to the heroic-historical-nationalist thread. Grajano is killed in the duel, his death is seen by Ettore as a failure to repent patriotically for not having served Italy, and thus dying as a traitor³⁸: the *Risorgimento* narrative is that the fate of the unpatriotic (not defending his homeland) is eternal shame.³⁹ Moreover, this point in the narrative is one of those in which Ettore (in other cases, the narrator) speaks of the sense of community created by Italian blood and arms.

By transforming the facts about historical events and individuals, d’Azeglio emphasises the importance of the message of national identity and collective community to contemporary readers. To this end, he uses in particular the opposites „Italians-enemies”, „patriots-traitors”, „honour-cowardice”, which not only shape the plot in accordance with the author’s intentions, but also set the pattern for patriotic behaviour and the responsibility of the *Risorgimento*.

II.2. Characterisation and society

D’Azeglio imagined the transformation of society as a confluence of the development of each individual, and therefore considered it important to emphasise and make attractive to each individual the right virtues. The use of literature as a tool as opposed to painting thus becomes even more justified, since through the description, action and speech of characters, he was able to convey his message of national consciousness in a much more powerful way.

The narrative divides the characters into two main groups: the virtuous and patriotic Italians and the cruel and arrogant French. The categorisation of the Spaniards is somewhat more complex, as they are presented in a similar positive light to the Italians in terms of their military prowess and moral virtues, but the narrator does at times suggest that they are in some ways the embodiment of foreign power. In my interpretation, the Spaniards may be presented positively because in the narration the Italians are fighting as allies of the Spaniards⁴⁰: it would be at odds with the moral standing of the Italians if the Spaniards were not like them. On this basis, the portrayal of Cesare Borgia is also negative in the extreme because he allied himself with the French to take control of certain Italian territories, i.e. he is „overshadowed” by the arrogance and cruelty of the French. It is also worth noting that his carnal, almost animalistic desire to win Ginevra contrasts sharply with Ettore’s pure love, which is reminiscent of the ideal of the *cuor gentile*.

³⁷ D’Azeglio evokes the foreign soldiers of Petrarch’s poem *Italia mia*, who play with death and contaminate Italy with scabies.

³⁸ „[...] non è egli sangue italiano? [...] non avrebbe potuto spargerlo a sua ed a nostra gloria contra i comuni nemici? [...]. Invece [...] sulle sue ceneri peserà la maledizione de’ traditori della patria.” Cf. d’Azeglio 1923, p. 246.

³⁹ Cf. Patriarca 2012, p. 141.

⁴⁰ Although it is essentially a Franco-Spanish war, d’Azeglio makes the Italians an important factor in the military events. In the *Risorgimento* era this conveys a message of national independence. The Italians are narrated as supporting the Spaniards forces, despite the fact that both the French and the Spanish are presented as powers destroying the order of Italy.

The dialectic organised along the pairs of opposites that characterise *Risorgimento* allows for a literary sociological approach. The „simplification” of the characterisation into two extremes does not mean that d’Azeglio underestimated his readers: his aim was to make the pattern of behaviour he had set out clearly identifiable and accessible to all members of society from the very first moment of comprehension. His artistic principle, especially in the context of national identity, was permeated by the notion that „*literary imagination is a part of public rationality*”⁴¹, that is, the power of literature to influence the moral action of society. In this sense, he consciously sought to exploit the interacting narratives of literature and society.⁴² In a similar approach, Ildikó Somogyvári explores the relationship of historical novels to the formation of national identity.⁴³ These works present inter-group conflicts, in which we can examine which of the groups portrayed in the narrative are presented in positive and negative roles, what characteristics are associated with their behaviour, and then draw conclusions about how this is effects on the nation. Historical novels that present this type of relation are thus able to influence collective memory and social consciousness by emphasising past values and glorious deeds or by scourging past mistakes.⁴⁴ In the *Ettore Fieramosca*, the two opposing groups are the French and the Italians, and the duel between them is a clash of virtues beyond the physical. In this sense, the Italians are victorious not only militarily but also morally: readers will be doing the right thing if they adopt the Italians’ courage, perseverance, humility, etc.

The members of the French camp are portrayed in a negative light. Among the antagonistic characters, La Motta stands out: he is portrayed by d’Azeglio in a strong and very one-sided way, as a beast („*pezzo di bestione*”⁴⁵), a person who speaks insolently („*insolenti parole*”⁴⁶) and smiles mockingly („*riso di scherno*”⁴⁷). Even as a prisoner, he does not humble himself, but then expresses his insulting opinion of Italians. Nevertheless, calling them traitors and conquerors by trickery becomes the driving force behind the message he wants to convey. Insults arouse in Italians a sense of shame, one of the most powerful emotions in the implementation of actions at the social level⁴⁸: in the case of nations with a troubled past, this shame and the desire for revenge that it generates are activated and become the driving force behind the community’s reaction when they are inferior to other nations or suffer from the presence of foreign powers.⁴⁹ This has important implications for the *Risorgimento*’s era of standing up for the nation and standing up to foreign powers. It is for this reason that the shame is followed by a desire for proof in the Italian knights and, d’Azeglio hopes, in the readers. In my view, the Italians’ victory is not only a reflection of historical facts, but also a practical expression of *social emotion* and proof of its power: for the Italians, unlike the French, it is not just a duel, but a community-wide self-definition.

With his boastful nature, La Motta insults the honour not only of the Italians but also of the Spaniards: at a jousting tournament in the castle of Barletta, attended by soldiers from the three nations, he claims to be a more capable bullfighter than the Spaniards. This episode could be a parallel to the question of national consciousness. Indeed, bullfighting, as one of

⁴¹ Cf. Nussbaum 1995. p. XVI.

⁴² Cf. Idem, p. XIII; Escarpit 1973, p. 7.

⁴³ Vincze and Köváriné’s study gives a similar assessment of the identity-shaping role of historical novels, which is particularly evident in Italy, where national development faced external obstacles. Cf. Vincze - Köváriné 2003, p. 59.

⁴⁴ Cf. Somogyvári, <https://pea.lib.pte.hu/bitstream/handle/pea/15261/somogyvari-ildiko-phd-2011.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

⁴⁵ Cf. d’Azeglio 1923, p. 8.

⁴⁶ Cf. Idem, p. 31.

⁴⁷ Cf. Idem, p. 132.

⁴⁸ Cf. Patriarca 2012, p. 134.

⁴⁹ Cf. Idem, p. 136.

the most defining elements of Spanish culture, is part of the Spanish identity, and it assumes that the most skilful practitioners of it are exclusively Spanish. To question this is not only to question their honour, but also their identity: in other words, La Motta's statement is a parallel to his belittling of Italians. It is also important to note that La Motta is the only one of the soldiers in the French camp (apart from Grajano) who is described in detail, and the only one who is spoken by the narrator. In my view, his almost exaggerated character represents and concentrates the cruelty and arrogance of the French. As the embodiment of the entire French camp, it is no coincidence that he is Ettore's opponent in the jousting duel, where he is defeated by the protagonist and thus by the Italian nation. Although La Motta survives the fight, he suffers his own moral downfall and that of his nation: the message is that all oppressive powers will witness the resurrection of Italy. In sum, d'Azeglio's one-sided portrayal of La Motta emphasised the negative qualities (arrogance, mockery, dishonesty, etc.) which he warned his readers against: these characteristics were unworthy of the Italian people and counterproductive in nation-building.

D'Azeglio contrasts La Motta with Ettore as an example in the creation of a pattern of behaviour, the means of which is, on the one hand, the one-sidedly positive portrayal of the character: „*La natura gli aveva concesso il prezioso dono d'esser per indole propria spinto a quanto v'ha di bello, di buono e di grande. Un solo difetto si poteva appor gli, se difetto si può chiamare, una soverchia bontà.*”⁵⁰ Ettore stands out above all for his patriotism: from his youth he took part in various wars against the French. His patriotism is finally called into question when he suffers a serious injury while rushing to Ginevra's rescue, which raises questions about whether the knight can even take part in the duel. He is terrified that he will not be able to do his duty, as this would be tantamount to the *shame*, which would destroy the honour and identity not only of himself but of Italian society collectively.⁵¹ He is also humble because, although he is the first to be elected a knight, he does not boast: that is to say, unlike La Motta, who boasts of abilities he does not possess, Ettore is modest even when his outstanding virtues are evident to the community.

As I alluded to above, the love between Ginevra and Ettore evokes the concept of *cuor gentile*. Although in their youth she rejects Ettore's love, they are brought together again and again by fate, proving that their virtues are the basis of their soul mates. Only on one occasion does the protagonist falter in his patriotic duty, for he wants to see Ginevra immediately after his injury, when he should be on his way to the duel. He is able to make the right decision by remembering that he can only be worthy of Ginevra if he first does his duty as a patriot. Their love is therefore not merely a physical desire, but a real force that binds two souls together on a transcendental level by virtue of their virtues. For the author, all this implies that the ideal of the *Risorgimento*, in addition to performing great deeds, „expects” the individual to lead an exemplary life in private life, to choose a couple who support the patriotic role.

On the other hand, the author also emphasizes the importance of the protagonist by the way he includes and moves him in the plot, which also implies a modification of historical facts. Ettore is first introduced after the basic conflict has been established; he is then removed from the story after the news of Ginevra's death, thus setting aside the fact of the historical figure's death in 1515, 12 years after the duel. In this way, he emphasises that Ettore is fighting primarily for his country and not for his love: thus, after the successful duel, the protagonist loses his function of serving d'Azeglio's literary purpose. Furthermore, the love story is once again subordinated to the heroic-historical storyline. D'Azeglio picks out a glorious chapter from the nation's historical past, placing the virtues of the period portrayed - patriotism,

⁵⁰ Cf. d'Azeglio 1923, p. 28.

⁵¹ „*Io son vituperato per sempre! [...] a chi dirò le mie ragioni? ed anche dicendole, non parrà vero ai nemici poter fingere di non crederle, e dire: Ettore immaginò queste ciance perchè avea paura di noi.*” Cf. Idem, p. 178-179.

honesty, comradeship, determination, good-heartedness, faith and loyalty, etc. - in the character of Ettore. He condenses the chivalric culture and virtues evoked through the events of the early 16th century, making his victory a metaphor for the glory of the Italian nation, and thus, according to the narrative, the model of patriotism for the *Risorgimento*.

The presentation, based on a counterpoint, culminates in the duel. In the description of the fight, the exaggerated portrayal is preserved: Italians are portrayed as champions of courage, virtue and patriotic perseverance, while the French, confident of their success, fight with vainglory, then desperation and animal strength. La Motta is characterised by d'Azeglio as fighting in a state of despair, refusing to give up even when the duel is already decided. The result, while consistent with historical facts, almost exaggerates the fact that the Italians were only wounded, while only few of the French survived.

The duel itself is not just about regaining honour, but a means of recognising the bond between the Italians. In the selection of the knights, the narrator even lists the regions of Italy from which each soldier came.⁵² But in his words of encouragement before the duel, Colonna says that although the knights are of Lombard, Neapolitan, Roman and Sicilian origin, they are all Italians, and after the successful duel the narrator speaks of „Italian victors”. Colonna’s speech could be another example of the social mobilising role of shame. It can also be interpreted as a way of intensifying the desire to fight for honour and identity by asking the provocative question: if they all share common values, why not all be Italian? In this way, the fighting with camaraderie becomes justified. It is also interesting to note that of the thirteen knights in the duel, only Ettore’s place of birth is not mentioned, which, in my opinion, suggests that it would be contradictory for the narrator to mention the place of origin of the character who embodies the entire Italian nation.

Finally, d'Azeglio also places great emphasis on the portrayal of female characters. The humble and virginal figure of Ginevra is described by the narrator, through Ettore’s words, as a model for Italian women: „*Le donne del tuo taglio possono far fare miracoli alle spade senza toccarle; potreste voltar il mondo sottosopra... se sapeste fare. Non parlo per te, Ginevra, ma per le donne italiane, che pur troppo non ti somigliano.*”⁵³ D'Azeglio points out that women have both the right and the duty to work for the unification of the nation, a process in which they play a fundamental role. The struggle for national unification must not only be fought with weapons, but also with a strong social bond, which requires the support of family members and friends for their patriotic actions, even at the sacrifice of individual bonds of affection.⁵⁴ Ginevra is also crucial because she becomes a metaphor for the glorious Italy of the *Risorgimento*, portrayed as a glorious woman. Ettore offers her eventual victory in the duel partly as a sign of his respect. The knight’s loyalty to Ginevra, which does not weaken despite the infatuation of the Barletta women, Zoraide and Elvira, also carries the meaning of loyalty to Italy. At the same time, Ginevra, as the traitorous Italian’s wife (she married Grajano under duress) and raped by Cesare Borgia, who allies himself with the French, becomes an image of Italy under foreign domination.

Zoraide’s character is seemingly contradictory in a work that seeks to promote national identity. Although she is of Saracen origin, and therefore has a different concept of *social emotion* and values from those of Europe, it is through her character, endowed with an external point of view, that d'Azeglio is able to show that the Spaniards are in fact also the representatives of oppression in Italy. The need for independence from external powers is expressed in the following way:

⁵² Cf. Idem, p. 38.

⁵³ Cf. Idem, p. 84.

⁵⁴ „*Ginevra, vorresti per cosa del mondo che non s'avesse a combattere questa sfida? - O no, Ettore: mai, mai!*” Cf. Idem, p. 83.

„Tanta collera, tanto romore perchè i Francesi dicono stimarvi poco! Ma non ve l'hanno detto anche più chiaro col fatto, venendo nel vostro paese [...]; non ve lo dicono gli Spagnuoli al par de' Francesi, venendo anch'essi in Italia a far quel che fan loro?”⁵⁵

This is all the more likely because the duel itself is partly due to the Spaniards, given that the Italians are not present at the moment of the insult, so whether out of comradely honour or some possible ulterior motive, the Spaniards are in a sense pushing the Italians into the duel. And this idea plays on the political principle of the *Risorgimento*, *Italia farà da sé*, the idea of independence for the Italians themselves. Thus, in my view, the bullfight can also be interpreted in such a way that if the Spaniards have to prove that they are the best bullfighters in the tournament, then, to put it in parallel, Zoraide's idea is correct: Italy is best defended by the Italians. The contradiction between the girl's origins and the Italian national identity is finally resolved in the moment she heals Ettore with the help of oriental practices, allowing him to participate in the duel. In this way, d'Azeglio could suggest that, according to the *Risorgimento's* assumption, Italian blood and descent are important in national identity, yet cannot be its exclusive element, especially if we consider that Graiano, despite his Italian-ness in the story, is French at heart. All this reflects a modern conception of nationhood: not ancestry, not a common state, and not necessarily cultural heritage, but the will to integrate and serve society to the best of one's ability⁵⁶, and to develop a sense of community with its members.⁵⁷

Through his „simplified” characterisation of the two extremes, d'Azeglio has identified for his readers the essential qualities for national unification and the affirmation of national identity. Moreover, the narrative suggests that there is no middle way, that everyone must choose between being a traitor or a patriot: this may evoke the biblical broad and narrow paths and their judgement on the Last Day. According to this view, the struggle for Italy is a sacred cause of sacred value: Ettore considers his eventual death in a duel as the most glorious and beautiful death imaginable.⁵⁸ All this confirms what has been said above, namely that the duel, although in itself only a military event in the Franco-Spanish war, was for the Italians (especially in the *Risorgimento*) a symbol of national unity and independence.

III. Conclusions

As a result of this analysis, d'Azeglio, through his amendments, has given greater emphasis to the idea of a new Italy organised on the basis of independence and fraternity, and through his character sketches based on contrasts, has defined honour, humbleness, comradeship and *cuor gentile* as virtues that can become the basis of the national identity that all Italians profess. The analysis thus proves the hypothesis that the author is changing the facts in order to promote the idea he wishes to promote. The work was a very effective reflection of the public mood of the time: for *Risorgimento* society, shame, honour and the desire to prove oneself were fundamental in shaping attitudes of the Italian society. These emotions, which fall under the category of social emotion theory, play a significant role in the novel, as the analysis has shown that they become the driving force behind the plot and the characters' decisions. In other words, shame and honour are not only present at the level of the individual, but also in the context of society and national identity.

⁵⁵ Cf. Idem, p. 84.

⁵⁶ Cf. Balduino 2011, p. 400.

⁵⁷ Cf. Dugo 2014, p. 168.

⁵⁸ „[...] una morte della quale non si poteva immaginare nè la più gloriosa nè la più bella.” Cf. d'Azeglio 1923, 222.

Nor should we neglect the aspect of *Ettore Fieramosca* that d'Azeglio wrote his work with a specifically educational purpose. In his historical novels of the period, the author not only wanted to show the parallels between the problems of the past and those of 19th century Italy, but also to educate his readers in moral matters in order to combat the issues effectively. Through the contrast between the good and the bad, the patriot and the traitorous Italian, d'Azeglio sought, as Risso states, to instil in his readers „the universal values of loyalty and love of country, centred in Ettore”.⁵⁹ This kind of educative intention is also a predominant element in d'Azeglio's later works, and also in this sense *Fieramosca* is the opening work of the author's oeuvre.

On this basis, the author effectively represented and communicated to his readers and society the cause of the Italian nation. De Sanctis also considers the work to have been successful in achieving its aim⁶⁰: readers discovered the pervasiveness of the problems of contemporary Italy, and the large number of narrative utterances invited them to reflect on them, so it is no coincidence that the novel became one of the bestsellers of the period. The publication of 1833 is significant, in my view, because d'Azeglio presented the morally valuable duel, imbued with a sense of nationhood, as the counterpoint to the failed revolutions of 1820-21 and 1831, which lacked real unity.

To sum up, d'Azeglio's work, and the *Ettore Fieramosca* in particular, confirms, among other things, the shift in the *Risorgimento* towards literature as a powerful force for community-building. In my view, the *Fieramosca* is also significant because in it he articulates the values of national unity and identity that he wishes to represent in precisely the same way as he does in almost all his subsequent novels, political manifestos and, finally, his „autobiography”: patriotic commitment remains a central element. It is worth noting, however, that while the novel of 1833 pointed the way to the optimistic and upwardly mobile phase of the *Risorgimento*, *I miei ricordi* of 1867, in many elements, already suggests a disillusionment with the *Risorgimento*.

⁵⁹ Cf. Risso 2012, 23.

⁶⁰ Cf. De Sanctis 1922, p. 358. See also Bellini - Mazzoni 1993, p. 190.

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A Magyar Titkok mellékszereplőiről

Farkas Nikolett, *PPKE IDI*

Nagy Ignác *Magyar titkok* című regényét 12 füzetben jelenteti meg 1844–45 között. A mű a magyar irodalom egyik első detektívregénye, melyben a műfaj által indukált tipikus mellékszereplők is jelen vannak. Úgy, mint Bende (a főhős) segítője, Bertók, epizodikus segítője, Marci; a „főgonosz” Sobri Jóska, annak ellenlábasa, Móricz zsidó, de megjelennek a szövegben még sokan mások is. Ezen szereplők regényben betöltött funkciójának feltárására vállalkozik jelen kutatásom. Megvizsgálom, milyen olvasóközönsége lehetett a *Magyar titkok*nak; milyen a korabeli olvasó viszonyulása az egyes karakterekhez (ismerik-e őket, érintkeznek-e velük a mindennapokban), és, hogy kapcsolatban áll-e a detektívtörténet karaktertipológiája a posztromantikus regény sajátosságaival.

Kulcsszavak: Nagy Ignác, regény, Magyar titkok, detektívregény, karakterek, reformkor, olvasóközönség

I. Bevezetés

Nagy Ignác 1844–45 között jelentette meg 12, illusztrációval ellátott kötetből álló regényét, a *Magyar titkokat*. A könyv közel 1000 oldalon mutatja be a korabeli Pest-Buda emberét. Az arisztokratáktól a polgárságig mindenkiről találhatunk benne tablót. A szöveget vizsgálták műfaji szempontból, elemezték az epika alakulástörténeti folyamatába ágyazva és a populáris irodalom egyik műfaja, a detektívtörténet szempontjából is. Ugyanakkor a regényt – noha sok vád érte és éri a mai napig amiatt, hogy kevésbé tekinthető regénynek, ugyanis arányaiban több benne az életkép műfajába sorolható leírás, mint cselekmény – érdemes más aspektusokból is megvizsgálni, mint például a mellékszereplői felől.¹

Jelen tanulmány célkitűzése, hogy feltérképezze a műben megjelenő karaktereket. Mindezt a korabeli olvasóközönség társadalmi rangja és érdeklődése felől közelítem meg, segítségül hívva a populáris irodalom, azon belül is a detektívtörténetek jellemzőit. A detektív-főhősről, Bendéről és a gonoszról, Sobri Jóskáról már korábban írtam részletesebben.² Bendéről megállapítottam, hogy karaktere egy flâneuréhoz hasonlít, aki nyomozó is egyben,³ akit a szöveg elején ismerhetünk meg egy önéletrajzszerű elbeszélésben. Egy nemes ember fia, aki külföldi tanulmányait követően az 1840-es évek Pest-Budai világába igyekszik beilleszkedni és elfoglaltságot találni. Jelleméről igen keveset tudunk meg, hiába a nagy terjedelem, mindez segíti az olvasó azonosulását a karakterrel, mely a populáris irodalom egyik jellemzője. Sobri Jóskáról, a bakonyi betyárról pedig feltártam, hányféle álnév mögé bújva igyekszik becsapni az embereket és ezáltal minél nagyobb vagyona szert tenni. A különböző álnevek különböző társadalmi rangú embereket takarnak. Azonban a két főszereplő mellett megjelennek egyéb karakterek is. Bende segítői Bertók cigány, aki az inasa, Marci gazda, aki a vidéki csárdáját hátrahagyva Pest-Budára költözik feleségével és gyermekükkel. A felsoroltakon kívül még több szereplő is fel-feltűnik a szövegben, később még róluk is lesz szó. Az alábbiakban tehát kétfelől közelítem meg a *Magyar titkokban* szereplő karaktereket, előbb az olvasók felől vizsgálódom, majd a detektívtörténet és a populáris irodalom formai jegyeit vetem össze a mű szövegével. A regény három formátumban jelent meg, a már említett 12 kötetes 1844–45 közötti, a Hartleben kiadó gondozásában, illetve 1908-ban a Mikszáth Kálmán által szerkesztett Magyar regényírók sorozat 5–7. kötetében a Franklin Társulat kiadásában, illetve digitalizált formában, e-bookként is elérhetővé vált az utóbbi években. A kutatásomhoz a könyvformátumú kiadást használtam. A

¹ „Életkép: 2. A mindennapi élet valamely tipikus jelenetét, figuráját ábrázoló, lírai és epikai elemeket ötvöző

Nincsenek források az aktuális dokumentumban. kisebb verses v. prózai mű, ill. a környezet- és jellemrajzot a cselekmény rovására előtérbe helyező rövidebb darab.” (Beck, M. – Peschka, V.: Akadémiai kislexikon I. Akadémiai. Budapest, 1989. pp. 483–484.; Az életkép műfaj magyar irodalmi kezdeteiről bővebben: Szinyei, F.: A magyar életképirodalom. Akadémiai Értesítő. Budapest, 1921. pp. 21–25.; Vö. Horvát, E.: A biedermeier életkép. A német és a magyar irodalomban. s. n. Budapest. 1936.; Wéber, A.: Az életkép mint prózai forma. Irodalomtörténet. 2001. Vol. 32/82. no. 1. pp. 341–358.

² Farkas, N.: Sobri Jóska a *Magyar titkokban*. ELTE BTK. Budapest, (Release date: TBA).

³ A flâneur fogalmához lásd: Paquot, T.: A bejárható város: A sétálás művészete, Lettre, 2004.

<https://eDa.oszk.hu/00000/00012/00039/Daquot.htm> [Letöltés ideje: 2022. 01. 01.]; Gyáni, G.: „Térbeli fordulat” és a várostörténet. Korunk 2007. <http://epa.oszk.hu/00400/00458/00127/3635.html> [Letöltés ideje: 2022. 01.01.]; Müllner, A.: Teknősbéka-sétáltatás: A város és a flâneur metaforája a hipertext-diskurzusban*. Jelenkor, 2004. Vol. 47. no. 9. pp. 924-931; Papp, Á. K.: Szindbád, a kisvárosi flâneur. Partitúra, 2016. Vol. 11. no. 2. pp. 13-30.; Hermann, V.: Hipszterek és kószálók – A közösségi identitás elbeszélhetősége a fogyasztás és az ellenkultúra fogalmai mentén, Symposium-Híd, 2012, Vol. 76. no. 12. pp. 86-94.; Hermann, V.: Dicsőség a kószálóknak. Megjegyzések a flâneur társadalomtörténetéhez. Apertúra, 2020. nyár.; Benjamin, Walter: Kommentár és prófécia. Budapest, 1969.; Hatos Pál: Genf mint példa, Helikon, 2010. Vol. 56. no. 1-2. pp. 166-186. Farkas, N.: A járdakoptatás, mint térszervező elem Nagy Ignác *Magyar titkok* című regényében, ItK (Release date: TBA).

két megközelítéshez elsősorban Fülöp Géza *A magyar olvasóközönség a felvilágosodás idején és a reformkorban* című könyvét, T. Erdélyi Ilona *Irodalom és közönség a reformkorban* című írását, Kálai Sándor *Fejezetek a francia bűnügyi irodalom történetéből* című kötetére hivatkozom több egyéb, a témáról szóló írás mellett.

II. A reformkori olvasóközönségről

Az olvasni tudók száma az 1777-ben bevezetett Ratio Educationisnak köszönhetően megnövekedett, és a 19. század közepére a falusiak 15-25%-a tudott olvasni, bár az olvasni tudás igazán az 1848-utáni 50 évben emelkedett 70% fölé.⁴ Tehát már a legalacsonyabb társadalmi osztályok is tudtak olvasni, azonban ez természetesen nem jelenti azt, hogy bizonyíthatóan olvastak is. Mindazonáltal Fülöp Géza már említett írásában kifejti azt, hogy az 1830-as években megalakuló kaszinóknak, olvasóköroknak, társalgóegyleteknek mennyi tagja volt és azok milyen társadalmi rétegekből származtak.⁵ Általánosan elmondható róluk, hogy noha minden rétegnek engedélyezve volt a belépés ezekbe a közösségekbe, ahol folyóiratokat, könyveket forgathattak, azonban ezen közösségek tagjainak csupán a töredéke került ki az alacsonyabb, szegényebb sorsú társadalmi osztályokból. A tagok többsége közép- és felsőosztálybeli személy volt. Ezzel párhuzamosan a női olvasók száma is egyre gyarapodott, főként a divatlapoknak köszönhetően, illetve az olvasókörokbé engedélyezték a nők számára is a belépést. „A női olvasókat illetően Kármán József emelt szót az elsők között a hölgyközönség megszervezésének szükségessége mellett. Kármán jól látta, hogy a századforduló Magyarországon a művelt magyar nő típusa inkább csupán lehetőség, az irodalom és nyelv művelése és szeretete elszigetelt jelenség köreikben. Hozzáteve, hogy a korszerű műveltség és az anyanyelvű kultúra a férfiak esetében is ritka.” – állítja Maisch Patrícia.⁶ Tehát a női olvasóközönség megteremtése, „kinevelése” is megkezdődött ebben az időszakban, s mivel elsőként inkább divatlapokat forgattak a női olvasók, könnyen értesülhettek a *Magyar titkok* megjelenéséről is, hiszen például a Budapesti Híradóban és a Regélő Pesti Divatlapban egyaránt hirdették a megjelenő füzeteket. Sőt, a regénybe beemelt életképek egy részét folyóiratban is megjelentette Nagy Ignác, ezt írja erről Szigethy Gábor:

„A *Magyar titkok* esetében a regény cselekményébe ékelt önálló életképekből válogattam, ezeket Nagy Ignác is jobbára különálló írásoknak tekintette, nagy részüket még a Magyar titkok füzetekének megjelente előtt folyóiratban is közreadta. Ezek sem kiszakított regényrészletek tehát, hanem a regénybe ékelt életképekből válogatás. Általában a regénybeli fejezetcímet tüntettem fel a különálló írások címeiként. (Eltérések: Életpályák = részlet A berettyói komp című fejezetből; Nagyravágyás = részlet a Két halott című fejezetből; Szerkesztőségben — részlet az Irodalmi vértanú című fejezetből; Halottvizsgálás = részlet a Föltámadás című fejezetből.)”⁷

Egy másik írásában Szigethy idézi is az egyik hirdetés szövegét:

⁴ Domokos, M.: Olvasástörténet és folklorisztika* Közelítések a ponyvamesék 19. századi paraszti recepciójához. In: Iskola, művelődés, társadalom. Az oktatás, nevelés és művelődés társadalomtörténeti látószögei. Hajnal István Kör Társadalomtörténeti Egyesület. Budapest, 2017. pp. 463–478.
http://real.mtak.hu/79292/1/olvasastortenet_HIK.1_u.pdf

⁵ Fülöp, G.: A magyar olvasóközönség a felvilágosodás idején és a reformkorban. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest, 1978. pp. 87–137.

⁶ Maisch, P.: A nők olvasóvá nevelése a reformkori Magyarországon. Pécs, 2021. p. 72.
<https://pea.lib.pte.hu/bitstream/handle/pea/24061/maisch-patricia-phd-2021.pdf?sequence=1> [Letöltés ideje: 2022. 01. 01.]

⁷ Szigethy, G.: Uracsok, arszlánok. Válogatás Nagy Ignác műveiből. Magyar Hírmondó. Budapest, 1980. p. 387.

„A Budapesti Híradó lapjai közé rejtve kapta kézhez az olvasó 1844 augusztusában Hartleben és Altenburger könyvárus urak (Váci utca 437. szám) hirdetését: Éppen most jelent meg és kapható: Magyar titkok. Közli Nagy Ignác. Allegóriái borítékban, hat képpel, finom papíron, díszes nyomtatással. A Magyar titkok főfeladata leendő korunk fonákságait és visszaéléseit nevetségessé tenni, s a gúnynak csaláncsomójával végig veresni, mindenkor gondosan kerülve a személyes sérelmet, de az igazság súlyát, minden párttekintet nélkül, mindenkivel egyenlően éreztetve. És ezen egyes kalandok folytonos kapcsolatban fognak állani egy főszemély történeteivel, minél fogva az egész satírai-humorisztikai regényt fog képezni, itt-ott sötét árnyrajzokkal is ellátva a bűnök és vétkek visszariasztó tömkelegéből.”⁸

Az ajánló árulkodik a regény témájáról és műfajáról, stílusáról, amely kiindulási alapként szolgálhat jelen dolgozathoz. Története illelnek a sue-i detektívtörténet-hagyományhoz, illetve a városi rejtelmek tematikájához (Eugene Sue *Párizs rejtelmei* nyomán írta meg Nagy Ignác saját városi rejtelmét, a *Magyar titkokat*), amely téma a későbbiekben még kifejtésre kerül. Tehát a *Magyar titkok* című regény ismert lehetett az olvasóközönség számára, a női olvasókat is beleértve. Ez azért tűnik érdekesnek, mert a regény elején a narrátor kiszól női olvasóihoz:

„Mielőtt folytonosan s bizalmasan beszélgetnénk egymással, nyájas olvasó, szükséges, hogy egymással kissé megismerkedjünk. A világ legalább így okoskodik s mitagadás benne, a világnak e tekintetben csakugyan van némi kis igaza, ámbar különben ugyancsak megjárna az ember, ha mindenben vakon iparkodnék újmutatását követni. Ámde ezen ismerkedésnek ezúttal igen nagy bökkenője van, mert én, emberi gyarlóságomnál fogva, azt szeretem hinni, a mit óhajtok, azaz, hogy számos olvasóm leendő s én talán egyet sem ismerek közülök; pedig vajmi szerencsésnek tartanám magamat, ha szép **olvasónéimat** színről-színre ismerhetném! Mivel azonban ez, fájdalom! nem könnyen eszközölhető, tehát azt hiszem, vagy bátorkodom alázatosan hinni, mikép politikai szónokaink beszélni szoktak, hogy a méltányosság mostani dicső századában én sem vagyok köteles magamat megismertetni s higgyék el, szép **olvasónéim**, hogy önök mindenestre csak nyerni fognak, ha előttük végkép ismeretlen maradok.”⁹

Amint az az idézett részletből kiderül, a narrátor feltehetően, női olvasókra (is) számít, amennyiben pedig a narrátornak „igaza van”, a regényt feltételezhetően a tehetősebb társadalmi rétegekbe tartozó nők olvashatták. A női olvasóközönségről tudjuk, hogy a romantikus, szentimentális szövegeket kedvelték a 18-19. század fordulóján, s ekkor rendelet is született a „kárhóztató értelemben vett regények forgalmazása” ellen. Azonban a reformkori irodalmi élet része volt a nők olvasóvá nevelése is, így több szöveg célozta őket, hogy egyrészt magyarul olvassanak, másrészt pedig magasabb irodalmi regiszter kínálatából válasszanak.¹⁰

Idővel a kaszinók, olvasókörök, társalkodókörök differenciálódtak a társadalmi helyzetük szerint, így alakultak meg például Erdélyben falusi olvasókörök is, amiknek a tagjai már ismerhették Nagy Ignác műveit is (mindezt Fülöp Géza tárta fel).¹¹ Ezen kívül még főként a politikai témájú írásokat, folyóiratokat keresték. Továbbá Fülöp Géza azt is feltárta, milyen könyvek voltak elérhetőek a kaszinókban, ahol a politikai témájú írások, az idegennyelvű szövegek mellett szép számmal sorakoztak a szépirodalmi szövegek magyar nyelvű fordításai

⁸ Szigethy, G.: Irodalmi hirdetések, anno 1844. Kortárs. 1996. Vol. 40. no. 1. p. 72.

⁹ Nagy, I.: Magyar titkok. I. Franklin Társulat. Budapest, 1908. p. 11 (Kiemelések tőlem: F. N.).

¹⁰ Kéri, K.: „Nők csak mértékkel olvassanak...». Adalékok a hazai női olvasóközönség 18-19. századi formálódásának történetéhez.” In Pedagógia – Oktatás – Könyvtár. Ünnepi tanulmányok F. Dárdai Ágnes tiszteletére. szerk. Csóka-Jaksa, H., Schmelczér-Pohánka, É., Szeberényi, G., PTE. Pécs. 2014. pp. 324-336. Vö.: Nagydíósi, G. Magyarországi női lapok a XIX. század végéig. OSZK. Budapest. 1958. pp. 193-227.

¹¹ Fülöp, i. m., 87-137.

és a magyar nyelven írott művek is. A korszak elismertnek számító szerzők művei mellett (Vörösmarty, Toldy, Eötvös, Fáy, Kisfaludy, Jókai stb.) a kor népszerű szerzői is (pl. Garay János, Kuthy Lajos és Nagy Ignác) képviseltették magukat műveikkel, akiknek írásait többek között a divatlapokból ismerhette az olvasóközönség.¹² A 19. század első felében kezdtek ugyanis szétválni a szépirodalmi igénnyel megformált szövegek a populárisnak vagy ponyvának nevezett irodalmi korpusztól, mely folyamatot a következő alponban fogok bővebben kifejteni.

A 19. század második felére tehát minden olvasni tudó számára elérhetővé váltak a fent felsorolt szerzők politikai és szépirodalmi művei, így akár Nagy Ignác vizsgált regényét is – természetesen füzet formátumban – beszerezheték az egyes kaszinók, olvasóköri, társalkodóegyletek is. Kis túlzással fogalmazva, a korszakban szinte bárkihez eljuthatott a szöveg, azonban valószínűsíthetően főként a városi művelt (női) körök számára lehetett ismert a regény. Hogy kinek szánhatta Nagy Ignác a regényét, nem tudhatjuk biztosan, de a mintájául szolgáló *Párizsi rejtelmek* című regényét Eugene „Sue a műveltebb, polgári közönségnek szánja [...] Azonban bebizonyosodik, hogy a regényt más, alacsonyabb társadalmi rétegek is olvassák...”¹³

III. A populáris irodalom és a detektívtörténet viszonyáról, a detektívtörténet szereplőiről és a posztromantikus elemekről

Szajbély Mihály *A magyar irodalom története*iben, a könyv- és lapkiadás történetével foglalkozó fejezetben mutatja be a magas és populáris irodalom szétválásának folyamatát, amely folyamat során az olvasóközönség is kétfelé vált.¹⁴ A *Magyar titkokat* Szajbély szerint inkább a populáris irodalom regiszteréhez lehet közelíteni. Mindezen megállapítása Wéber Antal, Imre László, Kálai Sándor, Keszthelyi Tibor és egyéb szerzők eredményein alapulnak.¹⁵ A mű a populáris irodalmon belül a detektívregény műfaji sajátosságait hordozza magán a. Ahogyan Kálai Sándor kifejti, a francia detektívtörténetek kezdeti formái folytatásos regényekként vagy tárcaregényekként jelentek meg, és kapcsolatot mutatnak szerzőjük (fő)foglalkozásával, az újságírással. A magyar detektívtörténetekre pedig egyértelműen a francia minta lehetett hatással az itthoni kiadástörténetet tekintve. Nem meglepő tehát, hogy az első detektívtörténetekben a rejtélyes események leírása mellett bevett szerzői fogás volt az aktuális események beemelése is.¹⁶ Nagy Ignác újságírói sikerét nagyrészt életkép műfajú szövegeinek köszönhette, s így a *Magyar titkok* szövegében szintúgy megtalálható több, korábban publikált életképe is.

¹² Fülöp, i. m., 87-137.

¹³ Kálai, S.: Fejezetek a francia bűnügyi irodalom történetéből. Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó. Debrecen, 2012. p. 37.

¹⁴ Szajbély, M.: *Könyv- és lapkiadás a felvilágosodás idején és a reformkorban*. In: Szegedy-Maszácz, M. - Veres, A.(eds.): *A magyar irodalom története*, II. Gondolat Kiadó. Budapest, 2007. pp. 79–80.

¹⁵ Wéber, A.: *A magyar regény kezdetei*. MTA ITI. Budapest, 1959.; Imre, L.: *A posztromantikus (Kuthy Lajos - Nagy Ignác-féle) regény újdonsága a XX. század második felének jelenségei felől szemlélve*. In: Bitskey, I. – Görömbei, A. (eds.): *Műfajok létformája XIX. századi epikánkban*. Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó. Debrecen, 1996 (Bibliotheca Studiorum Litterarium 9). pp. 177-196.; Laczkó, A.: „*Variációk egy témára*”: (*Kuthy Lajos: Hazai rejtelmek és Nagy Ignác: Magyar titkok című regényének viszonyáról*). In: Csányi, E. (eds.): *A tudás fája: az I. Vajdasági Magyar Tudományos Diákköri Konferencia dolgozatai*, Szabadka, 2002. Vajdasági M. Felsőokt. Koll. Újvidék, 2003. pp. 438-465.; Kálai, S.: *Médium, műfaj, mediáció*. In: Bényei, P. – Gönczy, M. - S. Varga, P. (eds.): „*Szirt a habok közt*” - Tanulmányok Imre László 70. születésnapjára. Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó. Debrecen, 2014. pp. 179-185.

¹⁶ Kálai, i. m., 36.

A detektívtörténet műfaji sajátosságait, szerkezeti felépítését *A detektívtörténet anatómiája* című kötetből részletesen is megismerhetjük. Jelen tanulmány szempontjából fontos meglátása Keszthelyi Tibornak az, hogy a mese és a detektívtörténet jelentős hasonlatosságokat mutatnak egymással, vagyis a propp-i mesetipológia és a detektívregény szereplői megfeleltethetők egymással.

„A mese és a detektívtörténet egyaránt csupán vázlatosan megrajzolt figurák köré szövi a cselekményt. Egyik sem ad kimunkált jellemeket. A szereplők a detektívtörténetben éppoly statikusak, változatlanok, mint a varázsmese időtlen világában. Készen kapjuk őket, ismert pózban. Jottányit sem alakulnak, változnak, fejlődnek. Változatlan marad a mesterdetektívek családi állapota is, és megáll fejük fölött az idő...”¹⁷

A propp-i karaktertipológiát kissé átdolgozva, a detektívtörténet karaktereit ráillesztve a következő szereplőket vázolja fel Keszthelyi Tibor:

1. hős = magánnyomozó;
2. álhős = hivatasos rendőr
3. ellenség = gyilkos
4. király, királykisasszony = megbízó (feladatot, jutalmat ad)
5. adományozó = tanúk, gyanúsítottak (a varázseszköznek a detektívtörténetben az áruló jel s a tanú információja felel meg)
6. útbaigazító = tanúk, gyanúsítottak
7. segítő = a nyomozó segédje (vagy: tanúk, gyanúsítottak)¹⁸

A fent felsorolt karakterek nagy része megfeleltethető a *Magyar titkok*ban megjelenő fő- és mellékszereplők karaktereinek. Bende, a nyomozó főhős, Sobri Jóska a csaló, az ellenség, de ott van még Bende segítője, Bertók cigány is. A következő alpontban részletesebben felvázolom a regény mellékszereplőit, ugyanis nem csupán a detektívtörténet karaktereinek feleltethetőek meg, hanem az olvasói érdeklődésnek, igényeknek, elvárásoknak megfelelően vidéki vagy alacsonyabb társadalmi rangú személyek is fel-feltűnnek, mindezzel pedig mintegy társadalomrajzot nyújt a polgári-arisztokrata olvasóknak.

Ugyanakkor a fenti karakterek leírása sem egyszerű vázlata a korabeli társadalomnak, hanem annak néhol parodisztikus, karikatúraszerű megjelenítése a figuráknak, történeteknek. A szélsőségesen romantikus elbeszélést parodizáló írásra példa a *Magyar titkok*ból a Sobri Jóskát, mint romantikus karaktert parodizáló festmény leírása (*Vérző szív* c. fejezet). Ezen posztromantikus jegyek megtalálhatók Sue regényében is,¹⁹ de az 1840-es években megjelent egyéb művekre is jellemző, gondolhatunk itt például *A hóhér kötelére* Petőfőtől (1846), ahol a főhős, Andorlaci Máté vízbe kívánja vetni magát bánatában: „És mentem a folyónak, hogy beleugorjam. Nem ugortam bele, mert az be volt fagyva.”²⁰ Az ironizáló hangnem sajátosan megjelenik Nagy Ignác művében is, melyet részletesen vizsgál Imre László, aki kiemeli a nyelvhez való hozzáállás újszerűségét, azt a beszédmódbeli szabadságát a narrátoroknak, hogy szatirikusan, humorosan beszél például a kor társadalmi-politikai helyzetéről.²¹

Az 1840-es években kialakuló, formálódó populáris irodalmi műfajok között tehát megjelent a detektívregény első formája, melynek egyik első példája a *Magyar titkok* című regény. A szövegben a folytatásos regényre jellemző napi aktualitások is helyet kapnak,

¹⁷ Keszthelyi, T.: *A detektívtörténet anatómiája*. Magvető Kiadó. Budapest, 1979. p. 130.

¹⁸ Keszthelyi, T.: *A detektívtörténet anatómiája*. Magvető Kiadó. Budapest, 1979. p. 134.

¹⁹ Imre, *i. m.*, 79.

²⁰ Petőfi, S.: *A hóhér kötele*

<https://mek.oszk.hu/01000/01009/01009.htm> [Letöltés ideje: 2022. 01. 01.]

²¹ Imre, *i. m.*, 179.

valamint kimutathatók a detektívtörténetekre jellemző írói fogások (kalandos fordulatok, izgalmas és rémisztő történetek, nyomkövetés, áltemetés stb.) is. Ezen túlmenően megtalálhatók benne egyéb posztromantikus, parodisztikus elemek, megoldások is (például ilyen Pándi Elek párbaja Dalmer báróval).

IV. A *Magyar titkok* mellékszereplőiről

Amennyiben megvizsgáljuk a korabeli olvasóközönség olvasói szokásai felől a szöveg mellékszereplőit, látható, hogy a feltételezett olvasóközönség olyan karakterekkel, helyszínekkel ismerkedhetett meg a regényvilágon keresztül, akikkel noha kapcsolatban állhattak (inasok, szobalányok, árusok stb.), mégis a társadalom periferiájához tartoztak (tolvajok, rablóbarlangok stb). Mindemellett érdekesség az, hogy a történetben kevés „valódi” magasabb társadalmi rangú karakter van, hiszen Dalmer báró és Beattini gróf is valójában Sobri Jóskát takarja, ugyanígy felesége, Eszter (aki valójában Móricz zsidó felesége, akit Sobri megszőktetett) sem rendelkezett „valódi” társadalmi ranggal. Mindeközben több vidéki szereplőt is megismerhet az olvasó a történeteiken keresztül (Hánit, Rózsát vagy Marcit), így nemcsak a városi réteg szegényebb vagy alviláginak nevezhető karaktereivel ismerkedhet meg az olvasók, hanem részben a vidék társadalmi rétegzettségével is. Ugyanakkor a faluból a (nagy)városba érkező embereknek betekintést nyújthatott a regény cselekményén keresztül a városi életbe is.²²

A *Magyar titkokban* megtalálhatóak a detektívtörténet tipikus szereplői, mely tipológiát fentebb felvázoltam: például Bertók cigány, aki Bende (a főhős) jobbkeze, aki egyrészt az inasa Bendének, másrészt az egyes kalandos epizódokban hű bajtársa. Mindemellett a romantika egyik tipizált karaktere, a *muzsikuskisasszony* szerepét is magára ölti, bár ezt is némileg humoros formában közli a narrátor, mivel Bertók a regény jelenében éppen csak tanulja a „mesterséget”. A Marci nevű fogadás a végveszélyben menti meg Bende életét, így ő tekinthető a segítő karakternek a detektívregény műfaji kódja felől értelmezve, olvasva. A pozitív szereplők között ott van Bendének több hölgyismerőse is: Háni, a szobalány, akinek történetét Bende elbeszéléséből ismerhetjük meg, de ott van még Rózsa is, akit Sobri elrabolt és egy cirkusznak adott el. Mindezen szereplőket a szövegre jellemző csevegő hangvétellű narrációban ismerhetjük meg. Vagy éppen Börger Lenkét, aki – egy kereskedő lánya, és akiért minden férfi epekedik – szintén egy a sok Sobri-áldozat közül.

Pándi Elek alakja viszont egy biedermeier vonása a regény történetének, ugyanis ő a hősszerelmes barátja Bendének, és szíve Lenkéért eped. Egy alkalommal még egy komikus párbajra is sor kerül Elek és Sobri között:

„E szörnyű viadal már több egész perczig tartott, s az iszony és borzadás annyira erőt vett lelkemen, hogy alig bírám elfojtani az – **ásítást**, s már csaknem **kétségbeeséssel küzdöttem**. [...] A bajnokok vívtak, valódi nemzeti elszántsággal küzdöttek, s ha valaki a két kard éle közé kerül vala, bizonyosan megemlegette volna a magyarok istenét! szemeik szikráztak, keblök úgy emelkedett, mintha tűzokádó hegyekké akartak volna változni, s hah! kardjok legszélső vége kétszer egymástán valóban megérinté egymást. Hallatlan, de mégis igaz!

Most, – **méltóztassanak kissé remegni, szíves olvasóim**, – most – véletlenül megpillantám, hogy a férj kissé megvérezé karját ingének gombjával, midőn ingujját fölgyúré, s azonnal rémülve kiálték:

- Elég!

A két bajnok hátrahökkent, s **iszonyúan remegett, mint a kocsonya**.

²² Veres, A.: „Roll over Beethoven” (Gondolatok az elit- és tömegkultúráról). Alföld. 2009. Vol. 60. no. 5. pp. 3-23.

- Uram, ön meg van sebesítve!

A férj lankadtan ejté el kardját, és **elhaló hangon** kiálta:

- Sebész úr! Sebész úr!

A sebész azonnal kirohant, a gombkarczolást megtekinté, **ajkait összeszorítá, aggály miatt-e, vagy azért, hogy kitörni akaró kacaját elfojtsa**, azt nem merem meghatározni. Elég az hozzá, hogy a **félelmes seb** beköttetett...²³

Ez a hosszabb részlet jól illusztrálja a csevegő hangnem mibenlétét, illetve a posztromantikus, parodisztikus szövegre is például szolgál. Ami korábban egy romantikus vagy szentimentális regény esetében egy tragikus végkimenetelű, gigászi küzdelemként, a történetet magát komolyan véve jelenik meg, az a *Magyar titkok*ban ironikusan ábrázolva és humorisztikus stílusban kerül leírásra. A szövegben főként a szélsőséges romantikát parodizáló, ironikus történetek és karakterek jelennek meg, valamint a korabeli társadalmi-közéleti-politikai mindennapok fonásait is megismerhetik az olvasók. Mindez egyrészt Nagy Ignác újságírói gyakorlatából eredeztethető, ugyanis életképeiben is ugyanúgy fellelhetők a humoros, az ironikus és a parodisztikus hangok is. A *Magyar titkok*ban ezen beszédmódoknak²⁴ beemelése olvasható a regény cselekményében.

A további szereplők egy része megfeleltethető a Keszthelyi Tibor által felállított karaktertípológiának (például lehetnek olyan tanúk, akik segítették a nyomozás előrehaladását: például Dongainé karaktere, akit Sobri elcsábított), másik részük egyes társadalmi osztályok bemutatására is szolgálhattak (iparosok, cirkuszosok, leányneveldei felügyelők stb).

V. Összegzés

Összességében elmondható a *Magyar titkok* mellékszereplőiről, hogy a történet szempontjából többféle funkciót töltenek be. A korabeli olvasóközönség elvárásai felől vizsgálva megállapítható, hogy többnyire a művelt városi közönség számára szolgálhatott szórakoztató (populáris) olvasmányként, valamint hogy a regényszövegben olyan – akár csak egy-egy epizód erejéig jelenlévő – karakterekkel ismerkedhettek meg az olvasók, akikkel a való életben kevésbé találkozhattak, érintkezhetek közvetlenül. A detektívtörténet műfaji jegyeit vizsgálva arra a következtetésre juthatunk, hogy az egyes szereplők ugyan megfeleltethetőek a műfaj karaktertípológiájának szereplőivel, hiszen megtalálható a szövegben minden egyes karaktertípus, ezen karakterek azonban mégis többletjelentéssel rendelkeznek, mint a műfaj gyakori „típuskarakterei”. Meglátásom szerint éppen a posztromantikus, parodisztikus elbeszélésmód teszi érdekesebbé a mellékszereplőket is, ruházza fel alakjukat szemantikai többlettel. Sőt, mivel a karakterek önmagukban is parodisztikusak, a regény vizsgálatakor további szempontot jelenthet a korabeli prózairodalomban megjelenő humorisztikus hagyomány jelenléte is.

²³ Nagy, I.: *Magyar titkok*. III. Franklin Társulat. Budapest, 1908. pp. 25-26 (a kiemelések tőlem).

²⁴ Imre, L.: *A posztromantikus (Kuthy Lajos - Nagy Ignác-féle) regény újdonsága a XX. század második felének jelenségei felől szemlélve*. In: Bitskey, I. – Görömbei, A. (eds.): *Műfajok létformája XIX. századi epikánkban*. Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó. Debrecen, 1996 (Bibliotheca Studiorum Litterarium 9). pp. 177-196.

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A kerítés, a csábítás, és a nőkereskedés szabályozása a Csemegi-kódex időszakában

Földi Violetta, *Pécsi Tudományegyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Kar*

A nők jogi helyzete rengeteg változást ért meg a történelem során, ebből kifolyólag egy rendkívül érdekes és széleskörű kutatásra alkalmas téma, melynek vizsgálatát az első magyar büntető törvénykönyv, a Csemegi-kódex hatályba lépésétől érdemes elkezdni. Ebben az időszakban még különös védelemben részesült a házasság szentsége és a női tisztesség, hiszen a bűncselekmények jogi tárgya elsősorban a nőnek azon jogvédelmet igénylő érdeke, hogy nemi életével szabadon rendelkezessen.

Korábbi kutatásaim alkalmával már vizsgáltam a nők sérelmére elkövetett nemi erkölcs elleni bűncselekményeket a magyar büntetőjogi kodifikáció egyes szakaszait áttekintve, viszont jelen kutatásaim alapvető célja, hogy az egyes bűncselekmények mélyebb szabályozását bemutassam, illetve feltárjam azokat a kérdésköröket, amelyek olykor nehézséget okoztak a kor jogalkalmazóinak egy-egy tényállási elem kapcsán. Szükségesnek tartom, hogy a jogtudomány, illetve a jogtörténet eszközeivel, a múlt megismerése révén egy objektív tükröt tartsunk.

Kutatási módszerem hármas rendszerű: a szabályok leíró ismertetése mellett a jogintézmények dogmatikai elemzés általi megvilágítása és elhatárolása egymástól, továbbá a gyakorlat bemutatása, ami egy kriminológiai vizsgálathoz elvezethet, hiszen a mai modern világban is gyakran hallunk a bűncselekmények elkövetéséről, melyeknek sértettjei a legtöbb esetben nők. A fent említett bűncselekmények kapcsán a nők kihasználása, illetve kiszolgáltatottabb helyzetükkel való visszaélés, illetve az erőszak okozta pszichés trauma rendkívül súlyos és hosszantartó következményekkel járhat. A felnőtt áldozatoknál a trauma a már kifejlődött személyiségstruktúrákat rombolja, melynek egyik leggyakoribb következménye a poszttraumás stressz rendellenességnek (PTSD) nevezett szorongásos zavar. Gyermek áldozatok esetében az erőszak nélkül megvalósuló szexuális kapcsolat szintén súlyos, gyakran életen át tartó következményekkel jár, hiszen ebben az esetben a trauma nem a kialakult személyiségre van hatással, hanem maga a trauma alakítja, illetve torzítja a fejlődő személyiséget. Témám hasznosságát abban találom, hogy segít megismerni a magyar büntetőjog olyan előzményeit, amelyek hozzájárultak a mai jogintézmények értelmezéséhez, eredetének megismeréséhez, valamint ezáltal elősegítheti egy élénk társadalmi érdeklődést kiváltó témában (a nők áldozattá válása) objektív kép kialakulását.

Kulcsszavak: Csemegi-kódex; kerítés; csábítás; nőkereskedés; nők; női tisztesség; áldozattá válás; kihasználás

I. Bevezető

I.1. Történeti kitekintés

A kerítés és rokon cselekményei csak a XVI. században emelkedtek önálló jogi fogalommá. A római jog a császárság időszakában ugyan büntette azt a férjet, aki feleségének fajtalankodását üzleti célokra kihasználta, és azt a személyt is, aki lakását házasságtörőknek átengedte. A szószoros értelemben vett kerítés azonban nem esett büntetés alá. Az egyházjog általában mindennemű fajtalanság elkövetésének anyagi haszonból való előmozdítását vonta e fogalom alá, de azt önálló bűncselekményként nem határozta meg. A germán népjogokban a kerítés mint fajtalankodásra történő felbujtás, illetve annak elősegítése súlyos büntetés alá esett (pl. orr levágás, elégetés). Hazai jogunkban a kerítés bűncselekménye szintén csak az utóbbi időben vált önállóvá. A XVI-XVIII. századokban az egyes városi statutumok szabályozták a prostitúciót, és közvetve rendelkeznek a kerítésről is.¹ Ezt követően a büntetőjogi kodifikáció egyes tervezetei már foglalkoztak vele.

Az 1795. évi büntetőkódex-tervezet XLIX. szakasza értelmében: „1.§. Általánosságban kerítésnek nevezük a más nőszemély tisztaságának anyagi haszon elérése miatti megrontását. Minthogy pedig a haszon, ami kerítéssel elérhető, de ma a kerítés is sokféle lehet, sőt: az is e büntett elkövetőjévé válik, aki a haszonszerzés célzata nélkül, de szándékosan bármilyen személyt alkalmakhoz juttat, amelyek segítségével esetleg szajhálkodásra csábíthatják; kerítés tehát általában minden olyan cselekedet, amely által valaki szándékosan elősegíti más tisztaságának prostitúcióját.”²

A büntett és a büntetés fokozatának meghatározásánál a bírónak figyelembe kellett vennie elsősorban a megrontott személyek életkorát, erkölcsseit, társadalmi helyzetét, a kerítő szándékát, és mérlegelnie kellett a megrontott személyre háramlott kárt.³ Súlyosabban kellett szankcionálni azt az elkövetőt, aki már több személyt csábított el, s azt is, aki érintetlen nőt, serdületlen lányt prostituált. Hasonlóképpen azt a szülőt, aki lányát, illetve azt a férjet, aki feleségét, és a gyámot, aki gyámoltját használta fel e tevékenységekre. Enyhébb büntetés volt kiszabható abban az esetben, ha a kerítő a hasznot ténylegesen nem vette fel, vagy ha az előre kitervelt közösülés nem történt meg, azaz a bűncselekmény voltaképpen kísérleti stádiumban maradt. Részesként kellett büntetni azt a személyt, aki a kerítőnek tudatosan rendelkezésre bocsátotta ingatlanát, vagy bármily más szolgálatot teljesített a kerítőnek.

A teljes kártalanítás mellett a kerítés büntetése a szándékosság első fokán három hónaptól hat hónapig; második fokán hat hónaptól kilenc hónapig; harmadik fokán kilenc hónaptól egy évig terjedő börtön volt, és a szégyenoszlopnál történő kipellengérezéssel, azaz megszégyenítő büntetéssel is járt.⁴

Az 1843. évi Deák-féle javaslat 228.§-a a következőképp rendelkezett a kerítés meghatározásáról: „Aki feleségét vagy gyermekét másnak tudva, bujasági célokra bérért vagy haszonért átadja: három évi rabságig büntetethetik.”⁵ Ezzel kapcsolatban azt érdemes megjegyezni, hogy a korábbi tervezet illetve a gyakorlat szerint a saját feleségnek vagy

¹ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni büntettek és vétségek. 110.

² Hajdu, Az első (1795-ös) magyar büntetőkódex-tervezet. 502–503.

³ Ez nem azonos a modern, XX. századi megrontás-fogalommal, ami ti. azt jelenti, hogy az elkövető 12-14 év közötti személlyel közösül, illetve fajtalankodik. A hatályos Btk. szexuális visszaélés néven szabályozza.

⁴ Hajdu, Az első (1795-ös) magyar büntetőkódex-tervezet. 502–503.

⁵ Fayer, Az 1843-iki büntetőjogi javaslatok anyaggyűjteménye. 61.

gyermeknek a mások számára történő prostituálása a kerítés minősített esetét jelentette, addig a javaslat a korábbi ún. egyszerű kerítésről nem, csupán e súlyosabb formáról szólt.

I.2. Kriminológiai és kriminálpolitikai szemlélet

A kerítés és rokonbűncselekményei közös vonása, hogy azok során harmadik személyek kéjelgésének lehetőségét teremtik meg, mások nemi közösülését vagy fajtalankodását segítik elő vagy éppen használják ki önértékéből. A jog csak abban az esetben reagál büntető jogkövetkezmények beállításával, amikor vagy a közösségnek a nemi érintkezés normális és erkölcsös síkon tartásához fűződő érdeke szenved sérelmet, vagy akkor, amikor a cselekmény egyúttal a sértettől különböző személy jogi érdekét sérti, illetőleg veszélyezteti. A modern kultúr államok több-kevesebb eltéréssel e bűncselekményi körbe sorolják a szoros értelemben vett kerítést, a nőrablást, a nőkereskedést, valamint a kitaratottságot. A kerítés és rokonbűncselekményei visszaszorítása egyedül a büntetőjog eszközeivel nem érhető el, e téren sokkal nagyobb feladat hárul a szociálpolitikára, valamint a közigazgatásra.⁶

II. A kerítés, a csábítás, és a nőkereskedés

II.1. A kerítés

Hatályos Büntető törvénykönyvünk értelmében: „a kerítés büntetést követi el, aki haszonszerzés céljából valakit szexuális cselekmény végzésére másnak megszerez.”⁷ E bűncselekmény tekintetében azonban egy sajátos vonás figyelhető meg a jogalkotásban, miszerint első büntető törvénykönyvünk az egyszerű kerítést nem, csupán annak legsúlyosabb esetét, a szülő által gyermeke sérelmére elkövetett, illetve a sértettel függőségi viszonyban álló elkövetők – vagyis annak gyámságára, gondnokságára, nevelésére, tanítására bízott személy – általi kerítést rendelte büntetni, csábítás néven.⁸ A törvény tehát csábításnak nevezte a későbbiekben fogalmilag kerítésnek minősülő bűncselekményeket.

A Csemegi-kódex a kerítés egyéb eseteit tudatosan hagyta büntetlenül, egyrészt a bizonyítás nehézsége miatt, másrészt pedig azért, mert a kerítőre nem lehetett úgy bizonyítani a bűncselekményt, hogy azzal ne érje hátrány a sértettet is.⁹ Tehát, az első magyar büntető törvénykönyv nem büntette a valós életben virágzó megélhetési bűnözést, a leánykereskedelmet, vagyis a bordélyházak működése engedélyezett volt.¹⁰ Azonban a több évtizedes tapasztalat bizonyította, hogy a Csemegi-kódex vonatkozó tényállása a csábítás szabályozása kapcsán nem elégíti ki megfelelőképpen az elvárt igényeket, ezért mellőzhetetlen volt a kerítés általában büntetendő cselekménnyé tétele.¹¹

Az egyszerű kerítés törvényi tényállását az 1908. évi XXXVI. törvénycikk, másnéven az I. büntetőnovella rögzítette, illetve azt több, ma is használatos fogalommal bővítette ki:¹²

⁶ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni büntettek és vétségek. 116–117.

⁷ 2012. évi C. törvény

⁸ Merényi, A szexuális erőszak. 126–127.

⁹ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni büntettek és vétségek. 118.

¹⁰ Császár, A kéjelgésügy szabályozása a dualizmus-kori Magyarországon, különös tekintettel Somogyra 18.

¹¹ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni büntettek és vétségek. 118.

¹² Merényi, A szexuális erőszak. 127–128.

„43. § Kerítés vétségét követi el, a ki valamely tisztességes nőt házasságon kívüli nemi közösülés vagy fajtalanság céljára önérdékből más részére szándékosan megszerez vagy megszerezni törekszik, ha a nő életének huszadik évét még be nem töltötte.”¹³

A lehetséges elkövetők körét ez a meghatározás szélesítette, a felelősségre vonást pedig szigorította. A bűncselekmény alanya, tettesi minőségben bárki lehetett, aki huszadik életévét még be nem töltött, tisztességes nőt vett rá nemi közösülésre, illetve fajtalanságra. Tényállási elem lett az önérdék mint motívum, a más részére történő megszerzés vagy megszerzésre való törekvés.

A kerítés alapesetén kívül vétségnek számított az az eset is, amikor az elkövető életkorára tekintet nélkül tisztességes nőt törekedett rábírní bordélyházban vagy hasonló intézményekben folytatandó tevékenységre. Azonban a kerítés büntettnék minősült abban az esetben, ha a sértett huszadik életévét még nem töltötte be, és a sértettet az előbb említett helyeken akarata ellenére bármely okokból visszatartották. A Csemegi-kódex hármass felosztása a következő: ha a bíróság halálbüntetést, fegyházat, vagy börtönt szabott ki, büntettről beszélhetünk; ha fogházat, vétségéről; ha pedig elzárást, akkor kihágásról.¹⁴

Lényegében maga a kerítés általában, egészében véve, közreműködés, illetve közvetítés egy más által elkövetendő nemi közösülés, vagy fajtalanság cselekményében. A kerítés azonban a közönséges bűnsegélynél sokkal több, mert a kerítő maga a főbűnös, ő teszi lehetővé a sértett erkölcsi bukását és a kéjenc nemi ösztönének tiltott kielégítését.¹⁵

De ki számított a korban tisztességes nőnek? És milyen szerepe van az életkornak a bűncselekmény kapcsán? Tisztességes volt a közfelfogás szerint az a nő, aki a társadalom életében részt vehetett; vagyis fogalmilag ki volt zárva e körből az örömlány, a bordélyházban és hasonló üzletekben alkalmazott, illetve minden más nő, aki köztudomás szerint erkölcstelen keresetforrásból élt. Minden tisztességes nő kerítésénél sérelmet szenvedett az erkölcs, az egyszerű kerítés esetében viszont a büntetőjogi védelmet igénylő külső rend érintetlen marad. A nem tisztességes nők a korabeli felfogás szerint nem szorultak e védelemre, vagyis a bordélyházak működhettek. A hangsúly a sértett egyéni sérelmén nyugodott, nem pedig a közrend megsértésén.

Levéltári kutatásaim során találtam egy 1909-ből származó jogesetet, amely bemutatja, hogy a korabeli baranyai igazságszolgáltatás hogyan is értelmezte az egyes tényállási elemeket, különös tekintettel a tisztesség szerepére:

N. Terézia, Cs. Jozefa és V. János vádlottak, Mohácson 1909. október 8-án a 20. életévét még nem töltött Sz. Anna tisztességes nőt házasságon kívüli nemi közösülés céljaira, azzal a csalárdsággal, hogy cselédnek szegődtetik el, együtt és közösen megszerezték. Továbbá, a vádlottak, Cs. Jozefa és V. János a kerítéssel üzletszerűen foglalkoznak, V. János pedig kerítés miatt egyszer már büntetve volt. Ekkor tájt Cs. Jozefa és K. Paula szintén Mohácson a 20. életévét még be nem töltött B. Ágnes tisztességes nőt házasságon kívüli nemi közösülés céljából, együtt és közösen megszerezték.

Első fokon a Pécsi Királyi Törvényszék a vádlottakat a bűncselekmény elkövetése alól felmentette, miszerint a sértettek, Sz. Anna és B. Ágnes fiatal koruk dacára sem tisztességes nők.

¹³ 1908. évi XXXVI. törvény

¹⁴ Fayer, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. I. kötet. 87.

¹⁵ Finkey, A magyar büntetőjog tankönyve. 603–604.

Sz. Anna önmaga ismerte be, hogy 1909. októbert 8-át megelőzően egyik idegen férfival egy hétig, egy másikkal pedig hat hétig együtt élt, és pénzért másokkal is nemileg közösült, valamint minden mohácsi lakos tudta, hogy mi célból megy N. Teréziával a nőtlen és nőcselédeket nem tartó ügyvédhez, s azt is tudta, hogy miért öltözött előbb Cs. Jozefa lányának ruháiba.

Azzal, hogy Sz. Anna tudta, hogy mi célból megy N. Teréziával idegen férfiakkhoz, és hogy miért öltözik lányának ruháiba a kerítés már nem minősíthető csalárdsággal elkövetettnek.

B. Anna (B. Ágnes édesanyja) beismerte, hogy 1909. év októberét megelőzően leánya már vagy két évvel azelőtt megszökött anyjától Mohácsról, és néhány hétig Bátaszéken és Dunaszekcsón hentergett, ahonnan úgy toloncolták haza. S hogy maga az anyja hordja a férfiakkhoz, ugyanis B. Anna egyszer kijelentette tanú előtt, hogy leányának nem kell V.-ékhoz mennie, mert ő maga is el tudja vinni leányát az urakhoz. Egy másik tanú azt bizonyította, hogy 1909 október vagy november hónapban B. Anna maga vitte leányát V.-ékhoz és úgy nyilatkozott a tanú előtt: „Nem bánom, hogy a leányom rossz, mert legalább pénzt keres, amire pedig nagy szükségünk van.” Így tehát, elsőfokon az elkövetőket felmentették a vád alól.

Elgondolkodtató, hogy mivel B. Ágnes a saját édesanyja hordta férfiakkhoz közösülés céljából, megvalósul a kerítés minősített esete, a csábítás, viszont az édesanya mégsem kerül eljárás alá. E mellett pedig a jogesetből kikövetkeztethető a lányok életkora, amely 15-19 év lehet, ugyanis a Csemegi-kódex a megfertőztetés bűncselekménye által külön védelemben részesíti a 12-14 év közötti lányokat a szexuális cselekményekkel szemben.

Másodfokon viszont a Pécsi Ítéltábla részben megváltoztatta az ítéletet, mert álláspontja szerint Sz. Anna és B. Ágnes a vádlottakhoz köthető előzetes ismeretség hatására váltak nem tisztességes nőkké, így Cs. Jozefát hat havi börtönre, V. Jánost pedig nyolc havi börtönre ítélte, továbbá mindkettejüket kötelezte 400-400 korona büntetés megfizetésére, valamint 3-3 évi hivatalvesztést, és a felmerülő bűnügyi költségek megtérítését is kiróttak rájuk.¹⁶

Jól látható, hogy a sértettek hiába köztudottan voltak fiatalkoruk ellenére nem tisztességes nők, a bírói gyakorlat mégis megadta nekik a védelmet, és elítélte a vádlottakat.

Ebből kifolyólag a büntetőjogi szankció kiterjedt azokra az esetekre is, amikor a sértett jogtárgy különös védelmet nemcsak érdemel, de kifejezetten rá is szorul. Tehát ahhoz, hogy a büntetőjog védelmet nyújtson még valamely elemre szükség volt, nevezetesen amikor a sértett egyéni elhatározásának szabadságát korlátozza fiatal kora.¹⁷

A 20. életév betöltésének jelentősége abban rejlik, hogy ekkoriban úgy vélték, hogy a magasabb korban lévő személy már nem szorul védelemre, mivel átesett a nemi érettség első évein, tapasztaltabb lett, és a kerítőkkel szemben védekező erőre tett szert.¹⁸

A korszakban a kerítés elkövetési tevékenysége a sértett személynek a házasságon kívüli nemi közösülés vagy fajtalanság céljára, önérdékből, más részére, szándékosan való megszerzése, vagy ily megszerzésre törekvés volt. Megszerzésen volt értendő minden olyan tevésben vagy mulasztásban álló cselekmény, amely megteremti annak közvetlen lehetőségét, hogy a kerítés tettesétől különböző harmadik személy a sértettel házasságon kívül nemileg közösüljön vagy

¹⁶ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Baranya Megyei Levéltára VII.2.b. Pécsi Királyi Törvényszék iratai: V. 750/1909

¹⁷ Edvi Illés, A büntetőnovella zsebkönyve. 132.

¹⁸ Edvi Illés, A büntetőnovella zsebkönyve. 132., Az 1925. évi XIX. törvény módosította az életkort, melynek következtében a 20. életév 21. életévre módosult.

fajtalankodják. A kerítésnek nemcsak a megszerzés, hanem a megszerzésre irányuló törekvés is elkövetési cselekménye volt, így tehát a törvény kifejezésre juttatta, hogy a kísérlet, sőt már az előkészületi cselekmény is befejezett kerítésnek minősült, amennyiben az egy meghatározott személy ellen irányult.¹⁹

Azzal, hogy a törvény a más részére való megszerzést rendelte büntetni, arra utalt, hogy a sértett személynek az elkövető által a maga részére való megszerzése nem esik a büntetőnovella vonatkozó szakasza alá. A maga részére való megszerzés csak közvetett formában volt büntetendő, azaz csak akkor, amikor az egyén a sértett személyhez olyan kerítő útján jutott, akit ő bírt rá a megszerzésre, vagy aki mellett segítő tevékenységet fejtett ki.²⁰

A megszerzésnek önérdékből kellett történnie. Fogalma nyilván nem esett egybe sem a vagyoni haszon, sem a nyereségvágy, sem pedig a vagyoni előny fogalmaival, mert ahol a törvény az érdekeknek e szűkebb körű kategóriájához kívánta fűzni a cselekmény büntetőségét, azt a vonatkozó megjelölésekkel kifejezésre juttatta. A büntetőnovella nem a haszonszerzést, hanem az önérdéket emeli ki, amelyről akkor van szó, amikor a szükségét érző ember a maga személyében kerül a szükség kielégítésére alkalmas eszközzel kapcsolatba, és ennek az eszköznek a segítségével törekszik egy kellemes állapot előidézésére, vagy egy kellemetlen állapot távoltartására.²¹

Például önérdékből cselekedett az alkalmazott, aki előmenetel reményében követte el a kerítést. A kúriának egy esetben volt alkalma az önérdék fogalmára világot vetni: *I.I.-né vádlott, M. Mária sértettet perverzitásból azért szerezte meg a férjével való közösülésre, mert ennek végig nézése neki gyönyört okozott. A törvényszék álláspontja szerint fennállt az önérdék, míg az ítéletábra ennek ellenkezőjét állította, így a kúria hozott végső döntést az ügyben, és kimondta, hogy az előny nem csak anyagi előnyt jelent, hanem minden olyan előnyt, ami valakire más irányban hasznos vagy kellemes, tehát a vádlott kétségkívül önérdékből járt el. Az önérdék csak akkor állapítható meg, ha a nemi közösülésre, vagy fajtalanságon kívül más érdek nem forog fenn.*²²

A bűncselekmény elkövetése esetén annak elkövetője két évig terjedhető fogházzal, hivatalvesztéssel, politikai jogok gyakorlásának felfüggesztésével, valamint pénzmellékbüntetéssel volt büntethető.²³

Minősített eseteknek számított, ha az elkövető a cselekményt hozzátartozója, nevelése, tanítása vagy felügyelete végett rábízott vagy neki alárendelt nő ellen követte el; ha a bűncselekményt csalársággal, fenyegetéssel, erőszakkal követték el; ha az elkövető a sértettet külföldre szállította; illetve, ha a kerítést üzletszerűen vagy visszaesőként követték el. A büntetés két évig terjedő fogháztól tíz évig terjedő fegyház lehetett, kerítés büntette miatt hivatalvesztés, és a politika jogok felfüggesztése is kimondható volt. E négy eset kiemelésével a törvény a kerítés veszélyesebb és erkölcsileg is erősebben elítélendő eseteire világított rá.²⁴

A kerítés vétsége esetében a bűnvádi eljárás kizárólag magánindítvány útján volt megindítható, amely magánindítványt nem lehetett visszavonni.

¹⁹ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni bűntettek és vétségek. 124–125.

²⁰ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni bűntettek és vétségek. 127.

²¹ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni bűntettek és vétségek. 128.

²² Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni bűntettek és vétségek. 128.

²³ Edvi Illés, A büntetőnovella zsebkönyve. 139.

²⁴ Finkey, A magyar büntetőjog tankönyve. 606.

II.1.1. Bordélyházakba lépésre reábirás és az abban való visszatartás

A büntetőnovella 44.§ (1) bekezdésében adott fogalommeghatározás értelmében: „*kerítés vétségét követi el, aki valamely tisztességes személyt szándékosan reábir, hogy házasságon kívüli nemi közösülés céljára bordélyházba vagy hasonló üzletbe lépjen.*”²⁵

Az elkövető egyezett a kerítés alapbűncselekményében foglaltakkal, ahogy a passzív alanyok köre is, azzal a különbséggel, hogy a törvény a korra való tekintet nélkül minden tisztességes személyt védelembe vett, ugyanis a bordélyházba kerítés a sértettnek teljes erkölcsi bukását idézte elő. A 20 éves korhatárt a törvény annyiban értékelte, amennyiben a sértett 20. életévét még nem töltötte be, a cselekmény büntett volt.²⁶

Az elkövetési tevékenység a szándékos rábírás volt a házasságon kívüli nemi közösülés vagy fajtalanság céljára bordélyházba vagy hasonló üzletbe lépésre. A rábírás determináló hatású befolyásolás, amely a rábíró céljának megfelelő eredménnyel járt. Azonban az egyszerű felhívás vagy felszólítás nem volt rábírásként értékelhető. Angyal Pál szerint a rábírás fogalma nem volt azonos a bűncselekmény elkövetésére való felbujtással, hiszen felbujtásról akkor beszélhetünk, ha az a bűncselekmény, melyre a rábírás irányult befejezett bűncselekmény, vagy legalább büntetendő kísérlet volt. A bordélyházba belépésre való rábírás azonban már megvalósult a rábíró tevékenység kifejtésével, így annak teljességéhez nem kellett a célba vett külső eredmény bekövetkezése. A rábírás bevégzettnek számított, amint a címzettben a rábíró tevékenység következményeként a belépés szándéka megszületett. Tehát a bordélyházak elvileg csak úgy működhettek „legálisan”, hogy a nők kizárólag saját akarathatározásból léphettek be.

Ha a belépés szándéka már megvolt, amikor a kerítő a sértettet a belépésre rábírníni törekedett, akkor a büntetőnovella 44.§-a nem volt alkalmazható, ugyanis az eredmény nem a rábírás következményeként állt be. Ennek a rábírásnak a bordélyházba vagy hasonló üzletbe történő belépésre kellett irányulnia. A bordélyház általában kéjnéket tartó vállalat, a hasonló üzlet pedig az, amely szintén abból a célból áll fenn, hogy az abban alkalmazott személyek testüket másoknak áruba bocsássák kéjzergés céljából.²⁷

E kerítés vétségének büntetése két évig terjedhető fogház volt, viszont, ha a sértett a 20. életévét nem töltötte be, a cselekmény büntettnak számított, és három évig terjedhető börtönnel volt büntetendő. Mellékbüntetésként pénzbüntetés, valamint hivatalvesztés és politikai jogok felfüggesztés volt kiszabható.²⁸

A bordélyházban való visszatartás, vagyis a „*kerítés büntettét követi el az is, aki valamely személyt bordélyházban vagy hasonló üzletben akarata ellenére bármely okból visszatart*”. A bűncselekmény elkövetője szintén bárki lehetett, passzív alanya viszont csak olyan személy lehetett, aki házasságon kívüli nemi közösülés vagy fajtalanságnak másokkal való üzése céljából bordélyházban tevékenykedett. A sértett tisztessége és életkora ebben az esetben is

²⁵ 1908. évi XXXVI. törvény

²⁶ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni büntettek és vétségek. 130.

²⁷ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni büntettek és vétségek. 131–132. A bordély, Bordell kifejezés a francia „bord” szóból ered, melynek jelentése: szegély, szél. E vonatkozásban arra utal, hogy a prostitúció általában a város szélén, a rendőrségtől távol eső helyeken folyt.

²⁸ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni büntettek és vétségek. 134.

csak annyiban volt releváns, amennyiben a sértett a 20. életévét még nem töltötte be, ugyanis ekkor a bűncselekmény elkövetéséhez súlyosabb büntetés társult.²⁹

Az elkövetési tevékenység a sértettnek akarata ellenére bármely okból visszatartása. A visszatartás a legváltozatosabb eszközök használatával volt elkövethető, viszont a leggyakoribb eset az volt, amikor adósságokkal való megterhelés és az ezek ki nem fizetése címén nem engedték el a sértettet. Azzal, hogy a büntetőnovella a „bármely okból” való visszatartást rendelte büntetni, az elkövetési cselekvés körébe von minden olyan befolyásolást, amely akadályát teremti annak, hogy a sértett a bordélyházból kiváljon, és az erkölcsös útra visszatérjen. Elkövetési mód lehetett a bezárás, megkötözés, vagy akár a kapu ki nem nyitása. Fontos, hogy a visszatartás a sértett akarata ellenére történjen, ha tehát a sértett saját elhatározásából maradt vissza, a bűncselekmény megállapításának nem volt helye. Angyal Pál nézete szerint akarat ellenére való visszatartásról akkor volt szó, amikor a tettes az elhatározás és cselekvés szabadságát olyan motívumtöbblet beállításával korlátozta, amelyre a mindennapi élet rendes körülményei között számítani nem lehetett.³⁰

Mivel a visszatartás magatartása súlyosabb megítélés alá esett, a büntetés három évig terjedhető börtön volt, viszont, ha a sértett életének 20. életévét még nem töltötte be, akkor az elkövető büntetése három évig terjedhető fegyház is lehetett. E mellett még hivatalvesztés és politikai jogok felfüggesztése is minden esetben kiszabható volt.³¹

II.1.2. Az elkövetés módja alapján büntetetté minősülő kerítés

„A kerítés büntetettét követi el, aki valamely személyt csalárdsággal, erőszakkal vagy fenyegetéssel házasságon kívüli nemi közösülés vagy fajtalanság céljára önérdékből más személy részére megszerez vagy megszerezni törekszik, továbbá aki valamely személyt csalárdsággal, erőszakkal vagy fenyegetéssel reábir, hogy ily célra bordélyházba vagy hasonló üzletbe lépjen.”³² – írja az első büntetőnovella.

E büntetett elkövetője nemcsak a sértett erkölcsiségét, nemi életével való szabad rendelkezési jogát, hanem a személyes szabadságát, és ezzel a közrendet is sértette. Passzív alanya bármely korú és erkölcsű személy lehetett.

A csalárdság a cselekmény valódi céljának olyan elhallgatását vagy a valóságtól eltérő tartalmi elemekkel való olyan beállítását jelentette, amely alkalmas volt arra, hogy a sértettet tévedésbe ejtse, vagy tévedésben tartsa. Általában a csalárdság a házasságkötés ígéretével valósult meg. Az erőszak korabeli fogalma szerint az embertől eredő, harmadik személyre közvetlenül ható és a cél elérésére alkalmas fizikai erő. Az erőszaknak az akarat befolyásolására alkalmasnak kellett lennie, vagyis a sértettre akarathajlító hatása kellett legyen.³³ A fenyegetés fogalmára a Csemegi-kódex 234. §-ában foglaltak voltak az irányadók, miszerint: *„Fenyegetés alatt a jelen fejezetben olyan fenyegetés értetik, mely alkalmas arra, hogy a fenyegetettben saját, - vagy jelenlévő hozzátartozójának életét, vagy testi épségét veszélyeztető súlyos testi sértés közvetlen bekövetkezése iránt, alapos félelmet gerjesszen.”³⁴*

²⁹ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni büntettek és vétségek. 134.

³⁰ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni büntettek és vétségek. 135–136.

³¹ Edvi Illés, A büntetőnovella zsebkönyve. 144.

³² 1908. évi XXXVI. törvény

³³ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni büntettek és vétségek. 138–140.

³⁴ 1878. évi V. törvény

A büntetés megegyezik az előző esetben leírtakkal.

II.2. A csábítás büntette

A csábítás büntette már az 1908. évi büntetőnovella előtt is büntetendő volt, amelynek törvényi fogalma így szólt: „*azon szülő, aki törvényes vagy természetes nőgyermekét mással nemi közösülésre, úgyszintén az, aki törvényes vagy természetes gyermekét mással nemi vagy természetelleni fajtalanság elkövetésére csábítja, a csábítás büntettét követi el, elköveti e büntettet az is, aki a gyámságára, gondnokságára, nevelésére, tanítására bízott személy ezen cselekményre csábítja.*”³⁵

Tettesi minőségben elkövetője lehetett a szülő, valamint a gyám, a gondnok, a nevelő, a tanító, és a felügyelő. Részesi minőségben az volt büntetendő, aki a szülőt rábírta, hogy gyermekét az ő részére nemi közösülésre csábítsa. Ebből kifolyólag a bűncselekmény passzív alanya a szülő természetes vagy törvényes gyermeke, a gyámolt, a gondnokolt, a tettes nevelésére, tanítására, felügyeletére bízott személy lehetett.³⁶

De kit lehetett a korban gyermeknek tekinteni? Mivel a Csemegi-kódex még nem ismerte a későbbi büntetőnovella terminológiáját, viszont gyermeknek tekintette a 14. életévét be nem töltött személyt, így arra lehet következtetni, hogy a csábítás büntette a szülő részéről csak a 14. életévét be nem töltött személy sérelmére volt elkövethető. Amennyiben az elkövető a gyám, gondnok stb. volt, a sértett életkora nem lett figyelembe véve, viszont a bűncselekmény passzív alanya csak az lehetett, aki a tettel olyan függőségi viszonyban állt, amely a sértett akaratelhatározásának korlátozottságát eredményezte, így pedig a tettes részéről való könnyebb befolyásolhatóságával járt.³⁷

Elkövetési cselekménye a csábítás, amely a rábírásban nyilvánult meg, de ide volt sorolható még az olyan tevékenység is, amely a sértettre motiválóan hatott. A csábításnak nemi közösülésre, vagy nemi fajtalanságra kellett irányulnia.

Egy Szolnok környéki 1888-ból származó esetben P.E. vádlott, P.R. kiskorú leánygyermekét, kifejezetten a vádlott felügyeletére bízta, aki a leányt nemi közösülés elkövetésére csábította olyan eredménnyel, hogy őt egy férfinak tetteg át is szolgáltatta. Ezért a kúria megállapította, hogy a vádlott a csábítás önálló, további következményektől nem függő büntettét teljesen befejezte, és a Btk. 247.§ (2) bekezdése alapján bűnösnek mondta ki.³⁸

Ebben az esetben jól kivehető, hogy nem a szülő, hanem a felügyelő a bűncselekmény elkövetője, akiről az édesanya még csak nem is feltételezhette, hogy efféle cselekményekre képes lehet. Első fokon a Szolnoki királyi Törvényszék a csábítás kísérletét, másodfokon a Budapesti királyi Ítéletábla pedig a Csemegi-kódex 321.§-ába ütköző bűncselekményét, a fajtalanság céljából elkövetett hatalomba kerítést állapította meg. Harmadfokon a Curia értelmezése szerint a 321.§-ba ütköző bűncselekmény nem volt megállapítható tekintettel arra, hogy a tényállási elemek között szerepel, hogy a cselekmény a sértett akarata ellenére kell történni, ellenben az édesanya jóhiszeműen és a kislány beleegyezésével bízta őt a vádlott felügyeletére.

³⁵ 1878. évi V. törvény

³⁶ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni büntettek és vétségek. 143–144.

³⁷ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni büntettek és vétségek. 144.

³⁸ GRILL-FÉLE DÖNTVÉNYTÁR VIII. 358 359.

A bűncselekmény elkövetése esetén az elkövető büntetése öt évig terjedhető fegyház volt, mellékbüntetésként pedig hivatalvesztést róhattak ki.³⁹

II.3. A nőkereskedés

Nőkereskedésen a nő kéjelgés céljaira külföldre szállítása volt értendő, amelynek a különleges értékelés alá esett alakzatáról a büntetőnovella a következőképpen rendelkezett⁴⁰: „*aki a nőt bordélyházban vagy hasonló üzletben elhelyezés végett külföldre szállítja vagy szállíttatja, öt évig terjedhető fegyházzal és ezer koronától ötezer koronáig terjedhető pénzbüntetéssel, üzletszerű elkövetés esetében, ugyanzintén, ha a tettes ugyanily büntett miatt már egyszer büntetve volt és büntetésének kiállása óta tiz év még el nem telt, öt évtől tiz évig terjedhető fegyházzal és kétezer koronától nyolczezer koronáig terjedhető pénzbüntetéssel büntetendő*”⁴¹

Újabb minősítő körülmény merült fel ebben a szakaszban, még pedig az az eset, amikor az elkövető a nőt erkölcsstelen célokra külföldre szállította, vagy szállíttatta, különösen, ha a cselekményt üzletszerűen vagy visszaesőként követték el.⁴²

E bűncselekmény kapcsán csak az elkövetési magatartás kíván megbeszélést, hiszen a külföldre szállítás, vagy szállíttatás, valamint a bordélyházban való elhelyezés csak cél volt. Ebből az következik, hogy a nőkereskedés büntetnének teljességéhez nem kellett sem a bordélyházba lépésre reábirás ténye, sem pedig a bordélyházba való belépés, hanem elegendő volt, ha a sértett a tettes közvetett vagy közvetlen tevékenységének eredményeként külföldre érkezett. Egyebekben nemcsak a szállítás, vagyis a sértett külföldre kísérése, hanem a szállíttatás is a bűncselekmény elkövetési magatartási közé volt sorolandó. Tehát az az eset is, amikor a tettes nem kísérte külföldre a sértettet, hanem az egész kiutazást megrendezte. A szállíttatás esetében a szállító (kikísérő, szállíttató rendelkezései szerint eljáró személy, kint fogadó) rendszerint társtettes volt, de a konkrét körülmények szerint lehetett csupán bűnsegéd, viszont ennek minősítése már jóval komolyabb megfontolás alá esett, hiszen a körülmények alapos mérlegelése alapján tudták megállapítani, hogy a szállító személy társtettes vagy bűnsegéd.⁴³

Az üzletszerűség és visszaesés mint minősítő körülmény természetesen csak akkor vezetett súlyosabb büntetés kiszabásához, ha a megítélés tárgyaként szereplő bűncselekmény abban állt, hogy a vádlott a sértettet bordélyházban, vagy hasonló üzletben való elhelyezés végett szállította külföldre, a nem külföldre szállításban álló kerítésnek üzletszerű vagy visszaesésben elkövetettsége esetében a büntetést a kerítés minősített esete szerint kellett kiróni.⁴⁴

III. Összefoglalás

Tanulmányomból kiderül, hogy a kerítés bűncselekményét miként határozták meg, mikor került be a büntetendő cselekménye körébe a XIX. század végén és a XX. század elején, és hogy az első büntetőnovella milyen fontos, ma is használatos újításokat hozott létre a kerítés törvényi tényállásának tisztázása terén, továbbá, hogy a korszakban ismert kerítés bűncselekménye rendkívül sok esetkört foglalt magában.

³⁹ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni büntettek és vétségek. 150.

⁴⁰ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni büntettek és vétségek. 157.

⁴¹ 1908. évi XXXVI. törvény

⁴² Edvi Illés, A büntetőnovella zsebkönyve. 152.

⁴³ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni büntettek és vétségek. 157.

⁴⁴ Angyal, A magyar büntetőjog kézikönyve. 14. A szemérem elleni büntettek és vétségek. 158.

A kerítésnek mint a szemérem elleni bűncselekmények egyik legtipikusabb alakjának története lépést tart a társadalmaknak a szemérem elleni bűncselekmények büntetendősége iránti általános felfogásával. Ebben a korszakban Európa-szerte elszaporodtak a kerítéssel kapcsolatos üzelmek, a fiatal lányok külföldre szállítása (első sorban éppen Magyarországról), amelyek leplezetlen szemérmertlenséggel, lelketlenséggel szedték áldozataikat és pusztították őket mind testileg, mind pedig lelkileg.⁴⁵

Hazánkban a fiatal nőknek külföldi bordélyházba szállítását már egy 1869. évi belügyminiszteri rendelet kihágásnak minősítette. A Csemegi-kódex eltekintve a csábítás bűncselekményétől, a kerítést nem büntette. A kivándorlásról szóló 1903. évi IV. törvénycikk, és az ennek végrehajtásáról szóló rendelet csak a kivándorlás megakadályozásának érdekében tett preventív intézkedéseket. Tehát büntetőjogunk a büntetőnovella előtt mondhatni ölbe tett kézzel nézte a legpiszkosabb és erkölcstelenebb üzelmeket, és eltűrte, hogy a külföldi bordélyházak legszerencsétlenebb áldozatait „*Hungarának*” nevezzék.⁴⁶

A korszakban erről a helyzetről kialakult véleményt jól tükrözte Finkey idézete: „*A legnagyobb örömmel kell üdvözölnünk a Büntetőnovellát, amely e tekintetben radikális újításra vállalkozik, amikor a kerítést és a leánykereskedést igyekszik meggátolni, vagy legalább csökkenteni.*”⁴⁷

IV. Irodalomjegyzék

1878. évi V. törvény

1908. évi XXXVI. törvény

2012. évi C. törvény

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⁴⁵ Finkey, A magyar büntetőjog tankönyve. 600.

⁴⁶ Finkey, A magyar büntetőjog tankönyve. 601.

⁴⁷ Finkey, A magyar büntetőjog tankönyve. 601.

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Az ösztöndíj pályázásához kapcsolódó célok, motivációk, kommunikációs szokások vizsgálata a fiatal felnőttek körében

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A napjainkban egyre gyorsuló generációváltások hatására, a generációkutatások is kiemelt figyelmet fordítanak a viselkedés- és gondolkodásbeli eltérések feltárására. E tanulmány a mindennapokat meghatározó információs technológia által behálózott életmód kontextusában vizsgálja az Y és Z generáció céljait, motivációit és kommunikációs szokásait. Az elemzéseket a felsőoktatási ösztöndíj pályázatok aspektusából mutatjuk be. (Tari, 2015)

A kutatás során a Z és Y generációkhoz tartozó, 18-35 éves személyeket tekintettük fiatal felnőtteknek. Vizsgálatainkkal az alábbi kérdésekre keressük a választ: mi segítheti elő a pályázatokon való indulás hajlandóságának növelését a Z generáció tagjai körében? Az Y generáció tagjai a sikeres pályázást követően milyen hatást véltek felfedezni szakmai pályájuk alakulásában? Empirikus kutatásainkat megalapozandó szakirodalmi elemzések keretében kívánunk rávilágítani e két generáció gondolkodásának, kognitív világának sajátosságaira.

Mint arra tanulmányomban is felhívom a figyelmet, az oktatáspolitikai manapság nagy hangsúlyt fektet a tehetséges hallgatók, kutatók, oktatók és művészek támogatására. Ennek egyik lehetséges formáját az ösztöndíj pályázatok jelentik. E tehetségtámogatási formát kívánjuk pályázói aspektusból bemutatni. A kutatás során végzett felmérés eredményei alapján összehasonlítjuk e két generáció (Z és Y generáció) pályázói szokásait. Egy ilyen felmérés a szerző feltevése szerint segítséget nyújthat az oktatáspolitikai számára is, hogy még célzottabban tudja támogatni és segíteni az eltérő tudományterületek fiatal tehetségeit.

Számos tehetséggondozó ösztöndíj program felhívásában megtalálható, hogy a pályázat célja a tehetséges fiatalok a kutatói, művészeti szférába vonzása, továbbá a már pályán lévők kibontakozásának támogatása, kutatásaik és művészeti előadásai, produktumaik nemzetközi színvonalú elkészítésének segítése.¹ A tanulmány egyik hipotézise, hogy az ösztöndíj pályázatok pozitív befolyást gyakorolhatnak a hallgatók szakmai életpályájának alakulására. Jelen tanulmány e gondolatokra reflektálva kíván szakirodalmi megalapozást nyújtani további empirikus kutatásokhoz.



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Kulcsszavak: generációk, motiváció, ösztöndíj pályázat, tehetséggondozás, kommunikáció

¹ Új Nemzeti Kiválóság Program. [Internet] <http://www.unkp.gov.hu/unkp-rol> [2021.10.08]

I. Y és Z generáció - kihívások és kommunikációs lehetőségek

A tanulmány fókuszában a célok és motivációk vizsgálata áll, amely fogalmak esetén megkerülhetetlen, hogy önértékelésről, önismeretről értekezzünk. A szakmai elismertség megszerzéséhez és a fiatal generáció előtt álló kihívások megoldásához egyaránt elengedhetetlen a megfelelő önbizalom és a helytálló önértékelés kialakítása. Sikeres és elismert személyek megfigyelése alapján elmondható, hogy megfelelően tudják saját magukat értékelni és nem rettegnek a kudarctól vagy a hibázás lehetőségétől. A digitális generációk esetén (Y, Z, Alfa) még fontosabb szerepet kap a megfelelő önértékelés kialakítása, mivel ez jelenti a sikeres és ambiciózus egyénné való fejlődésük alapját (Tari 2015).

Noha az említett fogalmakat (önbecsülés, önértékelés, önbizalom) szinte szinonimaként használják a hétköznapi diskurzusokban, a szavak jelentése közel sem azonos. Tari Annamária pszichológus tanulmányában a következőképpen definiálja e három fogalmat: „Az önbecsülést tekinthetnénk annak, mely a realitásban elért eredményeket is számba veszi, a jó önértékelést annak, mely az arra való képesség fejlesztésére irányuló erőfeszítéseket és az önismeretet is tartalmazza, amikhez az önbizalom adhat elég érzelmi muníciót.” (Tari 2016: 79–80)

A XXI. században, mikor időnk egy jelentős részét az online térben töltjük, a közösségi média által virtuálisan megjelenített „tökéletes élettörténetek, álmok” közepette egyre kisebb a lehetősége annak, hogy optimálisan tudjon fejlődni az egyén önértékelése. Elmondható, hogy kevesen teszik közszemlére a napi kudarcaikat, vagy ha valaki mégis vállalkozik erre, sok esetben szembesülnie kell azzal, hogy negatív véleményeknek teszi ki ezáltal önmagát. Sokkal elfogadottabb és a közösségi média felületeken kialakult „normarendszer” részévé is vált gyakorlat, hogy a képeken, bejegyzéseken mindenki igyekszik a legjobb oldalát és az élete legszebb, legsikeresebb pillanatait megjeleníteni, sok esetben akár a realitás határait is átlépve. Tari Annamária könyvében így fogalmazza meg e gondolatokat: „Nem tehetik, mert a közösségi média etikettje szerint a „napnak mindig sütnie kell.” (Tari 2015:31)

A technológia fejlődése, az internet megjelenése, majd a közösségi média népszerűsége megváltoztatta az emberek napi kommunikációs szokásait, aminek hatására bármikor bárkit a világ bármely pontjáról el tudunk érni. Elmondható azonban, hogy e pozitív hatások mellett egy alapvető távolságtartás is kialakult a személyek között. Az internet hatására úgy kommunikálunk barátainkkal, ismerőseinkkel, hogy közben metakommunikációs jelzéseiket nem láthatjuk, így kizárólag a szavakra és a mondatok végén lévő emotikonokra (hangulatjel) kell hagyatkoznunk, mint az érzelmek kifejeződésére (Tari 2015).

Fontos azonban, ahogy a protokollismeret és az előadás módszertana is hangsúlyozza, hogy a személyes kommunikáció alkalmával átadni kívánt információ közvetítésekor a verbalitás csupán 7 százalékban jelenik meg, míg ezzel egy időben nagyobb hangsúlyt kap a vokalitás és a vizualitás szerepe. „A verbalitás a retorikában a kimondott szó, az elhangzott szavak pontos tartalmát jelöli, a beszéd közben a hallgatóság értelmére hat.”² Míg a vokalitás az élő beszéd alkalmával a szavak hangsúlyozására összpontosít. A kommunikáció során a vizualitás kiemelt jelentőséggel bír az előadás és a személyes kommunikáció során, hisz a kommunikáció részét képezi a személyes metakommunikációnk, testbeszédünk is. Természetesen fontos különbséget tenni egy előadás és egy baráti beszélgetés között, azonban megállapítható, hogy a verbalitáson túl más kommunikációs eszközök is megjelennek az élőbeszéd során, melyeket a virtuális,

² Bárdi, L. et al.: Közszolgálati protokoll II. Könyv, A társas érintkezés keretei és formái. Egyetemi tankönyv. A mű a Közigazgatási Továbbképzési Intézet gondozásában készült el. p.13. https://kti.uni-nke.hu/document/vtkk-uni-nke-hu/protokoll_2_konyv.pdf [Letöltés:2021.12.23]

online térben egy rövid írásos üzenetváltás során nagyon nehéz, vagy sok esetben szinte lehetetlen megfelelően átadni.³

A digitális generációk egyre jobban sodródnak az online, virtuális világ felé. A gyors információszerezés lehetősége és a mindennaposá vált multitasking következményeként az online világban számos érzelmi hatást tudnak egyidejűleg megtapasztalni, azonban ez az offline (valódi) világgal ellentétben kevesebb időt enged a résztvevők számára az érzelmek megélésére és feldolgozására. A felgyorsult folyamatok elkerülhetetlenül is hatást gyakorolnak a fiatalok személyiségfejlődésére, így kifejezetten „az énfunkciók (éntudat, énkép: testkép, szociális kép, önbecsülés, identitás, az én-ideál, és az önkontroll – önértékelés) lassú fejlődése, a realitással való összevetése, a szociális közegben megtapasztalt érzelmi élményekkel való fejlődése, ha nagyrészt az online tér identifikációs közegben zajlik, akkor következményképp változást fog mutatni a régi offline metódushoz képest.” (Tari 2016: 81)

A digitális fejlődés ugyanakkor számos előnnyel is párosul, növelni tudja hatékonyságunkat mind a munkavégzés, mind a tanulmányok terén. Segít, hogy azonnal a szükséges információ birtokába lépjünk. Fontos megemlíteni, hogy e digitális nemzedéknél fokozottabb a veszélye annak, hogy elfelejtik megélni és értékelni az adott pillanatot, mert fontosabb, hogy azt az interneten mindenki számára elérhetővé tegyék. Ezáltal kialakulhat akár egy a személyiségüktől eltérő „online személyiségük” is (Tari 2015).

Az online felület lehetőséget adhat számunkra a saját magunk marketingjének kialakításához. Megállapítható, hogy az online térben is megjelenő önreprezentáció nem kizárólag a digitális generáció esetén jelenik meg. A szakmai előrehaladás során hasznos lehet ezen virtuális platformok használata. Az önmenedzselés e formájánál figyelni kell, hogy az online „megalkotott profil” összhangban legyen a valósággal. A realitástól való túlzott eltérés nem kizárólag egy szakmai megmérettetés (pl. állásinterjú) során érintheti az adott személyt hátrányosan, de az online és offline tér közötti túlzott eltérés komoly szakadékot hozhat létre az egyén személyiségvonásainak torzulásában is. Az online felületeken való önreprezentáció mögött álló kommunikáció fontos elemzési egységét fogja jelenteni a tanulmány további fejezetének, amelyben a fiatal felnőttek kommunikációs szokásait vizsgáljuk a sikeres ösztöndíjpályázatok kapcsolatában (Tari 2015). A tanulmányban ösztöndíjpályázatok alatt olyan felsőoktatási ösztöndíjak összességét értjük, amelyek célja a fiatal tehetséges hallgatók, kutatók, művészek eredményeinek elismerése, valamint szakmai munkájuk folytatásának segítése.

II. Az Y és Z generáció kommunikációs szokásai a közösségi médiafelületek tükrében

Az információs technológia fejlődésével, a közösségi média felületek növekvő népszerűsége által egyre nagyobb mértékű befolyást képes gyakorolni az online tér a Z és Y generáció tagjaira. A felhasználókat ért rendszeres impulzusok elkerülhetetlen hatást gyakorolnak kommunikációs szokásaikra és gondolkodásukra egyaránt.

Szécsi Gábor az Ifjúság és társadalom a mediatizálódó világban című tanulmányában utal Donald Roberts, Ulla Foehr és Victoria Rideout Generation M² című munkájának arra a felismerésére, miszerint a 2004 és 2009 közti időszakban jelentősen megugrott a 8–18 éves korosztály körében az eltérő médiaeszközök használata (Szécsi 2016).

³ Bárdi, L. et al.: Közzolgálati protokoll II. Könyv, A társas érintkezés keretei és formái. Egyetemi tankönyv. A mű a Közigazgatási Továbbképzési Intézet gondozásában készült el. https://kti.uni-nke.hu/document/vtkk-uni-nke-hu/protokoll_2_konyv.pdf [Letöltés:2021.12.23]

A mindennapok részét képezi a naprakész, vagy akár az azonnali információ megszerzésének igénye. Sok esetben már beépülni látszik e generáció tagjainak személyes kommunikációs normarendszerébe is az „offline és online tér” közti átjárás lehetősége. Megjelent a személyes kommunikáció részeként is a különböző médiafelületek használata. Képzelnék el azt a szituációt, amelyben beszélgetőpartnerünk nem ismeri az általunk említett harmadik felet, ezért ő azonnal előveszi okos telefonját és az általa használt közösségi felületen rákeres az illető nevére. Egy ilyen élethelyzet már teljesen elfogadott cselekmény egy-egy személyes interakció során is. Ez alapján elmondható, hogy a személyes kommunikáció során alkalmazott normarendszer kiegészülni látszik, amely nem mindenki számára teljesen elfogadott, mivel a teljes személyes jelenlétet hiányolják e cselekvés kapcsán. Így kifejezetten a Z generáció tagjait érinti az offline-online világ közti gyors mozgás igénye és a mindennapjaikat általánosságban is jellemző multitasking. Az online tér és a valódi világ folyamatos váltogatása azonban azt eredményezi, hogy ennek „a nemzedéknek a társadalmi, kulturális kötődései már nem értelmezhetők a társadalmi-közösségi, virtuális-valós, globális-lokális fogalmi dichotómiák jegyében. Ez az ifjúság már a hálózati társadalmi hibrid (fizikai-virtuális), mediatizált közösségeiben újratermelő glocalitásokban érzi otthon magát.” (Szécsi 2016: 67)

Az elmúlt időszakban még nagyobb teret kapott a modern technológiai eszközök mindennapos használata, a médiafelületek rendszeres figyelése, vagy akár a közösségi oldalakon eltöltött aktív órák száma. E folyamatok nagy valószínűséggel megkerülhetetlen részét képezik világunk elektronikai, technológiai fejlődésének. Megállapítható azonban, hogy a most zajló vírushelyzet (COVID-19) hatására még inkább felgyorsulni látszik az említett folyamat, amely során egyre több és több órát töltünk az eltérő elektronikai eszközök előtt. Ez a processzus azonban minden generációt érint. A vírus megjelenését követően szinte robbanásszerűen kezdtünk el az online tér felé sodródni, olyan mindennapi tevékenységek során is, amelyek azt megelőzően személyes részvétellel zajlottak. Ilyen jellegű változásokon mentek keresztül az oktatási intézmények, amelyek tanórái átkerültek az online térbe. A home office elterjedésével a munkahelyi értekezletek is egyre gyakrabban online kerülhetnek megtartásra, valamint folyamatos a mindennapi ügyintézéshez szükséges online platformok fejlesztése is.

Az online tér lehetőséget biztosít arra, hogy a hasonló érdeklődéssel, értékrendszerrel rendelkezők egy azonos online közösséghez tartozzanak, úgy, hogy akár az ország két különböző pontján élnek. Ilyen közösség lehet például egy ösztöndíjprogram kapcsán létrehozott virtuális közösség is, amibe minden ösztöndíjas bevonásra kerül. A szervezők létrehozzák és menedzselik azt a folyamatot, amelyben a fiatal tehetséges ösztöndíjasok bemutatkozhatnak az online közösség tagjainak. Egy ilyen megjelenési lehetőség a közösségek szerveződése mellett presztízsértékű is, ami hozzájárul a személyes (én) márka építéséhez.

Személyes márka alatt azt értjük, amit mások gondolnak általánosságban véve rólunk, melyben megjelennek mind a szakmánkban elért sikereink, mind a személyes kompetenciáink, valamint a személyiségünk által képviselt értékek és személyiségjegyeink is. Így például megjelenik, hogy az adott illetőt az őt körülvevő közösség kiemelkedőnek tartja-e a szakmájában, vagy hogy éppen emellett megbízhatónak is látják-e az adott személyt. Fontos, hogy az, hogy egy személy mit gondol saját magáról, nem jelenti azt, hogy képviselni is tudja azt a közösség tagjai számára. Ennek összhangjának megteremtését és a jó személyes márka kiépítésének képességét a coach szakma szintén egy kompetenciának jeleníti meg, mely fejleszhető (Márton-Koczó–Papp 2013).

A szakmai elismerésre egy hallgató, kutató részére kiváló visszacsatolást nyújthat egy felsőoktatási kutatói, művészeti ösztöndíj. Egy ösztöndíjon való indulás során a pályázati felhívásnak való megfelelés, majd a tudományterületek elismert személyei által készített értékelés önmagában segít megerősíteni, hogy mit lát egy külső szemlélő a pályázó szakmai munkásságáról. Egy presztízsértékű ösztöndíj elnyerése a kutatás, művészeti tevékenység

támogatása mellett segítséget nyújthat abban is, hogy a tehetséges egyén megfelelően tudja kommunikálni elért szakmai eredményeit a közösség számára.

Így elmondható, hogy egy ösztöndíjon való megmérettetés segítségére lehet a személynek az önmagáról kialakított szakmai munkájáról való visszacsatolásban is. „A személyes márka építése nem más, minthogy megpróbáljuk hitelesen és következetesen megmutatni az erősségeinket; úgy kommunikálunk, úgy teremtünk kapcsolatokat, hogy látszódjon a szakmaiságunk...” (Márton-Koczó–Papp 2013: 7)

A digitális generáció tagjai számára éppúgy meghatározó kommunikációs csatorna a virtuális tér, mint a személyes jelenléttel történő interakciók. Az online és offline tér drasztikus szétválasztását indokolatlannak tartják, így a virtuális felületek kiegészítik mindennapi személyes kommunikációs formákat (Szécsi 2016). Ezen felületek jelentősége felerősödik a személyes (én) márka építése során is. A közösségi felületek lehetőséget biztosítanak, hogy egyszerre annyi emberhez elérjen az információ, amennyire a személyes, offline térben nem lenne lehetőség. A nagyszámú elérésen túl, kialakíthatjuk személyes online hálózatunkat is, így minden számunka kommunikálni kívánt információ azonnal elérhetővé válik a hálózatunk vagy személyes közösségünk tagjai számára.

A megfogalmazott gondolatok a társadalmi hálózat, saját társadalmi tőke kialakítása kapcsán természetesen a személyes interakciók során is kialakul, azonban a virtuális tér lehetőséget nyújt, hogy ezek a folyamatok gyorsabban és a hagyományos interakcióhoz képest lazábban megvalósulhassanak. Hozzájárulva ezáltal napjaink elvárásainak teljesítéséhez: egyfelől, hogy minél hatékonyabban és gyorsabban tudjunk információhoz jutni, másrészt, hogy minél több személy részére tudjuk azt egy időben közvetíteni.

Megvannak azonban a gyors információközvetítésnek a veszélyei is. Ezért a legfontosabb a kommunikáció során, hogy a közvetíteni kívánt információ mindig legyen hiteles és álljon összhangban a kommunikálni kívánt értékkel. Ahogy személyiségükben is eltérők az emberek, úgy a megválasztott kommunikációs csatornák és célcsoportok is különbözőek lehetnek. Fontos azonban a kommunikálni kívánt információ és annak közvetítésekor megválasztott közösség, valamint a kommunikációs csatorna megválasztása során az összhang megtalálása (Márton-Koczó–Papp 2013).

III. Összegzés

A technológia ütemes fejlődése hatást gyakorol mindennapi kommunikációs szokásainkra. Megállapítható, hogy az online tér, mértékletes felhasználás mellett, sokszínű lehetőséget tud biztosítani a személyes bemutatkozás kiegészítéseként a szakmai önreprezentációs folyamatokban is. Elengedhetetlen azonban a hiteles és reális kép kialakítása önmagunkról. Mint arra Tari Annamária is felhívja a figyelmet, fontos az egyensúlyra törekvés, hisz az online tér közegében könnyen elcsúszhat az irrealitás és a realitás kapcsolata. Az online térben eltöltött idő pedig hatással lehet a fiatal generáció személyiségfejlődésére is (Tari 2016). Ezért is fontos, hogy a digitális generáció tagjai esetén kiemelt figyelmet szenteljünk az ideális önbecsülés, önértékelés, önbizalom képességének fejlesztésére (Tari 2016).

A pályája elején lévő fiatal tehetségek megfelelő önértékelésének, önbizalmának kialakításában és annak megerősítésében segítséget tudnak nyújtani a különböző szakmai megmérettetések kapott visszajelzések. Ezen folyamatok során egy reális, a témában kiemelkedő külső értékelő személyétől kaphatnak visszacsatolást szakmai munkájuknak értékéről. A szakmai értékelés, amely visszacsatolásként is szolgál, presztízsértéke miatt segítségére lehet a hallgatónak, kutatónak, művésznek a megfelelő önbizalom támogatásában is. Támogatást jelenthet továbbá az is, ha az ösztöndíj keretében lehetőséget biztosítanak az ösztöndíjasok részére, hogy egy közösségbe szerveződjenek. Ez napjainkra megvalósulhat személyes jelenléttű közösségként és online közösségként is. Egy ilyen közösség létrehozása jó lehetőséget biztosíthat a tagok

számára, hogy olyan társaikkal találkozzanak, akik hasonló érdeklődéssel, értékrendszerrel rendelkeznek. Egymás munkáját és életútját saját tapasztalataik megosztásával tudják tovább segíteni és motiválni is.

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A Quest for Women's Emancipation in Palestinian Literature: Sahar Khalifeh's *Sunflower*

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The Oriental female living under colonizing regimes according to Edward Said is presented as someone who never speaks of herself; she is incapable of representing her emotions, presence or history. Thus, women's representation in Arab literature is always permeated by images of patriarchal control which represent women as objects, mothers or symbols that stand for the motherland, fertility and generosity. Accordingly, this paper investigates some attempts of subverting this oppression imposed on Arab women. More specifically, this paper investigates the Palestinian female writers' response to this burden of misrepresentation put on women's shoulders within the Palestinian community.

The paper aims to investigate the literary work of the well-known Palestinian feminist writer Sahar Khalifeh, in particular Khalifeh's novel *Sunflower* (1980). In this regard, the research claims that Khalifeh represents a successful attempt at subverting the typical images associated with Palestinian women in literature.

Accordingly, the research will elaborate and provide answers to the following questions: What are the restrictions imposed on women living within the Palestinian community that are manifested in Khalifeh's characters? What are the institutions that Khalifeh tries to present as places for women's confinements and how are these institutions employed as weapons against women's emancipation? What are the images that Khalifeh tries to subvert regarding the Orientalist Woman, in particular the Arabic Palestinian woman? What are the solutions Khalifeh provides to help women react/respond towards this multi-levelled patriarchal system of oppression?

Keywords: the Oriental woman, Palestinian literature, Sahar Khalifeh, Sunflower (1980)

I. Introduction: Feminism in the Arab world

Literature can be best described as a quest that the novelist undertakes in order to record a battle erupting inside his/her mind. In other words, through literature, the novelist tries to express his/her plans explicitly without any boundaries, fears, escapes or retreats. Such a scene, will give the floor to the writer to confess his/her own defeats, fears and disappointments. In this sense, literature becomes a battlefield where freedom and triumph are the most appetizing goals. This echoes Sartre's words who states: "literature throws you into battle. Writing is a certain way of wanting freedom; once you have begun, you are committed, willy-nilly" (2001, p.277). Thus, literature functions to understand how people in different parts of the world use the literary language to reflect their happiness, sadness, anger, nostalgia, love, identity, desires or needs. Notwithstanding, examining the themes prevailing in literature; in particular, the Arab literature, it is clear that the idea of women's representation and women's status are at stake. In other words, this literary theme is still both a developing and a contemporary one. This echoes Abu-Lughod's words who states: "the woman question at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, a topic that until the 1980s had attracted only modest interest" (1998, p.5). Moreover, there are still doubts about the proper term to be used to refer to this phenomenon in the Arabic language. For example, Al-Bogami, a Jordanian researcher, asserts that "she is confused whether to use feminist criticism or feminist literature to refer to this theme in literature," concluding that she prefers to use feminist literature since "it is deep and more encompassing" (Trans., 2014, p.2). In addition, Abu-Lughod maintains that there is still disagreement about how to refer to this concept "like feminism in the Middle East, for which at least in Arabic there is still no fully acceptable term" (1998, p.22).

Tracing the seeds of feminism in the Arab world, it is clear that it has encountered four big dilemmas. First of all, feminism was only employed for the sake of nationalism. That is to say, feminism had some political agenda in its early days in the Arab world. This is clear in the case of the school of Midwives that was established in the 1830s by the Egyptian modernizer Mohammad Ali. His sole purpose behind establishing this school for women was to show to visiting Europeans how modern and developed he was on one hand, and to improve the efficiency and enhance the health of his army, on the other hand. This echoes Abu-Lughod's words who asserts: "the sphere of women was localized as a sphere of backwardness to be reformed, regenerated, and uplifted for the benefit of the nation" (1998, p.10). Thus, nationalism was viewed as both a male phenomenon and a masculine project per se.

Secondly, the identity of the feminist language was still vague. This entails the absence of a proper language that reflects the Arabic feminist ideology for Abu-Lughod argues that "the language of rights that promised equality to women could be seen as problematic not only because it was actually unavailable to women but because of the assumptions about personhood and subjection to the state it carried" (1998, p.8).

Thirdly, Arab women's writings were devalued by male authors and were marked as immature art. In other terms, some male writers dismiss the idea of women's writings since they have ignored and marginalized women authors. Dakrub, an Arab Lebanese critic, answered frankly when he was asked about the absence of Arab female novelists stating: "the only reason I can think of is that male writers (myself included) must unconsciously believe that the literature written by women is insignificant" (Shaaban, 2009, p.34).

Finally, the images employed to represent women in literature were dyed with patriarchal control. Priyanka, a researcher on Palestinian feminism, comments that "the symbols used in literature are gilded frames which encourage and preserve the role of women which is accepted in a patriarchal society" (2017, p.190). In other words, the Oriental female

according to Edward Said is presented as “she never spoke of herself, she never represented her emotions, presence or history” (1978, p.6). For example, the Palestinian woman is portrayed in literature as a mother whose role is just to take care of her husband, brothers and children. This echoes Hamamra’s words who remarks that “in the Arab world in general, and contemporary Palestine in particular, many women ... are treated as objects, deprived of their voices and choices, and confined in the domestic sphere” (2019, p.1).

Therefore, the Palestinian literature will serve as the raw material for the discourse about domesticity and feminism in the present research since the literary content of the Palestinian literature has been ignored in scholar’s research. For example, in *The Madwoman in the Attic* (1979), a book by Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar which became one of the most well-known books that deals with women’s writing (focusing on the nineteenth century period), neglects the feminist movement in the East for the authors focus their attention on analysing texts produced by non-Eastern writers only including: Mary Shelley, Jane Austen, Emily Brontë, George Eliot. This emphasizes Priyanka’s view that “Palestinian literature, which is a part of Arabic literature, has been marginalised for numerous reasons in academics... Most of the English departments across the world ... have largely ignored and side-lined Palestinian literature in their curriculum when it comes to literature/s in translation” (2017, p.2). Therefore, since the Western discourse about feminism has been the focus of research for a long time, it is crucial to broaden the scene and include the Eastern discourse about women’s representation when talking about feminism as a universal research area. Accordingly, the research will rely on feminist writings produced by Eastern writers since Western writers could not be qualified to describe the situation of women in Third World countries. As the Iranian critic Chandra Mohanty argues that the writings of contemporary western feminists about third world women contribute in the reproduction of colonial discourse where females in the southern part of the world are represented as the undifferentiated ‘Other’ (1984).

I.1. Sahar Khalifeh: A model for a Palestinian feminist writer

The present research will investigate the feminist writings of the Palestinian novelist Sahar Khalifeh who was born in Nablus, Palestine in 1941. Khalifeh was influenced by Western feminist ideology which had a great influence on her writings including Simone de Beauvoir’s and Virginia Woolf’s ideas. Thus, Khalifeh’s work is worthwhile to be investigated, in particular, for the following reasons. First of all, the novel as a literary genre is considered to be more expressive compared to poetry since Priyanka concludes that “litterateurs have expressed their opinions about the novel as the best genre to deal with the travails of human struggle rather than poetry or other forms of literature” (2017, p.18). However, this does not neglect the fact that Palestinian literature includes female poets who expressed their feminist views through poetry including Fadaw Tuqan, Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Ghada Talhami and Raymonda Tawil who wonders in her poem “Was I then free?”, “I am a wife in a society that has made men into gods and women into submissive dolls” (1976 as cited in Abdel-Malek, 2005). Secondly, Sahar Khalifeh is a Palestinian writer who was born in Nablus, Palestine and is considered to be the most translated writer after the Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish. This echoes Abdel-Malek’s words who maintains that “Sahar Khalifeh is one of the most famous Palestinian novelists, widely acclaimed for being the first feminist Palestinian writer” (2005, p.112). In addition, through examining some interviews and autobiographical works about Khalifeh’s life, it is clear that her personal life affects her writings since they show some useful insights about her feminist reputation. For example, Khalifeh was forced to get married at the age of eighteen to a husband chosen by her parents, a marriage that resulted in two daughters. In addition, Khalifeh had a miserable marriage since her husband prevented

her from using the pen. Khalifeh described her marriage as “miserable and devastating” since “her husband went so far as to tear up her writing” (Sahar Khalifeh, An Interview, 1998).

Thirdly, Khalifeh uses the language of everyday life in lieu of the language used by the elite since she writes against putting boundaries and establishing meaningless hierarchies between people. Khalifeh states: “I’m absolutely against elitist literature, and my conviction is that literature is from the people, towards the people. And the majority of people in our society are simple and poor, and even illiterate...I admit and realize that the illiterate will never read what I write. But it matters to me that those who could read are going to read for those who can’t” (Sahar Khalifeh, An interview 2009). Accordingly, Khalifeh writes in Arabic language since she believes that her language symbolizes the idea of rejecting subordination. This echoes Priyanka’s words that “The language she chooses is significant as English is encoded with the ideology of power and dominance...Her writing in Arabic runs against subordination to hegemony” (2017, p.50). Finally, Sahar Khalifeh lives in Palestine; thus, she writes about women and for women who live in Palestine as well. In other words, “Khalifeh is a special writer who dared to face multiple ideological opponents..., even as she continued to live within the Occupied Territories” (Priyanka, 2017, p.4). As a result, analysing her works could add to the authentic value of the present research since the research would deal with real life situations that would help in feeding the scene when talking about women representation in Palestinian literature.

Palestinian literature is loaded heavily with images that preserve and emphasize the domestic roles of Palestinian women living under occupation. Most male writers tend to represent Palestinian women by stressing on the familial concept; a concept that emphasizes the role of women as being essential to war. In other words, women are required to give birth, nurture and educate children to become soldiers for the sake of liberating the nation. Moreover, male writers tend to associate women with symbols that stand for the land, fertility and martyrdom. For example, the Palestinian novelist Ghassan Kanafani in his novel *Umm Sa’d* (1969) describes his female protagonist as “she rises from the womb of the earth, as an arrow held by mysterious destiny escalating endlessly ... She walks high as a flag carried by unseen hands ... She is solid as a rock, patient as a prophet. She has grown ten years older trying to win clean bread for her family” (p.15-16, p.25). Kanafani’s portrayal of Um Sa’d is always associated with symbols such as: the womb, the flag, the rock, etc. He neglects the human side in her. Moreover, the Palestinian novelist Yahya Yakhluf in his novel *A Lake Beyond the Wind* (1991) that talks about the 1948 war, praised the female figure using male attributes such as ‘the sister of men’, an Arab attribute that stands positively for courage and bravery. Thus, her praise is reflected in masculine terms. This shows that women cannot appear as heroes on their own, instead, they have to be associated with men since, from a male perspective, their womanly characteristics will not qualify them to be presented as heroes.

Accordingly, the present research will present Khalifeh as a successful model in subverting these patriarchal images both in literature and in real life. Khalifeh totally rejects the typical images associated with women including the mother of the martyr, the symbolic motherland and the mother of the nation. Instead, Khalifeh wants the image of the individual woman be presented in literature, that is the image of the human being that consists of flesh and blood. Therefore, in her writing, Sahar Khalifeh rejects all the traditional roles and images associated with women in Palestinian literature through allowing her female characters to live and revolt against the patriarchal system in all her novels including *We Are Not Your Slaves Any More* (1974), *Wild Thorns* (1975), *Sunflower* (1980), *The Inheritance* (1988), etc. Khalifeh wants the real role played by women to be presented in literature; that is her role as a human being who does the basic things like eating, sleeping, in lieu of associating women with symbols that stand for the land, fertility, generosity, etc.

II. Discussion: Female Roles in *Sunflower*

The present research will be devoted to the study of Khalifeh's characters in the novel *Sunflower* (1980) published in the 1980s. The three main female characters in the novel are: first, Rafif, a liberal journalist who works in a leftist magazine, an ambitious girl who is trying to surpass the masculine domination of the Palestinian community. Second, Sa'diya, who is a poor widow trying to survive with her children through working in an Israeli factory. Finally, Khadra, who was forced into prostitution after her husband abandoned her and beat her. In the novel, Khalifeh chose her characters from all walks of life and made them act under social traditions, morals and conventions that impede their quest for emancipation.

The research draws on two methods to analyse the characters of *Sunflower*. First, the research employs textual analysis to describe Khalifeh's portrayal of her characters and highlights the ways she allows them to act within the Palestinian society and the way Khalifeh wants the community to be constructed to reach its freedom. Second, the research refers to Virginia Woolf's book-length essay "*A Room of One's Own*" (1929) to highlight the solutions Khalifeh tries to come up with in her attempt to plant her feminist ideas within both the Palestinian society and Palestinian literature since Woolf emphasizes the importance of women having their own space and being financially independent to get their emancipation from the institutions oppressing them. This is part of Khalifeh's approach in her call for women emancipation.

II.1. Rafif

Rafif stands for the educated, intellectual girl in the novel. She is a journalist who works in a magazine and she is the only woman among the magazine's committee. Rafif is represented as a rebellious girl against the masculine domination that exists within the Palestinian society. In *Sunflower*, Rafif is viewed as an ambitious girl who attempts to surpass the limitations imposed on Palestinian women and preventing them from practicing their lives as ordinary human beings. For example, early in the novel, Rafif is represented as a rebellious figure against the agreed-upon rules of traffic. She crosses the road while the traffic light is still red, however, she does not get injured. Rafif's justification for this breach of laws is that: "the street is not only for car drivers but for pedestrians as well" (Trans., Khalifeh, 1980, p.11). Thus, by breaching the law, Rafif tries to claim authority over her life.

In other words, Rafif is a human being who has the right to decide which way to choose to manoeuvre on this planet. Rafif believes that lights are misleading; thus, each woman should have her inner light that guides her to the correct destination. Rafif comments: "I wanted to say that the lights are a trick and a conspiracy. Who put the lights and set them a system? Dull minds are those who believe them. I do not believe them, that is why I cross the street whenever I want. I am free. I cross the street whenever I want, so I don't wait for light from them. I make my own" (ibid.). As a normal human being, Rafif wants to experience different feelings such as: risking her life, being in danger, escaping it, etc. These acts would empower her and make her more courageous since she will move outside the traditional images associated with women such as being passive and lacking will. In other words, Rafif believes that freedom is associated with the red colour since crossing the red light is something unusual. Thus, this is a call for women to move out from the domestic and traditional spheres that they are normally confined within to explore and try new places. This echoes Woolf's words when she was asked about why women live longer than men, Woolf states: "...women and clergymen and gardeners live longer than other people. Remove that protection, expose them to the same exertions and activities, make them soldiers and sailors

and engine drivers and dock labourers, and will not women die off so much younger, so much quicker, than men ... Anything may happen when womanhood has ceased to be a protected occupation” (1929, p.34)

Moreover, as part of Khalifeh’s project to help women speak and gain agency over themselves, Rafif is represented as a journalist who is doing her best to find a room for women in the magazine she works for since the magazine devotes only a small column for women which addresses issues related to women. These issues emphasize the traditional roles of women and serve male patriarchal agenda. The magazine addresses topics that focus only on cookery, nursery and beauty such as "Raisin cake recipe, My lady: a dish that enters a man's stomach and accordingly will let you steal his heart, How to breastfeed your baby without going through the painful stage of split nipples, How to be an attractive modern woman ...” (Trans. Khalifeh, 1980, p.213). Thus, since Rafif is the only woman among the magazine’s committee, she insists on a necessary change in the way the magazine addresses women by changing that sexist material into educational topics that feed women with solutions to their problems and provide insights towards the establishment of a better society. Rafif is protesting against the way the magazine addresses women by focusing only on domestic roles. Therefore, Rafif is looking for a collective solution to the situation of women in Palestine. She is thinking collectively of women not only of herself. Moreover, she is not satisfied with the space that the magazine devotes to women’s issues, it only counts two pages from the whole volume and this is not enough to tackle the woman question. Thus, Rafif is insisted on women being devoted half the magazine as a room for addressing women’s issues. Her belief is derived from the fact that since women constitute half the society, thus, they must be devoted half the magazine and be equals with men’s share of the magazine. Rafif addresses women commenting: “You, half of society, is greatly oppressed, but we believe in your freedom and we are working to reach it, so be comforted” (ibid.).

Rafif even goes further by rejecting the division made between male and female readers since she believes that women and men have the right to read about the same topics as equals and that women should not be treated as an alien social group with special needs or topics. This is part of Khalifeh’s approach in treating women as solely human beings. Rafif argues: “If the magazine is modern, we should immediately stop treating women as if they were an alien social group. She is a human. She can read what men read and she has the same interests like him. So why should we devote a corner for her? Silly this thing is. I will not continue this issue any more” (Trans., Khalifeh, 1980, p.157). Accordingly, Rafif’s representation is trying to assert an approach of treating women as individuals. This image suggests women be treated as ordinary human beings who enjoy the same rights and freedom that men enjoy within the Palestinian community. Moreover, Khalifeh’s representation of Rafif as a journalist is purposeful since the feminist movement in the Arab world starts to flourish by female writers who were journalists before becoming feminist writers such as the Syrian writer Ghadah al-Samman and the Lebanese novelist Huda Barakat. This echoes Cooke’s words who states: “women’s early journalism became the platform for social protest as well as for literary expression” (2006, p.447). Thus, journalism and using the pen could be employed as a means to get rid of the oppression imposed on women. Using the pen is important since this will lead to empowering women economically. This echoes Woolf’s ideas who emphasizes that if women to gain their freedom, they should have both their own space to practice writing and they should put money in their purse if they want to publish their work (1929).

II.2. Sa'diya

Sa'diya's character stands as an example for the uneducated, yet the hard working, lower middle-class woman. In the novel, Sa'diya is represented as the widow who is left to survive after the death of her husband. Thus, in the absence of her husband, she is left to take the responsibility of bringing up her children; that is a stereotypical role, a single woman who has to survive financially and socially by herself in a traditional occupied Palestinian community for the sake of her family. However, in *Sunflower*, Sa'diya does not stop at her maternal duties' threshold since she is represented as a hardworking woman who has to work in a factory to feed her children. She starts working as a seamstress for an Israeli textile company to earn living. She needs to gain money if she wants to compensate for the death of her husband. However, since the Palestinian society is conservative in the sense that it does not accept that both men and women work at the same place even if only occasionally, Sa'diya finds herself in a hard situation. She has to commute to the Israeli factory every day and pass through many check points on her way, on one hand, and she has to face the criticism from her society as a working woman, on the other hand. Sa'diya contemplates: "What a country! Shall we bear the occupation or the black tongues talking behind us?" (Trans., Khalifeh, 1980, p.31).

It is clear that the Palestinian patriarchal society rejects the idea that women invade the places usually set for males since they consider this invasion as something unusual. Sa'diya is trying to challenge this division of places by insisting on her work at that factory to elevate herself upper the social ladder. She reaches this conclusion after her experience of being a widow. In other words, the absence of her husband stands as an awakening moment for her situation, the absence of the male figure enables her to gain autonomy over her life. Sa'diya comments: "What did I get from this country? Nothing will benefit you in this life except your penny. I stayed at home for eight months and no one even give me some fruits for my children. I put on black clothes, I tied a scarf around my head and I sit near the window crying over the death of my husband. What happened is that neither the black clothes bring my husband back nor the scarf makes me honoured among my people" (Trans., Khalifeh, 1980, p.32). Accordingly, for Sa'diya, it is her work that shapes her female personality with strength and confidence. Sa'diya goes further since she aims at moving from her current space that is located near the valley to the mountains where the social standards are better and more supportive to women. This indicates that she is not satisfied with her current space since this space limits, confines and prevents her from making progress in life. Sa'diya contemplates "mountains are for the rich yet the rest stay at this gloomy rusty, rotten valley. When God will bless her and rise her with those who are high up there?" (Trans., Khalifeh, 1980, p.45). She refers to her current place as a place of backwardness and restrictions; thus, she wants to replace it with one that is more open to change and less conservative to traditions. Her movement is a positive one since it will transform her character and lift her from the bottom of the social ladder to its top, a movement that will make her life better and meaningful than before and the key to this successful leap for Sa'diya is having a profession.

Thus, Sa'diya is trying to surpass her hard situation by depending on herself. She is working hard to get out of her current state as a poor widow in a positive means such as having a profession and becoming a positive model by playing a double role, the husband and the wife. Beside this, in *Sunflower*, Sa'diya is represented as a human being who has his own wishes and dreams in this life. She dreams of buying a plot of land that she will use to build her own house where she will decorate it the way she wishes. She dreams of having a room for her own self where she can enjoy her privacy and shape her own future. *Sunflower's* narrator comments "She [Sa'diya] will have a house, not like any other houses. She will have a room for her oneself, two rooms for her children and a big living room where she can put a

dining table with its chairs” (Trans., Khalifeh, 1980, p.94). Thus, Sa’diya dreams of saying farewell to her old back-warded neighbourhood and starting a new chapter in her life. However, by the end of the novel, the Israeli occupation confiscates the land from Sa’diya and her dreams go in vain. Sa’diya’s character shows that Palestinian women are victims of double colonization, the occupation and the masculine society. These two factors prevent and impeded women to manoeuvre properly during their journey of finding their own identities. However, liberating the individual comes first since one cannot talk about the liberation of the nation while its individuals are oppressing and controlling one another. This is part of the approach in emphasizing the importance of treating women as individuals if Palestinian people want to get rid of the occupation. Khalifeh in an interview states: “real nationalism means to know and to love the nation with its rights and its wrongs, its sweet and its bitter, because without diagnosis there can be no prescription” (Nazareth, 1980, p.83).

Thus, Sa’diya’s character emphasizes two main points. First, it assures Khalifeh’s realistic representation of women in her novel as individuals not symbols since Sa’diya’s character is represented as an ordinary individual who has his own wishes and dreams in this life. This proves Khalifeh’s approach in which she states: “[w]ake up, clever boy, I’m not the mother of the land or the symbol. I am a person, I eat, drink, dream, make mistakes, get lost, get agitated, suffer, and talk to the wind. I’m not a symbol, I’m a woman” (Quoted in Fayad 1995, p.148). Second, it supports Woolf’s assertion that “a woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction” (1929, p.4). By analogy, for women to be independent, they should have both their own space and they should have money if they want to be treated as free individuals.

II.3. Khadra

Khadra, in *Sunflower*, represents the uneducated woman living under Israeli occupation. She belongs to a humble rural family where her father married her just to get a good dowry that enables him to buy a wheeled carriage. However, Khadra’s husband used to beat her for no reason. It is obvious that Khadra is being passed from the possession and control of one male figure to another as if she were a speechless doll. Khadra contemplates: “Hey, they’ve beaten me, God! A good beating that went to my head. So what? I’ve had as many like it as the hairs on my head. The father beats, the husband beats, the Jews beat. If I have to be beaten, by God, to be beaten by the Jews is better. At least one feels respectable” (Trans., Khalifeh, 1980, p.119). Thus, beating the wife is a masculine privilege, Woolf refers to this phenomena stating: “Wife beating’, I read,’ was a recognized right of man, and was practised without shame by high as well as low” (1929, p.35). However, Khadra decides to escape this masculine torture by running away. She gets married for the second time, this time Khadra is satisfied with her new marriage since her second husband treats her well, a treatment she has never experienced before neither from her father nor from her first husband. However, Khadra has to work hard since her new husband is an ill old man. Thus, she decides to become a prostitute.

Khadra’s reaction to the bad treatment she receives from the male figures in her life derives her to become a prostitute. She tries to surpass this masculine oppression through breaking the social norms that prevent Palestinian women from being engaged in taboos. Khadra liberates herself by violating morals and social customs. However, it is clear that she is represented as a victim of the male violence. In other words, through Khadra’s character, *Sunflower* highlights the effects of violence on women since violence could have serious impact on them, it derives them to react negatively by breaking the established social norms. Accordingly, the novel, does not blame Khadra for becoming a prostitute; instead, it tries to emphasize the idea that women should be treated as human beings who are not only expected

to behave according to certain set of traditional rules, yet they may deviate from these norms, they might even commit mistakes for committing mistakes is part of the human nature in general for to err is human. Thus, this representation of Khadra's character with its flaws and points of weakness emphasizes Khalifeh's realistic approach in treating women as individuals not myths or symbols.

III. Results

Sahar Khalifeh's *Sunflower* represents a successful model for subverting the stereotypical images associated with Palestinian women in literature. It refutes the patriarchal images established about women by male writers' ink through adapting a realistic approach that comprises four main points. First of all, the novel represents the three main characters in real life situations. Khalifeh's portrayal of the characters is not romantic since the characters are not engaged in love relationships. Khalifeh's characters are not represented as object of love; instead, they are represented in everyday life situations where all Palestinian women could encounter in their lives. Accordingly, Khalifeh's female characters are represented as ordinary human beings who have their own dreams, their own professions, their own flaws and mistakes, etc. This makes the novel realistic and adds to the authentic value of Khalifeh's work when it comes to addressing the woman question in Palestinian literature. Secondly, *Sunflower* demonstrates that Palestinian women are victims of double colonization. In other words, the Palestinian woman remains defeated by her conventional social customs, restricted traditions and the authority of the male figure practiced over her by her father, husband, etc., on one hand, and the colonization imposed on her on the other hand. Such patriarchal institutions are represented as obstacles that prevent Palestinian women from getting their emancipation. Thirdly, Khalifeh proposes a solution to help women get their emancipation. The novel's solution is of two aspects: on one side, it encourages women to have their own space within the Palestinian society and being visible. On the other side, it encourages women to be economically independent and get their own profession as part of the approach related to empowering women's purses. Finally, according to the novel, liberating the nation is important, however, liberating the individual comes first since one cannot talk about liberating the whole unless the part is being liberated. Thus, the liberation of women as individuals should come first if Palestinian people want to liberate their nation from colonization.

IV. Conclusions

The war and the patriarchal pen contribute in blocking Palestinian women's roles within only one place, that is the home in both real life and literature since the Palestinian literature is loaded with images dyed with patriarchal control that aim at oppressing women and emphasizing their domestic roles. However, Khalifeh takes on her responsibility the mission of rejecting all these typical representations of women by devising a realistic approach that puts the individual at the centre of attention. Thus, Khalifeh's works aim to re-construct the patriarchal social structures prevailing within the Palestinian society through re-defining women's roles as active participants in the new structuring of the Palestinian society. Khalifeh is successful at this process of deconstructing the Palestinian society since she is familiar with many roles played by her characters. Her realism is derived from her experience of the roles she assigned to her character which makes her work authentic and realistic at the same time; thus, Khalifeh's works are worthy of analysis since they are capable of providing useful insight about the scene when it comes to the woman question in Palestinian literature.

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Exploring the Context of Participation in English Language Shadow Education: Results of a Pilot Study among Secondary School Students

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As the institutionalised language teaching has not yet gone through a change in terms of pedagogical attitudes (Einhorn 2015), in recent years there has been a growing demand for a more personalised way of English language tuition (Hegedűs 2021, Réti 2009) that complements language learning in formal education. The present study aims at examining the type of private education EFL students tend to take part in, the reason for students' participation, and the efficiency of private language education. Data is also gained on what percentage of students taking part in private tutoring are in possession of a language examination and in what aspects private tutoring influences students' career aspirations. In the form of a quantitative study (N=135) research questions are analyzed regarding the nature of private lessons students take part in and correlation analysis is carried out to examine the interrelationship between the scales of self-efficacy, differentiation and language learning goals in private language tuition. Based on our results, it seems there is a correlation between participation in shadow education and language learning motivation, confident language use, and social mobility. Contrary to the assumption about the rate of language examinations in shadow education, we found that there is no significant difference between students' success rate compared to those who do not take part in private tutoring. Our findings emphasise the need for differentiated instruction as well as taking students' personality into consideration in order for efficient language teaching to take place through raising students' self-efficacy (Piniel & Csizér 2013) in the EFL classroom.

Keywords: Shadow education; private tuition; differentiation; language examinations

I. Introduction

I.1. Theoretical background

Although the origins of shadow education can be traced back to that of formal education (Gordon Győri, 2020), it spread in the 1990s, mainly in Japan and then in various parts of the world. In recent decades, it has also become a popular form of education in Hungary, as there is a growing demand for non-formal, out-of-school courses that complement formal education and make students' studies more effective. The concept of shadow education is named after Stevenson and Baker (1992), but several interpretations can be associated with it. Pásku and Münnich (2000) view it as an umbrella term and according to them, all forms of non-formal education that refer to extracurricular activities can be included here, in which case a student receives academic support for a tuition fee. Jansen et al (2020) refer to private tuition as a 'third place', which can serve as a place for students between school and their homes. Bíró (2020) also mentions in her analysis that 16% of lessons take place in a café or in private language school courses. Gordon Győri (2020), by the term shadow education, refers to trainings that follow the needs of formal education, in a narrower sense:

'Subjects taught at market prices may be classified which have a decisive influence on the horizontal and vertical distribution of pupils in the national education system and, where appropriate, in the global education system (according to types of education and degrees and specific educational institutions). These are: mathematics, foreign language (English in most parts of the world), and (native language) comprehension, text creation" (Gordon Győri, 2020. p.175.)

Stevenson and Baker (1992) also use the term shadow education to refer to forms of education ('yobiko') used by Japanese students to prepare them to retake their unsuccessful examinations in order to be able to proceed with their university studies. Despite the different interpretations, it is important to note that a common point is realized in all cases: shadow education is a cross between formal and non-formal lessons, i.e.. out-of-school education system (Olaru, 2015). Stevenson uses a metaphor to describe private education outside formal education, whose significance is pointed out by Ceglédi and Szabó (2014). The shadow, i.e. private education, expresses the characteristics and changes of the phenomenon that provides the shadow, i.e. the formal education system (Schilperoord & Weelden, 2018). A specific curriculum is used, which is regularly adapted to the curriculum of the formal education system, in exchange for a fee (Baker et al., 2001). Olaru (2015) distinguishes between two subgroups of shadow education, the voluntary form of learning outside of education, and the private lesson.

Baker & Letendre (2005) also believe that shadow education refers to forms of learning in public education and non-formal education that are similar to those used in formal education. They argue that shadow education can complement formal education and can also have a beneficial effect on students' academic success. According to Bray (2010), shadow education has now grown into a global phenomenon. We can see that several interpretations can be associated with the phenomenon of shadow education, but what all interpretations have in common is that shadow education has a remedial and tutoring learning goal.

The present study explores the characteristics of shadow education in Bray's interpretation (1999), who refers to it as paid private supplementary education. According to Bray shadow education focuses on school subjects, complements school education, and is paid private tutoring. Regarding participation in shadow education, Gordon Győri (2020) raises the lack of a detailed analysis of the teaching methods used in shadow education. Varga (2015) states that few studies can be read about suggestions for shadow education and its usefulness and

effectiveness for students. Ceglédi (2014) suggests examining the relationships between the effectiveness of shadow education, higher education and career choice. Hungarian literature approaches shadow education in the most descriptive way (Varga, 2015). These studies primarily demonstrate the types of correlations observed between shadow education and formal education. In addition, they describe the educational policy background of shadow education and draw attention to the hypothesis that shadow education exacerbates social inequalities. Varga (2015) finds that few studies can be read about the kind and extent of benefits that shadow education provides to students and how students can take advantage of it in the long run.

II. Discussion

II.1. Research method

The aim of the present quantitative research is to shed light on the type of private education used by students in shadow education, as well as on what characterizes student motivation and the success of private language teaching. As a result of our previous qualitative research (Hegedűs, 2021), the acquisition of a language examination and career choice aspiration appeared as an added value. Réti (2009) emphasizes the importance of preparing for the language examination as a reason for participating in private language teaching, while Fekete and Csépes view the language examination as a “passport to life and social mobility for graduates” (p. 13, 2019). In the present research, the success and efficiency of private education is determined by having a language examination.

In order to gain and analyze data, based on the results of our qualitative research (Hegedűs, 2021), Dörnyei's process-oriented approach and the theory of self-regulatory learning were defined as the starting theories on the basis of which the dimensions and items of the questionnaire were constructed. Dörnyei (2000) emphasizes the role of motivation in language learning and believes that motivation depends on where the language learner is in the process of learning the language, in connection with the achievement of his / her goals. Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) define the theory of process-oriented conceptualization based on three different phases: the pre-phase, the action phase, and the post-phase. The pre-stage means that the student makes his / her choice of language learning and sets a goal for himself / herself. The action phase is characterized by the student trying to maintain his / her initial motivation, trying to achieve the set goal, and regulating his / her own actions. In this phase, the decisive factor is what language learning experience the learner has, what effects these experiences have on the students' learning, and to what extent the students are able to regulate their own learning. The post-stage is determined by the learner's self-belief as well as the factors and feedback that influenced the language learning process.

With regard to self-regulatory learning, Zimmerman (2000) believes that in the first step, the individual sets up goals and plans that are influenced by his or her self-belief. The students then monitor the changes through self-control, both in themselves and in their environment, and they also try to adapt to these changes. Finally, using self-reflection, they perform self-assessment and draw conclusions that have a positive or negative impact on the learning process. Low self-regulatory ability can lead to an avoidant attitude, while high self-regulatory ability can be a motivating factor for learning and setting new goals.

The study was performed along the following variables:

- mother's highest level of education
- type of private education
- rate of language examination
- students' goals

II.2. Research questions

Based on the research, the following questions were formed:

Research Question 1.: What are the differences in the gender distribution and mother's highest qualification?

H1: Girls are more likely to participate in private language teaching than boys because they are more conscious language learners. Boys prefer to acquire foreign language skills through informal language learning (Szabó, 2020). Children of mothers with higher education are more likely to participate in shadow education.

Research Question 2: What forms of shadow education do language learners use and what reasons motivate them?

H2: In most of the forms of shadow education, students use private tutoring, who choose to study privately in order to learn at an individual pace, within the framework of personalized learning (Hegedűs, 2021).

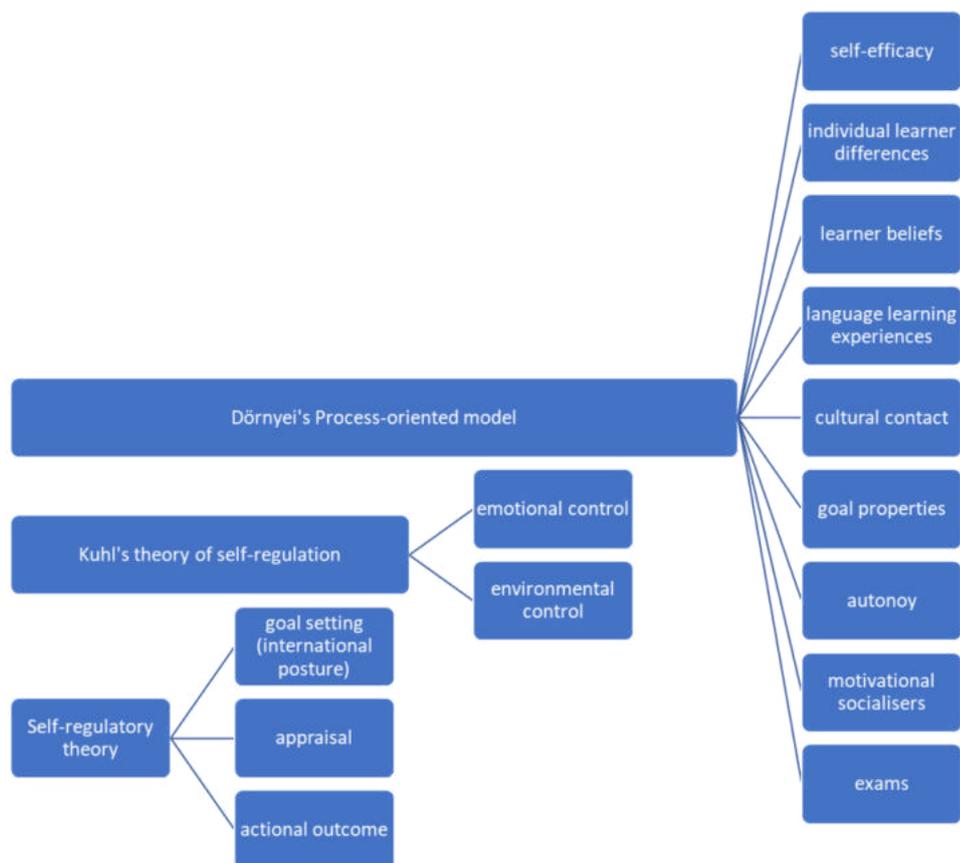
Research Question 3: What characterizes the success of the language examination in shadow education?

H3: A higher proportion of students in shadow education have a language examination than students who do not participate in private language teaching, as students use private tutoring in order to take a successful language examination (Réti, 2009).

II.3. Questionnaire structure

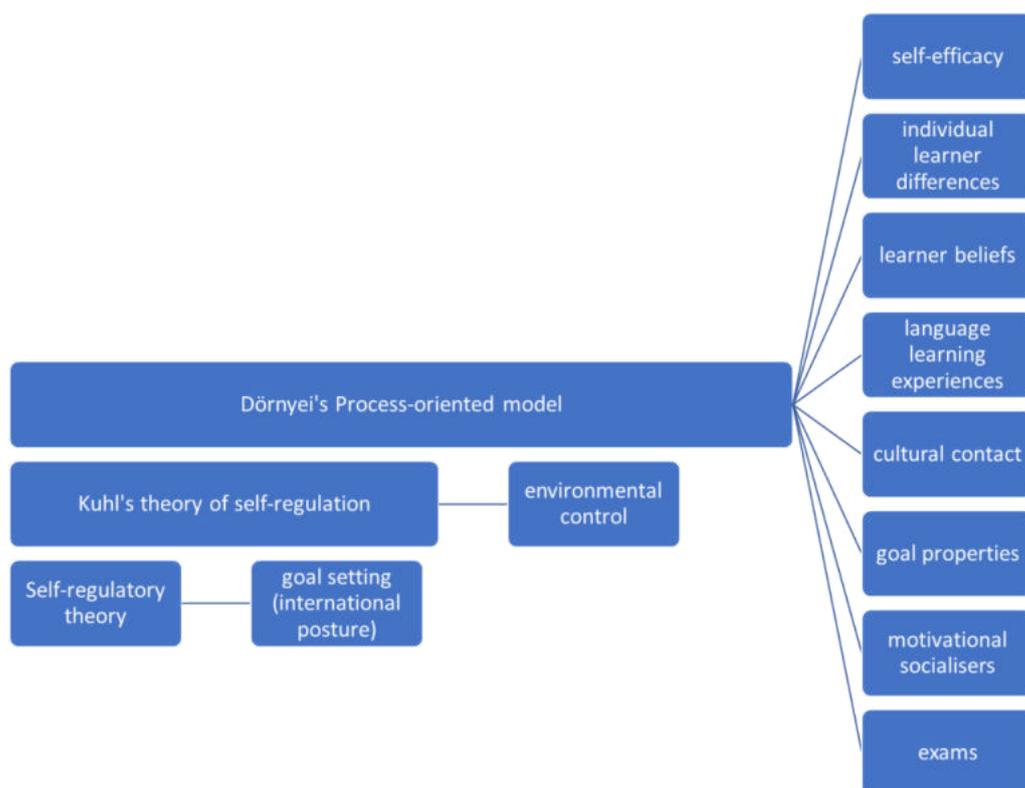
To measure the questionnaire, a five-point Likert scale was used in which participants indicated their agreement / disagreement with various statements (1 = not at all true / none at all, 5 = very true). In order to construct the items of the questionnaire, dimensions were created based on process-oriented and self-regulatory learning theories (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Theoretical background for the questionnaire, Version 1



As the dimensions of the first version would have generated more items than necessary in terms of the number of items in the questionnaire, they were reduced: method, differentiation, examination goal, self-efficacy, international relations attitude to dimension (Figure 2).

Figure 1: Theoretical background for the questionnaire, Version 2



The international attitude dimension was eventually merged with the examination goal dimension of Dörnyei's process-oriented theory, so that they form a dimension.

III. Research results

III.1. Data collection and analysis

Quantitative research was conducted to answer the research questions. In the school year 2021/22, data was collected anonymously among secondary school students. The student population consisted of 135 students who, in their spare time, voluntarily answered questions from an open-access, online pilot convenience questionnaire. Data was collected in April 2021 and processed in May 2021, using IBM SPSS software through descriptive statistical analysis, Cronbach's alpha reliability analysis, Pearson correlation analysis, and linear regression analysis.

The following steps were used to analyze the questionnaire:

1. Measuring the reliability of items in Questionnaire 1
2. Creating scales
3. Measuring correlations between scales
4. Regression analysis

III.1.1. Reliability analysis

To measure the reliability of the items in the questionnaire, a Cronbach alpha reliability analysis was performed as the first step of data processing. The Cronbach's alpha value of the questionnaire is $\alpha = 0.803$, however, the method, intercultural relationship, and student belief dimensions are not used in this study due to low Cronbach's alpha scores, and improvements to

these scales are needed for further successful large-sample research. As shown in Table 1, high Cronbach's alpha scores were obtained in terms of differentiation, goal properties, language learning experience, motivational teaching practice, and environmental impacts. In the present study, the results related to differentiation and goal properties are presented.

Table 1: Reliability values of questionnaire scales

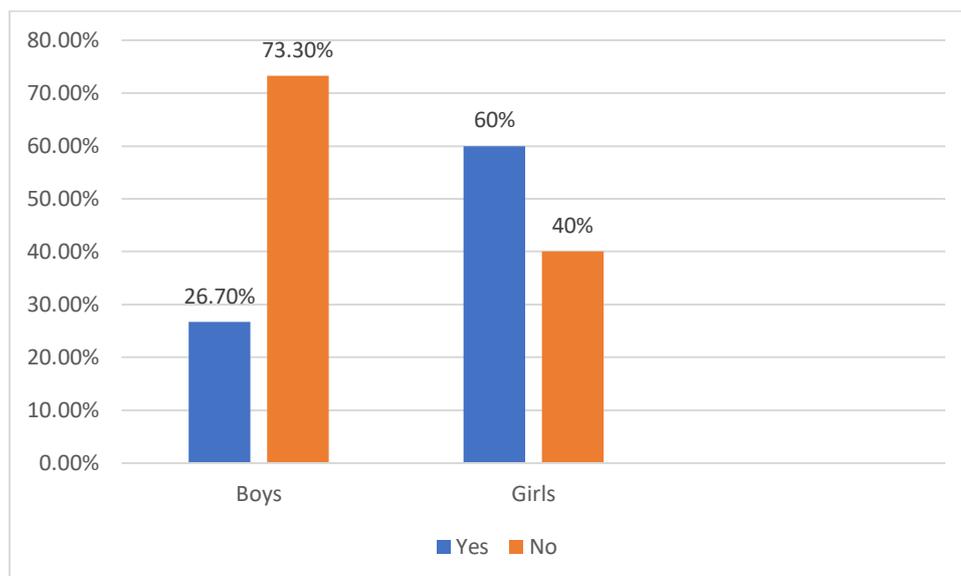
Scale	Reliability value (Cronbach alpha)
differentiation	0.87
goal properties	0.78
self-efficacy	0.90
language learning experience	0.75
motivational language learning	0.81
environmental control	0.79

III.2. Results

III.2.1. Distribution of gender and maternal education

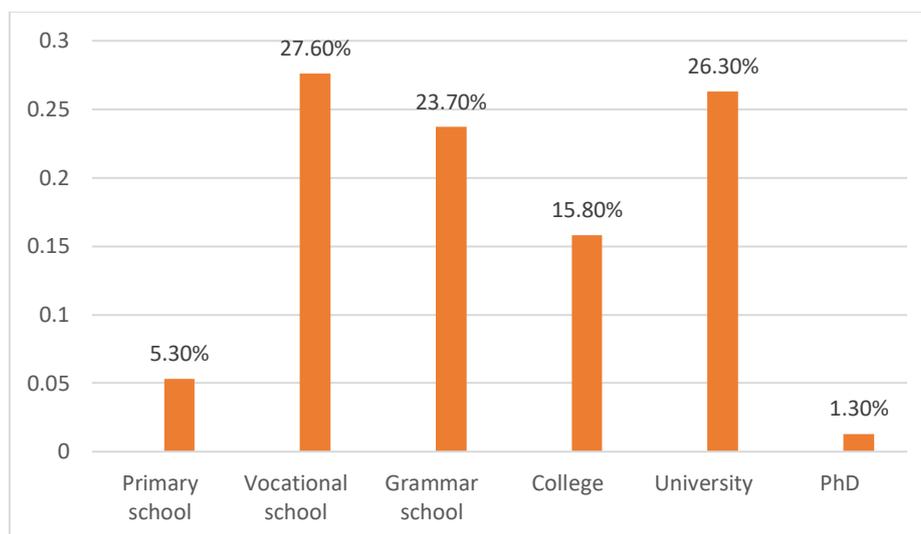
Analyzing the proportion of students taking part in private tutoring, it can be seen (Figure 3) that a very high proportion of language learners (73.3%) attended private classes, while 26.70% did not participate in private language teaching. There was a significant difference ($p = 0.014$) in the gender distribution of those attending private lessons, as 60% of girls and 26.70% of boys participated in private language teaching during language learning. The higher participation of girls can presumably be explained by the fact that girls are more conscious language learners than boys (Szabó, 2020), and it can also be assumed that a higher proportion of boys learn English through informal learning.

Figure 3: Have you taken part in private tutoring? (N=135)



There was a significant difference ($p = 0.052$) in the mother's highest level of education (Figure 4), as the children of mothers who graduated from university, grammar school and vocational secondary school participate in private language education in almost equal proportions (26.3%, 23.7% and 27%, respectively). 15.8% of the children whose mothers own a college degree attend private lessons while children of mothers who have completed primary school (5.3%) and doctoral school (1.3%) attend private education to the lowest degree. This discrepancy may be explained by the fact that participation in private education is influenced more by the family's financial situation than by the mother's education.

Figure 4: Distribution of mother's highest level of education

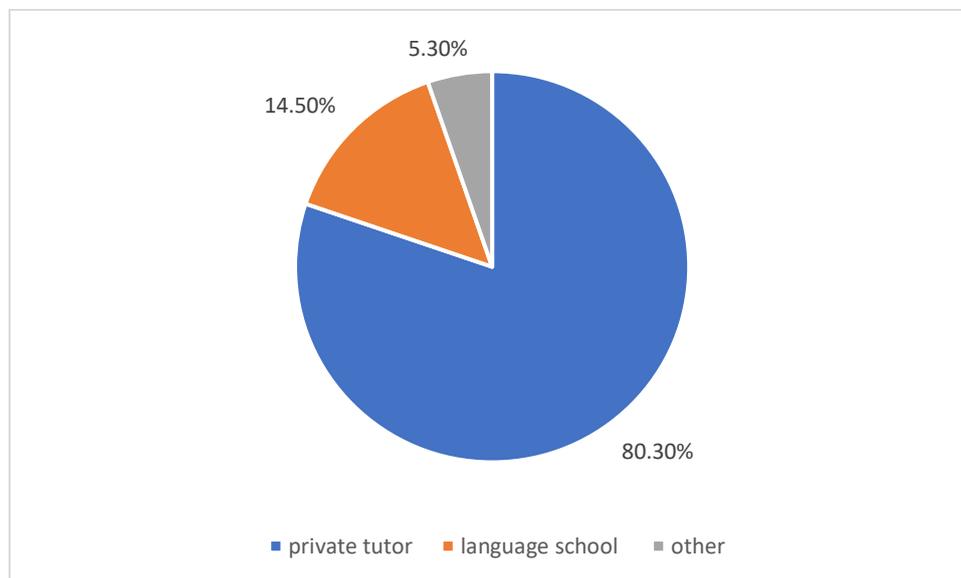


3.2.2 Characteristics of private tuition

Regarding the type of private lessons, a significant difference ($p = 0.000$) was found, as shown in Figure 5, according to which 80.30% of private language learners go to a private language teacher, 14.50% to a language school, and 5.30% of students take part in other forms of private

language learning. Language learning with a private tutor can be explained by the fact that students can pursue their studies in a one-on-one form, within a personalized framework, while language school education is mostly done in groups.

Figure 5: Types of private lessons



To explore the reasons why students participate in private language teaching, cross-tabulation analysis was conducted. All items in the questionnaire were cross-tabulated with the variable ‘Have you attended private tuition?’ and significant differences were found within the dimension of differentiation in two cases: whether students had the chance to choose a more difficult task in the school language lesson ($p = 0.039$) and whether the language teacher took the student’s personality into account ($p=0.028$). 48.7% of students who participated in private language teaching believed that they did not have the opportunity to do a more difficult task that suited their individual needs in their formal English lesson, while a lower number (32.2%) of students not attending private lessons were of the same view (Table 2). Another interesting result in the differentiation dimension was that 18.6% of those who did not attend private lessons fully agree that they had the opportunity to solve a more difficult task, while this proportion is only 5.3% in the case of those who did not attend private lessons. From these results it can be concluded that students at a higher level might have turned to a private teacher because they did not have the opportunity to acquire knowledge that suited their abilities during their formal lessons, and therefore did not experience progress during their studies.

Table 2: Private lesson * I can choose a more difficult task Crosstabulation (N=135) $p=0.039$

Private lesson	not at all	agree
Attended private lessons	48.7%	5.3 %
Did not attend private lessons	32.2 %	18.6%

Another significant difference in the dimension of differentiation ($p = 0.028$) concerns the extent to which students believed that their teacher took their personality into account, and the correlation that could be detected in the proportion of having private lessons. Table 3 shows

that in both groups, students answered in almost equal proportions that the teacher did not or did not really take into account their personality (39.6% in total of those attending private tuition and 34.8% of those not attending). However, there is a significant difference in the fact that although 27.9% of those who go to a private teacher believed that the teacher paid attention to their personality, this proportion is 22.8% for those who did not go to a private teacher. When summarizing the ‘quite agree and agree’ answers, students not attending a private teacher seemed to be more satisfied (51.1%), while this proportion is 39.5% for those attending a private tutor. From these results, it can be concluded that if the language teacher took students’ personalities into account in the formal English class, a lower proportion of students turned to a private teacher as a result of the more learner-centered language learning.

Table 3: *Private lesson * Teacher takes my personality into account Crosstabulation(N=135)*
p=0.028

Private lesson	not at all	not really	total	quite agree	agree	total
Attended private lessons	7%	32.6 %	39.6 %	11.6 %	27.9 %	39.5 %
Did not attend private lessons	18.5 %	16.3%	34.8 %	28.3 %	22.8 %	55.1 %

In order to support the assumption of the importance of the learner-centred approach, Pearson correlation analysis was performed of each scale of the questionnaire (Table 4). As a result of the correlation analysis, the self-efficacy scale seemed to have the greatest correlation with the other scales of the questionnaire, as it showed a significant correlation between differentiation ($p = 0.000$), language learning experience ($p = 0.000$), teacher motivation practice ($p = 0.000$), environmental impacts ($p = 0.000$), and international goals ($p = 0.000$). From these results it can be concluded that one of the most important factors in the process of language learning was students’ self-efficacy. It is likely that by taking the student’s personality into account, the teacher was able to teach them in a more personalized way, thus increasing students’ self-confidence and self-efficacy, which helped students make more effort in their own learning (Piniel & Czizér 2013).

Table 4: *Correlation analysis of scales*

Scales	Differentiation	Language learning experience	Motivating teaching	Environmental control	Goal properties
Self-efficacy Pearson Correlation	.313*	.615**	.316**	.486**	.298*
Sig.	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000

3.2.3. Language examination goals, language examination success

To measure the proportion and effectiveness of students aiming to pass the language examination, the dimensions of goal and language examination variables were first correlated, analyzing the entire sample. Within this dimension, the variables of working abroad, preparing for a language examination, international higher education, future career choice, higher education goals and career choice goals were correlated. Significant correlations were found in three cases: employment abroad ($p = 0.001$), studying at an international university ($p = 0.023$) and future career choice ($p = 0.000$).

The results gained showed that a higher proportion of students with a language examination aimed to work abroad, as the Likert scale rated an average of 4.057 (Table 5) for the statement that language learning is important for students to be able to work abroad, while for those without a language examination the same value showed an average of 3.195. As regards the language examination goal required for higher education at an international university, similar averages were gained for both those with a language examination and those without a language examination (the former M3.321, the latter M2.780). Although high values were gained based on the answers of both groups regarding their career choice goal, the average value was higher for students with a language examination (M4.698) than for those without a language examination (M4.000). From these results, it can be concluded that a higher proportion of students with a language examination aimed to work abroad, and a higher proportion believed that having a language examination provided them with an opportunity to realize their future career choice.

Table 5: *Language examination means (N=135)*

Language examination	Working abroad	International higher education	Future career choice
Has a language examination	M4.057	M3.321	M4.698
Does not have a language examination	M3.195	M2.780	M4.000

When analyzing the further correlations between the existence of the language examination goal and possessing a language examination, the values were analyzed in which the respondents did not agree at all or did not really agree with the statement about the language examination goal, and when they quite agreed or agreed (Table 6). It is clear that in the case of employment, 67.9% of those who had a language examination and 46.3% of those who had not, believed that a language examination was important for them to achieve their goal. Although the difference between the answers of the two groups was smaller in the case of international higher education, as 62.9% of those with a language examination and 55.1% of those without a language examination considered the possession of a language examination important, it can be assumed that the possession of a language examination had a positive effect on the students' goals. This is supported by the rate obtained in the future career choice, as 25 % more of students having passed the language examination answered that they agreed with the statement. In conclusion, in all three cases, a higher proportion of those with a language examination believe that a language certificate was an important means of achieving their goals.

Table 6: Correlations of language examination related goals and possessing a language examination

Have you got a language examination? * Language examination is important for work abroad (p=0.006)

Language examination	not at all	not really	total	quite true	very true	total
Has a language examination	5,7 %	1,9 %	7,6 %	17,0 %	50,9 %	67,9 %
Has no language examination	20,7 %	12,2 %	32,9 %	19,5 %	26,8 %	46,3 %

Language examination	not at all	not really	total	quite true	very true	total
Has a language examination	17,0%	5,7 %	22,7 %	34,0 %	18,9 %	62,9 %
Has no language examination	23,2 %	19,5 %	34,8 %	28,3 %	22,8 %	55,1 %

Have you got a language examination? * Language examination is important for international university Crosstabulation (p=0.023)

Have you got a language examination? * Language examination is important for future career (p=0.000)

Language examination	not at all	not really	total	quite true	very true	total
Has a language examination	1,9 %	0,0 %	1,9 %	7,5 %	83,0 %	90,5 %
Has no language examination	3,7 %	7,3 %	11,0 %	17,1 %	48,8 %	65,9 %

When analyzing the interrelationship between attending private lessons and setting language examination goals, the ANOVA value (Table 7) did not show a significant difference. Students not attending private tutoring had similar goals to those who had private lessons.

Table 7: *Significance value: participants and non-participants in private tuition*

Language learning goal	Significance value
I am learning English to be able to study abroad	.904
I am learning English to prepare for the language examination	.234
Language examination is important because of international education	.526
Learning English is important because of my future career	.162
Language certificate enables me to realize my goals regarding higher education	.276
Language certificate enables me to realize my goals regarding my future career goals	.188

As a next step, a cross-tabulation analysis was performed to measure the effectiveness of the private lessons, based on which a difference could not be detected in the proportion of those

with the language examination ($p = 0.172$). Table 8 shows that although a high proportion of those with a language examination (62.3%) previously attended private English lessons, 37.7% of responding students did not. From this, it can be concluded that students who wanted to take a language examination were more likely to turn to a private tutor. However, in terms of language examination success, the proportion was almost equal regarding those who attended (52.4%) or did not attend private English classes (47.6%) and did not have a language examination. This ratio shows that those having private English lessons were not necessarily more successful in terms of passing a language examination. This may be due to the fact that students either did not turn to the language teacher for explicit language examination purposes, or private language teaching was not more successful in obtaining a language examination than formal education.

Table 8: *Do you have a language examination?** *Have you attended private lessons?*
Crosstabulation

Language examination	Attended private lessons	Did not attend private lessons
Has a language examination	62.3 %	37.7 %
Does not have a language examination	52.4 %	47.6 %

Finally, by running a linear regression, the effect of differentiation and self-belief as dependent variables was analyzed, whether they affected the process of language learning and whether they might have been the reasons why students turned to a private tutor for help (Table 9). Significance was found in the case of differentiation, because in the context of self-efficacy -170 beta was gained ($p= 0.009$), according to which students with high self-efficacy were less likely to require differentiated language teaching. It seems that group-level differentiated language teaching reduced their language learning efficiency, and assumably turned to a private tutor because the level of instruction did not match their level of English knowledge.

Table 9: *Values of differentiation and self-efficacy*

	Beta	Significance
Constant		
Self-efficacy	-.170	.009

Table 10: *Interrelationship of self-efficacy and goal setting*

	Beta	Significance
Constant		
Self-efficacy	.298	.000

IV. Conclusion

In the course of the present research, answers were sought to three research questions by setting up the corresponding hypotheses. In the first research question, the gender distribution of participation in private education and the correlations related to the mother's highest qualification were analyzed. Results show that a higher proportion of girls participated in private education, which may be explained by the fact that girls were more conscious language learners than boys (Szabó, 2020) and that a higher proportion of boys learnt English through informal learning. A significant difference was also found in the mother's highest level of education, as the gained data showed that children of mothers who had attended vocational high school, grammar school and university had almost equal proportions, while children of mothers who completed primary school and doctoral school had the lowest proportion of private language education. This result can be explained by the assumption that participation in private education is less dependent on the mother's highest level of education, but rather by the financial background of the family. In this regard, however, further research is needed to confirm the results on large-sample data.

In the second research question, answers were sought regarding what types of private education was used by language learners and for what reason. In our research, the vast majority of students preferred to study with a private language teacher over learning in a language school. Cross-tabulation analyses were performed to examine the presumed causes, during which significant differences were obtained in terms of differentiation and students' self-efficacy. On the one hand, differentiation played a role in students turning to a private tutor for help. This can be explained by the fact that students had the opportunity to pursue their studies in a one-on-one form, in a personalized setting, while language school education took place mostly in groups. On the other hand, from the significant value of differentiation, it can be concluded that students at a higher level turned to a private tutor because they did not have the opportunity to learn a higher level of curriculum during their school hours and therefore did not improve their progress due to lack of differentiation.

As seen from the correlation of each scale, self-efficacy was of great importance in the process of language learning. Students used shadow education because an individual pace of progress and personalized learning gave them the opportunity to form a positive image of themselves and have a sense of success in their language learning, which in turn motivated them. Based on the obtained results, the second hypothesis was confirmed, and due to the significance value of self-efficacy, further correlations can be drawn, as self-efficacy also helped to achieve the goals of language learners.

In the third research question, the success of private education was examined, which was determined on the basis of language examination success. As a first step, the students' language learning goals were analyzed. A significant correlation was found in three cases: the majority of students learnt English in the hope of working abroad, achieving their career goals, and continuing their studies at an international university. The proportion of respondents in possession of a language examination was then examined and whether they had participated in private education. Contrary to expectations, the results showed, surprisingly, that students attending a private tutor did not have a higher proportion of a language examination than students who did not participate in shadow education. Based on these, it was concluded that students either turned to a private language teacher for non-explicit language purposes, or private language teaching was not more successful in obtaining language examinations than formal school language instruction.

As a final step, linear regression was run to examine the influence of differentiation and self-efficacy as dependent variables on the process of language learning and whether these might have been in connection with the reasons why students turned to a private tutor. In the case of

differentiation, a significant correlation was found, as a negative beta value was obtained, which could be explained by the fact that students with high self-efficacy required less differentiated language teaching, and group-level differentiated language teaching reduced the language learning efficiency of these students.

Thus, our third hypothesis has not been confirmed because, surprisingly, students in private language teaching did not have a higher proportion of language examinations than students who learnt English only in the formal school system. In addition, in the present study, participation in private language teaching cannot be explicitly attributed to the purpose of obtaining the language certificate.

In the present quantitative research, the types of private language education students took part and their presumed reasons and motivations have been mapped. It has been highlighted that there was no significant difference between private and non-private students in terms of either students' learning goals or language examination success. Our research calls attention to the role of differentiation in the process of language learning, as differentiated, personalized language teaching presumably makes language learners more motivated.

The importance of language learners' goals has been emphasized, which relate primarily to working abroad, achieving students' career goals and continuing their studies at an international university. Regarding the reasons for and effectiveness of participation in private language teaching, further large-scale research is needed, - including other social background variables- to explain exactly the reason for high participation in shadow education, the rate of successful language examinations and the long-term effects of private language teaching.

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A pszichológiai alapszükségletek kielégülése a karantén alatt - A COVID-19 pandémia tanulságai a mentális egészségre nézve

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A járvány kezdete óta jelentősen megszorodott a szorongásos- és hangulatzavarok, a stresszhez vagy traumához köthető pszichés zavarok száma, ezért kulcsfontosságúak azok a kutatások, amelyek a mentális egészség védőfaktorainak vizsgálatát tűzik ki célul. Kutatásunk célja az volt, hogy a mentális egészség, a pszichológiai alapszükségletek, valamint a párkapcsolati elégedettség összefüggéseit vizsgáljuk a COVID-19 járványhelyzet alatt. A kérdés megvizsgálására online kérdőíves eljárást alkalmaztunk. A résztvevőket kényelmi mintavételi eljárással toboroztuk közösségi oldalakról. A kutatás egy longitudinális felmérés első adatait dolgozza fel. A járványhelyzettel kapcsolatos aggodalom felmérésére a BIPQ 7 Rövid Betegségészlelés Kérdőívet (Broadbent et al., 2006), a pszichológiai alapszükségletek kielégítettségének mérésére a Pszichológiai Alapszükségletek a Mindennapokban kérdőívet (Fletcher et al., 2000), a párkapcsolati elégedettség vizsgálatára a Perceived Relationship Quality Components Inventory (La Guardia et al., 2000) kérdőívet alkalmaztuk. Az eredmények alapján elmondható, hogy a pszichológiai alapszükségletek magasabb mértékű kielégítettsége, vagyis az autonómia, a kompetencia és a kapcsolódás szükségletének megélése jobb mentális egészség pontszámmal járnak együtt, tehát védőfaktort jelentenek a krízishelyzettel való megküzdésben. Az aggodalom mértékétől függően egyéni eltérések vannak abban, hogy a társas erőforrások, mint a kapcsolódás élményének megtapasztalása, vagy a párkapcsolati élet minősége, milyen mértékben támogatják a mentális egészséget a jelenlegi krízishelyzetben. A kutatás új információkkal szolgálhat a COVID-19 járvánnyal való megküzdés tényezőiről, valamint a potenciális védőfaktorokról. További kutatásokra van szükség annak feltárására, hogy a mentális egészségnak milyen egyéb háttértényezői vannak, valamint érdemes longitudinális kutatások segítségével is felmérni, hogy a megfigyelt hatások mennyire hosszú távúak.

Kulcsszavak: mentális egészség, pszichológiai alapszükségletek, párkapcsolati elégedettség, COVID-19

I. Bevezetés

A 2020 januárjában megjelenő COVID-19 pandémia váratlanul robbant be az emberek mindennapjaiba. Azóta a betegség fizikai tüneteinek azonosításán túl egyre több tudományos kutatás vizsgálja a járványhelyzet pszichés következményeit és a mentális egészségre gyakorolt hatásait. A jelen dolgozatban bemutatott kutatás a járvány első hulláma során gyűjtött adatok elemzésén alapszik, és célja a mentális egészség fenntartása szempontjából potenciális védőfaktorok vizsgálata, különös tekintettel az egyéni és a párkapcsolati jóllét bizonyos aspektusaira, elsősorban a pszichológiai alapszükségletek kielégítettségére, például az autonómia megélésére, valamint a párkapcsolati elégedettség szenvedély és bizalom aspektusára.

I. 1. Pszichológiai alapszükségletek elmélete

Ryan és Deci (2000) öndetermináció elmélete szerint az ember aktív, növekedés orientált szervezet, és a belső növekedés, valamint az integráció az egészséges működés feltételei. Meta-elméletük az emberi viselkedés motivációs hátterét írja le, és ennek egy rész-elmélete, a pszichológiai alapszükségletek elmélete, amely szerint az autonómia, a kompetencia és a kapcsolódás iránti igényünk velünk született, biológiailag belénk kódolt szükségletek, amelyek kielégülése az egészséges és kiegyensúlyozott működés alapfeltétele. Intrinzik, azaz belülről irányított módon arra vagyunk motiváltak, hogy olyan társas környezeteket, illetve magatartásformákat keressünk, amelyek támogatják ezen alapszükségletek kielégülését. Az elmélet három ilyen alapszükségletet különít el. Ezek az 1) autonómia, azaz a szabadon, saját belátásunk alapján történő cselekedetekre való igény, 2) kompetencia, azaz az arra való igény, hogy önmagunkat hatékonyak, és sikeresnek éljük meg, és a 3) kapcsolódás, azaz a másokkal való szeretetteljes, kölcsönös támogatáson és tiszteleten alapuló kapcsolat iránti igény (Martos, 2016).

Az autonómia azt foglalja magába, hogy a személy szabadon választhat, ezáltal cselekvéseit belsőleg irányítottan éli meg. Ehhez hozzátartozik az is, hogy az általa végzett tevékenységeket ő választja meg magának, személyes indíttatása, érdeklődése által, nem pedig mások elvárásai alapján. Az autonómia szükséglet kielégülése a mentális jóllét magasabb szintjével jár együtt. A szabadon választott cselekvések és az önkifejezés lehetősége a hitelesség fontos elemei (Jung, 2011; Ryan & Deci, 2000).

Az öndetermináció elméletén belül a kapcsolati motiváció elmélete külön foglalkozik az emberi kapcsolódás és kötődés jellegzetességeivel. Az elmélet szerint bizonyos kapcsolatok jobban, míg mások kevésbé kedveznek a személyes fejlődésnek. Azok a kapcsolatok járulnak hozzá az egészséghöz, amelyek egyidejűleg képesek mindhárom alapszükséglet kielégítésére. Az elmélet szerint az autonómia és a kapcsolódás együttes megélése jelenti a legnagyobb kihívást, ezért erre érdemes külön figyelmet fordítani. Ha például egy párkapcsolatban az egyik fél elvárásokhoz köti a másik fél szeretetét, a másik fél a saját autonómiája rovására tartja fenn a kapcsolódást, ezáltal kiszolgáltatott helyzetbe kerül (Ryan & Deci, 2014). Azok számára, akik autonóm módon vannak benne a kapcsolatukban, és megélik a társuk részéről az autonómia támogatást, jobb mentális egészséggel rendelkeznek (Martos et al., 2014).

I. 2. A párkapcsolati elégedettség

Az intim kapcsolatokat vizsgáló kutatások régóta foglalkoznak a párkapcsolatok keletkezésének, működésének és felbomlásának jellegzetességeivel. A párkapcsolattal való elégedettség, vagyis az a szubjektív értékelés, amelyet a pár tagjai a kapcsolatukról, vagy annak valamely aspektusáról alkotnak, kulcskérdéssé vált.

A párkapcsolati elégedettség összetett fogalom, és számos definíció született a meghatározására. Hendrick (1988) szerint azon a kapcsolatban megélt érzelmek, gondolatok és viselkedések összessége, amelyek a szexuális attitűdökkel, a szerelem érzésével, az elköteleződéssel és az önfeltárással kapcsolatban jelentkeznek.

A párkapcsolati elégedettség egészségvédő funkcióját a Dyrenforth és munkatársai (2010) által végzett kutatás is bizonyítja, akik a pszichológiai jóllét és a párkapcsolati elégedettség összefüggését vizsgálták. A kapcsolat iránya ugyanakkor nem egyértelmű, mivel amellett, hogy a magasabb párkapcsolattal való elégedettség következtében magasabb a személy szubjektív jólléte, ez fordítva is igaz lehet, azaz azok a személyek, akik magasabb pszichológiai jóllétről számolnak be, azok általában párkapcsolatukkal is elégedettebbek (Dyrenforth et al., 2010). A mentális egészség és a párkapcsolati elégedettség között összetett közvetítő hatások állhatnak. Egy másik kutatás szerint, a Kapcsolati Elégedettség Skála magyarra való adaptálása során azt figyelték meg, hogy a kapcsolati elégedettség pozitív összefüggésben volt a lelki egészség bizonyos mutatóival, mint például az önértékeléssel, étellel való elégedettséggel (Martos et al., 2014).

Berry és munkatársai (2001) kutatásukban a párkapcsolati elégedettség, a stressz, a fizikai és a mentális egészség összefüggéseit vizsgálták, és eredményeik alapján azok a személyek, akik nagyobb mértékű párkapcsolati elégedettségről számoltak be, azoknál alacsonyabb kortizol szintet mértek a vizsgálat közben azokhoz képest, akik alacsony mértékű elégedettségről számoltak be. Az eredmények alapján a mentális egészséget a személyiségbeli és a párkapcsolati jellemzők egyaránt befolyásolták. A kapcsolat minősége a stressz kezelésének és megelőzésének fontos építőköve (Gödrö, 2001). Edwards és munkatársai (1998) a párkapcsolat minősége és a depresszió nemi különbségeit vizsgálták, és azt az eredményt kapták, hogy a párkapcsolati elégedettség férfiak és nők körében egyaránt kisebb mértékű depresszióval jár együtt.

A jó minőségű házastársi kapcsolat jobb egészségügyi mutatókkal jár együtt, melyet számos kutatás bizonyított. A párkapcsolati elégedettség puffer szerepe kiemelkedő fontosságú krízishelyzetek, például veszteségélmények, anyagi, családi vagy egyéb válságok esetén. Ez alapján feltételezhető, hogy a kapcsolati elégedettség a járványhelyzettel kapcsolatos érzelmek (mint aggodalom) kezelése, illetve a mentális egészség megőrzése szempontjából is segítséget nyújthat (Balog et al., 2006).

I. 3. A mentális jóllét

Egyre nagyobb nemzetközi érdeklődés (például Huppert et al., 2005; Keyes & Simoes, 2012) övezi a pozitív mentális egészséget, és annak hatását az életre. A World Health Organisation (WHO) 2004-ben kiadott új egészség-definíciója a pozitív mentális egészséget a jóllét és a hatékony funkcionálás alapjának tekintette az egyén és a közösség számára egyaránt. A 2004-es meghatározás szerint a pozitív mentális egészség egy olyan állapot, amely képessé teszi a személyeket arra, hogy észrevegyék képességeiket, megküzdjenek a mindennapi élet nehézségeivel, produktívan dolgozzanak és hozzájáruljanak a közösséghez. Emellett a kölcsönösen kielégítő és tartós kapcsolatok is fontos aspektusai a mentális egészségnek (WHO, 2004).

A pozitív mentális egészség összetett jelenség, amely az érzelmeket és a pszichológiai működést egyaránt magába foglalja: a hedonikus perspektíva a boldogság szubjektív megélésére és az étellel való elégedettségre, míg az eudaimonikus perspektíva a pszichológiai funkcionálásra és az önmegvalósításra összpontosít (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

A járványhelyzet kezdete óta jelentősen megnőtt bizonyos mentális zavarok száma, elsősorban a szorongással, traumával és depresszióval összefüggő zavarok. A fertőzés okozta jellegzetes érzelmek az aggodalom, félelem, feszültség jelentősen befolyásolják a mindennapi

életvitelt, és hosszú távon egészségkárosító hatásúak (McFadden et al., 2020). Éppen ezért számos kutatás született azóta a témában, melyek az ún. koronavírus-szorongás kialakulásának, valamint megfelelő kezelési lehetőségek vizsgálatát tűzték ki célul.

A pszichés tünetekre vonatkozóan számos felmérés készült, melyek egy részéről Szabó és munkatársai (2020) összefoglaló tanulmányában olvashatunk. Számos kutatás számol be arról, hogy megemelkedett az észlelt stressz szintje, valamint a szorongásos, depressziós és traumához hasonló tünetek száma (például Mazza et al., 2020; Wang et al., 2020).

II. Anyag és módszer

II. 1. A kutatás célja, kérdésvetései és hipotézisei

A hipotéziseket a nemzetközi és a hazai (például Martos et al., 2014; Ryff & Keyes, 2008) kutatások alapján fogalmaztuk meg.

(H1.1.) Feltételezzük, hogy a magasabb párkapcsolati elégedettség magasabb mentális jólléttel jár együtt (Berry et al., 2001; Dyrenforth et al., 2010).

(H1.2.) A pszichológiai alapszükségletek (autonómia, kapcsolódás, kompetencia) magasabb mértékű kielégítettsége magasabb mentális jólléttel jár együtt (Cantarero et al., 2020).

(H1.3.) A pszichológiai alapszükségletek magasabb mértékű kielégítettsége magasabb párkapcsolati elégedettséggel jár együtt.

(H2.) A pszichológiai alapszükségletek magasabb mértékű kielégítettsége, és a magasabb párkapcsolati elégedettség együttesen magasabb mentális jóllét pontszámmal járnak együtt.

(H3.) Feltételezzük, hogy azoknál a személyeknél, akik nagyobb mértékű aggodalomról számolna be a COVID-19 járványhelyzet kapcsán, náluk a mentális jóllét szempontjából nagyobb jelentősége van a pszichológiai alapszükségletek kielégítettségének és a párkapcsolati elégedettségnek, azokhoz képest, akik kisebb mértékű aggodalomról számolnak be.

A H2. hipotézishez kapcsolódóan a következő kutatási kérdést fogalmaztuk meg:

A párkapcsolati elégedettség mely aspektusa jelzi előre a mentális jóllétet a jobban és a kevésbé aggódó személyek körében? A csoportok között várhatóan nem lesz szignifikáns eltérés az aggódók és a kevésbé aggódók között. A mentális egészség szempontjából a párkapcsolati elégedettség intimitás, bizalom, szenvedély, valamint szeretet aspektusai egyaránt relevánsak lesznek.

II. 2. Módszerek

A mintavétel kényelmi alapon történt és a vizsgálatban való részvétel feltétele a 18. életév betöltése volt. Az adatelemzés során ebbe az életkori kategóriába eső személyek adatait vettem figyelembe. Az adatgyűjtés 2020. márciusa és májusa között zajlott. A kutatásunkban résztvevő 1612 fő átlagos életkora 37,05 év ($SD = 12,9$) volt, és az életkori terjedelem 18-tól 76-ig terjedt. A nemi eloszlás a következőképpen alakult: A résztvevő 2033 fő között 1155 (71,1%) nő, 456 (22,4%) férfi szerepelt. Egy fő (0,1%) Egyéb kategóriát jelölt meg, és 421 személy nem adott meg az adatot a nemére vonatkozóan (20,7%).

II. 2. 1. A vizsgálat menete

A vizsgálat megkezdése előtt a résztvevők részletes tájékoztatást kaptak a kutatásról és a rájuk vonatkozó információkról, külön kitérve az anonimitásra, a visszavonulás jogára, a bizalmas adatkezelésre. A vizsgálat online kérdőíves módszerrel zajlott. Az adatgyűjtés során egy

nemzetközi és hazai adatokra alapozott kérdőívcsomag került felvételre. A kérdőív kezdetén általános demográfiai adatokra (nem, életkor, iskolázottság, kapcsolati státusz stb.) vonatkozó kérdések szerepelnek. Ezután a kutatás során alkalmazott kérdőívek következtek.

II. 2. 2. MÉRŐESZKÖZÖK

BIPQ 7 Rövid Betegségészlelés Kérdőív (Brief Illness Perception Questionnaire, BIPQ, Broadbent et al., 2006) COVID járvány hatásaira adaptált verziója, amely hét kérdéssel keresztül méri a COVID-19 járvány érzelmi hatásait. A válaszadók 0-10-ig terjedő Likert skálán jelölik a megfelelő választ, ahol a 0 az Egyáltalán nem aggódom, a 10 pedig a Kifejezetten aggódom választ jelöli. (példáit: *Mennyire aggódik Ön a COVID-19 járvány miatt? Mennyire érzi úgy, hogy képes kontrollálni a COVID-19 járvánnyal kapcsolatos helyzetet?*)

Pszichológiai Alapszükségletek a Mindennapokban kérdőív (La Guardia et al., 2000), a 9 tételes Pszichológiai Alapszükségletek a Mindennapokban kérdőív eredeti verziója La Guardia és munkatársai (2000) nevéhez köthető, akik kutatásunkban a kérdőív mindennapokra vonatkoztatott, módosított változatát alkalmaztuk. A kérdőív az autonómia, a kompetencia és az kapcsolódás szükségletének kielégítettségét méri. A kérdőív kitöltése során a válaszadónak 1-7-ig terjedő Likert skálán kell jelölnie, hogy mennyire jellemzők rá az adott állítások (1 – egyáltalán nem jellemző, 4 – közepesen jellemző, 7 – teljesen jellemző).

Perceived Relationship Quality Components Inventory (Fletcher et al., 2000) magyar verziója, amelynek még nem készült el a validált változata. A kérdőív kitöltése során a résztvevőknek 18 kérdéssel egy 1-3 fokú Likert skálán kell bejelölniük azt a választ, melyet saját intim kapcsolataikra nézve igaznak tartanak (1 = egyáltalán nem, 2 = semleges, 3 = kifejezetten). A kérdőív megerősítő faktor elemzése során heteroszexuális kapcsolatban élő fiatal párokat vizsgáltak, mely alapján a párkapcsolati minőség 6 egymástól független komponensből áll, melyek az elégedettség, elköteleződés, intimitás, bizalom, szenvedély és a szeretet voltak) (Példáit: *elégedettség: Mennyire elégedett a kapcsolatával?; elköteleződés: Mennyire elkötelezett a kapcsolata iránt?; intimitás: Mennyire érzi közelinek a kapcsolatukat?; bizalom: Mennyire számíthat a párjára?; szenvedély: Mennyire intenzív szexuálisan a kapcsolatuk?; szeretet: Mennyire szereti a párját?*) (Fletcher et al., 2000).

Warwick-Edinburgh Mental Well-being Scale (WEMWBS) magyar verziója, amely a mentális egészséget méri (Tennant et al., 2007). A WEMWBS kérdőívben a well-being érzelmi, kognitív- értékelő aspektusai és a pszichológiai funkcionálás egyaránt figyelembe vannak véve, és csak pozitív tételeket tartalmaz. A skála 14 tételből áll, amelyek a jóllét hedonikus és az eudaimonikus aspektusaira egyaránt vonatkoznak, mint a pozitív érzelmek (optimizmus, vidámság, relaxáció), kielégítő interperszonális kapcsolatok és pozitív funkcionálás (energia, tiszta gondolkodás, önfogadás, személyes fejlődés, kompetencia és autonómia) (Tennant et al., 2007). A kérdőív kitöltőinek 1-5 fokig terjedő Likert skálán kell választ adniuk az alapján, hogy az adott állítások milyen gyakran voltak jellemzőek rájuk az elmúlt hetekben (1 = egyszer sem, 2 = ritkán, 3 = időnként, 4 = gyakran, 5 = mindig). Magyar példák: *Optimista voltam a jövővel kapcsolatban, Érdeklődtem az emberek iránt., Elégedett voltam magammal., Magabiztosnak éreztem magam., Érdeklődtem az új dolgok iránt., Jókedvű voltam., Képes voltam egyedül határozni dolgokról.*) A skálának korábban nem létezett magyarra adaptált verziója, a jelen fordítás a kutatás számára készült.

III. Eredmények

Az adatok elemzéséhez az IBM SPSS Statistics 22.0 programot használtuk. Elsőként leíró statisztikát végeztünk a demográfiai adatokra és a függő változókra vonatkozóan. A

normalitás tesztelésére Kolmogorov-Smirnov próbát alkalmaztunk, amely nem lett szignifikáns, tehát megállapítható, hogy a mintánk eloszlása statisztikailag nem különbözik lényegesen a normális eloszlástól. A hipotézistesztelés megkezdése előtt ellenőriztük a használt kérdőívek belső megbízhatóságát is. A *Cronbach- α* értékek alapján a kutatásban alkalmazott kérdőívek megfelelő belső konzisztenciával rendelkeztek.

H1.1. hipotézisünk tesztelésére, mely szerint a magasabb párkapcsolati elégedettség magasabb mentális jóllét pontszámmal jár együtt, Pearson-korrelációt alkalmaztunk, amellyel megvizsgáltuk a WEMWBS kérdőív összpontszáma és a PRQC kérdőív összpontszáma, illetve alsókálainak pontszáma közötti összefüggéseket.

A Pearson-korreláció alapján a két kérdőíven elért összpontszám között gyenge, pozitív irányú szignifikáns együttjárás van ($r_p(802) = 0,281, p < 0,001$).

A PRQC kérdőív 3 alsókálaja esetében szignifikáns összefüggés volt a változók között. A H1.1. hipotézis teszteléséhez tartozó korrelációs együtthatókat lásd az 1. táblázatban.

1. táblázat: A mentális jóllét és az észlelt párkapcsolati elégedettség összefüggéseinek vizsgálatára végzett Pearson-féle korrelációk eredményei ($n = 836$ fő)

	Warwick-Edinburgh-féle Mentális Jóllét skála összpontszám
PRQC Összpontszám	0,281**
PRQC – Bizalom alsókála	0,212**
PRQC – Szenvedély alsókála	0,225**
PRQC – Összevont alsókála	0,268**

Megjegyzés. A PRQC az Észlelt Párkapcsolati Elégedettség kérdőív rövidítése.
Jelmagyarázat: *: $p < 0,05$; **: $p < 0,001$.

A WEMWBS összpontszámmal gyenge pozitív irányú szignifikáns együttjárást mutatott a PRQC Bizalom ($r_p(802) = 0,212, p < 0,001$), Szenvedély ($r_p(802) = 0,225, p < 0,001$) és az összevont alsókála ($r_p(802) = 0,268, p < 0,001$).

H1.2. hipotézisünk szerint azok a személyek, akik a pszichológiai alapszükségletek (autonómia, kapcsolódás, kompetencia) magasabb mértékű kielégítettségéről számolnak be, magasabb mentális jólléttel jellemezhetők. Hipotézisünk vizsgálatára Pearson korrelációt alkalmaztunk, amellyel a pszichológiai alapszükségletek alsókálain elért pontszám, a skála összpontszáma, valamint a mentális jóllét összpontszáma közötti összefüggést vizsgáltuk.

Az eredmények alapján mind a 3 alsókála esetében szignifikáns összefüggés volt a változók között. A H1.2. hipotézis teszteléséhez tartozó korrelációs együtthatókat lásd a 2. táblázatban.

2. táblázat: A mentális jóllét és pszichológiai alapszükségletek összefüggéseinek vizsgálatára végzett Pearson-féle korrelációk eredményei ($n = 1080$ fő)

	Warwick-Edinburgh-féle Mentális Jóllét skála összpontszám
BPNS Összpontszám	0,564**
BPNS - Autonómia alsókála	0,471**
BPNS - Kompetencia alsókála	0,527**
BPNS - Kapcsolódás alsókála	0,335**

Megjegyzés. A BPNS a Pszichológiai Alapszükségletek a Mindennapokban kérdőív rövidítése.
Jelmagyarázat: *: $p < 0,05$; **: $p < 0,001$.

Az eredmények alapján mind a 3 alskála esetében szignifikáns összefüggés volt a változók között: közepes, pozitív irányú szignifikáns együttjárást mutatott a mentális jóllét összpontszámmal a BPNS összpontszám ($r_p(1080) = 0,564, p < 0,001$). Közepes, pozitív irányú szignifikáns együttjárást mutatott a mentális jóllét összpontszámmal a BPNS Autonómia alskála ($r_p(1080) = 0,471, p < 0,001$). Közepes, pozitív irányú szignifikáns együttjárást mutatott a mentális jóllét összpontszámmal a BPNS Kompetencia alskála ($r_p(1080) = 0,527, p < 0,001$). Gyenge, pozitív irányú szignifikáns együttjárást mutatott a mentális jóllét összpontszámmal a BPNS Kapcsolódás alskála ($r_p(1080) = 0,335, p < 0,001$).

H1.3. hipotézisünk szerint a pszichológiai alapszükségletek magasabb mértékű kielégítettsége magasabb párkapcsolati elégedettséggel jár együtt. A hipotézis tesztelésére Pearson-korrelációt alkalmaztunk, amellyel megvizsgáltuk a PRCQ illetve a BPNS pontszámok közötti összefüggést.

Az eredmények alapján mind a három BPNS alskála és az összpontszám esetében szignifikáns összefüggés volt a változók között: Gyenge, pozitív irányú szignifikáns együttjárást mutatott a BPNS összpontszámmal a PRQC összpontszám ($r_s(836) = 0,241 p < 0,001$), a PRQC Összevont alskála ($r_s(836) = 0,240 p < 0,001$), a PRQC Bizalom alskála ($r_s(836) = 0,184 p < 0,001$), valamint a PRQC Szenvedély alskála ($r_s(836) = 0,178 p < 0,001$). Gyenge, pozitív irányú szignifikáns együttjárást mutatott a BPNS Autonómia alskála a PRQC összpontszámmal ($r_s(836) = 0,231 p < 0,001$). Gyenge, pozitív irányú szignifikáns együttjárást mutatott a BPNS Kompetencia alskála a PRQC összpontszámmal ($r_s(836) = 0,231 p < 0,001$). Gyenge, pozitív irányú szignifikáns együttjárást mutatott a BPNS Kompetencia alskála a PRQC összpontszámmal ($r_s(836) = 0,157 p < 0,001$). Gyenge, pozitív irányú szignifikáns együttjárást mutatott a BPNS Kapcsolódás alskála a PRQC összpontszámmal ($r_s(836) = 0,210 p < 0,001$). A H1.3. hipotézis teszteléséhez tartozó korrelációs együtthatókat lásd a 3. táblázatban.

3. táblázat: A pszichológiai alapszükségletek és az észlelt párkapcsolati elégedettség összefüggéseinek vizsgálatára végzett Pearson-féle korrelációk eredményei ($n = 836$ fő)

	Összpontszám	PRQC Összevont	Bizalom	Szenvedély
BPNS Összpontszám	0,241**	0,240**	0,184**	0,178**
BPNS - Autonómia	0,231**	0,222**	0,190**	0,175**
BPNS - Kompetencia	0,157**	0,152**	0,102**	0,131**
BPNS - Kapcsolódás	0,210**	0,219**	0,164**	0,124**

Megjegyzés. A BPNS a Pszichológiai Alapszükségletek a Mindennapokban kérdőív rövidítése. Jelmagyarázat: *: $p < 0,05$; **: $p < 0,001$.

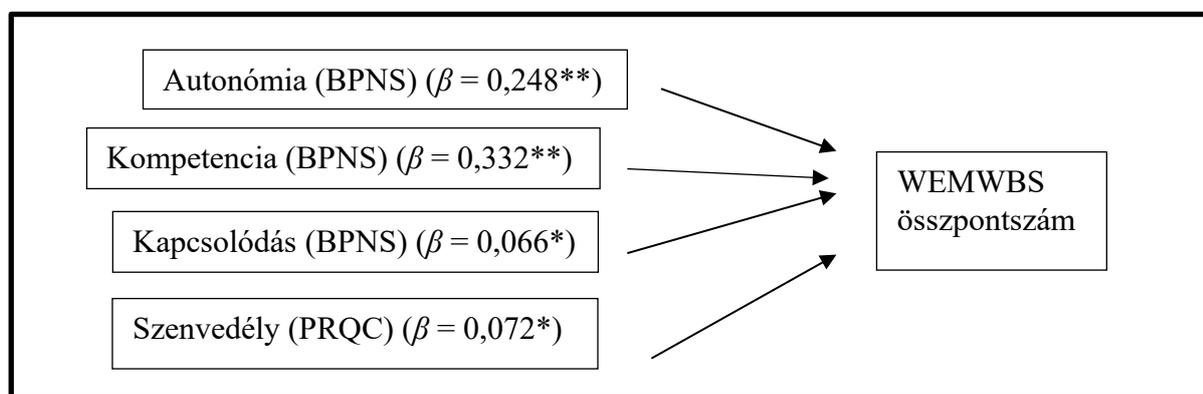
H2. hipotézisünk alapján a pszichológiai alapszükségletek magasabb mértékű kielégítettsége és a magasabb párkapcsolati elégedettség, magasabb mentális jóllét pontszámmal járnak együtt. A H2. hipotézis és a hozzá kapcsolódóan megfogalmazott kutatási kérdés együttes vizsgálatára, vagyis a mentális jóllét pontszám háttértényezőinek feltárására többszörös lineáris regressziót alkalmaztunk. A magyarázó változók a BPNS Autonómia, Kompetencia, Kapcsolódás alskálák, illetve a PRQC Összevont alskála, Bizalom, és Szenvedély alskála. A magyarázó modellt Enter módszerrel hoztuk létre. A modellhez tartozó összes változót lásd a 4. táblázatban.

4. Táblázat: A WEMWBS kérdőíven kapott összpontszámot magyarázó változók modellje

A modellhez tartozó változó	<i>B</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
BPNS Autonómia	0,119	0,248	6,666	< 0,001
BPNS Kompetencia	0,148	0,332	9,770	< 0,001
BPNS Kapcsolódás	0,04	0,066	1,963	0,05
PRQC Szenvedély	0,072	0,072	1,903	0,057
PRQC Összevont	0,112	0,073	1,554	0,121
PRQC Bizalom	0,089	0,050	1,320	0,187

Forrás: Saját szerkesztés

A WEMWBS összpontszámra vonatkozóan négy változó előrejelző ereje bizonyult szignifikánsnak, melyek a következők voltak: BPNS Kompetencia alskála ($\beta = 0,332$, $p < 0,001$), BPNS Autonómia alskála ($\beta = 0,248$, $p < 0,001$), PRQC Szenvedély alskála ($\beta = 0,072$, $p = 0,06$), BPNS Kapcsolódás alskála ($\beta = 0,066$, $p = 0,05$). A modellbe bekerült négy változó a variancia 36 %-át magyarázta a mintán ($R^2 = 0,364$, $R^2 Adj = 0,359$, $F(6) = 75,741$, $p < 0,001$). Az egyes magyarázó változókhoz tartozó β értékeket lásd az 1. ábrán.



1. ábra: A WEMWBS kérdőíven kapott összpontszámot magyarázó változók a mintán

Megjegyzés. Jelmagyarázat: *: $p < 0,05$; **: $p < 0,001$.

H3. hipotézisünk szerint azoknál a személyeknél, akik nagyobb mértékű aggodalomról számolnak be a COVID-19 járványhelyzet kapcsán, náluk nagyobb jelentősége van a pszichológiai alapszükségletek kielégítettségének és a párkapcsolati elégedettségnek a mentális jóllét szempontjából a kevésbé aggódó személyekhez képest. Hipotézisünk teszteléséhez 3 csoportot különítettünk el az átlag értékek alapján: azok csoportját, akik kifejezetten aggódnak a járványhelyzet miatt, azokét, akik közepesen aggódnak, valamint azokét, akik legkevésbé aggódnak a járványhelyzet miatt. Az első csoportba került 287 fő, a második csoportba 232, a harmadikba 317 fő. Majd egyszempontos variancia-analízissel (ANOVA) megvizsgáltuk, hogy a 3 csoport között milyen különbség van a mentális jóllét, valamint a pszichológiai alapszükségletek tekintetében.

Az ANOVA után elvégzett Bonferroni-teszt alapján a mentális jóllét pontszám tekintetében szignifikáns különbség volt a leginkább és a legkevésbé aggódó csoport között ($p < 0,001$). A kifejezetten aggódó csoport átlagosan alacsonyabb mentális jóllét pontszámmal jellemezhető: M (kifejezetten aggódó csoport, $n = 392$) = 3,50, S (0,61); M (legkevésbé aggódó csoport, $n = 394$) = 3,69, S (0,67).

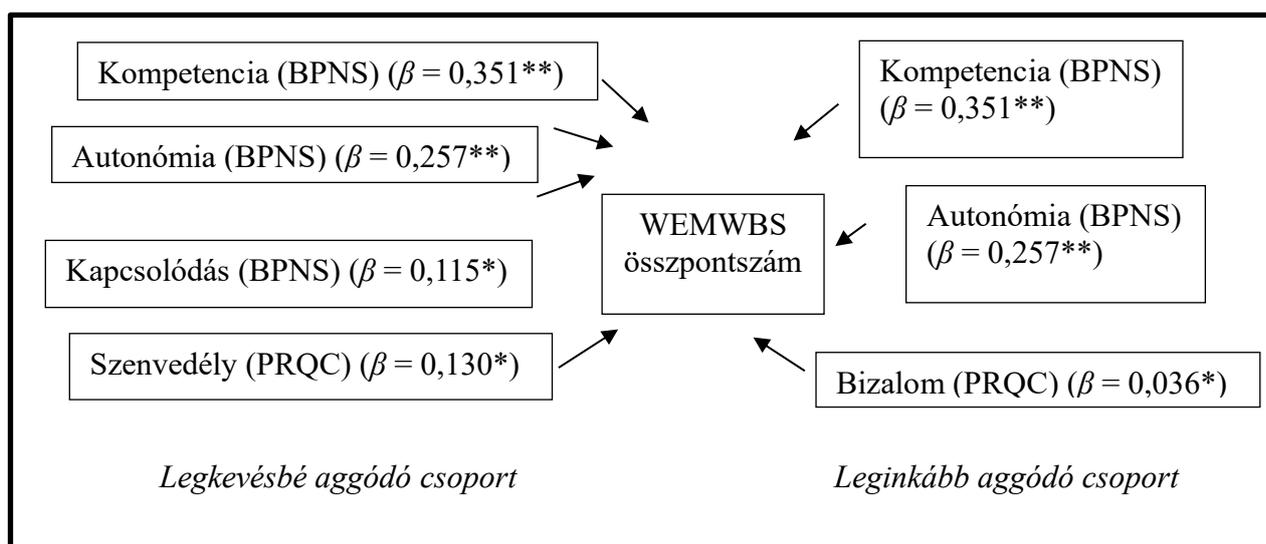
A pszichológiai alapszükségletek tekintetében két alskála esetén szignifikáns különbség volt a leginkább és a legkevésbé csoport között: Autonómia ($p < 0,001$) és Kompetencia ($p =$

0,005). A kifejezetten aggódó csoport a szubjektív önbeszámoló alapján az Autonómia érzés kisebb mértékű kielégítettségével jellemezhető: M (leginkább aggódó csoport, $n = 414$) = 4,55, S (1,307); M (legkevésbé aggódó csoport, $n = 415$) = 5,00 S (1,34). A kifejezetten aggódó csoport a szubjektív önbeszámoló alapján a Kompetencia érzés kisebb mértékű kielégítettségével jellemezhető: M (leginkább aggódó csoport, $n = 414$) = 4,43, S (1,35); M (legkevésbé aggódó csoport, $n = 415$) = 4,71, S (1,46). A közepesen aggódó csoport a pszichológiai alapszükségletek alskáláin elért értékek tekintetében sem a kifejezetten, sem a kevésbé aggódó csoporttól nem különbözött szignifikánsan. A párkapcsolati elégedettség szempontjából nem volt szignifikáns különbség a három csoport között: $F(2) = 1,399$, $p = 0,247$.

Hipotézisünk további tesztelésére megvizsgáltuk, hogy a legkevésbé illetve a leginkább aggódó csoportban mely változók határozzák meg a vizsgálati személyek WEMWBS kérdőívén elért összpontszámait. Mindkét elemzés során többszörös lineáris regressziót alkalmaztunk. A magyarázó változók a BPNS Autonómia, Kompetencia, Kapcsolódás alskála, a PRCQ Bizalom, Szenvedély, és Általános Elégedettség alskálán elért pontszámok voltak. A magyarázó modellt Enter módszerrel hoztuk létre.

A legkevésbé aggódó csoportban a WEMWBS összpontszámra vonatkozóan négy változó hatása bizonyult szignifikánsnak, melyek a következők voltak: BPNS Kompetencia alskála ($\beta = 0,374$, $p < 0,001$), BPNS Autonómia alskála ($\beta = 0,243$, $p < 0,001$), BPNS Kapcsolódás alskála ($\beta = 0,115$, $p = 0,038$) és PRQC Szenvedély alskála ($\beta = 0,130$, $p = 0,052$). A modellbe bekerült négy változó a variancia 40%-át magyarázza a teljes mintán ($R^2 = 0,400$, $R^2 Adj = 0,386$, $F(6) = 29,523$, $p < 0,001$).

A leginkább aggódó csoportban a WEMWBS összpontszámra vonatkozóan három változó hatása bizonyult szignifikánsnak, melyek a következők voltak: BPNS Kompetencia alskála ($\beta = 0,351$, $p < 0,001$), BPNS Autonómia alskála ($\beta = 0,257$, $p < 0,001$) és PRCQ Bizalom alskála ($\beta = 0,127$, $p = 0,036$). A modellbe bekerült három változó a variancia 40%-át magyarázza a mintán ($R^2 = 0,409$, $R^2 Adj = 0,397$, $F(6) = 34,209$, $p < 0,001$). Az egyes magyarázó változókhoz tartozó β értékeket lásd a 2. ábrán.



2. ábra: A WEMWBS kérdőívén kapott összpontszámot magyarázó változók modellje, a vírustól legkevésbé és a leginkább aggódó csoportban
Jelmagyarázat: *: $p < 0,05$; **: $p < 0,001$.

IV. Összefoglalás

Kutatásunk célja az volt, hogy a COVID-19 járványhelyzet első hulláma alatt vizsgáljuk a mentális egészség, a pszichológiai alapszükségletek, valamint a párkapcsolati elégedettség összefüggéseit. Az eredmények alapján elmondható, hogy a pszichológiai alapszükségletek magasabb mértékű kielégítettsége jobb mentális egészség pontszámmal járnak együtt, vagyis védőfaktort jelentenek a krízishelyzettel való megküzdésben. Az aggodalom mértékétől függően eltérések vannak abban, hogy az egyéni vagy a társas erőforrások támogatják-e jobban a mentális egészséget krízishelyzetben.

A mentális egészség és a párkapcsolati elégedettség közti összefüggést számos kutatás bizonyította korábban (például Berry et al., 2001; Dyrenforth et al., 2010). Az intim kapcsolat minősége a párok közti minőségi kommunikációt, a partnertől kapott érzelmi, instrumentális és anyagi támogatást foglalja magába. A kapcsolat pozitív értékelése kedvezően befolyásolja a személy jóllétét, étellel való elégedettségét, valamint önértékelésére is kedvezően hat (Martos et al., 2014).

A külső stresszorok, mint amilyen a pandémia is, a belső és a környezeti erőforrások minél hamarabbi mozgósítását követelik meg. Számos tényező befolyásolhatja, hogy az egyén, hogyan reagál egy stresszhelyzetre, és hogy milyen megküzdési stratégiákat alkalmaz, például a temperamentuma, az önbecsülése, illetve bizonyos személyiségvonások (Szabó et al., 2020; Martos et al., 2014; Moccia et al., 2020). A kötődési stílustól függően, eltérés lehet abban, hogy az egyén a párkapcsolatot milyen mértékben érzi támogatónak. A szorongó kötődésű személyek a biztonságos illetve az elkerülő kötődésű személyekhez képest ilyenkor hajlamosabbak a hozzájuk közel állókra támaszkodni (Moccia et al., 2020).

Az egyéni tényezők mellett a párkapcsolat jellemzői is befolyásolják, hogy hogyan hat egy pár a krízishelyzet. Bonanno és munkatársai (2010) három fő tényezőt különböztettek meg e téren: a kapcsolat általános jellemzői, például időtartama, a krízis közben tapasztalt negatív hatások, például a mindennapi élet átalakulásának mértéke, illetve a krízis alatt zajló párkapcsolati folyamatok, például konfliktusok és megküzdési mechanizmusok egyaránt befolyásolóak. Azok a párok például, akik régebb óta együtt élnek, és kevésbé viselt meg anyagilag a járványhelyzet, valamint pozitív megküzdési stratégiákkal rendelkeznek, kedvezőbben vészeli át a krízist, és kapcsolatukat megerősítve jönnek ki a helyzetből (Bonanno et al., 2010). Azok a párok azonban, akiknél nem alakult ki elég erős kötelék, akiket egzisztenciálisan jobban megviselt a járványhelyzet, valamint eleve gyengébb megküzdési mechanizmusokkal rendelkeztek, érzelmileg könnyebben eltávolodhattak egymástól (Williamson, 2020). A pozitív megküzdési stratégiák alkalmazása és a konfliktusok elkerülése növeli a párkapcsolati elégedettséget, ezáltal védőfaktort jelent a stresszel szemben, míg a gyenge páros megküzdési stratégiák és a gyakori konfliktusok gyengítik az elégedettséget és rontják az életminőséget (Williamson, 2020).

A koronavírus következtében beálló változások tehát extra megterhelést jelenthettek azoknak a pároknak, akik eleve párkapcsolati problémákkal küzdöttek. A mindennapos feszültség nem kedvez a mentális állapotunknak, és ha az eleve megemelkedett szorongáshoz hozzáadódnak a párkapcsolati nehézségek, akkor a párkapcsolat inkább gátolja a pszichés egyensúly fenntartását, mintsem támogatná azt (Williamson, 2020). Fontos azonban megemlíteni, hogy az érzelmileg kevésbé kielégítő párkapcsolat felértékelése akár énvédő mechanizmusként is szolgálhat. Ha a pár egyik tagja nem érzi jól magát a kapcsolatban, mégsem lép ki a kapcsolatból, kognitív diszsonancia lép fel. Ennek csökkentése céljából változtat az attitűdjén, hogy megmagyarázza magának, hogy miért van továbbra is a kapcsolatban (Festinger, 2000; Williamson, 2020). Ez magyarázhatja azt, hogy ha valaki az önbevallásos kérdőíven pozitívan értékeli kapcsolatát, miközben valójában nem érzi jól magát benne.

Cobb és munkatársai (2001) kutatása alapján az érzelmi támasz jelentősége krízishelyzetekben hangsúlyosabbá válik. A fizikai összezártság, a megszokott napi ritmus átalakulása, valamint a barátokkal, családtagokkal való személyes kapcsolattartás hiánya frusztrációt és elszigeteltség érzést okozhat. Mindez befolyásolhatja a párkapcsolat minőségét is (Perczel-Forintos, 2020). Jelen kutatás azonban egy keresztmetszeti vizsgálat adatait dolgozza fel, ezért arra vonatkozóan nem vonható le következtetés, hogy a járványhelyzet megelőzően milyen intenzitású összefüggés lehetett a párkapcsolati elégedettség és a mentális jóllét között.

Kutatásunk alapján elmondható, hogy azok a személyek, akik a pszichológiai alapszükségletek magasabb mértékű kielégítettségéről számolnak be, jobb mentális egészséggel jellemezhetők. Ryan és Deci (2000) elmélete szerint a megfelelő működés és fejlődés alapfeltétele a három alapszükséglet, vagyis az Autonómia, a Kapcsolódás és a Kompetencia kielégítettsége. Számos kutatás bebizonyította, hogy az alapszükségletek kielégítettsége számos pozitív hatással bír, többek között jobb hangulatot, nagyobb vitalitást eredményez, illetve a stressz alacsonyabb szintjével jár együtt (például Gagné et al., 2003; Sheldon & Bettencourt, 2002).

Kutatásunk alapján a mentális egészség szempontjából a legerősebb összefüggés a Kompetencia alapszükséglettel volt, amely az énhatékonyság érzést, valamint a sikerélmények gyakori megtapasztalását foglalja magába. Akik kompetensnek érzik magukat, nagyobb erőfeszítéseket tesznek a nehézségek leküzdésére, valamint érzik is, hogy képesek hatni a környezetükre. Számukra a kihívást jelentő helyzetek lehetőséget jelentenek önmaguk fejlesztésére. Eredményeink összhangban van Cantarero és munkatársai (2020) kutatásával, akik azt figyelték meg, hogy a pszichológiai alapszükségletek közül a kompetencia kielégítettsége volt leginkább hatással a jóllétre, különösképp az, ha a résztvevők ugyanúgy folytathatták munkájukat, mint a pandémia előtt.

A mentális egészség a Kompetencia szükséglet után az Autonómia szükséglettel mutatta a legszorosabb összefüggést, amely az önindította cselekvésszabályozás és a szabad választás megélését jelenti. Az Autonómia szükséglet kielégítéséhez nem csak a személy által választott tevékenységek járulhatnak hozzá, hanem bármilyen aktivitás, amelyet a személy a magáénak érez. Ha érti a tevékenység célját, érdeklődéssel űzi azt, és örömet él át közben, akkor magasabb lesz az autonómiaérzése (Graves & Luciano, 2013).

A karantén pszichés hatásaira vonatkozó vizsgálatok szerint a szabadság korlátozásának ezen módja jelentős mértékű stresszrel jár. A kutatások alapján az altruisztikus önkéntesség kedvez az autonómia élmény megőrzésének és a mentális egészséget tekintve védőfaktort jelent. A személyes kontroll megélése szempontjából a megfelelő információkhoz való hozzáférés, valamint tájékozódás szintén kulcsfontosságú (Perczel-Forintos, 2020). Eredményeink alapján mind az Autonómia, mind a Kompetencia mindennapos megtapasztalása hozzájárul a mentális egészség fenntartásához, így a pszichés egyensúly megőrzésének, és a lelki ellenállóképesség fejlesztésének fontos részét képezik.

A pszichológiai alapszükségletek és a párkapcsolati elégedettség közti összefüggésre vonatkozó hipotéziseinket eredményeink részben igazolták: a szubjektív önbeszámoló alapján azok a személyek, akiknél a pszichológiai alapszükségletek jobban ki vannak elégítve, ők párkapcsolatukkal is elégedettebbek, habár a kapcsolat a legtöbb alskála esetében gyenge erősségű.

Az öndetermináció elméletén belül a kapcsolati motiváció elmélete azon alapul, hogy az embereknek természetes törekvése van arra, hogy kapcsolódjanak a környezetükhöz, és intim kapcsolatokat alakítsanak ki társaikkal. Ahhoz azonban, hogy ezek a kötelékek valóban ki tudják fejteni jótékony hatásukat, mind a három szükséglet kielégítését magukba kell foglalniuk. Fontos tehát, hogy a kapcsolatban az autonómia és a kapcsolódás élményét egyaránt megtapasztaljuk (Martos et al., 2014).

Egy másik kutatás alapján azok a személyek, akik a pandémiás időszakban többet kapcsolódnak környezetükhöz az interneten, illetve telefonon keresztül, magasabb szubjektív jóllétről számolnak be (Šakan et al., 2020). A jelenlegi körülmények korlátozzák a kapcsolódási szükséglet kielégítésének lehetőségeit, ezért az is lehetséges, hogy a gyenge kapcsolat a barátokkal, családtagokkal való szociális és fizikai kontaktus hiányát tükrözi. Illetve azt is jelezheti, hogy a partnerrel való kapcsolódás önmagában nem elegendő védőfaktor (Cantarero et al., 2020).

A mentális egészség biológiai, pszichológiai, társadalmi és spirituális szintű jóllétet jelent, emellett magába foglalja a pozitív érzelmek és állapotok megélésének képességét, a hatékony megküzdést, a rezilienciát, valamint az önszabályozás képességét. A mentális egészség komplexitása miatt a pszichológiai alapszükségletek kismértékű magyarázó hatásai elfogadhatóak (Vargha et al., 2020).

Figyelembe véve, hogy a kutatás a COVID-19 járványhelyzet első szakaszában zajlott, az eredmények alapján a pandémia kezdeti fázisában az egyéni működést biztosító tényezők fontosabb szerepet kapnak, mint a partnerhez fűződő pozitív érzelmek. A korábbi szakirodalmi adatok szerint a szociális támasz meglétének hiányában nagyobb valószínűséggel romlik a mentális egészség stressz esetén (Kun, 2005). A járványhelyzet pszichés hatásait vizsgáló kutatásokkal egybevetve (például Šakan et al., 2020; Cantarero et al., 2020) jelen kutatás eredményei alapján a járványhelyzet első hulláma alatt a mentális egészség fenntartása szempontjából a társas faktorok helyett az egyéni tényezők szerepe a hangsúlyosabb.

A járványhelyzettel kapcsolatos aggodalom hatására vonatkozóan megfogalmazott hipotéziseink szintén részben igazolódott. Kutatásunk alapján szignifikáns különbség van azok között, akik a szubjektív önbeszámoló alapján kifejezetten aggódnak és azok között, akik kis mértékű aggodalmat tapasztalnak a helyzettel kapcsolatban a mentális egészség és a pszichológiai alapszükségletek szempontjából.

Ahogy az már egy korábbi hipotézistesztelés értelmezése során kifejtettük, az Autonómia, a Kapcsolódás és a Kompetencia szükségletek kielégítettsége összefügg a mentális egészséggel. Eredményeink alapján ez a kapcsolat a járványhelyzettel kapcsolatos nehéz érzelmek szempontjából is jelentőséggel bír. Az Autonómia, illetve a Kompetencia alskálán magasabb pontszámot elérők kisebb mértékű aggodalomról számolnak be, a kapcsolat azonban fordított irányú is lehet, vagyis elképzelhető, hogy azok, akik kevésbé aggódnak, jobban megtapasztalják az énhatékonyságot, az önrendelkezést a mindennapokban. A mentális egészség valószínűleg magával vonja a kisebb mértékű aggodalmat egy bizonytalan helyzetben, másrészt pedig minél kevésbé aggódik valaki, annál könnyebben tudja megőrizni mentális egészségét.

Az aggodalom mértékétől függően változhat, hogy a mentális egészség szempontjából mely tényezők kapnak szerepet. Az ezt magyarázó lineáris regressziós modell alapján a kevésbé aggódó személyeknél legnagyobb magyarázóerővel a BPNS Kompetencia, Autonómia, illetve Kapcsolódás bírtak, majd ezt követte a PRQC Bizalom aspektusa. A leginkább aggódó csoportban a regressziós modellbe három változó került bele, melyek a BPNS Kompetencia, Autonómia, valamint a PRQC Bizalom aspektus voltak.

A párkapcsolati elégedettség erőforrásként való megélése tekintetében különbség van azok között, akik kisebb, illetve nagyobb mértékű aggodalmat élnek át a járványhelyzettel kapcsolatban. Míg a párkapcsolati elégedettség szempontjából nincs jelentős különbség a jobban, illetve a kevésbé aggódó személyek között, addig a kevésbé aggódó csoportban a kielégítő párkapcsolat, mint stresszel szembeni védőfaktor, erőteljesebb szerepet kap. Emellett az figyelhető meg, hogy kevésbé aggódó személyeknél a kapcsolat szenvedély, míg a jobban aggódó csoportban a kapcsolat bizalom aspektusa kerül előtérbe. A kapcsolat bizalmi oldala azt foglalja magába, hogy a személy mennyire bíz a párjában, mennyire érzi úgy, hogy számíthat rá, illetve mennyire tartja megbízhatónak a partnerét. A szenvedély aspektus arra

vonatkozik, hogy a pár kapcsolata mennyire vággyal teli, szenvedélyes és szexuálisan intenzív (Fletcher et al., 2000).

Az aggodalmaskodók számára bizonyos tényezők nehezebbé teszik a szenvedély, illetve a szexualitás megélését a párkapcsolatban, ugyanakkor náluk stresszhelyzetben felértékelődik a bizalom, a másik félre való támaszkodás iránti igény. A szorongó személyek nehezebben kezelik az érzelmeiket, érzékenyebbek, valamint olykor hajlamosak indulatosabban reagálni (Robbins et al., 2000). Ennek következtében náluk gyakoribbak a konfliktusok. A tartósan fennálló stressz negatívan befolyásolja a szexuális életet. A szorongás következtében csökkenhet a személy önértékelése is, ami szintén visszaveti a szexualitást (Kun, 2005; Szondy et al., 2014).

A járványhelyzet következtében általánosságban felerősödött az emberekben a bizonytalanság érzés, a szorongás és a jövővel kapcsolatos aggodalom. A krízishelyzettel kapcsolatos érzelmek kezelése a későbbiekben is kihívást fog jelenteni az érintettek számára, ezért fontos megértenünk, hogy milyen egyéni és társas erőforrások támogatják leginkább a mentális egészség megőrzését. Az eredmények alapján elmondható, hogy a járványhelyzet első hulláma alatt az önszabályozás egyéni aspektusai domináltak a megküzdésben, mint az autonómia, a kompetencia szükséglet kielégítettsége, míg a partneri támasz másodlagos szerepet kapott. Az öndeterminációs elmélet szerint az alapvető pszichológiai szükségletek frusztrációjának, illetve kielégítettségének kulcs szerepe van az optimális jóllét fenntartásában a rendkívüli helyzetek során, amelyet kutatásom is bizonyított. A mentális egészség háttértényezői tekintetében eltérő mintázat rajzolódik ki a járványhelyzet miatt jobban, illetve kevésbé aggódó személyek között. Míg ez előbbi csoportnál a párkapcsolati elégedettség bizalmi aspektusa, addig az utóbbi csoportban annak szenvedély dimenziója kerül előtérbe. A jobban aggódó személyeknél a közösségi támogatás az egyéni önszabályozási folyamatok megfelelő működtetése mellett tudja igazán kifejteni protektív funkcióját, ennek mélyebb feltárására azonban további vizsgálatokra van szükség.

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Digital Innovation and Design Science Research: The State-of-the-art Review and Integrated Innovation Strategies Framework

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Abstract: Digital Innovation (DI) is the use of digital technologies during the process of innovation or as the result of innovation. DI is a dominant research topic in the fields of information systems (IS). As digital innovation has vital importance for organizations, there is a need for the engineering of it and identifying the research areas and contributions to understand its concept and applicability. Design Science in IS has seen great attention as a research methodology and we see a proper correlation between Design Science Research (DSR) and DI and claim that applying DSR concepts will allow the method for the engineering of digital innovation to have practical relevance and rigor. Thereby, in this paper, we perform a systematic literature review on papers, with a special focus on DSR, published in well-known journals and IS conferences from DI research streams, over the last decade from 2010 to 2020. We analyze the papers regarding three research questions, which allow us to get an overview of the current research focuses on DI. The result shows that the authors not only concentrate on researching the capabilities and practices of DI but also they propose tools and frameworks needed to support DI in organizations. Based on the study, our contribution is that we come up with an integrated innovation strategies framework to encompass innovation categories to understand the creation, transfer, and generalization of digital innovation ideas. While we see a huge amount of interest in DI research from IS scholars, there is still scarcity in terms of using DSR for the engineering of DI. We shed light on the existing research works considering DI and DSR synergy. The proposed new framework as a result of this study integrates innovation and design strategies and it allows to understand the creation, transfer, and generalization of DI ideas.

Keywords: Digital Innovation; Innovation Engineering; Innovation Management; Design Science Research; Information Systems.

I. Introduction

As the DSR paradigm focuses on the creation of an innovative artifact, it contributes to the field of DI from both the research and practical point of view. DI describes the use of digital technologies during the process of innovation or as the result of innovation. DI is increasingly becoming a dominant research focus in the fields of information systems. Even though seeking innovation is crucial for future-oriented organizations (Bub, 2018), the systematic engineering of digital innovation is subject to have only a little attention in the corresponding fields such as IS and computer science which are playing key roles in digital transformation. Innovation plays a worthwhile role in achieving economic advancement and as a result, making the people better off (Baumol, 2002). Information technologies are developing at a fast pace and thus, digital innovation has become a center of attention based on digital technologies. In its main sense, digital innovation is the one combining the physical and digital units, and based on this, it creates new products (Hevner, 2020). Since digitalized products and services are between the main innovation enabler and distinguishing factors, digital innovation is now right on the focus and practiced by a growing number of organizations. (Svensson & Taghavianfar, 2015). In its essence, digital innovation is all about novel digital technologies, entrepreneurship, and innovation management, digitalizing information and service. Digital innovation has a very essential role for organizations from various disciplines. Companies use digital innovation for improving their business models, existing processes, services, and value chain.

As digital innovation has vital importance for organizations, there is a need for the engineering of it and identifying the research areas and contributions to fully understand its concept and applicability. Design Science in IS has seen great attention as a research methodology and we see a proper correlation between Design Science Research and Digital Innovation and claim that applying DSR concepts will allow the method for the engineering of digital innovation to have practical relevance and rigor. Thus, in this paper, one of the main goals is that we further review state-of-the-art to identify the current research on this matter accordingly. We consider research questions, which cover broad understanding of DI and to further figure out how DSR is used in DI research. We identify the contribution types of researchers in DI research and analyze the state-of-the-art papers accordingly published from 2010 till 2020. To support DI, one needs to comprehend how digital innovation ideas are created, transferred, and generalized. Based on this study, we integrate two previous concepts to get the maximum benefit to fully encompass digital innovations categorizations.

I.1. Digital Innovation

Digital technologies transform the organizations worldwide to a great extent. Digital Innovation (DI) can be seen as the application of digital technologies to business problems. Hevner et al. explains digital innovation as the appropriation of digital technologies during the process of and as the outcome of innovation. DI encompasses several directives just like developing a novel technology or technology strategy in a business context, adopting and implementing technology resources, and digitizing work activities within an organization. Organizations that innovate or transform come across with several benefits just like streamlining business processes by automating and integrating different technological artifacts and cutting costs as a result of having digital solutions, having better return on investment (ROI) and boosting revenue streams. DI has seen a considerable amount of attention from researchers and there are numerous studies have been conducted in order to figure out its capabilities on one hand and on the other hand, to articulate frameworks, methods for it to get the maximum benefit. Numerous scholars (Grover & Kohli, 2013; Nambisan et al., 2017; Nylén & Holmström, 2015) note that DI needs a new sort of methods and frameworks for innovation processes. It is because that innovation processes are undergoing digitization and so many scholars (Nambisan et al., 2017; Yoo et al., 2010) also point out that current existing theories for innovation are not appropriate for digital innovation practices. Realizing this need, Kohli and Melville (2019) build a

theoretical framework stating that DI includes activities such as “initiate” which is opportunity identification and triggers, “develop” which is actually designing, developing, and adopting, “implement” which is installing and maintaining, and “exploit” (Cooper & Zmud, 1990) which is maximizing returns, utilizing existing systems to new goals. In later sections, we further review the state-of-the-art and analysis the current research streams.

I.2. Design Science Research

Design Science Research focuses on two main issues of IS discipline which are the central role of the IT artefact in IS research (Orlikowski & Iacono, 2001; Benbasat & Zmud, 2003) and the perceived lack of relevance of IS research to the business community (Benbasat & Zmud, 1999). Simon (1996) notes that design science gets its root from engineering and the sciences of artificial. It is a problem solving method intrinsically. It concentrates on creations of innovations which delineate the ideas, techniques, capabilities, processes, and products in order to constructively carry out the design, development, and implementation of information systems. Hevner et al. (2004) in their paper give a proper explanation for IS researches and business practitioners to conduct, evaluate, present Design Science Research. Below we briefly look at seven guidelines of a conceptual framework introduced by Hevner et al. (2004) on how to conduct and evaluate DSR in IS discipline satisfactorily.

Problem Relevance: The aim of DSR in IS is to create technological solutions to business problems.

Research Rigor: For both construction and evaluation of design artifact, DSR needs the application of rigorous, empirical methods.

Design as a Search Process: Design is at its essence, a search process to find an actual solution to a problem.

Design as an Artefact: The result of DSR in IS is the designed artefact which has to address to an important business problem in a relevant environment.

Design Evaluation: Evaluation methods have to assess the quality of a design artefact. Evaluation which happens iteratively and incrementally is really vital activity in DSR.

Research Contributions: DSR must contribute to the knowledge base of the field and the environment to which it is intended to be applied.

Presentation of Design Science Research: The aim here is that a design researcher has to publish the DSR results in top journals of the field with keeping in mind audiences from both technical and managerial perspective.

II. Methodology

The main idea of performing the literature review is to understand the current state of research regarding digital innovation. We give special attention to identify the papers which are written on the synergies of digital innovation and design science research. While doing the study, we explore digital innovation strategies to identify how digital innovation ideas are generated, generalized, and transferred. The study is intended to identify gaps in the existing literature and showing the general contribution types to digital innovation research likewise.

II.1. Research Questions

It is very important to set up research questions to identify the scope of the study and guide the overall process.

RQ1: What are the main focus areas in regard with Digital Innovation?

RQ2: Is Design Science Research employed for the engineering of Digital Innovation?

RQ3: How Digital Innovation ideas are generated, transferred? What are the digital innovation categorizations/classifications?

II.2. Search Sources and Strategy

The literature review approach for this paper is based on methodologies of Okoli and Schabram (2010) and Okoli (2015). We depict the general overview of the search process in Fig 1.

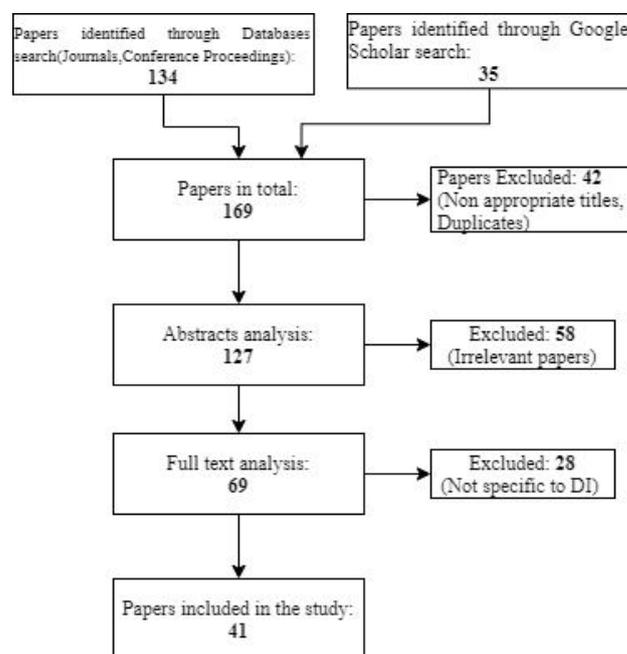


Figure 1. Literature Review Search Process

Table 1. Sources used in the literature review process

Databases	IEEEXplore SpringerLink ACM Digital library ScienceDirect
Journals	European Journal of Information Systems Information Systems Research MIS Quarterly Information Systems Journal

Conference proceedings	ECIS—European Conference on Information Systems ICIS—International Conference on Information Systems DESRIST- Design Science Research in Information Systems and Technology
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We have performed the search within the scientific databases such as European Conference on Information Systems (ECIS), International Conference on Information Systems (ICIS), Design Science Research in Information Systems and Technology (DESRIST), SpringerLink, ScienceDirect. We provide the full list of the involved sources in Table 1. The strings for this search were “Digital Innovation”, “Digital Innovation Framework”, “Design Science Research and Digital Innovations”, “Innovation Management”, “Digital Innovation Strategies”, “Digital Innovation Processes”, “Innovation Process Management”. While doing search on Google Scholar, an extra attention is needed as it includes any type of journals and conference papers, and we are mainly interested in IS research. We focused on the papers published in between 2010 and 2020. To limit the papers we concentrated on highly cited researchers in this field and we selected the papers based on their number of individual citations. On the other hand, there were some exceptions to this approach just as we looked at the papers with low citations from highly cited researchers as well. For the next step, we identified duplicates coming from several various databases which contained the same papers and deleted them. For further filtering, we considered papers titled with the relevancy to our search strings which resulted in 127 papers. Then we read and analyzed abstracts and we filtered out papers after abstract analysis as well. Doing forward and backward search and doing further full-text analysis, we finally ended up with a total of 41 papers. We focused on the articles which were written in English.

III. Results

This chapter analyses and discuss the findings from the study and provide answers to the research questions.

III.1. What are the main focus areas regarding Digital Innovation?

Digital Innovation has become an attractive field and grabbed research focus from diverse fields such as strategic management, organizational management, entrepreneurship, and information systems. Here we review selected papers regarding DI from the information systems field. Our study shows that DI has become an area that is researched in various application domains. One of the most focused areas is business management and researchers interested in this field are investigating general innovation processes in the organization. They also concentrate on novel innovative services and products research which is fostering the improvement of the organizations. Business model, process, product innovations are also on focus when it comes to research in DI so that it has been further investigated that how digital technologies can contribute to these areas for improving the capability and quality of the innovation process (Fichman et al., 2014; Nambisan, 2013). Numerous studies including (Hevner et al., 2018; Beltagui et al., 2019; Wiesböck & Hess, 2018; Hylving & Koutsikouri, 2020; Holotiuk & Moormann, 2018; Huesig & Endres, 2019) have worked on the digital innovation

capability of organizations just as how organizations are capable of producing innovations using digital resources considering the ability of employees and the organization current focus on their businesses. Wiesböck and Hess (2018) discuss the digital innovation capabilities of an organization which, the authors argue that can be defined by digitalization and digital transformation capabilities, and these capabilities manifest towards four dimensions: “Evolution, infrastructure, strategy, and IT business partnerships”. The authors conceptualize the digital innovation capability of an organization considering digital technologies using multiple, three-level approaches. Although the paper contributes as a theoretical concept to the fields of IS and Innovation Management, it should be also pointed out there is also a further need for validation of the concept based on empirical data, which this paper lacks. While having these four dimensions defined, utilizing the capabilities is not easy from digital innovation, disruptive ones perspective and needs support in the organizations. For instance, the study by Beltagui et al. (2020) is looking into disruptive innovation mainly concerning the relationship of two ecological concepts which are exaptation and digital innovation ecosystems. Here exaptation is concerned with the exploitation of already existing technologies, product features. The paper notes the managerial challenges which can be caused by disruption coming from innovations that are exaptation-driven and by supporting innovation ecosystems, it is possible to open the way for exaptation opportunities. Moreover, it is essential to handle user expectations while doing digital innovation. Hylving and Koutsikouri (2020) study the involved actors’ engagement using careful judgment, practical experience, and learning for driving digital innovation to a projected future vision. To deal with the difficulties faced in the process of digital innovation, new skills and knowledge types are needed and phronesis, which is defined as practical wisdom, is one of those types of knowledge in terms of performing digital innovation, the authors claim. Here phronesis aims to end up with true happiness and users’ values, wishes, prosperity and these should direct involved parties in performing the innovation process. Through the lens of phronesis, how firms engage with digital innovation by handling user expectations, and the authors come up with five principles for comprehending the process of digital innovation by interviewing research and development teams. The principles are “projecting visions; value-based judgment; attuning to particulars; open-mindedness; and perpetual learning”. Concerning supporting digital innovation initiatives, engineering and managing it in a systematic way for having considerable approaches for those who are willing to further analyze the current situation in their organization and assessing the maturity of the organization to identify its future growth areas is prominent (Zedtwitz, 2014). Several studies (Haefner et al., 2020; Nylén & Holmström, 2014; Nambisan et al., 2017; Chadha et al., 2015; Holmström, 2018; Makkonen & Komulainen, 2018; Isckia et al., 2018; Yablonsky, 2018) have proposed a framework for digital innovation management which emphasizes the need for management of actual process innovation using digital technologies. The works (Nambisan et al., 2017; Melville, 2010) further elaborate on IT artifacts that can further facilitate the implementation process of digital innovation frameworks. As a basis of the previous paper (Wiesböck & Hess, 2018) after defining capabilities, Wiesböck (2019), using resource-based view theory, comes up with a theoretical framework on DPI capabilities and argue that organizations should develop digital product innovation capabilities (DPI) which let them utilize digital resources to successfully achieve DPI results and they use empirical data which they collected using a survey of 177 business professionals to further prove mentioned statement. The study shows that three kinds of digital resources which are “digital technologies, digital solutions, and digital business concepts” are the ones to foresee the DPI capabilities of an organization. Moreover, Nylen and Holmstrom (2014) propose a framework for supporting digital innovation management as a solution for controlling and predicting the emerging product and service innovations in organizations. The managerial framework that has been resulted in this research encompasses five areas which are “user experience, value proposition, digital evolution scanning, skills, and improvisation”. Another notable contribution from the paper is a diagnostic tool as an assistance for firms to identify areas that need improvement digitally, and thus, the tool shows possibilities to start applying the digital innovation practices on those areas. In

addition to this, Chadha et al. (2016) see a lack of guidance tools for managers to take on innovation and develop a framework addressing this gap in a way that associates innovation practices to the type of innovation outcome considering the context of context of Information Technology enabled innovations. The framework is developed based on KIM by Gregor and Hevner (2015) which has four quadrants and the framework relates 11 innovation techniques under them. The framework is a theoretical contribution and potentially can be useful for managers to realize how the identified techniques can generate benefits for their organizations. Wang (2019) contributes to digital innovation research by building a comprehensive theory – a multilevel framework for digital innovation ecosystems and this is also a better tool that can allow practitioners to figure out digital innovations perspective in their organizations.

III.2. Is Design Science Research employed for the engineering of Digital Innovation?

When it comes to the synergies of DSR and DI, there are already studies have been cordially conducted regarding the commonalities and cooperation of these fields in recent years. Some authors even have combined these areas into a framework for getting the maximum benefit practically and theoretically. DSR is generally accepted to contribute to the DI area from research and practical perspective since it is mainly concerned with innovative artifacts design and development. However as we can see there is a still scarcity in the research regarding DSR-DI synergies and limitation also is related to generally realizing of how digital innovation may be supported by DSR. (Kohli & Melville, 2019) sees the possibility of inclusion of design science into digital innovation research, however having some open-ended questions regarding whether to keep these research streams separately or jointly. Our paper illustrates some studies regarding how together DSR and DI, just like engineering of DI using DSR, already is a point of focus as the number of researchers (Hevner & Gregor, 2020; Bub, 2018; Opland et al., 2020) have already realized this research avenue and provided their contribution. However, there are also the other way around which employs a different look in this synergy and considers the roles of Digital Innovation in Design Science Research. Overall, still there is a hugely growing interest in the IS community for researching DI and DSR separately and we have seen studies conducted in management of DI, its capabilities, and its importance for organizations. However, we believe that two research stream should be integrated to get the most benefit out of it practically and with also having research contribution. Anderson et al. (2011) explore the relationship between Innovation and DSR by focusing particularly on IS. They investigate the synergies between the research streams of two topics and concentrate essentially on how to identify the differences and common aspects. They perform a case study in Chevron where the innovation process is implemented so that the findings from this process show that key insights arising from DSR guidelines (Hevner et al., 2004) can potentially improve innovation processes of organizations. This synergy in DI and DSR research allows to identify how better and effectively a practitioner and researcher can handle engineering of DI using DSR. Bub (2018) presents an integrated method for the engineering of Digital Innovation in conjunction with Action Design Research ensuring both practical relevance and scientific rigor. The method artifact takes design activities, design outcomes, and the roles for organizations which deliver innovation into account. The papers describe the stage-gate oriented process model which is based on the sequence of design activities. The introduced method can be applied to various class of problems which is domain independent and can be used in the operations of the innovation labs that deliver innovative IT-artifacts and focus on integrating those innovative artifacts to existing businesses. Bub (2019) introduces a method which combines the incremental IS DSR knowledge and the process model of digital innovation earlier described in (Bub, 2018). The resulted method presents a new DSR approach to DI engineering. The paper evaluates the combined method by using a case study in the field of automatic speech recognition. Hevner and Gregor (2020) states that “DSR in IS field is, at its essence, about DI” in their paper “Envisioning entrepreneurship and digital innovation through a design science research lens: A matrix approach”.

They further introduce a matrix approach to DI based on DSR and also consider innovation and entrepreneurship theories on building this approach. The paper defines DI and DSR matrix approach on the means of Knowledge Innovation Matrix which expands to four strategies which are “invention; advancement; exaptation; and exploitation”. The research here contributes to the DI and DSR relationship in a considerable way by delivering an understandable process model allowing people with various entrepreneurial backgrounds to perceive it.

III.3. How Digital Innovation ideas are generated, transferred? What are the digital innovation categorizations?

To engage with digital innovation, one needs to understand the fundamentals of innovation just as how new ideas are generated in order to create, improve the processes, tools, products, and processes. To identify innovation strategies we look at the studies performed by researchers in this field. Offermann et al. (2011) presented 12 design strategies for how to create and generalize design knowledge in Design Science Research. These strategies enable systematic reuse, generalization, and transfer of design knowledge from previous designs. They adopted the concept of ranges from the field of social sciences, implying that there are different levels of theory relative to their distance to empirical observations: a design for a specific setting is classified as short-range design, design for a specific type or class of setting is classified as mid-range design, whereas general insights about a type of design approach are classified as long-range design. These strategies are possibly employed for innovations and the table depicted below is illustrating the design strategies.

Table 2. The 12 design strategies as proposed by Offermann et al. (2011).

	Short-Range Design	Mid-Range Design	Long-Range Design
Explore New	○→	○→	
Validate		←●	
Generalize / Extract	●→	●→	●→
Apply out of Scope		←●	
Synthesize		●→	
Combine		●→	
Improve	●→	●→	
Increase Scope		●→	
Derive from			←●

Key: ○ From one or more existing designs ● Not based on existing designs
 → Strategy

To explain these strategies, we explain them with abstracts created by authors in the following section with our explanation and approach.

Explore new - A problem has not yet been solved. A solution is proposed to the problem.

Validate - A solution has been proposed to solve the problem before. However there is a need to validate the solution by validating the solution in different contexts.

Generalize to/Extract - Many solutions exist to solve the problem. Here we look at the existing designs, identify commonalities and idiosyncrasies and propose a more general design. The new design can be used to inform enlarged scope.

Apply out of scope - It is proposed if the design can also be used for a new scope to a new problem.

Synthesize - The problem can be solved by different designs. All of these designs have advantages and disadvantages. The designs are analyzed and a synthesized design is proposed that combines the strong points of the existing designs while overcoming their weaknesses.

Combine - The problems of A and B (just to point out) often occur together. The first problem can be solved by design 1, the second problem by design 2. Both designs are analyzed and a combined design with an enlarged scope is proposed that addresses both problems at the same time.

Improve - the problem is usually solved by state-of-the-art designs. All of these designs have shortcomings. An improved design is proposed that overcomes these shortcoming.

Increase scope - the existing design is meant to be used to a current purpose for a current scope. We propose extensions to the design so it also can be used for a new scope.

Derive from - the idea from a different field proposes solutions to a set of problems. A new solution is developed by deriving from different field for the existing problem.

Bub (2019) used design strategies on top of stage-gate oriented process model intended for engineering of digital innovation and using the strategies as a tool in the solution design where the author considered its applicability into digital innovation field. We see the similar match and we consider using design strategies in the innovation strategies context in detail. We further identified a research work concentrating on the innovation categorizations which results in the Knowledge Innovation Matrix (KIM) (Gregor & Hevner, 2014).

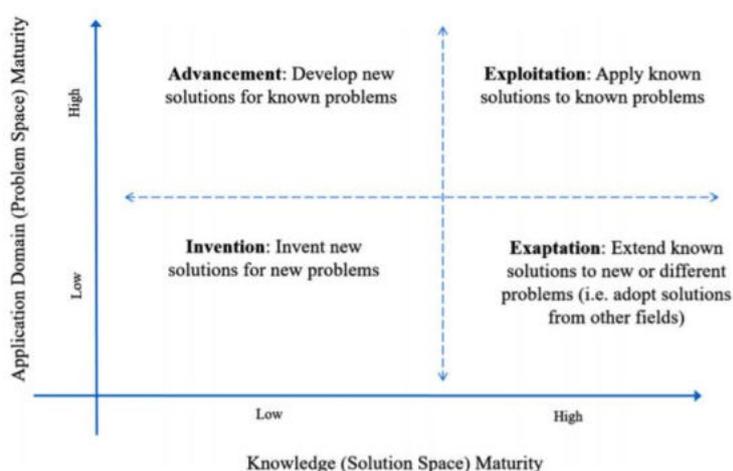


Figure 2. Knowledge Innovation Matrix (Gregor & Hevner, 2020).

Furthermore, Gregor and Hevner (2020) propose a novel integrative tool – the Knowledge Innovation Matrix (KIM) for the strategic management of innovation by taking into account diverse stakeholders in industry, government, and academia. KIM defines innovation in four categories, namely (1) Invention, (2) Improvement, (3) Exaptation, and (4) Exploitation. By this way, it intends to assist researchers and industry professionals to categorize innovations and potentially expect the

appropriate value and result depending on each category. The authors further explain value propositions concerning with stakeholders as the aim here is that this guide is intended to be understandable and have a common language for all the related parties.

Invention quadrant includes innovations which are “new-to-the world” so that in this quadrant, the problem and the knowledge which is required for it have not been identified before.

Advancement quadrant encompasses innovations that are achieved by implementing a superior solution to an existing problem.

Exaptation quadrant includes innovations where existing solutions for a problem in a different context are used for a completely different purpose.

Exploitation quadrant includes innovations where known solutions are applied to known problems so that the settings is not the “new-to-world”, but rather it is “new-to-us”.

III.4. Integrated Innovation Strategies Framework

Hereby, based on these two base works described in section III.3, we further introduce a combined tool where we classify design strategies under Knowledge Innovation Matrix quadrants. Design Strategies concept has the advantage of the abstraction level which are not considered at all in the KIM and it is more powerful with having several varieties, but also it is a bit more complicated to understand. That is why, we further integrate these two concepts as depicted in Figure 3.

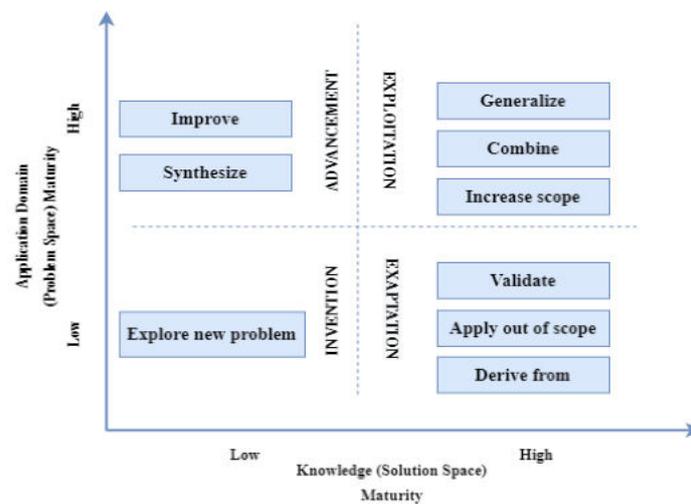


Figure 3. An integrated framework for Digital Innovation strategies.

While KIM further extends the innovation into quadrants and develops the theories on them, Design Strategies are further bringing a high level explanation by providing more abstraction level strategically in order to manage innovation in various contexts. As a construction to this framework, it is taken into consideration that the key concept of KIM which is to further put the emphasis on the two dimensions of application domain maturity and knowledge maturity which can be explained as problem and solution maturity respectively. Although, Design Strategies do not take into consideration this explicitly, but it is quite understandable from the templates of methodologies where

the authors explain the strategies. The constructed new framework out of the two foundation frameworks gives the opportunity for both concepts to explain each other.

As both framework obviously aim to explain the same concepts, but doing this in a different fashion, we further integrated them into one comprehensive framework to allow researchers, academicians, entrepreneurs, and practitioners to take fully benefit of underlying theories of innovation strategies to manage innovation strategically by means of having a specific focus on what they are really trying to do.

For the *invention* quadrant, *explore new problem* is categorized where these both concepts focus on breakthrough innovation, finding exploring new problems to find solutions. The strategies *improve* and *synthesize* fall under *advancement* quadrant as in improve and synthesize the problem is known and the new solution is designed to that problem. In *exaptation* quadrant, *validate, apply out of scope*, and *derive from* strategies are categorized as they focus on the innovations where solutions are known, but they can be utilized on various causes. The quadrant *exploitation* includes *generalize, combine, increase scope* strategies both solutions and problems are known, and they can be in different contexts. For instance, in case of combine, two different solutions can be combined to solve a more generic problem. As it is shown, the main ideas are the same; however, one framework explains another and we combine two frameworks to address for the known scope of the problem. Basically, we use the strategy *combine* from this concept to achieve an integrated framework.

Additionally, we follow the top-down approach by integrating these two concepts. For instance, after ideation process, at first, the main quadrant could be identified and afterwards the innovation strategies could be determined. This allows to figure out what the idea is aiming to do and what its contribution is.

This possible match up can further allow to identify future research areas in which this tool can be modelled further. In addition, by this way, it becomes quite easy to understand the overall concept of design strategies and also it extends the KIM further and adds abstraction to it. This framework is produced based on this study and we will validate it with empirical data.

IV. Conclusion

In this paper, we looked at the findings from the literature review that we carried out systematically. We mainly concentrated on the DI research area to find out the existing works and their concentrations in this discipline. Even though DI is not a new research field and a lot of researchers have already investigated the potentials and capabilities of the field to advance organizations' well-being, there are still some areas like the relationship between DSR and DI which has seen little attention over the last decade during which the general research streams began on DI. We grab readers' attention to the synergies of DSR and DI. We categorize the contribution types of papers in DI and answer four research questions to get the maximum benefit out of this study. Based on the study, we come up with an integrated innovation strategies framework.

There are several limitations in this work too. We might miss some of the papers published in the definitive period that we were looking at as some keywords/search strings can be missed. The introduced new framework for DI should be further validated and analyzed concerning the concept of ranges as future work.

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Invariance in principles of machine and legal automation

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Abstract: In this paper the term automation is understood making hardware or software that is capable of doing things automatically without human intervention. Automation in machines reached high level during the Third Industrial Revolution and is expected to be improved in future according to the Strategy 4. However, automation in law is just at the starting point and intensive progress is necessary. The legal automation involves the use of software to streamline, progress and manage tasks and activities that are common to the legal function, such as document creation, document review, communication, triage and work allocation, project management and so on. The aim of the paper is to improve the legal automation using the principles developed for machine automation. These principles are: the reliable, directing, robust, accountable and competent principle, principles of visibility, observation and understandability, proactive control and skill degradation. Application of principles is believed to improve the legal automation.

Keywords: Machine automation; legal automation; principles of automation; invariance of systems

I. Introduction

Many definitions of automation exist [1-5]. Usually automation is assumed to be the art of making processes or machines self-acting or self-moving. Automation also means the technique of making a device, machine, process or procedure more fully automatic. Automation of operations may encompass the automation of a single operation or the automation of an entire facility. Then the production time is reduced, the manufacturing flexibility is increased, the costs are reduced and the human error is eliminated. The system is able to perform monotonous and repetitive tasks. Automation reduces operator workload and frees up time for people to focus on more important and creative tasks that required the personal touch and judgment.

Nowadays, automation is introduced in all fields of human activity, but its level is various and depends on the area. For example, automation in machines reached high level during the Third Industrial Revolution and is expected to be improved in future according to the Strategy 4 [6]. Hardware and software are developed that are capable of doing things automatically without human intervention. However, automation in legal activity is just at the starting point and intensive progress is necessary. It is estimated that at the recent level of technology 23 percent of a lawyer's job can be automated [7]. Elimination of the manual processes through automation will give the law firm an advantage to more efficiently assist their clients and to attract new business. The goal is to increase the automation of legal tasks and to achieve efficiency gains however possible.

The aim of the paper is to consider the strategy of improving legal automation. The legal automation involves the use of software to streamline, progress and manage tasks and activities that are common to the legal function, such as document creation, document review, communication, triage and work allocation, project management and so on. In this paper, for improvement of legal automation the principles developed for machine automation are adopted for legal system. The principles are: reliable and competent principle, principles of visibility, observation and understandability, directing robust principle and accountable principle, proactive control and skill degradation. Advantages and disadvantages of principles in legal automation are considered.

The paper is divided in 4 sections. In section 2 definition of legal automation is given. In section 3 principles of automation for legal system are introduced. The advantages and disadvantages of legal automation are discussed in section 4. The paper ends with conclusion. Future investigation is suggested.

II. Legal automation

Nowadays, there is the tendency of application and development of new tools which would help the lawyers and law firms in their job and at the same time to give the clients and persons to obtain the accurate and appropriate decision in the shortest time. The tools give the legal automation [8, 9]. In the legal team, automation does not substitute a lawyer, however it can remove or reduce many repeatable, often annoying tasks that lawyers don't really want to do. Utilize legal automation can help in-house lawyers focus their time and energy on the more important, valuable and strategic work for their organization. Through streamlining processes, improving efficiency and structured communication, legal automation can empower and enable the legal function to deliver a service that is more consistent, responsive and a provide a foundation for continuous improvement.

It is anticipated that in era of computers automation in law may play an increasing role in legal activity around the world. From technical perspective software have to be designed to enable professionals in the legal field to build, model, and execute, decision- and process-based logic. Namely, legal automation software have to generate outputs (documents, emails, data sets, etc.) from an input layer. So, the legal automation encompasses the design, management, execution and automation of legal tasks, processes, and decision-making, based on pre-defined rules.

There is heterogeneity in automation of legal services, which ranges from low to high degrees of automation. Legal automation is possible in all legal areas. The high level automation make able to work without the intervention of lawyers nor other experts. However, some areas of law are more suited to automation than others; these areas of law often include the following characteristics: clearly defined (legal) rules and processes, the complexity of the underlying logic is not too complex, question and problems that routinely and often recur, low level of fact-finding. The most common and popular automation applications within the legal function are generally for high volume, low value, routine tasks such as: document automation, especially for low complexity agreements; document review, drafts and finals; automating workflow processes such as intake, triage, work allocation, managing approvals and briefing of external lawyers; setting up tasks, processes, updates and internal/external communications; managing of contract deadlines; digital signature processes; capturing and analysing important data and information across the function, digitally and securely. These repeatable processes can often be mapped out by an experienced in-house counsel and automated using software to ensure that best practice and knowledge is applied throughout the team ensuring consistency and reducing risk.

Documents in law are of fundamental importance to available the regular work in the world. They are divided in various group depending on the subject they are directed. Documents are drafted according legal rules which include objectivization and standardization. Depending on these rules the document drafting may be automated. Objectivization in drafting requires the interaction with facts, while standardisation refers to the applicability of a legal rule to numerous cases without variations. To varying degrees, all legal areas include repetitive, “standardizable” legal inquiries and assessments that are ripe for automation. For bespoke work, as well as highly unique or complex cases, automation may not always be feasible. A large part of legal work is prone to standardization and thus automation. The most widely applied legal automation is in the sphere of contract and document reviewing. This automation process has the aim to avoid mistakes and to review whether some parts or details of the document are missing, to review if the sharing of contracts is done correctly with the necessary parties. The automation tools have to review the project from beginning to the end using machine learning and artificial intelligence. It eliminates the possibility of human error and shorten the work time. However, the principles for creating documents has not to be changed in spite of automation.

Legal automation is useful for research through statutes, regulations, case law and other legal authorities. Usually it is made by manual and it requests lot of time. For shortening of the time, the automation tools which already exist today have to conduct the legal research. For this purpose the legal research platform has to be powered by artificial intelligence. Thus if it is necessary to find the case which would be close to that of the interest, instead of manual research the online search through the legal databases by entering the keywords would be done. The process of finding of the case which nearly mirror the required is quite short and automatic. In addition, the obtained result is accurate and clear.

Legal automation software makes time schedule for lawyers but also memorizes the past schedule of the lawyer. Tools are made that work to streamline the process altogether, improving accuracy, eliminating lost time and to provide greater transparency. The manual process of entering time is automated – the software is developed.

Apart from document automation solutions, which have been around for quite some time, the legal value delivery chain is still mostly manual, i.e. not automated.

III. Transformation of principles of automation in industry to legal automation

Principles of automation concern finding efficient computational ways to perform human tasks. The tasks may be physical (driving, running, controlling the machine) or mental (planning, scheduling, doing mathematics) [10 - 14].

The adopted reliable principle gives the automation to function consistently in preparation documents. Due to competent principle the automation should perform tasks correctly given the information based on the input dates. All decision relevant information for a given situation should be available to the layers and persons of interest according to the visible principle. Automation should provide effective and immediate feedback to the legal teams or lawyers allowing them to observe and maintain awareness of system state. Decisions and documents made by the automation should be understandable for lawyers. The lawyer or legal team should be able to direct the automation easily and efficiently. The automation should be able to perform under a variety of conditions, not just normal operating conditions. According to the accountable principle the legal team should be responsible for overall performance and therefore in charge of the automation. The system should support the legal team in predicting and controlling ahead rather than controlling reactively. The automation should incorporate a method to guard against legal team skill decrease. Application of these principles is believed to improve the legal automation and increase it to the level of the machine automation.

10 key principles of automation achieved in machinery will be considered for legal automation. These principles are intended to address the concerns associated with the introduction of automation and to assist in the design of cooperative automated systems.

Reliability. Reliability is a fundamental principle of any automated system. In machinery it means that the repeated functioning of an automated device is consistent. The principle of reliability in legal automation has the same meaning: the legal automation functions consistently.

Competent. Competence is recognized as a key dimension in development of trust in automation. This principle requires the automation to be carried out functionally correctly with reduced weaknesses. According to input the automation should perform tasks correctly.

Remark: There is the overlapping of the explanation of principles of reliability and competency in automation. Namely, automation competence is frequently referred to as reliability. If the automation acts as designed but the result is not desirable, the automation is classified as incompetent one rather than unreliable.

Visible. In machine automation all relevant information for a given situation have to be visible for operator. It is the question, if this principle has to exist for legal information. The answer is positive, as the lawyer or the legal team is necessary to be informed about the status of automation object. The state of the object has to be visible on the computer in any moment of real time by those who are the owners of information. Visibility may be taken as supporting the first stage of situation awareness.

Remark: Visibility refers to the provision of information regarding the system being controlled, while observability relates to the provision of information concerning the automation's decisions and actions.

It is recommended that operators i.e. certain person of legal team always must have basic information on system parameters being monitored available in a clear and easily interpretable format as this allows them to remain involved and aware of the system. At the moment this principle is not developed in the appropriate way. It has to be improved. It is very important because at any state the operating person can act.

Observable. This principle requires that automation should provide effective and immediate feedback to the operator allowing the maintain awareness of system state. Observability gives the possibility to provide feedback. If the observability is limited, very often the understanding of the automation is not correct and it may restrict the automation use [15]. The method of feeding back information also affects observability.

Understandable. Results obtained by machine automation have to be understandable for operators and of legal automation to members of legal team. The principle is more efficient for the persons whose knowledge in process of automation is higher. The principle of understanding is the basic one for development of the congenital automation and prediction for future actions of the automation. It

is expected that good understanding and high visibility and observability support better development of automation.

Directable. Fulfilling the principle of directing available efficient and easy direction in automation. Users direct the automation with the aim to achieve goals. Without the ability to influence and direct the automation the recommendations on observable and understandable automation are useless as the operator is essentially powerless.

Robust. The automation has to be robust, i.e. stable on normal but also unusual operating conditions. Namely, automation has to be valid even in non-regular and non-routine working systems. Thus, automation works for all levels of workload [6].

Accountable. The automation has to be the result of accountable and responsible operation. Ensuring that the automation is accountable to the operator enables the operator to take responsibility for the overall system performance. Of course there are some circumstances where it may be possible to completely remove the human from the control loop, usually in areas which have very definite data and characteristics. Computers cannot be expected to be responsible beings and so it follows that the operator must be provided with the means to control the system.

Proactive Control. The principle of proactive control in automation suggests the prediction and control ahead and not reactively. It means that the change of system parameters and the understanding the effect of that allows proactively optimisation of system performance with the aim to prevent future problems. Ensuring that the automation is predictable the proactive control can be enabled.

Skill Degradation. The automation should incorporate a method to guard against operator skill degradation. Skill degradation is undesirable in automation (Dekker, 2004). It occurs when the automation reaches its limits and is not possible to be adequate [3]. It is expected that with increase of the automation the skill degradation would be disabled. To fulfil the requirement the automated systems must have additional competencies.

Based on this principles the automation has to be extended with Artificial Intelligence (AI) [16]. It seems that they are thought to be the same. However, AI is the science and engineering of making intelligent machines which imitate human behaviour and intelligence. In legal sciences the ideal scenario would be the automated machines to collect data and AI systems to understand it. Unfortunately, we are not AI ready yet. Nowadays the stage is cognitive automation which includes understanding of processes and identifying to optimize by simplification, selection processes and automation of the selected process at only to deliver results.

Even though this concept seems familiar from other industries, automation in the legal field is still largely uncharted territory. Apart from document automation which have been around for quite some time, the legal value delivery chain is still mostly manual, i.e. not automated. Reasons for slow development of legal automation are various, but one of the most important is that the lawyers' work is focused on the model of "billable hours" and "fully engaged" teams and the transformation through automation is not of interest for lawyers. Lawyers state that their work is very complex and the automation cannot fulfil the tasks. In addition, at the moment there are not enough specific software which will be available for requirements of lawyers to satisfy the special needs of legal organizations. Namely, it is not easy to define areas, workflows, and processes that are suitable for legal automation.

IV. Benefits and disadvantages of automation for the legal domain

Automating the manual processes to enhance the delivery of legal services will benefit the law firm in many ways. Time and money saved are clearly evident when automating is used instead of the manual processes, as well as the increase in efficiency and accuracy. It is expected that automation would provide significant reductions in overhead expenses, execution timelines, and productivity. Automating legal work allows firms, corporates, as well as any other organization where lawyers

work, to streamline, accelerate, manage and measure legal and legal-related work. By automating legal workflows, processes, and tasks, significant improvements can be made in: efficiency, productivity, accuracy, audibility, job satisfaction. It is expected that the law firms which use automation should be more attractive for clients and potential users in future.

Digital transformation efforts in the legal industry are maturing and the focus is now on achieving practical, tangible and measurable outcomes. As machine learning-based AI tools are still limited in their abilities and scope, digital transformation in the legal domain has naturally gravitated toward legal automation.

In the legal team, automation will not substitute a lawyer, however it can remove or reduce many repeatable, often annoying tasks that lawyers don't really want to be doing. Utilising legal automation can help in-house lawyers focus their time and energy on the more important, valuable and strategic work for their organisation. Further, through streamlining processes, improving efficiency and structured communication, legal automation can also empower and enable the legal function to deliver a service that is more consistent, responsive and a provide a foundation for continuous improvement.

In spite of advantages of legal automation, calibrated trust is necessary [17]. Namely, if the trust is not correctly calibrated the result may be the inappropriate reliance on the automation [16-26].

V. Conclusions

This research has examined some fundamental issues in the use of advanced automated control systems in the real world. In the paper the 10 already developed principles of automation were presented and adopted to serve as design guidance for future automation in legislation. It is believed that that these principles would lead to future automated system. The principles adopted in the paper seem to be of general character [21,27]. It is hoped that the principles will be applied for development of the control system in future. These principles are expected to improve the system performance and to enable good cooperation between the automation and the human operator and to extend the abilities and scope of machine learning-based AI tools for legal systems and obtain digital transformation in the legal domain which naturally gravitates toward legal automation.

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Strategic sexism: Fallacies against women in political argumentation

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Abstract

Sexism in politics is a quite frequent phenomenon and it is judged harshly by the public opinion. However, politicians still use problematic statements here and there, even though it is seemingly not so beneficial for them. In my research, I am taking a more pragmatic approach, and with the help of pragma-dialectics, I analyze the arguments against women (the so-called *ad feminam*) within the Hungarian political communication, in order to see if there is any strategic reason behind them. Are politicians changing the political discourse through their arguments or are they simply adapting to the current debating practices of the contemporary political system?

The purpose of this paper is to show that *ad feminam* is not just an exclusionary and pejorative statement against women but it can be used strategically (Eemeren, 2010) by political actors in order to manipulate the public discourse (Kiss, 2015) and with that, they can secure their own position and sustain the status quo. In order to fully understand political deliberation within argumentative context (van Eemeren, Grassen, 2010), I am using the literature from both the fields of political science (Szabó, 2003) and pragma-dialectics. To demonstrate my thesis about the possible intentional use of the *ad feminam*, or „strategic sexism”, I am analyzing a speech event as a case study, which took place between László Kövér from the Fidesz party, and Tímea Szabó from Párbeszéd.

I hope my research proves to be useful not only to locate harmful speeches or problematic statements within political communication, but also to understand the carefully planned strategic movements behind them.

Keywords: pragma-dialectics, argumentation studies, political discourse studies, sexism, ad feminam

I. Introduction

The reason why I choose to study sexism in the language of politics is somewhat opposite of how articles of the mainstream sciences are approaching the topic. While the media in several cases try to highlight the normative aspects of the phenomenon, they are unintentionally participating in a discourse which strongly relies on rather abstract arguments of identity politics (Fraser, 2000). And even those politicians, who disagree with sexism, are still not always willing to discuss the “bigger picture” regarding certain issues. In several cases they are either not paying attention to systematic inequalities which are rooted in sexual discrimination such as domestic violence, wage gap or the glass ceiling phenomenon or simply they are just not bringing those topics into the political discourse while they are try to argue against their sexist opponents. In these instances, the debate is mainly about moral arguments rather than factual reasoning which derail the discussion and the recognition of certain marginalized groups or the actual subject of the debate. For the better understanding of this paper, in the following chapters I am referring to sexism as the phenomenon when disputants attempt to discredit their opponent’s argument during a debate by highlighting the fact that the opponent is a woman, from which they conclude that, her argument is invalid (not necessarily in an explicit way).

Based on this premise, my hypothesis is that in certain cases sexism in political communication is more important as a tool for political actors to use, to influence the public discourse in their favor, than a moral judgment. The media and the public however are concentrating to the second part. This kind of reaction to these statements is not necessarily a problem, it can also show the public’s moral compass the way they are calling out their discriminative representatives. However, the discussion often stops at the part where the public is deciding if one particular comment or person was sexist or not, should the politician apologize or not, instead of a transparent discussion where they can express their opinion on the issues listed above or advocating policies which can actually help discriminated minorities and marginalized groups. Nonetheless, more often than not, the topics of these discussions are not thematized around gender inequalities, sexist comments can occur regardless of the original topic, the opinions of the disputants, or the form of the debate.

My insight is that as scholars we should analyze these exclusionary statements by what harm they can make in the public discourse rather than making a moral judgement. In the light of this, my assumption regarding this matter is that the usage of different arguments in specific debate situations can highly affect the political narrative on specific issues and with that, on policy making as well. Political argumentation can also form public opinion on different issues and how people perceive them. Lastly, my most important insight in this paper is that logical errors in an argument can hold back the transparent debate on a certain topic in the disputant’s favor who committed the violation against the rules of critical discussion.

In the following parts of this paper, I am going to introduce the leading theory on argumentation, the school of pragma-dialectics, developed by Frans van Eemeren and his theory on critical discussion. After a brief summery I am moving to the theory of strategic maneuvering which aims to analyze argumentation in actual practice. In the topic’s discussion I am also going to introduce the model of political argumentation according to the literature, and an argumentation error called *ad feminam* which is my main focus in this paper.

To show the existence of strategic sexism, I am going to introduce my findings on a case study containing two speech events, a plenary parliamentary debate and a political interview, both taken place in Hungary. During the qualitative analysis I am focusing on two participants and their interaction with each other. László Kövér, the speaker of the National Assembly and also the

member of Fidesz, the larger party member from the governing party coalition and Tímea Szabó, the member of Párbeszéd, a hungarian green party and also the member of the parliament. Based on their interaction I am also going to explain why this practice is harmful to the public discourse apart from the moral issues.

This paper is not aiming for some sort of moral judgement regarding the issue, but to prove that politicians' actions are motivated to sustain their power, hence they are not necessarily arguing to create a transparent discussion but rather in their own favor. This of course is the very logic of any political practice, but while the participants of the machiavellian game are perfecting their strategies to prevail, they often neglecting the needs of the public or even sacrificing it for achieving their goals. While they are doing so, they are carefully choosing the toolset in which they articulate their political narrative, strategically maneuvering on the field of political discourse, adapting to every audience, political opponent, and topic.

II. Topic discussion

To fully understand political argumentation and its effect on the public discourse and policy making, we have to take a brief overview on the literature of pragma-dialectics.

Pragma-dialectics is the leading argumentation theory, developed by Frans van Eemeren at the University of Amsterdam. The academic discipline is used to analyze various types of argumentative practices. Eemeren developed the theory of the ideal model of a critical discussion. This means that argumentation is part of a critical discussion where the main goal is the resolution of a difference of opinion between debaters. He states that the resolution is in both parties' best interest, and he also claimed that this is the very reason why people are arguing. Eemeren sets 10 universal rules to resolve the difference of opinion in critical discussion which he applies to any kind of debate. In his rules, he mainly focused on logical and dialectical reasonableness, which determines if an argument is strong or weak.

However his model mainly existed in theory, later on Eemeren changed his normative approach on argumentative analysis and incorporated a more practical approach then extended the discipline with the so-called "strategic maneuvering" (Eemeren, 2010: 39).

II. 1. Strategic maneuvering in pragma-dialectics

Eemeren believed that parties involved in a difference of opinion are maneuver strategically to be more persuasive. He added another important insight. Eemeren highlighted that debaters are aiming to resolve the difference of opinion in their own favor. They do so by acknowledging the dialectical reasonableness and the rhetorical effectiveness of their arguments. The professor then set apart universal logical rules of the critical discussion and specific rhetorical aspects of each type of speech event.

Strategic maneuvering manifests itself in all argumentative moves in three different aspects: (1) the selection that is made from the 'topical potential,' the choice from the set of alternatives available at that point in the discourse that is considered most expedient; (2) the adaptation to 'audience demand,' i.e. the choice of perspective that is considered to agree best with the frame of reference of the listeners or readers the speaker or writer intends to reach; (3) the exploitation of 'presentational devices,' i.e. the choice of the stylistic and other means of expression considered most appropriate for the purpose. (Eemeren and Peng, 2017: 125.)

II. 2. Political argumentation

Eemeren observed different types of argumentation, and based on his findings set aside different communicative activity types within genres of communicative activities in the domain of certain communicative activities. For the sake of this study, I only highlighted the domain of political communication from his figure, and I filled the speech event column with my own case studies as an example for parliamentary debate and political interview.

domain of communicative activity	genre of communicative activity	communicative activity type	speech event
political communication	Deliberation	-General Debate -political interview -Prime Minister's Question Time - election debate	-Parliamentary debate between Tímea Szabó and László Kövér - László Kövér's interview

Figure 1. Examples of speech events representing communicative activity types implementing genres of communicative activity instrumental in certain communicative domains (Eemeren, 2010: 145).

In the extended pragma-dialectical theory, it is held that the conventionalization of a communicative activity type puts certain constraints on the strategic maneuvering that is allowed and provides at the same time room for designing the strategic maneuvering in certain ways. Communicative activity types are conventionalized practices whose conventionalization serves the institutional needs prevailing in a certain domain of communicative activity (van Eemeren 2010: 139.).

According to this figure, political communication has a very distinguishable feature, the genre of this type of communicative activity is deliberation. Contrary to the mainstream approach in political science, Eemeren has his own definition on deliberation which states that this domain of communicative activity type is taking the form of a public debate where the disputants generally have clear starting points that differ for each other. “At all times the contestants take the listening, reading or watching audience into account up to the point that this third-party audience is in fact their primary addressee – or even their only “real” addressee. More often than not their argumentation will be aimed at convincing the third-party audience rather than their debate partners. This third-party audience determines then the outcome of the deliberation– by voting or in a less conspicuous way.” (Eemeren, 2010: 148.)

In other words, in the genre of deliberation, disputants are not trying to convince each other in a debate situation, they are using logical reasonableness and rhetorical effectiveness in their arguments to influence their audience. Such forms of debate can be applied perfectly into the world of politics where the participants are contesting over the voters while creating their own narratives. Politicians also have strong ideological beliefs which are a part of their credibility and they cannot be changed through individual debate situations. The disputants in a political debate are not trying

to resolve a difference of opinion between each other but to present a more appealing political narrative for the people through reasoning.

II. 3. Fallacies in political argumentation

Political argumentation practices can be flawed in many cases. Pragma-dialectics not only regulates communicative activity types, but also distinguishes between the types of reasoning and their typical errors. As I have explained in my previous paragraphs, the essence of strategic maneuvering is that the arguing parties, sometimes placing dialectical rules of reasonableness in the background to adapt to the context of the debate (and to the audience as well) with rhetorical alternatives, to increase the effectiveness of their arguments. However, it is a frequent phenomenon in politics that disputants tend to make logical errors in their reasoning while they are trying to increase the rhetoric potential of their arguments. These mistakes are what pragma-dialectics call *fallacies*. They can be either illegitimate arguments or irrelevant points, and are often identified because they lack evidence that supports their claim. In fallacy studies it is common to distinguish formal and informal fallacies. Formal fallacies are those which are readily seen to be instances of invalid logical forms. Informal fallacies are also invalid arguments, but pragma-dialectics bring their weaknesses to light through analyses that do not involve appeal to formal languages. (Hansen, 2019). According to pragma-dialectics, informal mistakes as such, can hinder the resolution of the difference of opinion.

There are some very common mistakes in argumentation which are more likely to occur in political communication. Due to the limited length of this paper and the main focus of my work, I will only introduce one from the most common informal fallacies in political communication which is strongly linked to my thesis as well. This argumentative strategy is called *argumentum ad hominem*. Typically this term refers to a rhetorical strategy where the speaker attacks the character, motive, or some other attribute of the person making an argument rather than attacking the substance of the argument itself. (Eemeren, Grootendorst, 1995: 224) However ad hominem is not necessarily always fallacious, if it is considered the most appropriate for the purpose to prove their opinion, disputants can use ad hominem within the constraints of strategic maneuvering in specific debate situations.

One example is the *appeal to motive* which is a special case of the ad hominem circumstantial argument in which an argument is challenged by calling into question the motives of its proposer. However if it is to be proven that the debater's opponent indeed has an ulterior motive behind his or her arguments, attacking it could be a reasonable choice and a logical assumption from the disputant. In politics, calling into question the motives of politicians is practically a part of democracy and free speech. A politician's character, motive or morals are a part of their credibility, and these attributes can be a part of dispute just as any policy they propose especially if it is opposite to the image they are advertising to the voters. However, there are certain fallacies which are irrelevant to the debate but disputants often use them to discredit their opponents.

The *argumentum ad feminam* (Sommers, 1991: 5.) is a type of ad hominem, and it occurs when the debater's partner is a woman. This kind of fallacy is used to discredit an argument simply because a woman made it. The attacker who uses ad feminam basically saying that someone's opinion is not credible because she is a woman or in other words, they are being sexist. However, it is harmful to the disputant, and to the critical discussion as well. In deliberation, which is the most common genre of political communication, ad feminam can harm the audience too. When disputants attacking their opponents with sexist comments because they are unwilling to discuss the topic with logical reasonableness, they are normalizing discriminatory language, thus they are

hurting the culture of debate and sustaining oppression of marginalized groups through discourse in society as well.

II. Results

To demonstrate the so-called strategic sexism phenomenon I carefully choose an example from the Hungarian political discourse where the *ad feminam* was quite conspicuous. With this paper my only desire is to prove the mere existence of this phenomenon, not to generalize the strategic use of sexism, although this could be a matter for another research. My case study is taking two speech events, a plenary parliamentary debate and a political interview which are linked together within the discursive environment and they reflect on each other. In the two speech events, I am focusing on two participants and their interaction with each other. László Kövér, the speaker of the National Assembly and also the member of Fidesz, the larger party member from the governing party coalition and Tímea Szabó, the member of Párbeszéd, a Hungarian green party and also the member of the parliament.

The first speech event occurred in April, 2020 during a plenary parliamentary debate session, Tímea Szabó, a member of the parliament from the opposition was concerned by how the government is handling the pandemic situation in the country. In her speech, she criticized the current state of healthcare and the set of policies the government installed to handle the economic, social and healthcare crisis caused by the coronavirus. However she couldn't finish her speech because she was interrupted by the clapping of the entire government coalition.

The second speech event happened days later, when Kövér commented on Szabó's speech at parliament during an interview at a right-leaning TV show called Bayer Show. Instead of reflecting the opponent party member's arguments regarding the pandemic crisis, Kövér attacked Szabó with an *ad feminam*, which led to a public outrage. He said, he pities the opponent party members, „especially those whose ID number starts with the number 2”. (referring to the fact that they are women) „there is nothing more sad when a man sees a woman's face distorted by hatred,” he added. Kövér also mentioned that „Szabó's behavior is unacceptable as a mother.” (Index, 2020.04.26)

Shortly after, the sexist comment thematized the media for several days but only one news site featured Szabó's opinion on the pandemic.

For the discursive analysis, I used the qualitative methods of pragma-dialectics by taking account the roles of the disputants in each speech event, the goals of the communicative activity types of the events, and the toolset of the debaters arguments regarding the logical reasonableness and rhetorical effectiveness. Finally, in a brief summary, I am going to mention the aftermath of the argumentation in the media.

III. 1. The plenary parliamentary debate

The first speech event occurred in the parliament. A parliamentary debate, apart from Eemeren's categorization, has its own formal rules, which moderates the discussion between representatives. Each session has its own purpose and the participants of the debate were assigned to different roles. In my case study, László Kövér was present in the discussion as the speaker of the National Assembly. He was assigned to moderate the plenary parliamentary debate, sustain the transparency and the integrity of the discussion and to make sure that every participant can present their argument without holding back the dispute with unnecessary behavior.

Tímea Szabó, as a member of an opposing party faction, spoke up when Kövér gave her the word and then during her speech she started criticizing the government's recent policies. According to Eemeren's discipline, in the plenary parliamentary debate, the specific institutional goal is to "confront the government with the views of the people's elected representatives about their policy plans and their financing in accordance with the institutional conventions for the conduct of a general debate constituting parliamentary tradition and the format laid down in parliamentary procedure" (Eemeren, 2010: 141.). According to the literature, Szabó had every right to call out the government on their actions in a formal debate where this was the main purpose, provided that she followed the institutional rules of the plenary parliamentary debate. Later during her speech however, she was interrupted by the clapping of the entire government coalition, so she couldn't finish her monolog.

In this situation, it was Kövér's role to moderate the dispute and prevent obstructive behavior between the participants, but he neglected to do the job he was assigned to. The governing party members collectively violated the formal rules of the plenary debate, when they prevented Szabó from finishing her speech. Szabó's interruption derailed the critical discussion and it also failed to make the government accountable for its policies. Therefore the obstruction has violated the rules of pragma-dialectics in two counts: the universal goal of the critical discussion about the review of both parties' positions and the specific institutional goal of the plenary debate to confront the government.

III. 1. The political interview

According to Eemeren's categorization, the institutional goal of a political interview is to "make the politician clarify and justify his or her position in accordance with the institutional conventions determined by the regulations pertaining to the medium and the professional requirements of the trade, which also determine the format" (Eemeren, 2010 :141.) It is important to mention that Bayer Show where László Kövér gave the interview is a right-leaning TV show on a channel called Hír TV which is close to the government. Zsolt Bayer, the interviewer had no intention to confront the politician with controversial topics but they talked about economic matters and the politics in the European Union then lastly Bayer asked Kövér about Szabó's latest speech in the parliament and the governing party's reaction to it.

During the interview Kövér did not react to Szabó's arguments, and the topic of the debate (the pandemic crisis) instead he attacked the politician's character. As I stated above earlier, as the speaker of the assembly Kövér has a duty to moderate the discussion and he can also punish the participant's for their behavior, yet he failed to do so back then in the plenary debate.

He could have also criticized Szabó's argument during the interview, but instead he attacked her with an *ad feminam* in his monolog when he said „there is nothing more sad when a man sees a woman's face distorted by hatred”. Moral statements like this or that „Szabó's behavior is unacceptable to a mother” is completely irrelevant to the discussion, and undermines the green party politician's character.

My theory is that he did to discredit the opponent party politician's opinion and her entire character to deflect the critique on the government's crisis handling policies, hence he used strategic sexism. To verify my point, I need to include the aftermath of the speech event: a huge public outrage followed Kövér's interview. The media thematized around his problematic statements for several days and it all happened in the middle of the first wave of the coronavirus pandemic. Yet only one news site mentioned Szabó's original opinion. Therefore in a way, Kövér's strategic sexism was

successful, the media did not mention his opponent's critique about the restrictions during the pandemic or about the healthcare system, they only covered his comments on the politician's gender. With the ad feminam he not only attacked his opponent but also held back the critical discussion about a crucial issue and also managed to influence the public discourse which eroded the transparency on public affairs.

III. Conclusions

In this chapter I am going to summarize my findings regarding this topic. But before that, it is important to mention that contrary to the original theory of the critical discussion, political debate does not aim for the resolution of a difference of opinion, but to persuade the audience (the voters). Therefore each communicative activity type has its own institutionalized rules on how to conclude a debate. Political actors using strategic maneuvering to maximize their rhetoric potential but sometimes they make mistakes while disregarding the logical reasonableness in their arguments. Sometimes disputants of the political debate intentionally make errors in their argumentation. I believe my case study proved my original thesis that politicians tend to use sexism strategically in their arguments to discredit their opponent and/or manipulate the public discourse. The publicly used ad feminam is not only an attack against the opponent but also against society itself. It sets back the reasonable discourse, hence erodes transparency in deliberative practices and normalizes discriminatory language.

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Application of metaheuristic procedures in different areas of logistics

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The aim of this study is to provide insight into the metaheuristic procedures used in logistics. Many logistics issues are extremely complex optimization problems that fall into the np-hard complexity class. Therefore, industry often employs metaheuristics, whose search strategies are usually inspired by physical or biological processes. The algorithms simulate the behavior of the selected phenomenon in the search area. Numerous algorithms based on different principles can help optimize the processes, for example: evolutionary methods (e.g Genetic Algorithm, Bacterial Evolutionary Algorithm, Memetic Algorithm, Differential Evolution Algorithm etc.), swarm intelligence methods (e.g Bacterial Foraging Optimization, Bat Algorithm, Bees Algorithm, Firefly Algorithm, etc.), population-based algorithms (e.g Cross-Entropy Method), behavioral pattern inspired procedures (e.g Cuckoo Search Algorithm, Harmony Search Algorithm) etc. According to my assumption, based on the problems and data of different aspects of logistics, it is possible to select the most efficient algorithm to find the right solution. There are plenty of logistics areas and problems where intelligent procedures have already been used, e.g., Genetic Algorithm and Particle Swarm Optimization for solving unconstrained multilevel lot-sizing problem with series structure [1]; hybrid algorithm of Genetic Algorithm and Ant Colony Optimization for solving supplier selection problem [2] or a Genetic Algorithm for solving multiple warehouse layout problem [3]. Clearly, due to the complexity of the tasks, metaheuristic procedures are increasingly used in logistics already. The study presents further examples of logistical applications in intelligent procedures.

Keywords: metaheuristic, logistics, algorithms, intelligent procedures

I. Introduction

Maximizing profits, minimizing lead times, increasing customer satisfaction, reducing inventory costs, and minimizing computing times are just some of the many reasons why improving optimization processes is key to a company's life. Due to the complex processes and tasks of supply chains, the use of increasingly important metaheuristics can be observed as one of the greatest successes of optimization research.

The field of production and logistics includes planning tasks at the strategic, tactical, and operational levels. These issues describe extremely complex optimization problems that the research considers to be difficult to solve. These belong to the "np-hard" complexity class. Therefore, industry often employs metaheuristics, whose search strategies are usually inspired by physical or biological processes. The algorithms simulate the behavior of the selected phenomenon in the search area.

There are plenty of metaheuristic algorithms and their numbers will only keep growing. In many cases, a combination of several algorithms (hybrid versions) can achieve optimal solution, so the number of procedures used is many times the metaheuristics that are underlying the procedures. [4] [5]

II. The best-known metaheuristics

Due to the rapid development of metaheuristics, several new methods appear in the literature every year. However, the new applicability of "older" metaheuristics, or the combined use of several procedures, can present a number of new and better optimization options. It is almost impossible to list all the metaheuristics that currently exist, but the best known are (without claiming completeness): Genetic Algorithm, Bacterial Evolutionary Algorithm, Memetic Algorithm, Cultural Algorithm, Differential Evolution, Bacterial Foraging, Bat Algorithm, Bees Algorithm, Firefly Algorithm, Particle Swarm Optimization, Krill Herd Method, Multi-Swarm Optimization, Ant Colony Systems, Cross-Entropy Method, Cuckoo Search Algorithm, Harmony Search, Monte-Carlo Algorithm, Artificial Immune System Algorithm, Nelder-Mead Algorithm, Random Search, Simulated Annealing, Scatter Search, Taboo Search, Greedy Randomized Adaptive Search, Adaptive Multisearch. (The aim of our paper is not to present the metaheuristics in more detail, nor to describe their functional and theoretical mechanisms, there are numerous scientific articles for that purpose.)

Metaheuristics can be grouped according to several aspects. One possible grouping (Talbi, 2009, but eg Liao and Li, 2020 reached a similar conclusion):

Single-Solution Based Metaheuristics:

- Local Search
- Simulated Annealing
 - Threshold Accepting
 - Record-to-Record Travel
 - Great Deluge Algorithm
 - Demon Algorithm
- Tabu Search
- Iterated Local Search
- Variable Neighborhood Search
- Guided Local Search
- Smoothing Methods

- Noisy Method
- Greedy Randomized Adaptive Search Procedure

Population-Based Metaheuristics:

- Evolutionary Algorithms
 - Genetic Algorithm
 - Evolution Strategies
 - Evolutionary Programming
 - Genetic Programming
 - Estimation of Distribution Algorithm
 - Differential Evolution
 - Coevolutionary Algorithm
 - Cultural Algorithm
- Scatter Search
 - Path Relinking
- Swarm Intelligence
 - Ant Colony Optimization Algorithms
 - Particle Swarm Optimization
- Bees Colony
- Artificial Immune System

The above are just a few examples of algorithms, there are metaheuristics for multiobjective optimization, hybrid and parallel metaheuristics, not to mention a combined version of different optimization methods, where the advantages of two or more methods can be used to arrive at the optimal solution. [6] [7] According to Maier et al. (2019) population-based evolutionary algorithms is one of the main and arguably most popular classes of metaheuristics. [8]

One of the biggest advantages of metaheuristics is that „the underlying search logic can be applied to any problem which can be decomposed into a few elementary aspects, namely solution representation, solution quality evaluation and some notion of locality.” (Swan et. al, 2022, p.394) [5]

III. Problems surrounding the industrial application of metaheuristics

Part of my doctoral research is about studying the metaheuristic procedures already properly used in logistics, with the help of which, I assume, a framework can be established between the type and data of the problem to be solved and the successfully applied procedure. There are thousands of researches and studies on the subject, and after reading hundreds of papers, it is still difficult to discover uniformity. One reason for this may be, which is already being recognized in the scientific community, is that papers, documents, described procedures, hybrid solutions related to existing metaheuristics are not being used properly by researchers, and in many cases, studies are being ignored and published as new procedures, despite the fact that these procedures had already been tested. A further disadvantage is that in many publications it is not clear which algorithm works best in a given optimization procedure and why, and it has not been checked whether the comparison with previous methods or other heuristics was appropriate. In addition, summary studies on the common features of the algorithms are missing, in many cases the published studies do not contain the information needed for adaptation, the source codes are not available, therefore in many cases there may be a “double

discovery” of a new procedure. All of these stands in the way of proper development in the field of metaheuristics and their applicability. [5]

To address these issues, a research community initiative called “Metaheuristics in the Large” (MitL) has emerged. The „MitL is a research community initiative (first introduced in Swan et al. (2015)) that seeks to address the lack of reuse at both conceptual and implementation levels. MitL is both a synthesis and extension of existing ideas dispersed throughout the literature, and simultaneously a project producing new software tools and exemplars to show how these problems can be overcome.” (Swan et al, 2022, p.394) [5]

Why is it important to have easy-to-understand, practical explanations and “instructions for use” in this area of science? While researchers deal with the theoretical backgrounds and studies of the methods, then compare them with other methods and deduce conclusions from it, it would be important for those working in industry to acquire skills for practical application without having to have expert knowledge.

Thus, there is a need to understand metaheuristic methods, to cover a wider range of applications, and to have more industrial applications. However, the first step is to close the gaps. My aim is to contribute to this in the future.

IV. Examples of application of metaheuristics to logistics

The application possibilities of metaheuristics are also gaining ground in the field of logistics. The inclusion of areas in the literature that have not previously used similar algorithms, or new procedures and algorithms that help to optimize even better, is constantly appearing in the literature. Below we provide an insight into the application of metaheuristics in logistics and some new methods.

IV.1. Metaheuristics of scheduling problems

Szöveg As the complexity of the supply chain increases, so does shop scheduling. According to Coelho and Silva (2021, p.778) „The results support that parallel metaheuristic have potential to tackle Industry 4.0 scheduling problems.” The paper collects the metaheuristics previously used for different shop configurations (Job Shop, Flexible Job Shop, Flow Shop, Flexible Flow Shop). The theory mentioned earlier, according to which there is no comprehensive collection of different methods (Swan et al., 2022), can also be seen in the first table of Coelho and Silva's paper: many researchers have dealt with metaheuristic methods used in shop configurations, applied for better optimization. It can be seen that an algorithm appears in several cases, so the question arises as to whether a completely new study was needed to solve the given problem, or there would have been an opportunity for adaptation. The following metaheuristics have been collected for shop scheduling:

- Artificial Bee Colony Algorithm
- Bat Algorithm
- Genetic Algorithm
- Greedy Randomized Adaptive Search Procedure
- Hybrid Bacterial Foraging Optimization Algorithm-Particle Swarm Optimization
- Hybrid Genetic Algorithm-Variable Neighborhood Search
- Hybrid Tabu Search-Genetic Algorithm
- Hybrid Tabu Search-Particle Swarm Optimization
- Hybrid Tabu Search-Population-Based Metaheuristics
- Hybrid Tabu Search-Simulating Annealing

- Iterated Local Search
- Simulating Annealing
- Tabu Search
- Variable Neighborhood Search

The most commonly used metaheuristics for shop scheduling is a genetic algorithm based on a study by Coelho and Silva (2021). [9]

Another logistical scheduling problem is the resource-constrained project scheduling problem (RCPSP), which is a „general problem in scheduling that has a wide variety of applications in manufacturing, production planning, project management, and various other areas.”. (Pellerin et al., 2020, p395) [10] A paper by Pellerin, Perrier, and Berthaut (2020) reviewed the metaheuristic procedures applied to RCPSP. Over the past 20 years, numerous variants of hybrid metaheuristics have been proposed for RCPSP, and 27 types of metaheuristics have been identified for the design of RCPSP hybrids, which have been classified into three classes (Table 1) [10]:

Table 1: Metaheuristics have been proposed for RCPSP. [10]

Local search metaheuristics	Population-based	Learning metaheuristics
Adaptive large neighborhood search	Ant colony optimization	Neural network
Filter-and-Fan	Artificial immune	
Greedy randomized adaptive search procedure	Bee colony optimization	
Large neighborhood search	Differential evolution algorithm	
Local search	Electromagnetism	
Nested partitions	Estimation of distribution	
Simulated annealing	Evolutionary algorithm	
Tabu search	Evolutionary programming	
Variable neighborhood search	Firefly algorithm	
	Genetic algorithm	
	Memetic algorithm	
	Particle swarm optimization	
	Population learning	
	Shuffle frog-leaping	
	Scatter search	
	Termite colony optimization	

Reference: Pellerin R, Perrier N and Berthaut F [2020]

IV.2. Recent metaheuristics of decision-making processes

One of the most important goals of expert and intelligent systems is to automate decision-making processes. Obviously, this is a difficult task, as there are many variables and influencing factors besides human experience and intuition that can help the processes. Decision making is essentially an optimization problem, which can pave the way to metaheuristic algorithms. Genetic Algorithms, Particle Swarm Optimization, and Ant Colony Optimization have also been used for this type of problem. Recent metaheuristics include the Imperialist Competitive

Algorithm (ICA), which has successfully solved a variety of complex, practical operations. Improved versions of this (FAEICA: fuzzy adaptive and enhanced ICA and MOFAEICA: multi-objective FAEICA) and their theoretical success in Multimodal Single and Multi-Objective Optimization Problems are presented in the study by Keivanian and Chiong (2021). These fuzzy-metaheuristic approaches are perfect examples of pairing different procedures for better results. [11]

IV.3. Additional new discoveries

Metaheuristic algorithms are methods that provide robust performance, adaptability, and flexibility to solve optimization problems. In practice, the tasks of algorithms can be divided into 2 major search procedures: the first is exploration, which operates in the whole area, and the second is exploitation, which examines a local part of the search space. [12] These include the following: „the majority of such algorithms are inspired by collective intelligence and foraging of creatures in nature.”. (Abdollahzadeh et al., 2021) Abdollahzadeh et al. (2021) propose a new metaheuristic, the African Vultures Optimization Algorithm (AVOA), inspired by the lifestyle of African vultures: a procedure that simulates their foraging and navigational behavior.

The use of metaheuristics to solve various search problems, and its continuous and discrete optimization has dramatically increased, and is leading to the discovery of many new methods. In recent years, a rapid pace has also been observed; some new procedures from recent years (2014-2021):

- Grey Wolf Optimizer
- Spider Monkey Optimization Algorithm
- Prey-predator Algorithm
- Whale Optimization Algorithm
- Galactic Swarm Optimization
- Crow Search Algorithm
- Inclined Planes System Optimization
- Artificial Butterfly Optimization
- Farmland Fertility Algorithm
- Queuing Search Algorithm
- Pity Beetle Algorithm
- Self-adaptive Fruit Fly Optimizer
- Arithmetic Optimization Algorithm
- Gradient-based Optimizer
- Tunicate Swarm Algorithm
- Water strider algorithm
- Jellyfish Search
- Artificial Lizard Search Optimization
- Honey Badger Algorithm [13] [14] [15] [16] [17] [18]

It can be seen that the range of algorithms is expanding year by year, and this is sure to continue in the future. Not only will the number of “simple” algorithms increase dramatically, but so will hybrid processes, as more and more studies prove that hybrid solutions „display higher success

in finding new areas as well as exhibiting a more balanced performance while in the exploration and exploitation phases.” (Seyyedabbasi et al., 2021) compared to classical approaches. [19]

V. Conclusions and future work

The aim of our paper is to provide insight into the applicability of the new procedures in the field of metaheuristics, highlighting the field of logistics.

In metaheuristics, the understanding, practical applicability and adaptation of procedures are very complex. For optimization problems, more people recommend metaheuristic methods than other methods, due to four factors:

1. Metaheuristic algorithms are inspired by the processes of nature, so their implementation may be easier for IT professionals.
2. Algorithms are flexible and therefore able to solve various optimization problems without structural change.
3. Most metaheuristic procedures do not require special derivation because the optimization problem is solved by random solutions.
4. Compared to traditional methods, metaheuristic methods avoid local optimality.

However, it is important to emphasize in these procedures that they do not guarantee the optimal solution, they “only” provide acceptable solutions. [13]

An additional and ongoing challenge is the industrial application of metaheuristics to solve specific, real engineering tasks. Fortunately, several studies deal with the evaluation of algorithms on design problems (e.g., Gupta et al., 2021; Bottani et al. 2021; Cano et al., 2020; Cortés et al., 2017) and the results are generally encouraging, proving the algorithms’ applicability to real problems. [20] [21] [22] [23]

My goal is to identify additional logistics areas that are suitable for the use of metaheuristic procedures, and to continuously investigate the algorithms and explore additional opportunities and gaps related to their application.

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Moisture Content Impact on Wooden Structures

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Wooden structures show great durability and strength under optimum conditions, but the aging process of them proves to be faster than in the case of other construction materials. One of the most important influencing factors of the timber damage is the moisture content (MC); the change of it leads to shrinkage and swelling of the material associated with changes in the physical and mechanical properties of the wood. The continuous, increased moisture content can enhance the growth of fungi on the surface of the timber material.

The aim of the present research was to find a relation between the moisture content of the wood and its structural behaviour.

Moisture content and climate condition data (indoor and outdoor temperature and relative humidity) have been collected in two different sites. Samples from various elements of the structure have been taken and have been analysed by scanning electron microscopy (SEM). The first site was the Civil Community House (Civil Közösségek Háza, Pécs, Szent István square), where the wooden roof of the house has been studied. The MC measurements were performed during four seasons. The second structure was the Makovecz lookout tower (Makovecz Imre-kilátó, Budapest). The measurements on the tower covered only the summer and autumn period. Based on the collected data from the first site, and performing SEM measurements, it could be concluded that the lack of the sealing was translated into higher exposure to temperature (T) and relative humidity (RH) changes, thus to high MC fluctuations. With the change of the RH and T, the equilibrium moisture content (EMC) value changed as well. The measured MC values differed from the EMC in all seasons, thus the presence of the re-acclimatization process to the new EMC was continuous. Thus, the wooden cells kept absorbing and releasing water to reach the EMC point, which combined with the volume changing, caused the appearance of cracks and high deflection. From the results of the present study, it could be concluded that the damage of structural elements was affected by the changing of the climate conditions, too.

The second chosen site showed that the renovated wooden structures resist in a better way to the changing of the climate conditions. The data collected during the summer and autumn period showed that most of the wooden structural elements, which formed the stairs, had MC values less than 6% what means that the paint-treated wooden material protected the wooden cells from water. However, the columns, which are the primary structural parts carrying the main load of the tower, showed 11.5-14% MC value as an average, therefore they were more exposed to the effect of water.

Keywords: Climate change, Temperature, Relative humidity, Moisture content, Timber, Scanning electron microscopy (SEM)

I. Introduction

I.1. Timber as structural material

Protection against wind, rain, and cold has been a very basic need for humanity since ancient times. Thus, the best solution for building shelters and small houses was to use timber. Nowadays, the wood stock volume around the world is estimated to be 556.5 billion m³, which is a 13.5% increase in wood consumption compared to the last decades [1]. The high durability of the wood, the easy installation on the site, the easy replacement of the damaged pieces due to the simple wood connections, the carbon-capture benefits, the improved indoor air quality make wood one of the mostly used construction materials besides cement even today [2, 3].

Today, timber is used mainly in two structural systems: lightweight timber frame systems and large-scale timber systems. The lightweight timber frame system is used generally for small houses, multi-storey residential buildings and commercial buildings with short spans. The large-scale timber system is used for bridges, industrial buildings and parking decks. Both systems are stable against wind and earthquake loads, vertical loads, and can be equipped with thermal and sound insulation system [2]. Besides the many advantages of timber, it has some disadvantages as well, and the most important is the vulnerability to aging factors. Being a natural material, it is directly affected by the environmental conditions. Other important disadvantages are the frequent need of evaluation and renovation to prevent formation of cracks, splits, and biological threats like insects and fungal decay [4, 5]. Many current studies deals with the life-time extension of timber by creating new materials, like timber concrete composite sections, fiber reinforced plastic sheets, and cross-laminated timber [5, 6].

I.2. Climate characteristics

A local climate study, in addition to a basic understanding of the impacts of climatic factors on timber, is required to understand climate interaction with wooden elements. The measurements were taken on two different sites in Hungary: Pécs and Budapest. Thus, Table 1 shows the main climate characteristics in each region depending on the classification made by the Hungarian climatologist György Péczely and the data collected by the “Royal Hungarian Central Institute of Meteorological and Earth Magnetism (OMSZ)” [7].

Table 1: General climate characteristics in each region

Factors	Region	
	Pécs	Budapest
General description	moderately warm-dry	moderately warm-dry
Annual mean temperature	10 - 11 °C	10 - 12.5 °C
Warmest month	July (temperature ranging between 27 - 30 °C)	August (temperature ranging between 27 - 31 °C)
Coldest month	January (temperature ranging between -4 - 1 °C)	January (temperature ranging between -4 - 1 °C)
Annual precipitation	650 - 700 mm	450 - 550 mm
Wind description	moderate windy region (annual wind speed region ranging between 2-3 m/s)	moderate windy region (annual wind speed region ranging between 2-3 m/s)
Annual sunshine duration	1850 - 2000 hour	1950 - 2100 hour

I.3. Moisture content and timber structures

Wood is classified as a hygroscopic material, therefore the timber damages are attributed to the surrounding climate conditions. The moisture content (MC) amount in the wooden elements is directly related to the climate conditions expressed primarily by temperature (T) and relative humidity (RH). The relationship between the MC and T and RH can be described with the aid of empirical models, as for example the Simpson equation is, described as follows [8]:

$$U_{EMC} = \frac{1800}{M_p} \times \frac{\left(\frac{K_1 \times H}{1 - K_1 \times H} + (K_1 \times K_2 \times H + 2K_1^2 \times K_2 \times K_3 \times H^2)\right)}{(1 + K_1 \times K_2 \times H + K_1^2 \times K_2 \times K_3 \times H^2)} \quad (1)$$

In which M_p , K_1 , K_2 , K_3 depend on T:

$$M_p = 349 + 1.29 \times T + 1.35 \times 10^{-2} \times T^2 \quad (2)$$

$$K_1 = 0.805 + 7.36 \times 10^{-4} \times T - 2.73 \times 10^{-6} \times T^2 \quad (3)$$

$$K_2 = 6.27 - 9.38 \times 10^{-3} \times T - 3.03 \times 10^{-4} \times T^2 \quad (4)$$

$$K_3 = 1.91 + 4.07 \times 10^{-4} \times T - 2.93 \times 10^{-6} \times T^2 \quad (5)$$

Where U_{EMC} and H are the equivalent moisture content and relative humidity values of the wooden element, respectively. The effect of the MC on timber can be seen in forms of cracks, splits and appearance changes on the wooden surface, like ring shakes, surface peeling and whitening or discolouring of the wooden surface. Moreover if a wooden element shows high MC value, combining with T higher than 23°C and RH above 42%, the chance of forming fungi on the wooden element will be increased, increasing the wood degradation as well [9, 10].

II. Methodology

II.1. Civil Community House

The Civil Community House dates back to the 19th century. It's located in Pécs at Szent István square. From its construction in the early 19th century until today, the house has passed through four renovation stages. These renovations were made on the whole structure except the roof level; thus, the originality is still preserved [11]. The roof level nowadays is used as a storage area. Figure 1 shows the exterior facade of the house.



Figure 1: The exterior facade of the Civil Community House

II.2. Measurements on the Civil Community House

The measurements have been performed on the non-renovated roof of the building, which went through many climate factor changes since its construction. An analysis of the meteorological data over the last 120 years, collected by OMSZ, was performed. The analysis focused on the yearly maximum and minimum temperature values, the number of heat and frost days, and the precipitation amount (see Figure 3) [12].

The on-site measurements had three main stages:

- a. visual inspection, which gave a general view on the timber roof status, assessed damages and cracks in the structural elements
- b. T, RH and MC measurements, using a Kimo AQ200 device for the measurement of the indoor and outdoor T and RH, and using a Testo 606-1 device for the MC measurements
- c. small pieces (of several mm) were collected from different structural elements to visualize the effects of the MC in the wood cell walls; and relate them to the level of damage of the roof elements by changing the MC level in them from 0% to 24%; and check the effect using a TESCAN VEGA 3S type scanning electron microscope

The second stage measurements took over one year long period. Daily/weekly visits have been arranged to the roof; however, visiting hours were limited because of COVID 19.

II.3. Makovecz Imre Lookout Tower

The Makovecz Imre Tower is a lookout tower in the second district of Budapest, at the top of Kis-Hárs-hegy, on the border of Kurucles and Lipótmező districts. It was built in 1977, and it was renovated twice. The first renovation was from 2006 to 2008, the second was in 2018 by removing the railings, strengthening the supporting structure resting on the central iron column, placing more stable railings, and repainting the tower [13]. Figure 2 shows the tower.



Figure 2: Makovecz Imre Lookout Tower

II.4. Measurements on the Makovecz Imre Lookout Tower

The measurement process had three stages:

- analysing the meteorological data over the last 120 years, collected by OMSZ for Budapest Region
- visual inspection stage, which gave a general view on the timber elements of the tower and assessed damages and cracks in the structural elements
- T, RH and MC measurements, using a Kimo AQ200 device to measure T and RH, and using a Testo 606-1 device to measure the MC

The measurements were done during two seasons: summer and autumn. The measurements were performed three times per month due to the difficult access to the site.

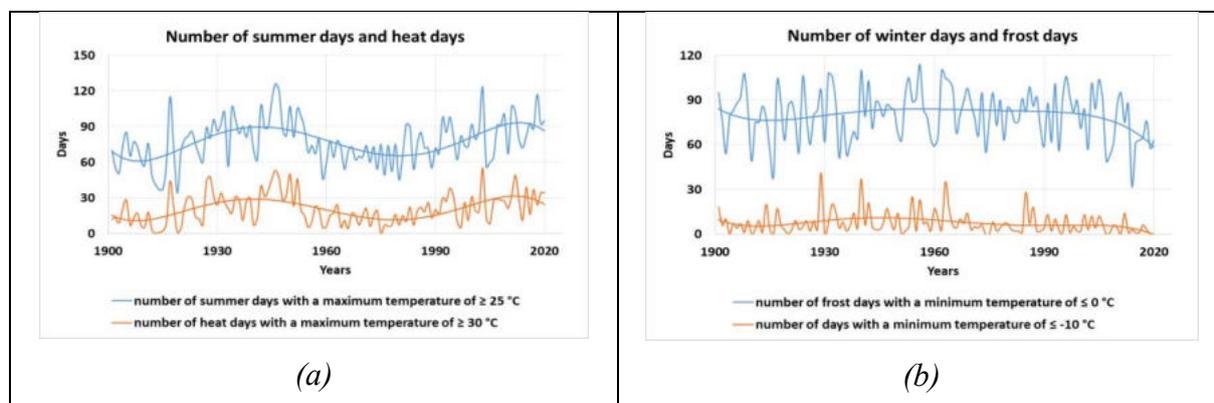
III. Results

III.1. Civil community house results

III.1.1. Meteorological analytical study results

In order to understand the meteorological data several climate factors are shown graphically (see Figure 3). The graphs show that throughout the previous 120 years the number of summer days per year and heat days per year has been fluctuating. The graph of the number of summer days versus years reveals a wavy pattern with periods ranging from 30 to 40 years. A summer day is defined as a day with a temperature greater than 25°C, and a heat day is defined as a day with temperature greater than 30°C.

The graph showing the number of winter days versus years shows a significant drop beginning in 2002, indicating a fall in the number of cold winter days with at least 5 days compared to the minimal amount in 1916. A winter day is one with a minimum temperature of less than 0°C. As a result of the graphs combination, it can be concluded that shorter winter periods can be expected over the next 10-20 years, which can be attributed to global warming. The maximum and minimum temperature measurements do not exhibit a distinct upward or downward trend. The precipitation amount graph shows a significant change in precipitation values after the year 2000, with exceptional precipitation quantities recorded: the highest value was recorded in 2010 for Pécs, with a value of 980.5 mm. The analysis of meteorological data reveals that the Civil Community House had to endure a massive fluctuation of numerous climate conditions during the last 120 years. These oscillations cause deterioration of the wood due to processes such as volume change, moisture content change, UV radiation exposure, and rainwater wetting.



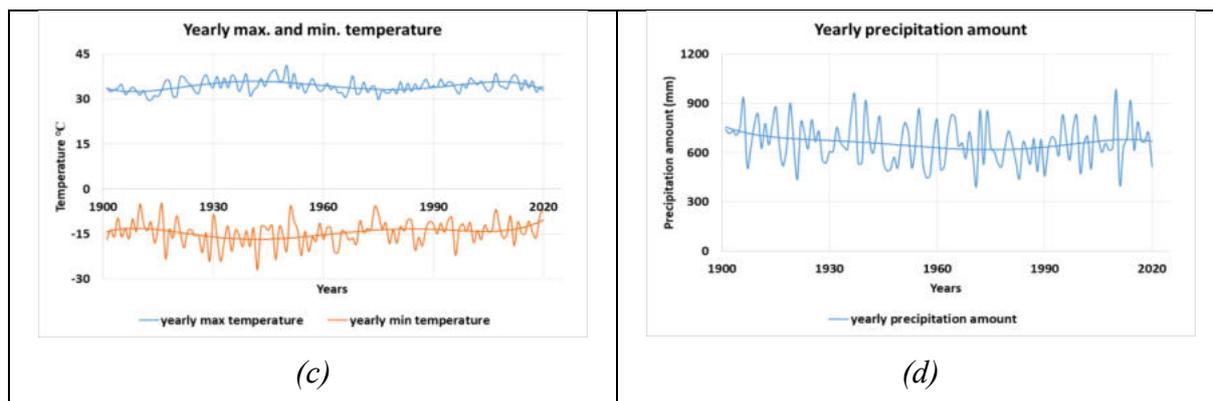


Figure 3: Meteorological study of Pécs over 120 years: a – number of summer days and heat days, b – number of winter days and frost days, c – yearly maximum and minimum temperatures, d– yearly precipitation amount for Pécs area

III.1.2. On-site measurements results

The on-site measurement process started with an accurate visual inspection of the structural elements of the roof, combined with the structural plan that was collected from the management office of the house. The wooden roof was built as a queen post truss system, in order to reduce the cost and to cover the large area of the floor, which is around 190 m². The roof is supported by a single brick wall in the centre. The plan view of the roof has a U shape. Most of the used wood are pine (*pinus silvestris*). Figure 4 shows the sectional view of the roof.

Many defects are revealed by this stage, like surface cracks, fungal growth and ring shakes (see Figure 5). These defects are referring mainly to two reasons: wood aging and MC change due to the climate change cycles. Columns are the mostly damaged elements, and the wooden surface becomes more faded when the elements have higher elevations.

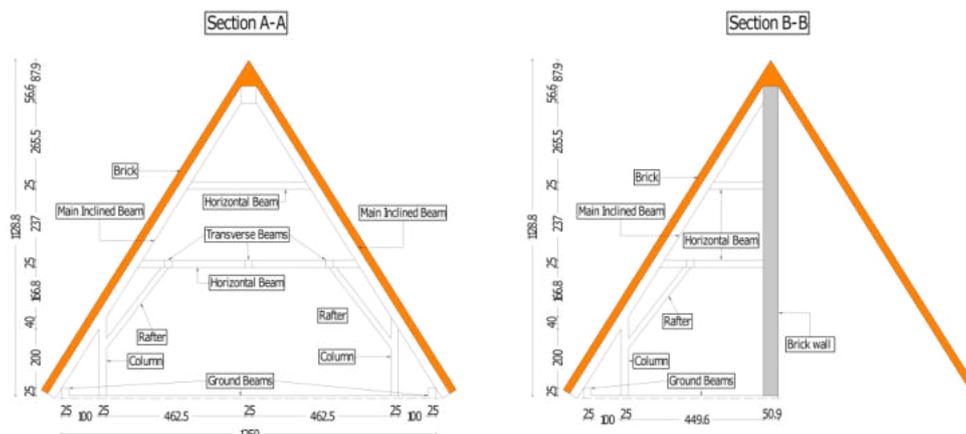


Figure 4: Sectional view of the roof

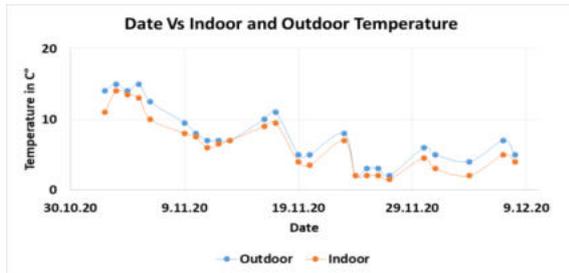
*(a)**(b)*

Figure 5: Wood defects: a – surface crack, b – fungal growth

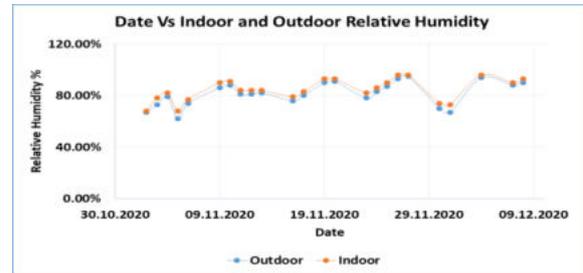
The second stage of the measurements started in July in the summer season, and it took one year. MC values were calculated as the average of the MC values along the element (3-5 spots along the element have been measured with three measurements in the same spot). The measurements were made on both damaged and undamaged elements. Table 2 is summarizing the results in summer, autumn, winter, and spring seasons. The autumn measurements results as examples are also shown in Figure 6. The autumn period temperatures, ranging between 2-15 °C show a difference of 1-2°C between indoor and outdoor values, while RH values increase up to 60-95% with a difference of 10-14% between indoor and outdoor values. Beams MC values ranged between 13-18%, rafters and columns values ranged between 16-24%. Autumn measurements showed similar tendencies to summer, the MC changes did not follow the daily RH values, however the average values shown similar increasing and decreasing tendencies as the average of the indoor and outdoor RH (see Figure 6c).

Table 2: On-site measurements, stage two results

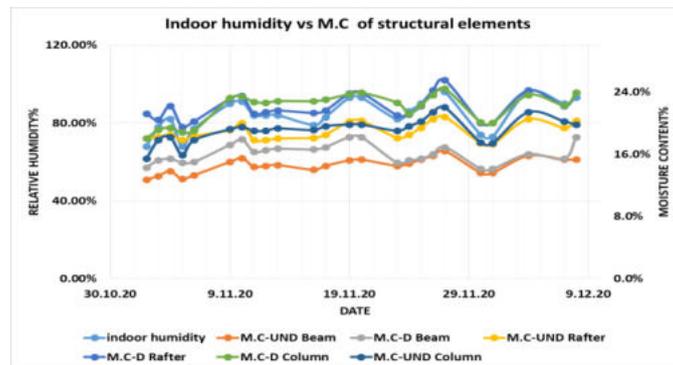
	Summer	Autumn	Winter	Spring
$T_{\text{Outdoor}} \text{ } ^\circ\text{C}$	18-30	2-15	-4-14	2-33
$\Delta(T_{\text{Outdoor}} - T_{\text{indoor}}) \text{ } ^\circ\text{C}$	+(1 to 2)	+(1 to 2)	+(2 to 3)	+(2 to 3)
$RH_{\text{Outdoor}} \text{ } \%$	35-80	60-95	50-98	30-95
$\Delta(RH_{\text{Outdoor}} - RH_{\text{indoor}}) \text{ } \%$	-(7 to 11)	-(10 to 14)	-(2 to 4)	-(1 to 3)
$MC_{\text{Beams}} \text{ } \%$	10-14	13-18	11-18	9-22
$MC_{\text{Rafters}} \text{ } \%$	10-14	16-24	13-25	13-25
$MC_{\text{Columns}} \text{ } \%$	10-14	16-24	13-25	13-25
Notes	Fluctuations of T and RH are followed very slowly by changes in MC values		MC values followed the fluctuations of T and RH for all the elements	



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 6: On-site autumn measurements: a - date vs. indoor and outdoor temperature, b - date vs indoor and outdoor relative humidity, c – indoor humidity vs MC of structural elements

The third stage included collecting different sample: girders, columns, inclined and horizontal bracing, damaged and undamaged, lightened or not by sun. The aim of this stage was to visualize the effect of the MC on the wooden cells by measuring the size of the cells at different MC values. The classification values of the MC were defined according to Eurocode 5 [14]. Three classes have been defined: class 1, where MC is equal to 0 – 12%; class 2, where MC is between 12-20% and class 3, where MC is higher than 20%, at a temperature of 20°C (room temperature).

Figure 7 shows the SEM images of a wooden sample taken from a damaged girder, lightened by the sun. Figure 7a shows the sample with zero MC and the horizontal wall thickness of an average of 4.3 μm, and Figure 7b shows the sample with a moisture content of 12.7% with the horizontal wall thickness of an average of 7.7 μm. The increase in the MC is translated directly into an increase in the walls thickness. It was noticed that damaged elements were more affected by increasing the MC and it was easier to detect the increase in the wall thickness.

The water absorption capacity of the wood depends on the type of the wood and the structural condition of the sample, where damaged and cracked elements can absorb more water. Figure 8 shows three samples: S1 – girder, damaged, sun lightened, S9 – column, undamaged, not sun lightened and S11 – horizontal bracing, undamaged, not lightened by the sun. S1 had a wall thickness that kept increasing with the MC, but S9 and S11 showed, that the cells reached their limit of water absorption capacity and the value of the wall thickness was approximately the same between the 2nd and the 3rd classes. When the volume of the wooden cells increases, new cracks can be developed, and the continuously absorbed water creates a humid environment for fungi growth. Both effects will have a high negative impact on the mechanical, physical, and thermal properties of the wood.

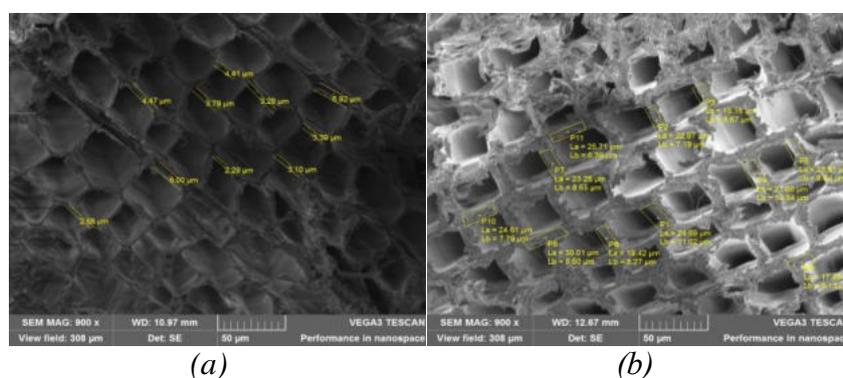


Figure 7: Wood sample 1 analyzed with SEM. a – MC=0%, b – MC=12.7%

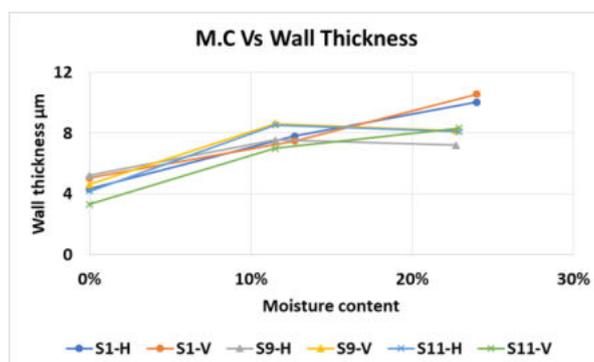


Figure 8: MC vs wall thickness (H-horizontal wall, V-vertical wall)

The on-site measurements showed that the main damages in the wooden elements of the roof happened during the spring and winter seasons. That is because there is high fluctuation in RH and T values, keeping the elements absorbing and releasing water, adapting the surrounding climate conditions and reaching the equivalent moisture content point (EMC). This process indicates that the wooden cell size will keep changing (shrink and swell) as shown in SEM measurements, what will generate new internal stresses causing new cracks and splits.

III.2. Makovecz Imre Lookout Tower results

III.2.1. Meteorological analytical study results

The same climate factors were analysed for Budapest region (see Figure 9). The graphs show that the climate of Budapest has fluctuated throughout the previous 120 years, but it shows a higher stability than the Pécs climate. Unlike in Pécs, the average number of summer days has been increasing since 1975. Thus a longer summer period can be expected in the next 20 years. The graph showing the number of winter days versus year shows a significant drop beginning in 1999, and the last increasing period of the number of winter days ended in 1930. That shows clearly that Budapest is affected by global warming more than Pécs. This is explained by the nature of Budapest, which became as an industrial region more than Pécs. The precipitation amount graph shows that the yearly precipitation amount started to increase after the year 1990, but as the average yearly amount value of Budapest is less by 100-150 mm per year comparing to Pécs.

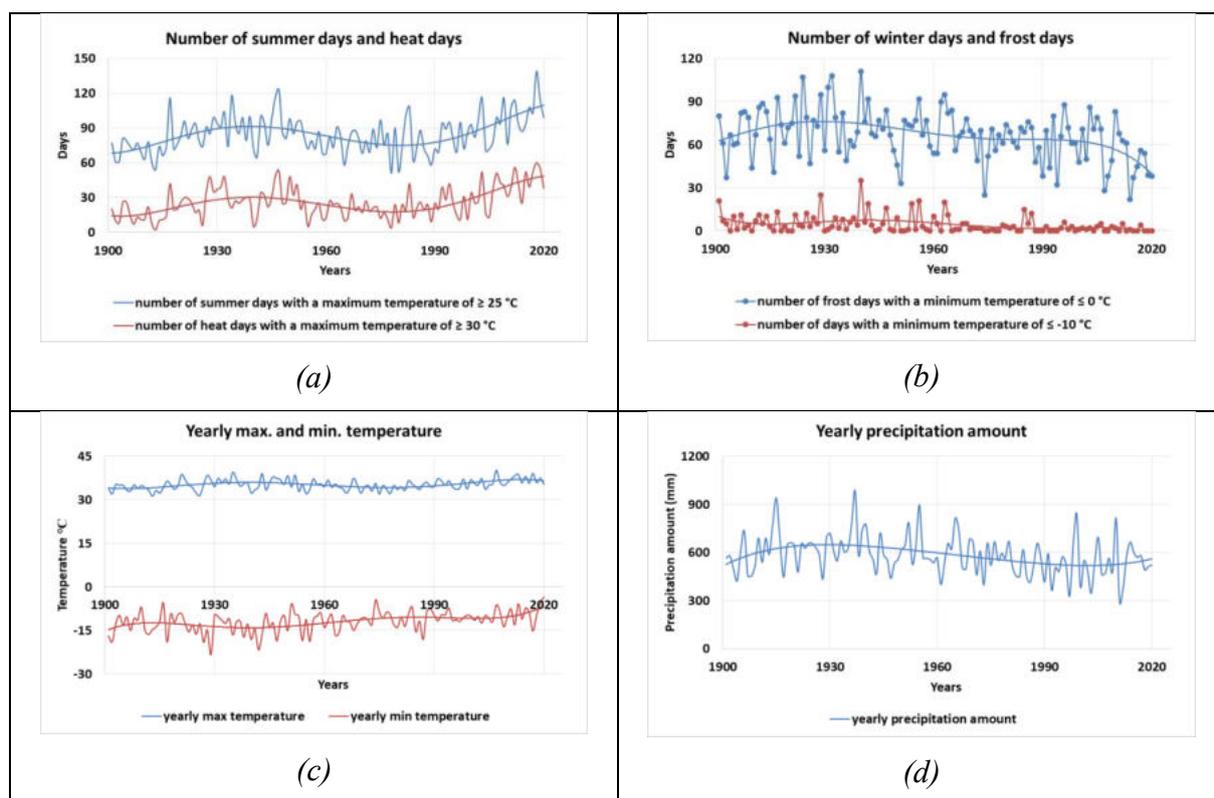


Figure 9: Meteorological study of Budapest over 120 years: a – number of summer days and heat days, b – number of winter days and frost days, c – yearly maximum and minimum temperatures, d – yearly precipitation amount for Budapest area

III.2.2. On site measurements results

The visual inspection stage shows that the tower is in great condition. The stairs thickness was around 25 cm, the width ranged from 20-30 cm and the length was ranging from (90-105) cm, since the stairs have a helix form, the column cross section was 12x12 cm². The appearance of the wooden surface is still in good condition and has a good colour because the surface is protected by paint. In fact, the colour of the surface starts to be more faded when the element is away from the centre toward the fence. This tendency in the colour referred to sunlight because the outer part is lightened more than the inner part. Some cracks can be found as well in different locations of the tower. The main reasons behind these cracks are the environmental load (rain and wind), and live load due to the people movement (see Figure 10).



Figure 10: Cracks in the Makovecz Imre lookout tower

The T, RH, and MC measurements were done in the summer and autumn seasons. The results reflect the good condition of the wooden elements in the tower. The procedure of measurements was performed by hitting each wooden element at 10 different spots along its length and recording the average values. The main measured elements were the columns, stairs, and fences. Each one is categorized into five parts from the top to the bottom. The process is shown in Figure 11.

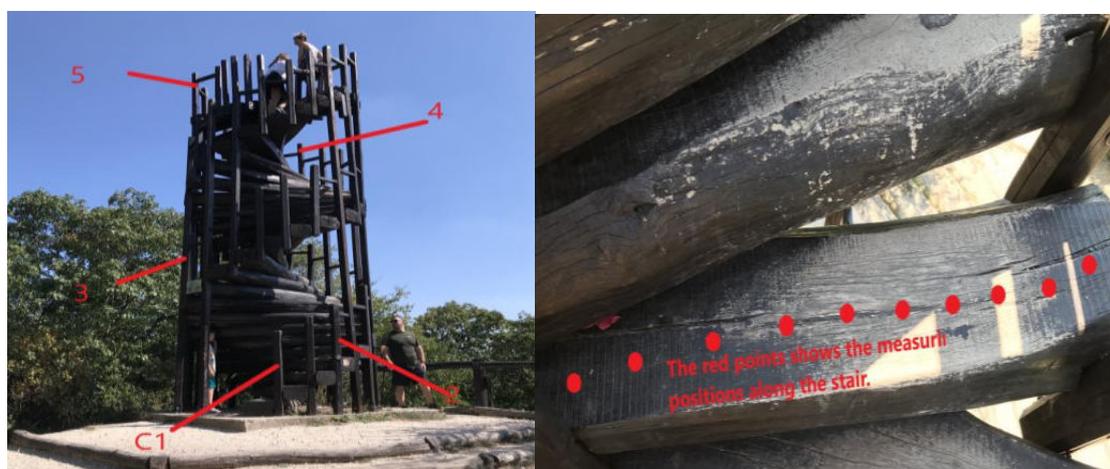


Figure 11: On-site measurement process in the lookout tower

In the summer the stairs and fences recorded values on the device Testo 606-1 below the measuring limit, even if the device was plugged in the cracks in order to reach deeper points. This means the MC is less than 6%. The columns MC values ranged between 10-12%. Higher columns have greater MC values. In autumn period, the columns had a higher range of MC value, in the range of 13-18%, while the stairs recorded values varied in the range of 9-12%. The 12% value was recorded when the device was plugged into the cracks of the stairs. At fences small values were recorded that varied in the range of 8-10%. Since the tower is renovated in 2018 that explained the low values of the MC in the elements. Moreover the painted layer on the surface protects the wooden elements from the climate changes and surrounding conditions. These results reflect the importance of the frequent evaluation and renovation.

IV. Conclusion

The applied strategies for preserving historical and heritage constructions are dependent on the originally applied materials and the elements damage. The Civil Community House's timber roof needs an urgent repair. According to the obtained meteorological data, the roof experienced numerous climate factor fluctuations, resulting in mechanical and physical degradation of the structural parts. The visual assessment and seasonal on-site observations combined with the meteorological data over 120 years gave a realistic view on the relation between the climate conditions and the actual state of the building. The difference between the two buildings is evident, and although the tower is exposed to climate conditions the wooden elements are in good condition, thanks to the periodic renovation and rehabilitation, and choosing the appropriate painting layer to protect the wooden surfaces.

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Predictors Of Turnover Intention: Generational Perspective

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Abstract

Turnover is very well covered topic, companies and researchers are also motivated to discover all his aspects because it is very costly. In addition to replacement fees, there are hidden costs such as productivity loss, workplace safety issues, and moral damage (O'Connel and Kung, 2007; Hancock et al., 2011; Shown, Johnson and Lockhardt, 2005). This study of employee turnover has attempted to explain why employees leave and how to prevent the drain of employee talent, focusing on a generational perspective (Mannheim).

We examined employees (N=609) from different Hungarian companies and data were collected using an online questionnaire (turnover intention, job satisfaction, demographic questions, qualitative questions). We examined data by One way ANOVA and linear regression. One way analysis of variances detected the differences among the three cohorts in the relation of intention to leave and general job satisfaction. Step wised linear regression analysis was performed examining each cohort to generate different models of predictors of turnover intention.

Results suggest that every generation (X, Y and Z) has a specific pattern of factors which determines their intention to leave. The primary determinant factor for employees of Z (1996-2007) generation is contingency rewards. The nature of work well predicts the turnover intention in case of workers of the Y (1982-1995) generation. In the case of the X (1965-1981) generation, promotion, the nature of work and supervision might predict the intention to leave of employees.

The exploration of different elements of job-satisfaction as predictors of turnover can give support for HR workers, and company leaders manage the team in a multidimensional way. This method is adaptable and might be useable for large companies to planning the employee engagement strategy and find the primary predictors of different employee groups.

Keywords: generations, employee turnover, job satisfaction, predictors

I. Problem statement

Employee turnover is a very well covered topic since the 50s (March and Simon,1958). Companies and researchers are also motivated to discover all the relevant aspects of turnover because it is very costly. In addition to replacement fees, there are hidden costs such as productivity loss, workplace safety issues, and moral damage (O'Connell and Kung, 2007). Hancock's (2011) research showed a negative correlation between turnover intention rates and organizational performance, and came to the conclusion that this association is higher when corporate performance is operationalized in terms of customer service. A growing body of research has begun to study the potential consequences that turnover may have on organizational performance, such as effects on profits, revenues, customer service, scrap rates, and other firm performance outcomes. (Detert, Treviño, Burris, & Andiappan, 2007; Hausknecht & Trevor, 2011)

The effects and predictors of turnover intention are varied by different aspects such as industry or geographical location. One of this determinant aspect might be the age of the employee (Kowske, Rash and Wiley, 2010; Cassidy and Berube 2009; Dudley et al. 2009; Davis et al. 2006). The members of different generations may have diverse motivations, values and expectations regarding their jobs and workplaces. Employers should identify the separate characteristics of each generation present in their workplace and foster a work environment that aids productivity and well-being for every generations (Kapoor and Solomon, 2011).

II. Aim of the research, research questions/hypothesis

This study of employee turnover has attempted to explain why employees leave and how to prevent the drain of employee talent, focusing on a generational perspective. The purpose of this study is twofold. Firstly, we are interested, if there are any differences between X, Y, and Z generation employees in terms of turnover intention and global job satisfaction. Secondly, we aimed to identify predictors of turnover intention among the different generations. More precisely, we plan to explore, how the different elements of job satisfaction (Spector, 1997) predict turnover intentions of employees from different age groups.

III. Theoretical foundations

III.1. Turnover and Job satisfaction

Turnover intentions refer to an individual predisposition toward a plan to leave the current workplace (Bester, 2012). These predispositions are the final step in the decision-making process before an employee leaves the company (Hom, Griffeth and Salaro, 1984), so the recovery of the predictions could be the last chance to retain a valuable employee.

Job-satisfaction is an attitude or orientation which focuses on employee orientations toward their work and organization, and turnover refers to actual movement across the membership boundary of an organization (Price, 1977). Several studies have discussed the relationship between satisfaction and turnover intention (Mobley et al.,1979; Cotton and Tuttle,1986). Job satisfaction was found one of the most critical determinants of turnover intention (Currivan,

1999). Sheridan (1992) found that many organizational practices affect the level of turnover intention, like promotion and salary.

III.2. Generation theory

Generation membership and generational cohort are based on the shared position of an age-group in historical time (Mannheim 1952; Ryder 1965, Strauss and Howe, 2002). They go through significant life events (starting school, the same educational system, looking for the first job, having kids, retirement, etc.) about the same time and age. Further, they experience more significant social changes (e.g. economic crises, wars or technological advances) commonly. At the same time, they aren't a homogenous mass; they have unique personal experiences, traits and environment, so we should not be overly generalizing people in the same generation cohort. All this together, studies show some differences in work attitudes between generations (Cassidy and Berube 2009; Dudley et al. 2009; Davis et al. 2006) Strauss and Howe (1999, 2000) made theoretical descriptions about the specific values of the generations. Twenge et al. (2012) found in a cross-temporal study that Millennials tend to place more significance on extrinsic values (e.g. money, fame) and that civic engagement (e.g. interest in social problems, trust in government) has decreased across generations. In a sample of hospitality workers, a cross-sectional study found that Millennials value the work environment more than Boomers and Gen Xers (Chen and Choi 2007). Hatak et al. (2015) observed that younger employees were more likely to be entrepreneurial than older employees. In contrast, some research argues against generational differences. Cucina's research (2018) show the lack of sizable differences across cohorts. The differences between generations were also relatively small and depended on the work attitude in the study of Kowske, Eash and Wiley (2010).

IV. Methodology

IV.1. Sample

The sample of this study was drawn from employees (N=609) from different Hungarian companies. We collected data with an anonymous online questionnaire including different instruments (demographic questions, employee satisfaction, turnover intention and perceived level of work-related stress). During the data collection, we focused on involving adults with relevant employee experiences, who participated voluntarily in the research.

The participants ranged in age from 18 to 65 years, with an average age of 35,3 years old (SD=11,3). The gender ratio in our sample was 318 (52%) women and 293 (48%) men. Participants were born between 1996 and 2014 (generation Z) represented 21,3% (N=130). Those who were born between 1980 and 1995 (generation Y) represented 40,2% (N=245). The X generation (born between 1966-1979) represented 32,6% (N=199). The number of participants who could be labelled as Baby Boomers (born before 1946) was relatively low (N=36) in our sample, therefore we decided to exclude this generational cohort from our analyses.

IV.2. Measures

Turnover-intention was measured with the short form of Turnover Intention Scale (the intention to leave or stay), TIS-6, which contains six items (Bothma and Roodt, 2013). This questionnaire is a reliable and valid scale to assess turnover intentions and can, therefore, be

used in research to predict actual turnover. It could significantly distinguish between leavers and stayers. (Bothma and Roodt, 2013)

We used the Job Satisfaction Scale by Spector (JSS) (1997) to measure work-related satisfaction among employees. It consists of 36 items, including 9 component scales. The questionnaire is used to assess the varying employee attitudes which they hold in relevance to different aspects of their jobs, like pay, promotion, supervision, benefits, rewards, operating procedures, co-workers, work itself and communication.

To create generational groups, we used the cohort adapted to Hungary (Bokor, 2007; Joshi, 2011; Soulez, 2011) to split the sample based on age.

V. Analysis

V.1. Analytic Methods

We examined data by One way ANOVA and linear regression. One way analysis of variances detected the differences among the three cohorts in the relation of intention to leave and general job satisfaction. Step wise linear regression analysis was performed examining each cohort to generate different models of predictors of turnover intention. The analysis was performed using IBM SPSS Statistics 25.

Generational differences in case of intention to leave and job satisfaction

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare the three generations on the level of turnover intention and on the level of general job satisfaction. The analysis of variances showed that the effect of generation on the level of turnover intention ($F(3,606) = 2,6$, $p > 0,05$) and on the level of job satisfaction ($F(3,606) = 0,6$, $p > 0,5$) wasn't significant.

Job satisfaction factors as predictors of intention to leave

After restricting our sample to the members of a given (X, Y or Z) generation, we conducted linear regression analyses in order to answer the following question: which factors of job satisfaction might be predictors of intention to leave and to what extent.

Z generation

Multiple linear regression was calculated to predict intention to leave based on different factors of job satisfaction (pay, promotion, supervision, benefits, rewards, operating procedures, co-workers, work itself and communication) among employees of the Z generation.

We found that only rewards (recognition) predicts significantly the level of intention to leave, $b = -0,39$, $t(129) = 8,41$, $p < 0,001$. A significant regression equation was found ($F(1,127) = 21,540$, $p < 0,001$, with an R^2 of .381. (Tables 2.)

Y generation

Multiple linear regression was calculated to predict intention to leave based on different factors of job satisfaction among employees of the Y generation.

We found that only the nature of work predicts significantly the level of intention to leave, $b = -.26$, $t(244) = 9.287$, $p < 0.001$. A significant regression equation was found ($F(1,243) = 17.727$, $p < 0.001$, with an R^2 of .068).

X generation

Multiple linear regression was calculated to predict intention to leave based on different factors of job satisfaction in case of employees of X generation. Satisfaction with promotion, with the nature of work and with the supervision were all significant predictors. ($F(3,195) = 6.3$, $p < 0.01$, with an R^2 of .088)

VI. Results

Results suggest in one hand that there isn't significant difference between generations in the level of intention to leave and in the level of general job satisfaction.

On the other hand, we found that different generations (X, Y and Z) have a specific pattern of factors which determines their intention to leave. The primary determinant factor for employees of Z (1996-2007) generation is rewards (recognition). The nature of work well predicts the turnover intention of workers of the Y (1982-1995) generation. In the case of the X (1965-1981) generation, promotion, the nature of work and supervision might predict the intention to leave of employees.

These results fits theories those suppose specific values for each generation and force the generational theory in the sense that generations have different needs and focus on various features at workplaces. Our results draws attention that the work attitude differences between generations are not really strong, but we can find well explainable constellations in the motivational pattern of different age cohorts.

This study of employee turnover has attempted to explain why employees leave and how to prevent the drain of employee talent, focusing on a generational perspective. The exploration of different elements of job-satisfaction as predictors of turnover can give support for HR workers, and company leaders manage the team in a multidimensional way. This method is adaptable and might be usable for large companies to planning the employee engagement strategy and find the primary predictors of turnover for different employee groups.

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Determination of endocrine disrupting compounds in water by ultra performance liquid chromatography-tandem mass spectrometry

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Background: In recent decades new environmental pollutants of anthropogenic origin have been raised. Surface waters are contaminated with endocrine disrupting compounds (EDCs) worldwide. EDCs in the environment disturb the endocrine system of aquatic and terrestrial organisms, causing decreased fecundity, altered mating behaviour, developmental disorders, and thyroid dysfunction (Flint et al., 2012; Sumpter, 1995). Epidemiological studies suggest associations between human exposure to EDCs and reproductive dysfunctions or civilization diseases. Thus, there is a growing interest towards quantitative information about endocrine disruptors in freshwaters.

The aim of this work was to develop a solid phase extraction (SPE) and liquid chromatography-tandem mass spectrometry (LC-MS/MS) method for the simultaneous analysis of different EDCs, including estrogens and industrial chemicals with estrogenic activity in water.

Ultrapure water was spiked with the target analytes at 100 ng/L. SPE was carried out by Dionex SolEx C18 (Thermo Scientific) and Strata X-CW (Phenomenex) cartridges using an automata SPE system. The chromatographic separation was performed on Waters Aquity UPLC BEH C18 column. The mobile phase consisted of water and methanol. The quantitative analysis of the target compounds was performed in multiple reaction monitoring (MRM) mode.

Results: Recoveries obtained by Dionex SolEx C18 SPE cartridges for steroid estrogens were higher. For simultaneous extraction of compounds with various structures, Strata X-CW cartridges are preferable. Limits of detection (LOD) for the selected EDCs varied from 0.05 to 7.5 ng/L in negative ion mode.

Conclusions: The developed method is suitable for the determination of low amounts of EDCs in water. Good recoveries were achieved with the SPE cartridges tested. Chemical derivatization of steroid estrogens with dansyl chloride significantly improved the sensitivity of the method. The LOD values of estrogenic hormones were an order of magnitude lower in positive ion mode after derivatization.

Keywords: surface water, solid phase extraction, liquid chromatography tandem mass spectrometry, steroid hormones, derivatization

I. Introduction

Today's enormous industrial and agricultural activity releases more and more pollutants into the environment. Contamination of surface waters by anthropogenic chemicals is a global concern now. Endocrine disrupting compounds (EDCs) are new emerging contaminants, receiving growing interest in the last decades. The World Health Organization (WHO) defines endocrine disrupting compounds as „exogenous substances or mixtures that alter function(s) of the endocrine system and consequently cause adverse health effects in an intact organism, or its progeny, or (sub) populations” (Bergman et al., 2012). EDCs disturb the normal hormonal function by interacting with natural hormone receptors, interfering with hormone synthesis, or acting on hormone metabolizing enzymes (Sweeney et al., 2015). EDCs mainly bind to different subtypes of estrogen receptors (ER- α , ER- β , ERR- γ , mER, GPR30), exerting either classical nuclear or non-genomic estrogenic effects. However, numerous EDCs are reported to have antiandrogenic effects. Furthermore, some of these compounds may act as agonists, partial agonists, or antagonists on other receptors, including thyroid receptors, as well (Chen et al., 2007; S. Zhang et al., 2019; Y. F. Zhang et al., 2018). Animal studies show that chronic exposure to endocrine disrupting chemicals results in reproductive dysfunctions, feminization of males, decreased serum testosterone level, decreased sperm count and motility, masculinization of females, altered mating behaviour, and disorders of gonadal development (Flint et al., 2012; Hayes et al., 2010; Sumpter, 1995), leading to skewed sex ratios of entire populations (Bhandari et al., 2015). Besides the natural and synthetic hormones, such as the active ingredients of oral contraceptives, several other compounds are categorized as EDCs. Endocrine disruptors of various origins, such as industrial chemicals, plasticizers (bisphenols, phthalates, polyhalogenated flame retardants), agricultural pesticides (atrazine, glyphosate), food packaging materials, personal care product ingredients (parabens, surfactants), may threaten human health, as well. Many studies suggest that prenatal and early life contact with these chemicals triggers the most detrimental effects. Human epidemiological studies show associations between prenatal EDC exposure and adulthood testicular cancer, benign prostatic hyperplasia, gynecomastia, breast cancer, female infertility, obesity and diabetes (Giulivo et al., 2016; MacOn & Fenton, 2013; Rodprasert et al., 2019; Sweeney et al., 2015; Ziv-Gal & Flaws, 2016). Common water treatment technologies are unable to completely remove endocrine disruptors. Thus, there is a growing interest towards quantitative information about EDCs in freshwaters. Surface waters are reported to contain these pollutants in the concentration range of low ng/mL to a few hundred $\mu\text{g/L}$ (Aris et al., 2014; Net et al., 2015; C. Yang et al., 2021). The aim of this work was to develop a solid phase extraction (SPE) and liquid chromatography-tandem mass spectrometry (LC-MS/MS) method for the simultaneous analysis of six different EDCs with estrogenic activity, including natural and synthetic estrogenic hormones and three bisphenol analogues.

II. Materials and methods

II.1. Chemicals

Methanol, UHPLC-MS grade, acetonitrile, HPLC grade (>99.9%) and formic acid, LC-MS grade were purchased from Sigma-Aldrich. Ammonium hydroxide (25% m/m solution of NH_3) was produced by Sharlab. Analytical standards of bisphenol-A (BPA), bisphenol-F (BPF), bisphenol-S (BPS), 17- β -estradiol (E2), 17- α -ethinylestradiol (EE2) and estrone (E1) (purity >98%) were supplied by Sigma-Aldrich. Figure 1 shows the molecular formula of the target compounds. Ultrapure water was produced by a Rephile GENIE A ultrapure lab water system.

Standards were precisely weighed and dissolved in methanol to obtain stock solutions of 1 mg/mL. The stock solutions were stored in the dark at -20°C . Working standard solutions were prepared by serial dilution of individual stock solutions with methanol: water 10: 90 (v/v).

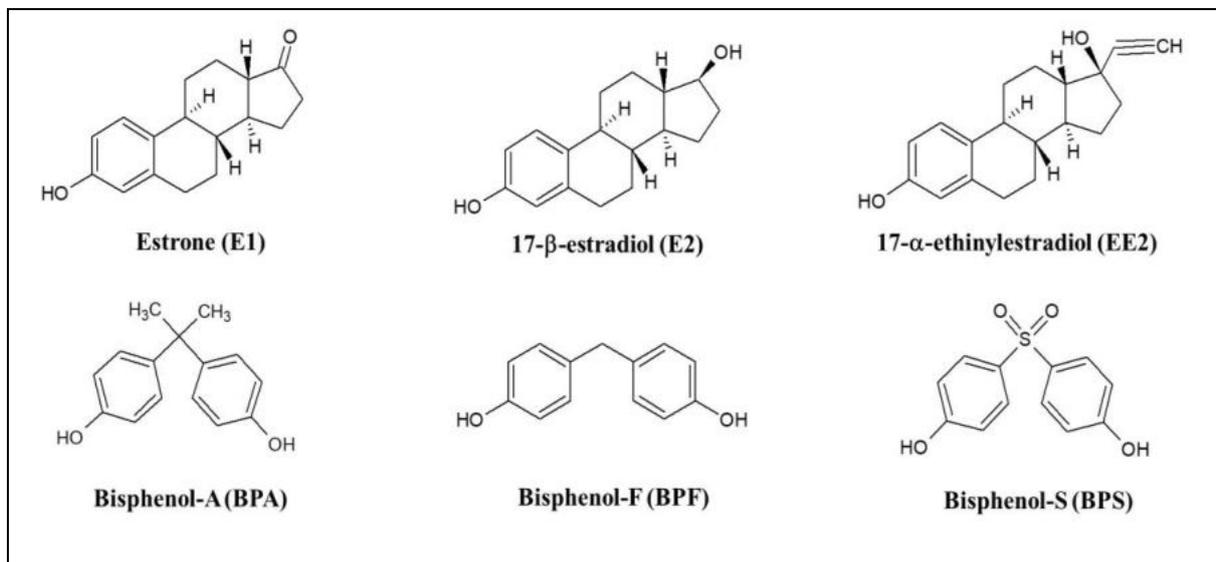


Figure 1 Molecular formula of the target compounds

II.2. Sample preparation

One L of ultrapure water was acidified with formic acid (compatible with all tested sorbent types) to pH 3.5–4.0 and spiked with each standard solution for a final concentration of 100 ng/L. Sample extraction was performed by Strata X-CW (200 mg, 6 mL; Phenomenex) and Dionex SolEx C18 (1000 mg, 6 mL; Thermo Scientific) cartridges using an automata SPE system (Dionex AutoTrace 280, Thermo Scientific). Solid phase extraction (SPE) procedure reported earlier (Maasz et al., 2019) was optimized for the target compounds. SPE cartridges were preconditioned with methanol (3 mL) and equilibrated with formic acid in water (0.1% HCOOH/H₂O; 3 mL). After loading of samples, cartridges were washed with 0.1% HCOOH/H₂O (2x3 mL) and acetonitrile: 0.1% HCOOH/H₂O 20: 80 (v/v) (3 mL). The cartridges were dried with nitrogen gas to eliminate the aqueous residues. Two types of SPE eluents were tested: 20% NH₄OH in acetonitrile and 100% methanol. Eluates were evaporated to dryness by N₂ gas stream and reconstituted with 1 mL of methanol: water 10: 90 (v/v) when analysed in negative ion mode. For positive ion mode analysis, chemical derivatization of the target compounds was carried out. Eluates were reconstituted with 1 mL of acetonitrile. For derivatization 200 μL of the acetonitrilic solution was used. 160 μL of 100 mM sodium carbonate (in ultrapure water) and 20 μL of 40 mM dansyl chloride (in acetonitrile) were added. The samples were incubated at 65°C for 10 min. After incubation, samples were centrifuged for 5 min at 16000 rpm at 20°C using Heal Force Neofuge 15R centrifuge (Shanghai Lishen Scientific Equipment Co., Ltd.). After centrifugation, 150 μL supernatants were collected and pellets were discarded. Supernatants were extracted with 750 μL of n-hexane and centrifuged for 10 min at 3000 rpm at 20°C. 750 μL of the organic phase was collected, evaporated to dryness by the stream of nitrogen gas and reconstituted with 1 mL of methanol: water 50: 50 (v/v).

II.3. Instrumental analysis

Instrumental analysis was carried out by a Waters ACQUITY UPLC H-Class System, coupled with a Xevo TQ-S micro triple quadrupole mass spectrometer equipped with Electrospray Ionization source operated in negative ion mode in case of native compounds and in positive ion mode in case of dansylated derivatives. The chromatographic separation was performed on Waters ACQUITY UPLC BEH C18 column (50×2.1mm i.d., 1.7 μm particle size). The injection volume was 10 μL. The mobile phase consisted of water (A) and methanol (B) both containing 0.1% formic acid when analysing dansylated derivatives, at a flow rate of 0.4 mL/min. Gradient profiles of the two different methods are shown in Table 1 and 2. Optimization of the mass spectrometry conditions was achieved by direct infusion of 100 ng/mL standard solutions of each compound. The quantitative analysis of the target compounds was performed in multiple reaction monitoring (MRM) mode.

Table 1 Gradient profile of Method 1

Method 1 (Negative ion mode)		
Time (min)	A	B
0	70%	30%
1	70%	30%
5	45%	55%
8	45%	55%
10	5%	95%
12	5%	95%
12.1	70%	30%
15	70%	30%

A: Water; B: Methanol

Table 2 Gradient profile of Method 2

Method 2 (Positive ion mode)		
Time (min)	A	B
0	30%	70%
13	5%	95%
15	5%	95%
15.1	30%	70%
17	30%	70%

A: 0.1% formic acid in water

B: 0.1% formic acid in methanol

III. Results and discussion

III.1. Optimization of solid phase extraction procedure

Optimization of SPE procedure was carried out by pH adjustment of the water samples and testing different types of SPE cartridges and eluents. Loading of acidified samples (pH= 3.5-4.0) onto the tested SPE cartridges resulted in higher recoveries. In this work two types of solid phase extraction cartridges were tested, Strata X-CW and Dionex SolEx C18. Strata X-CW is a mixed-mode cartridge consisting of lipophilic C18 and weak cation-exchange functionalized polymeric sorbent that allows the retention of both lipophilic and moderately polar, basic compounds. Analytes with various chemical structures, such as basic pharmaceuticals and lipophilic hormones, can be extracted simultaneously by using this cartridge. Dionex SolEx C18 is designed for the extraction of pesticides, herbicides, hydrocarbons, and other non-polar organic contaminants from water. Both tested cartridges performed acceptably (>70%) for estrogenic hormones, although Dionex SolEx C18 SPE cartridges had better performance.

Recoveries of the bisphenol analogues were better with the Strata X-CW cartridges, except for BPA, which had excellent recovery (>90%) on Dionex SolEx C18 cartridge, as well. BPS with the highest polarity had poor recoveries on both tested cartridges. As HLB (hydrophilic-lipophilic balanced) sorbents can adsorb a wide range of polar and non-polar compounds, BPS may have stronger retention on HLB cartridges. Additional studies confirmed this hypothesis, sufficient recoveries were obtained for all of the target compounds by Oasis PRiME HLB cartridges. Two types of SPE eluents were compared, 20% NH₄OH in acetonitrile and 100% methanol. Excellent recoveries were achieved by eluting the target analytes with methanol. However, recoveries obtained by 20% NH₄OH in acetonitrile were satisfactory as well, except for BPS. Besides the six target analytes of this work, several other compounds with endocrine activity were also investigated, including atrazine with weak basic character. Excellent recovery was achieved after loading acidified water containing atrazine onto Strata X-CW cartridges and eluting with 20% NH₄OH in acetonitrile. Hence, for the simultaneous extraction of EDCs with various structures, Strata X-CW or Oasis PRiME HLB cartridges and sequential elution with the two tested eluents are recommended.

III.2. Optimization of mass spectrometric conditions

Optimized MS/MS conditions are summarized in Table 3. The two most abundant ions were selected for the confirmation and quantification of the target compounds. Transitions with the highest intensity were selected for the quantitation and the other transitions were used for confirmation. Limits of detection were calculated from the signal-to-noise ratio (S/N) of 3. The calculated LOD values were 0.58, 2.53, 7.45, 0.66, 0.13, 0.05 ng/L in negative ion mode for estrone, 17- β -estradiol, 17- α -ethinylestradiol, bisphenol-A, bisphenol-F, and bisphenol-S, respectively. Method limits of detection were in agreement with those published earlier in the literature (Y. Li et al., 2021; Moid AlAmmari et al., 2020; Y. Yang et al., 2014). However, other studies revealed, chemical derivatization of estrogenic compounds results in better sensitivity in ESI positive ion mode. As electrospray ionization technique is generally more effective for ionization of polar or ionic substances than non-polar compounds, chemical derivatization of native steroid estrogens with low polarity could enhance their poor ionization efficiency. Derivatization of steroid estrogens introduces permanently charged or easily ionizable moieties into the molecule (Higashi & Shimada, 2004). The reaction of steroid estrogens with dansyl chloride, a commonly used derivatizing agent, produces derivatives containing easily ionizable basic N-atoms, resulting in enhanced sensitivity in ESI positive ion mode (Lin et al., 2007; Shou et al., 2004). The signal intensity of dansyl derivatives could be up to three orders of magnitude higher compared to native steroids (Lien et al., 2009). The reaction of bisphenols with dansyl chloride produces singly-dansylated and doubly-dansylated bisphenols. In case of optimized reaction conditions doubly-dansylated bisphenols are formed predominantly. No peaks were found at the *m/z* values of 462 (singly-dansylated BPA), 424 (singly-dansylated BPF), and 474 (singly-dansylated BPS), indicating that under the conditions applied in this work, mainly doubly-dansylated bisphenols were formed. Figure 2 shows the derivatization reactions of 17- β -estradiol and bisphenol-A with dansyl chloride. Chemical derivatization of the target EDCs with dansyl chloride significantly improved the sensitivity of the method. The LOD values of the steroid hormones were an order of magnitude lower in positive ion mode after derivatization. (Table 4) The base peak chromatograms of the dansylated target compounds are presented in Figure 3.

Table 3 Optimized MS/MS parameters of the target compounds

Compound Name	Abbreviation	Ion Mode	Precursor ion	Daughter Ion1	CE (V)	Daughter Ion2	CE (V)	CV (V)	RT (min)
Bisphenol-A	BPA	negative	227	133	25	212	18	25	5.61
Bisphenol-F	BPF	negative	199	93	21	105	22	25	4.00
Bisphenol-S	BPS	negative	249	108	28	156	22	25	1.63
Estrone	E1	negative	269	145	35	159	39	25	6.41
17- β -estradiol	E2	negative	271	145	42	183	42	25	6.40
17- α -ethinylestradiol	EE2	negative	295	145	35	159	39	25	6.64
Bisphenol-A dansylated	BPA-DsCl ₂	positive	695	171	50	234	50	25	7.77
Bisphenol-F dansylated	BPF-DsCl ₂	positive	667	171	50	170	59	25	6.49
Bisphenol-S dansylated	BPS-DsCl ₂	positive	717	171	50	156	59	25	5.01
Estrone dansylated	E1-DsCl	positive	504	171	35	156	55	25	4.14
17- β -estradiol dansylated	E2-DsCl	positive	506	171	35	156	55	25	4.60
17- α -ethinylestradiol dansylated	EE2-DsCl	positive	530	171	35	156	55	25	4.55

CE, collision energy; CV, cone voltage; RT, retention time
 Values in bold represent the transitions used for quantification.

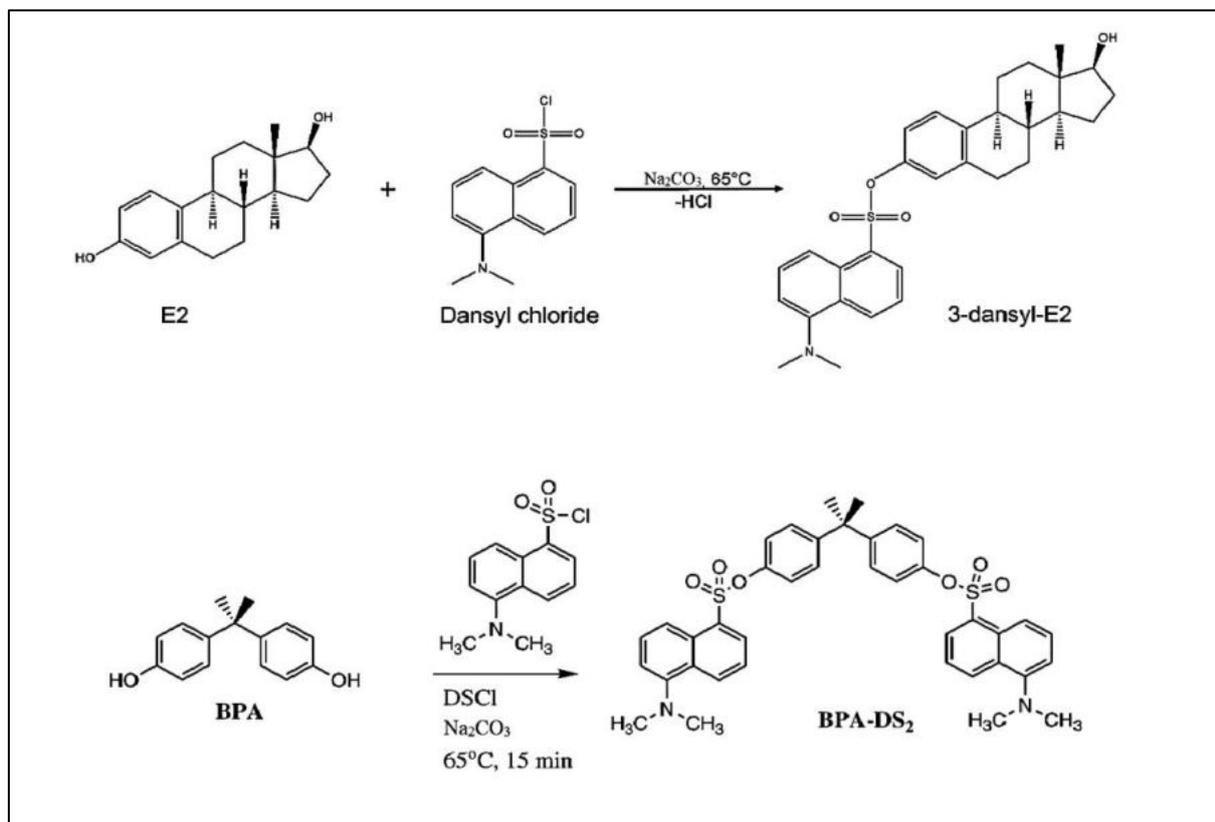


Figure 2 Derivatization reactions of 17-β-estradiol and bisphenol-A with dansyl chloride (according to Avar et al., 2016; and X. Li & Franke, 2015)

Table 4 LOD (Limit of detection) values of the native and dansylated target compounds

Compound Name	LOD (ng/L)	Compound Name	LOD (ng/L)
Bisphenol-A	0.66	Bisphenol-A dansylated	0.18
Bisphenol-F	0.13	Bisphenol-F dansylated	0.08
Bisphenol-S	0.05	Bisphenol-S dansylated	0.12
Estrone	0.58	Estrone dansylated	0.06
17-β-estradiol	2.53	17-β-estradiol dansylated	0.13
17-α-ethinylestradiol	7.45	17-α-ethinylestradiol dansylated	0.11

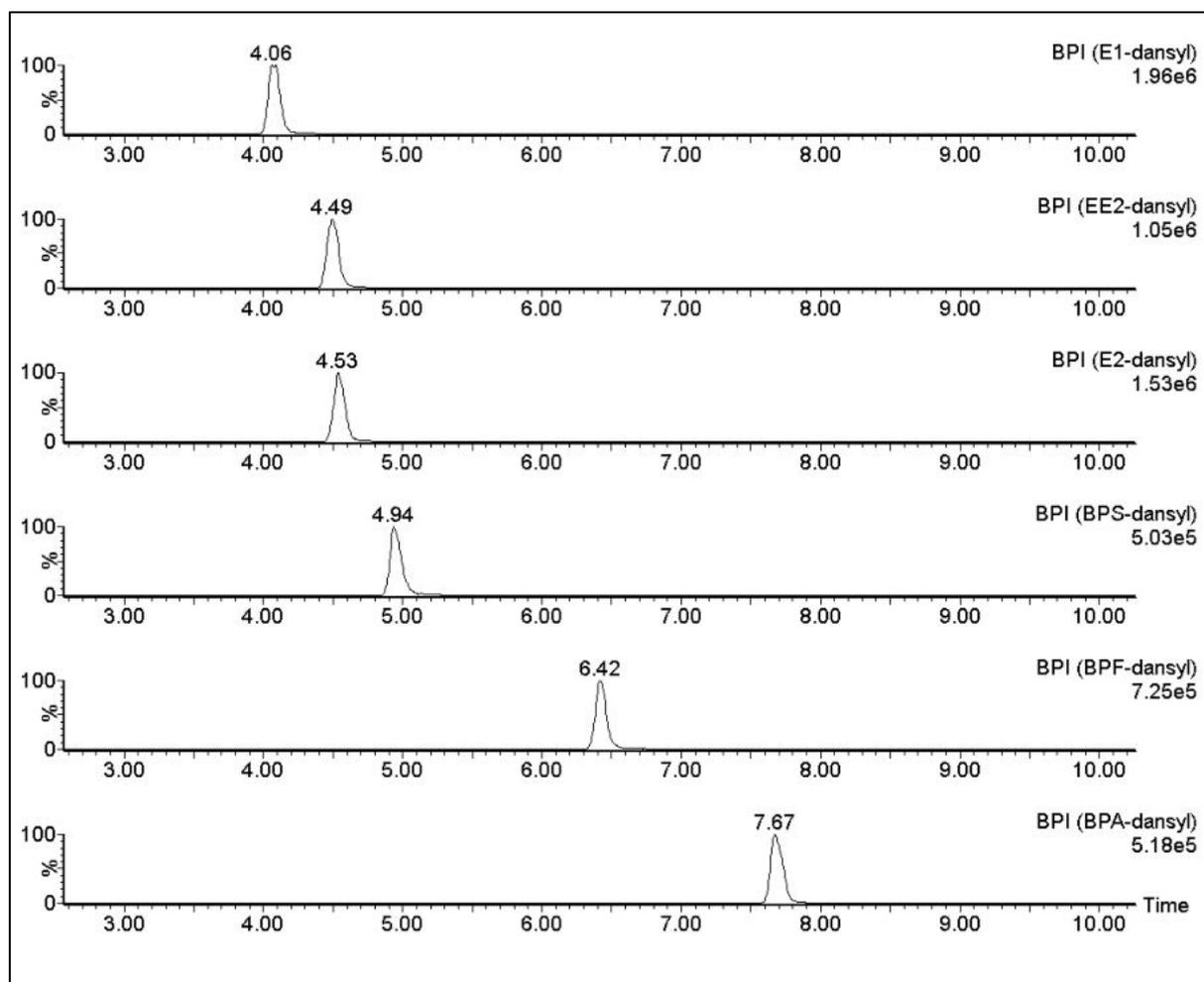


Figure 3 Base peak chromatograms of the dansylated target compounds (*Sm*, *SG 5x1*)

IV. Conclusion

The developed method is suitable for the simultaneous determination of low amounts of the six selected EDCs in water. Recoveries of the target compounds obtained by SolEx Dionex C18 SPE cartridge were higher compared to recoveries obtained by Strata X-CW cartridge. Methanol is the preferred SPE eluent for the six target EDCs based on our results and literature data. For simultaneous extraction of several EDCs with various structures, Strata X-CW or Oasis PRiME HLB cartridges and sequential elution with methanol and ammonia in acetonitrile are recommended. Chemical derivatization of the target analytes with dansyl chloride significantly improved the sensitivity of the method. The signal intensities were remarkably higher in positive ion mode. The LOD values of the steroid estrogens were an order of magnitude lower in positive ion mode after derivatization compared to native compounds analyzed in negative ion mode. The developed method will be applied for environmental water monitoring and for evaluating adsorption studies with the target compounds.

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Residual stress analysis of 3D printed metal parts

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Abstract

Additive manufacturing, more commonly known as 3D printing, is one of the fastest growing industries of our time. This includes rapid prototyping, part making and repairing processes. It was introduced in the '80s as a rapid prototyping method and just as rapidly as the name states outgrew itself into so much more. Today the additive manufacturing of metal parts is just as natural as any other conventional process and there is still a lot more untapped potential which is yet to be discovered [1].

However, this manufacturing method no matter how powerful is, it is not omnipotent. The process requires precision, else it can easily lead to disaster. Every part made by additive methods carries residual stresses, which phenomena can be led back to the main characteristic of 3D printing. For metal printing processes, the manufacturing machine requires a great amount of focused thermal energy to process the raw material. This energy however will affect the previously affected layers as well.

During our experiments, we used Selective Laser Melting (SLM) technology, as melting-based processes can carry more residual stresses than usual and the machine which made our measurements possible was an Orlas – Creator 3D printer. The base material was a 17-4ph stainless steel [2][3].

Keywords: 3D metal printing, SLM, Residual stress, stainless steel, X-ray diffraction

I. Introduction - Residual stresses in 3D printed parts

By definition, residual stress is a mechanical stress which remains in a solid body that is stationary and at equilibrium with its surroundings [4].

Like every manufacturing technology, SLM processes also has their flaws, or weaknesses in the field of residual stresses. During production a very high amount of stress can accumulate within the volume of the printed part. One must not overlook these stresses, because further on they can lead to deformations, distortions, or cracks [5]. This phenomenon usually occurs at every process which uses any kind of laser as an energy source, because the laser works at an elevated speed and temperature so the intense energy deposition will act on a specific surface for a very short amount of time. Due to the energy of the laser, a melt pool will be created, and this melt pool is only present for a fraction of a second, then solidifies again. This rapid melting – solidifying cycle will continue until the part is done. Some parts may remelt and resolidify depending on how intense the energy of the heat source. Meanwhile the area not affected by the laser only heats up through thermal conductivity only which means a very steep thermal gradient.

The solidification of the remelted volume is very critical during an SLM printing process. To decrease the effect of the steep thermal gradient, currently there is two mainly used stress reducing process. The first is, when the building chamber is heated up and kept at an elevated temperature and the second when heat treatment is applied to the product as a part of the post processing. Using these two ways 85% of the residual stresses can be eliminated [6].

Keeping the building chamber at higher temperatures however influences the powder bed in an undesired way. Due to the thermal conductivity of the powder, the particles which are not affected by the main power source can also be influenced by the heat and may sinter together, raising the average particle size in the whole volume [7]. The increased average grain size is not favourable due to economic reasons, so we have chosen heat treatment as a stress relieving method. Heat treatment is also used, when the 3D printing machine has no options for making an elevated temperature within the production chamber and is taking place after the process is done, but before the parts are being disconnected from the building platform, so there will be less deformation when removed [8]. The most important thing here is the degree of cooling, which will influence the mechanical properties further. A poorly cooled part may develop more stresses after heat treatment than when it came out from the 3D printing machine.

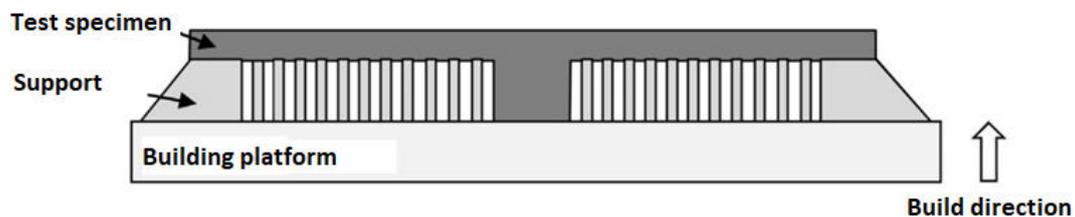
I.1. Geometric causes of residual stresses

Geometrical characteristics are extremely important while designing a 3D printed part so the creator must not overlook the fact that certain designs are more susceptible to develop residual stresses than others, especially bulky structures. Support structures are also important because they connect the built part with the building platform. Thus, if the supports are not strong or frequent enough and they disconnect from the base during process, the effect can be disastrous. It can even damage the machine. Every connection point will carry elevated residual stresses because they bind the part in one place. The amount of stress then can be further modified by many process characteristics like the abovementioned laser power, its process speed, layer creation etc. [9]

To avoid anisotropies many machines, have built-in solutions to minimise stress building and maximise volume integrity. Our machine when making subsequent layers always makes a 45° rotation clockwise, so the main paths of the laser will not overlap, and this will make a more solid volume.

II. Materials and methods

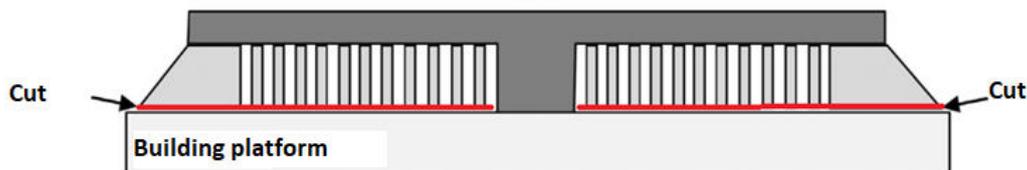
There are many ways to measure residual stresses in a certain volume from computer simulation to physical bodies. Our chosen method was printing a specific test specimen to carry out our measurements. Our specimen is based on the one C. Li et. al. used in their research [10], but we had to modify it, because it did not fit in our machine. The test specimen C. Li et. al. used is shown on Fig.1.



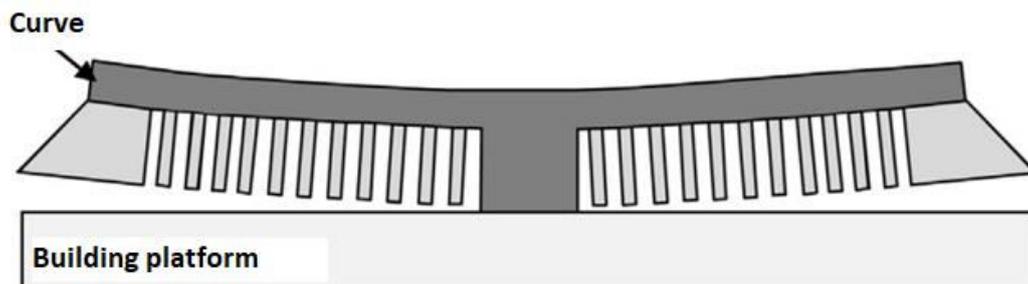
1. Figure, Test specimen used in literature [10]

The printed specimen then removed from the machine but stays on the building platform and measured by an X-ray diffractometer (XRD). The results from the XRD measurements will be presented later.

After measured the specimen was partly cut from the platform and curled upward due to the accumulated residual stresses, as Fig.2 and Fig.3 shows.

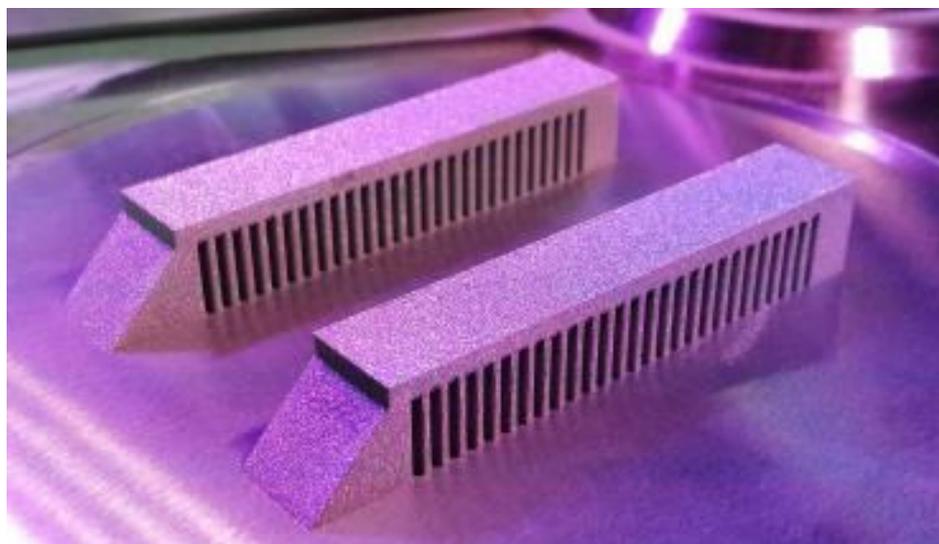


2. Figure, Position of the horisontal cut on the test specimen [10]



3. Figure, The curled up state of the test specimen, due to the residual stresses [10]

As Fig. 3 shows there will be a visible deformation after making the horizontal cut, removing the connection of the support parts. The main goal of this test specimen is that the thickness of the top layer can be changed so we could modify it to make more detailed measurements. The top thicknesses we used were 1mm, 2mm and 3mm. The support structure always remained the same. Fig. 4 shows an as-printed specimen.



4. Figure, As-printed test specimens

II. 1. Base material and process parameters

To carry out our measurements we used a 3D metal printing SLM machine, Orlas Creator, filled with 17-4ph stainless steel powder. Both the composition and system parameters are shown in Table 1. and Table 2.

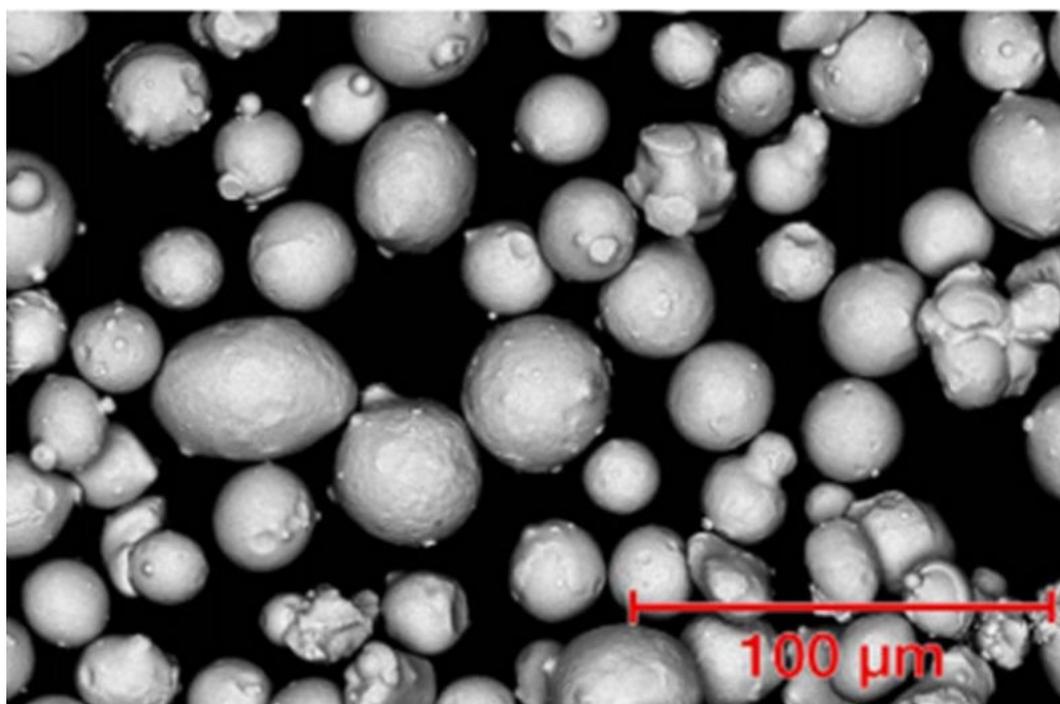
1. Table Composition of printed alloy 17-4ph

Composition	Weight% (wt%)
Carbon	0,03
Manganese	1,00 max
Sulfur	0,030 max
Silicon	2,30 max
Chromium	17,00
Nickel	12,00

2. Table, Printing parameters

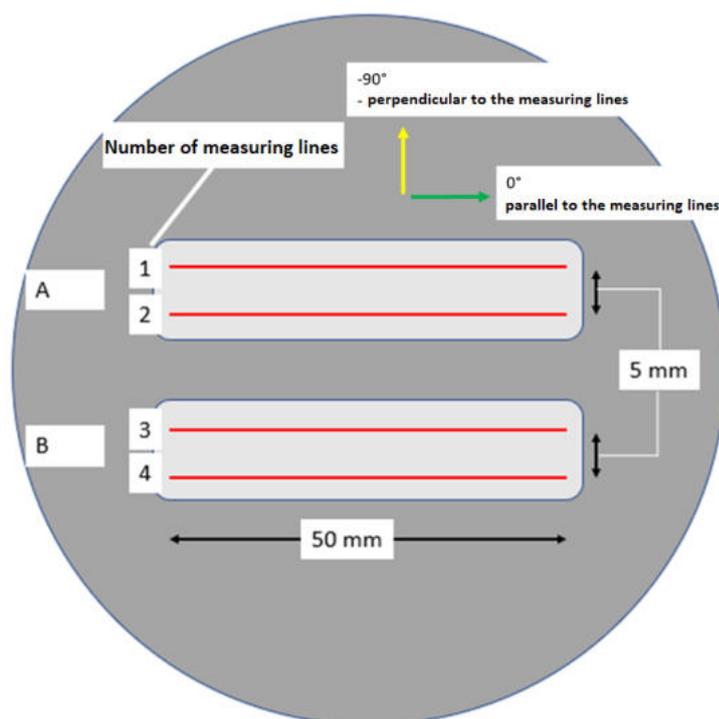
Parameters:	Value:
Laser type	Yb: fibre, 250 W
Laser wavelength	1070 nm
Platform size	100 mm diameter, 110 mm height
Detail accuracy	x=80 μ m, y=80 μ m, z=20 μ m
Average accuracy	40 μ m
Shield gas	Nitrogene

The powder was created via gas atomisation to achieve a spheroidic structure. Corrosion resistant, ideal for 3D printing. Fig. 5 shows a scanning electron microscopy record of the powder.



5. Figure, Scanning electron microscopy record of the 17-4ph stainless steel powder

The printed specimens were measured via XRD. During the process every test specimen were tested on two parallel lines, shown in Fig. 6.



6. Figure, XRD measuring lines

In every case there were eleven different measurement points proportional to the length of the measuring line. As Fig. 6. shows residual stress was measured parallel and perpendicular to the line, which of course yielded different results. However, due to geometrical constraints the perpendicular ones were less important values this time since, in that direction the specimen could not suffer major distortions.

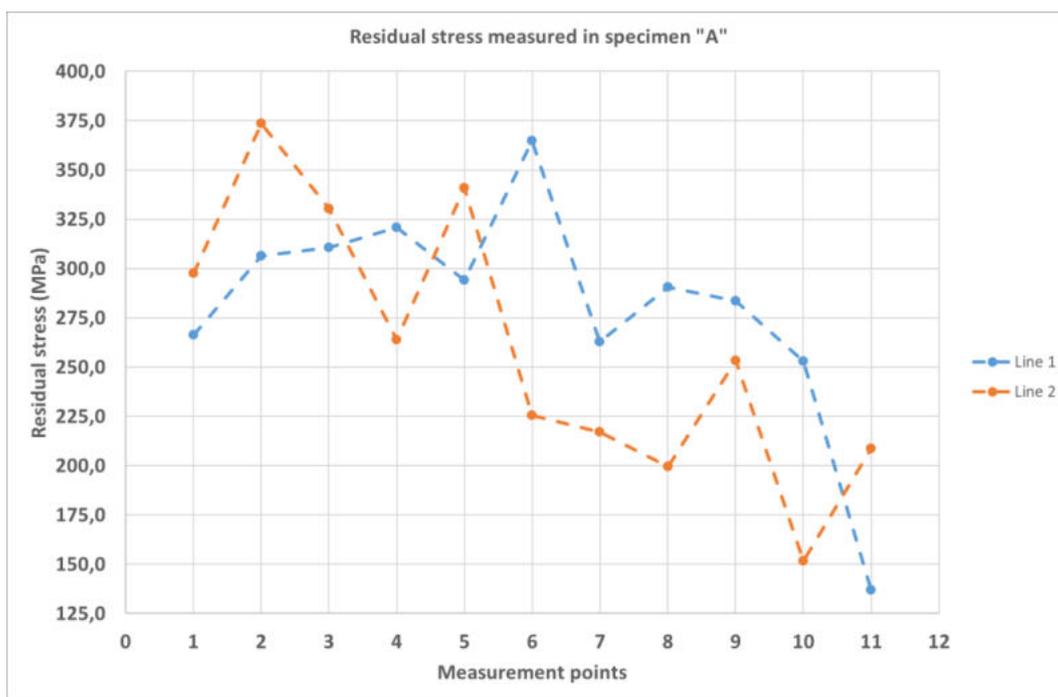
III. Results

Due to the geometrical constraints, the measured values we were looking for came from the parallel measuring direction from the XRD line. Fig 7. shows a cut version of the test specimens.

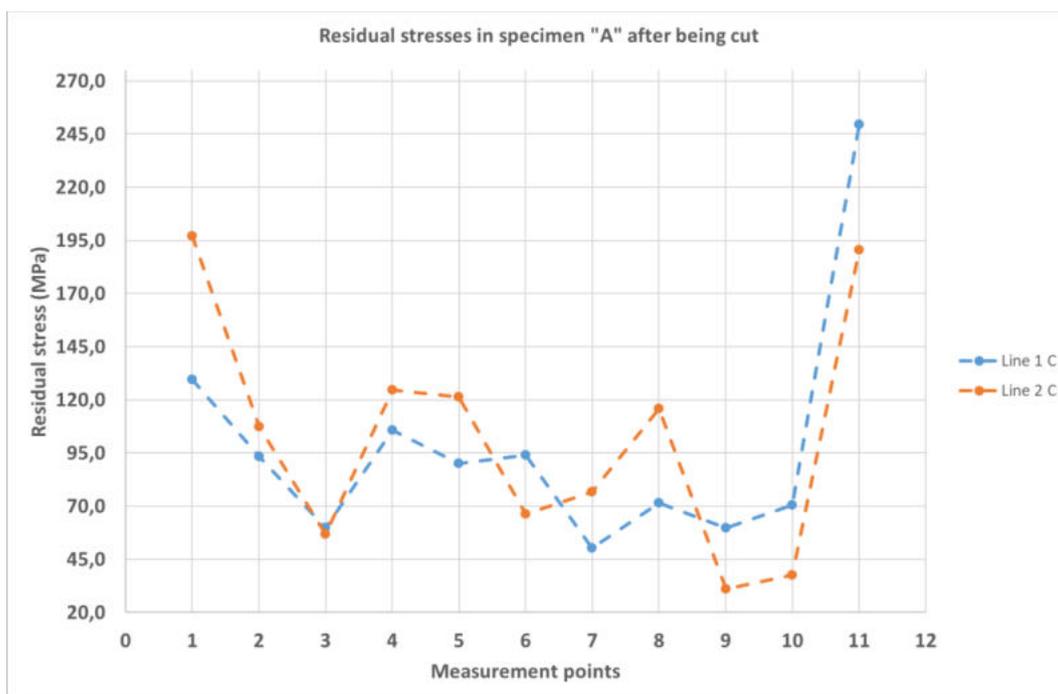


7. Figure, Cut version of the test specimens

As we suspected there were huge differences between different top thicknesses. First of all, Fig. 8 shows the residual stress distribution of “Specimen A” made with 2 mm top thickness and Fig. 9 shows the same specimen after the horizontal cut.

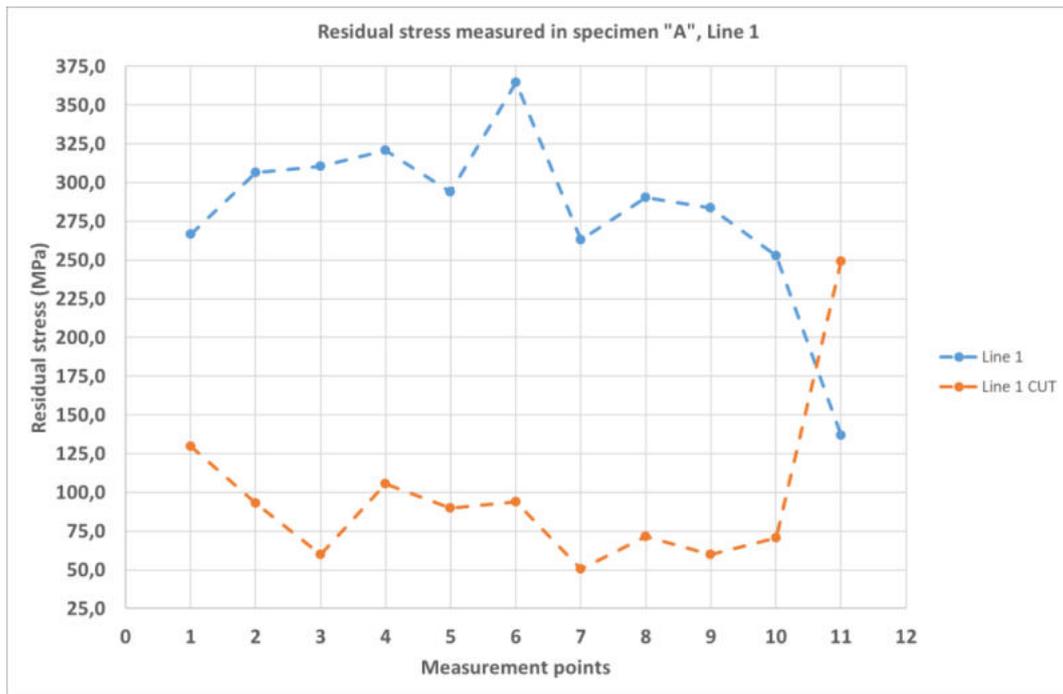


8. Figure, Residual stress in test specimen "A"



9. Figure, Residual stress in test specimen "A" after being cut

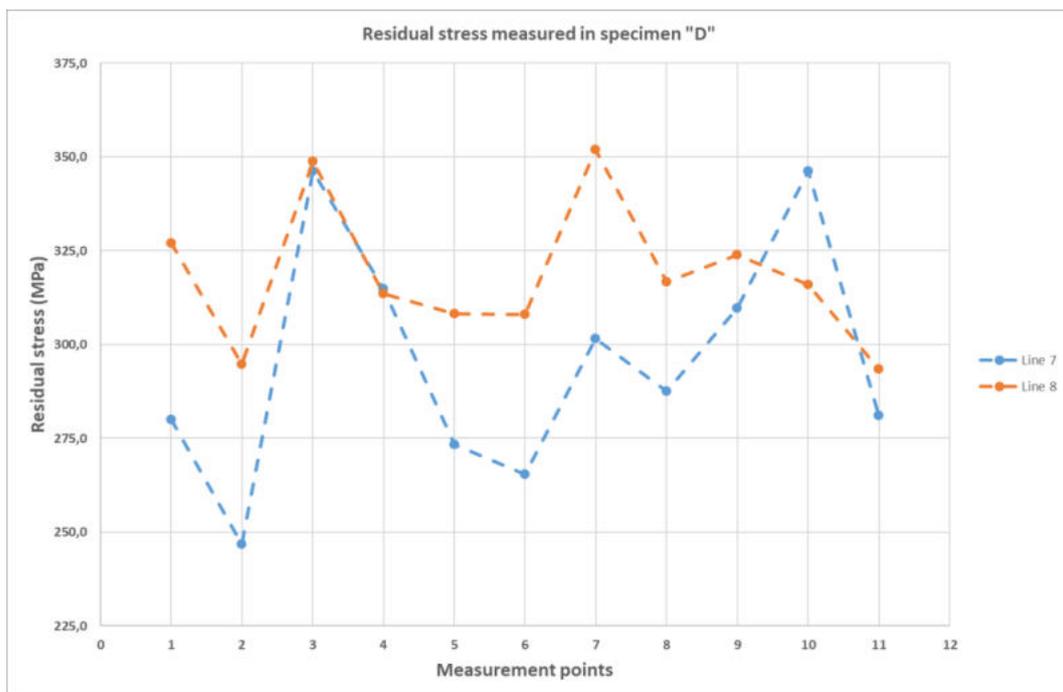
To make the difference more visible we made a simpler, comparison version, shown in Fig. 10.



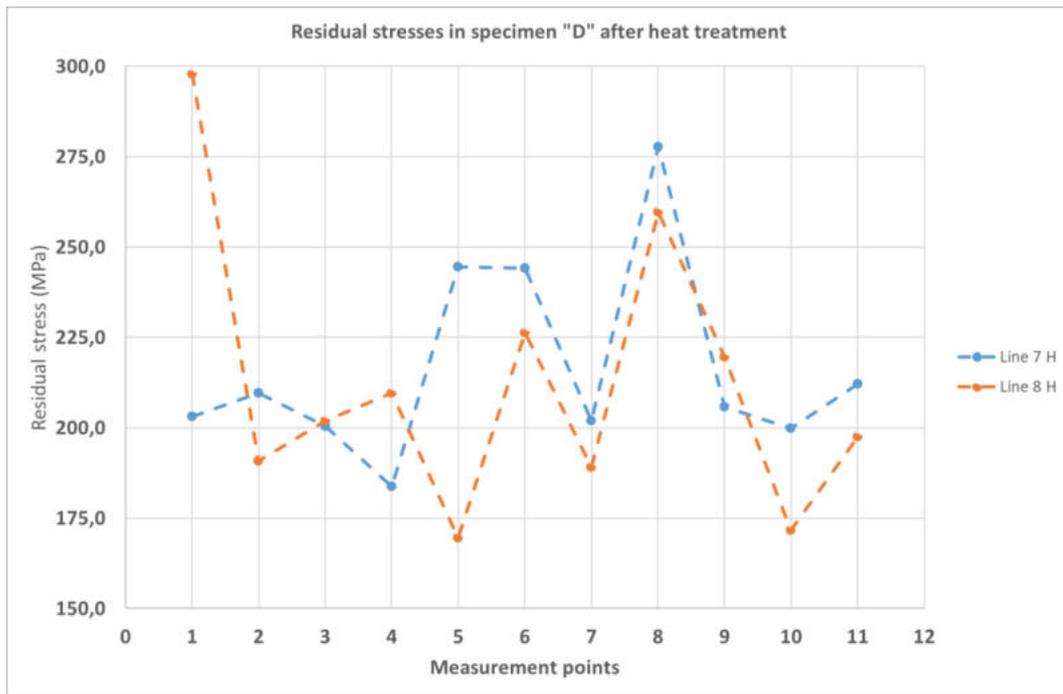
10. Figure, Residual stress difference between cut and uncut versions of test specimen "A", Line 1

The difference can be even 250 MPa, which is not negligible at all. The stresses should be minimised before building in the 3D printed part to make sure it will not cause unseen complications in the future.

To test that we made a basic stress relieving heat treatment, suggested by the datasheet of the 17-4 ph material, on 500°C for 1 hour, cooling on air. As the previous test specimen was already cut, we had to make another base of comparison for this measurement, "Specimen D", as shown in Fig. 11, and its heat-treated version in Fig. 12.

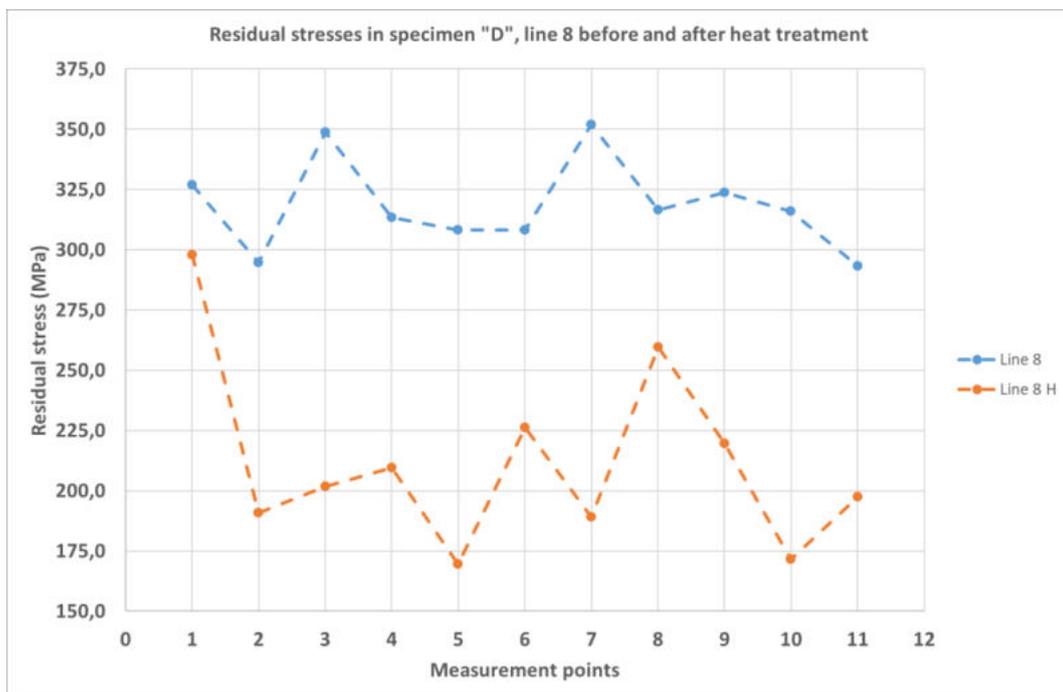


11. Figure, Uncut version of test specimen "D"



12. Figure, Uncut, heat treated version of test specimen "D"

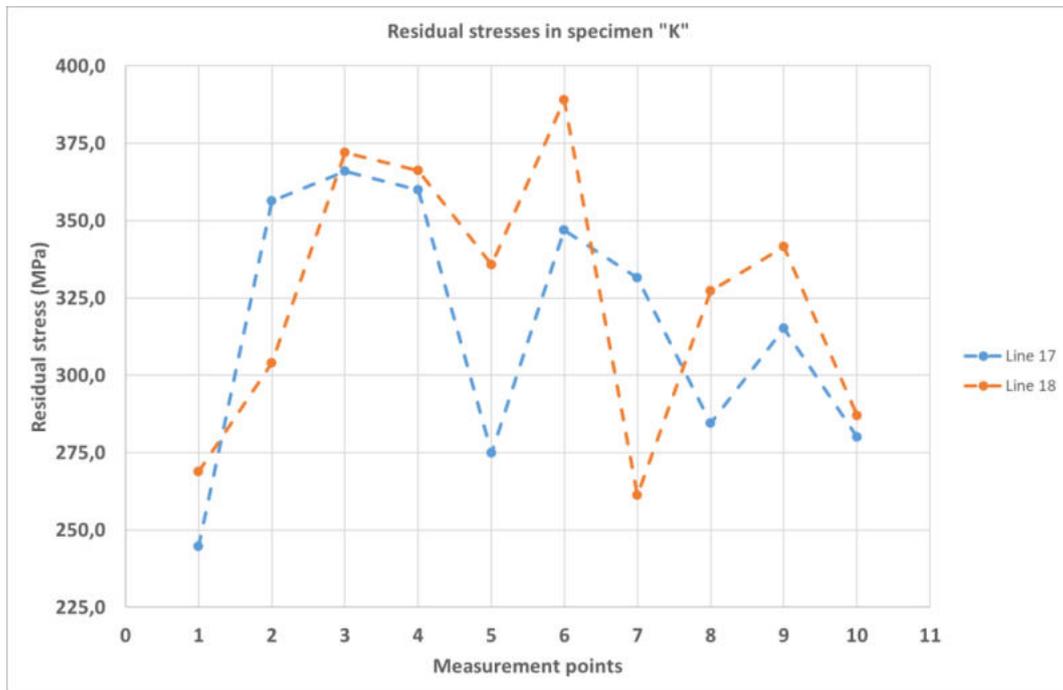
To provide a better comparison view again, Fig. 13. presents the difference between two measuring lines, uncut, before and after heat treatment.



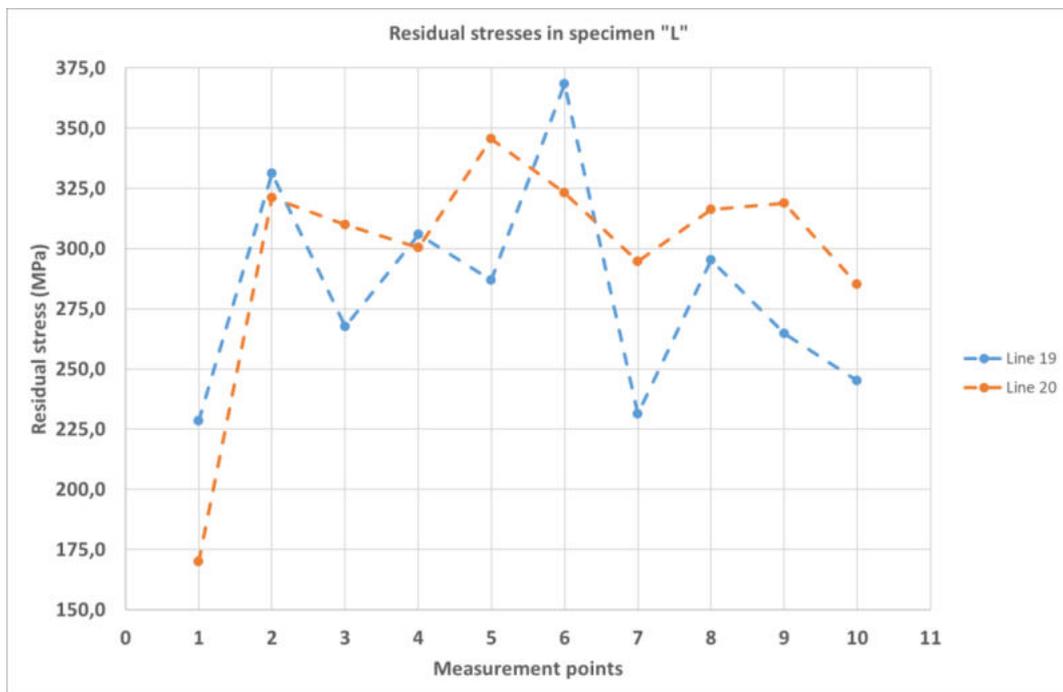
13. Figure. Test specimen "D" Line 8 before and after heat treatment

As Fig 13. shows, the heat treatment can close the gap between the two versions, so we can state that the heat treatment works successfully at this 3D printing alloy. Further experiments are needed on which heat treatment works the best, however. It may prove different values.

Lastly, we made two altered thickness specimens, “Specimen K” with 1 mm top thickness and “Specimen L” with 3 mm top thickness. The results from these measurements are shown in Fig 14. and Fig. 15.



14. Figure, Specimen "K" with 3mm top thickness



15. Figure, Specimen "L" with 3 mm top thickness

The main difference between the two version is the distribution of residual stress. Thinner structure tends to build-in more stress, while thicker structures have a wider distribution. The main law of 3D printing however does not advice printing bulky structures, so we require

further measurements on this area to determine which thicknesses are the best for a desired surface.

IV. Summary

In 3D printing, residual stresses will develop without exception, the most crucial thing is, how we handle it, because the magnitude of these stresses can vary from point to point. Also, different structure thicknesses build in stresses in a different way. There are lots of factors which we must keep in mind when designing a 3D printed part and these thicknesses are the most important from them. Since SLM techniques can not make parts where the powder is trapped in any way, structural solutions must be applied to make the excess powder flow out from the created part. The structural solutions are following the additive mindset which usually a whole new perspective when designing a functional part.

During our future experiments, we will focus on applying various heat treatment techniques to compare their effect and we also aim to make specimens with even different thicknesses to study how the stresses distribute within them.

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A jelentés vagy a forma felől? – A magyarnyelv(tan)-oktatás új, funkcionális stratégiája alsó tagozaton

Kovács Tibor Attila, *PTE OTDNI, KRE PK*

Bevezető: iskolai tárgyak közül a magyar nyelvtan már régóta az egyik legkevésbé kedvelt. (Csapó, B., 2002: 43) Ennek lehetséges okai közül az egyik legmeghatározóbb az, hogy nagy a „szakadék” a tanuló nyelvváltozata és a tankönyvek által használt nyelveírás között.

Kutatásunkban annak járunk utána, hogy a magyar mint idegennyelv-könyvek (MID) módszertana, a kommunikatív nyelvoktatás, a funkcionális nyelvészet eredményei milyen formában és struktúrában ültethetők át az alsó tagozatos nyelvtanítás gyakorlatába.

Célkitűzés: A dolgozat fő kérdése az, hogy milyen nyelveíró struktúrákat, hasonlóságokat, különbségeket hoz létre a funkcionális, kommunikatív, illetve a rendszerközpontú, leíró nyelvi szemlélet az alsó tagozatos anyanyelvi tankönyvekben és a MID-könyvekben. Meghatározható-e a különbségek eredete? Milyen nyelvi minták és modellek következnek mindebből a pedagógiai térben?

Elemzésünk középpontja egyrészt a legújabb fejlesztésű alsó tagozatra szánt nyelvtankönyvek (Benkőné – Dióssyné – Jegesi – Kóródi, 2017, 2018) másrészt egy külföldi gyerekeknek készült magyar nyelvkönyv két kötete. (Gróf – Szende – Varga – Vidéki, 2010, 2019)

Módszer: Az összehasonlítás szempontsorának kialakításakor azzal az előfeltevéssel élünk, hogy a funkcionális megközelítés tetten érhető, ha összefüggés tárható fel a párbeszédre épülő feladatok, a kooperatív munkaformák és a nyílt végű kérdések mennyiségében és minőségében, illetve abban, hogy mindez – vagyis az adott nyelvi jelenség bemutatására szolgáló lecke – egy a kontextust felállító indukciós anyagra, eseményképre vagy szövegre (referenciára) épül.

Tartomelemző eljárással keresztmetszeti (összehasonlító) elemzést végzünk Weinbrenner-féle „komplex” tankönyvkutatási modell segítségével. Hármass rendszeréből a produktumorientált tankönyvkutatás típusát alkalmazzuk. Kiemelten kívánunk foglalkozni a szaktudományi és a szakdidaktikai dimenzióval. (Dárdai, Á., 2002: 59)

Eredmények: A vizsgált könyvekben közös vonás, hogy a leckék felépítése induktív szemléletű, tartalmukat ráhangoló feladatok, fogalmak és szabályok leírása, kommunikációs feladatok, dramatizálás, szólások és közmondások, versek építik fel.

Szintén azonosság, hogy a leckékben a nyelvtani ismeret, nyelvi jelenség, vagy helyesírási szabályszerűség „felfedeztetését” követően az információkat az összefoglalók, a magyarázatok a leíró nyelvtan fogalmi készletével tudatosítják.

Következtetések: A folyamatban lévő kutatás várható eredményei segíthetik az anyanyelvi nevelés és az idegennyelv-tanítás összefüggéseinek megértését, illetve új nyelvpedagógiai fogalmak kialakítását. A használt kvantitatív és kvalitatív tartomelemzés révén a vizsgálat hozzájárulhat az alsó tagozatos anyanyelvi módszertan, nyelvtanítás fejlesztéséhez.

Kulcsszavak: anyanyelvi nevelés, nyelvtanítás, funkcionális nyelvészlelet, tankönyvelemzés, nyelvpedagógia

I. Bevezetés, problémafelvetés

A nyelvtanoktatás egyik legfontosabb célja, hogy tudatossá tegye az ösztönös nyelvhasználatot, pontos képet adjon a nyelvről, több oldalról mutassa be. Mindennek célja, hogy olyan nyelvleírás jöjjön létre az anyanyelvoktatásban, jelen esetben az alsó tagozatos nyelvtanításban, amely segíti a szövegértést, a kommunikációs kompetenciát (Hymes, 1978) és az idegen nyelvek tanulását.

A nyelvtannal kapcsolatos negatív iskolai attitűd kapcsolatban van a jelenlegi tanítási gyakorlatnak elidegenítő hatásával. (Tolcsvai, 2005) Szemléletváltásra van szükség, hiszen közelebb kell hozni a tanuló nyelvhasználatát és a nyelvtan tárgyalási, módszertani aspektusait.

Nahalka (2002) szerint az iskolai nyelvtanítás megújítása alapvetően a funkcionális kognitív nyelv szemlélet iskolai adaptálásától remélhetjük.¹ (Eőry, 2013.)

A kérdés tágabb megvilágítást kap, ha arra utalunk, hogy a mai magyar iskolai tanítás még ma is elsősorban a pedagógus által vezérelt, a gyermek önállóságát csak minimálisan biztosító tevékenység.

Egy átfogó empirikus kutatás (Antalné, 2006) megerősíti, hogy lényegesen népszerűbbek a tanáribeszéd-központú tanítási módszerek, mint a tanulóibeszéd-központú tanulási-tanítási technikák. 291 tanórai jegyzőkönyv alapján a csoportmunka 5%-ban, páros munka 3%-ban volt adatható.

II. A vizsgálat fogalmi elemei

II.1. Funkcionális nyelv szemlélet

A nyelvtanoktatás hatékonyabbá tétele érdekében, a nyelvi funkciók alapján történő magyarnyelv-leírás már több évtizede téma a szaktudományi cikkekben. A funkcionális nyelv szemlélet lényegében először a magyar mint idegen nyelv (MID) oktatásában és az ezzel kapcsolatos tankönyvi fejlesztésekben jelent meg. Idővel egyre többen sürgették ennek bevezetését az anyanyelvi nevelés területeire is. Két újdonsága is van a MID-alapú nyelvtan(tan)ításnak. Az egyik a kommunikatív nyelvpedagógiai irányultság, a másik pedig az, hogy a nyelvet alapvetően nem a forma, hanem jelentés, a nyelvhasználat felől mutatja be.

A nyelvtudomány funkcionális kognitív irányzata és a tanuláselmélet konstrukcionista felfogása (Virág, 2004: 43) szerint a hatékony megismerés alapelve, hogy a nyelvet a beszélőtől függő jelenséggé kell értelmezni, aki maga hozza létre az ebből következő tudásstruktúrát.

Ezt a kiindulópontot nem lehet mellőzni az anyanyelvi nevelés és pedagógia szempontjából sem. Ezek szerint a nyelv leírásakor a mindenkori beszélő és hallgató nézőpontját is vizsgálni kell. Mindebből következik, hogy a funkcionális nyelvészet sokkal inkább a választások és a döntések grammatikája, mintsem a szabályoké. (Halliday, 1978)

A kontextus, az élő nyelv, a nyelvhasználati mód és a jelentés középpontba állításával lehetőség van arra, hogy a nyelvi tevékenység vizsgálatakor ne csak önmagában a belső formáknak tulajdonítsunk magyarázóértéket, ugyanis a nyelvben a szabályokból nem vezethető le a jelentés és a funkció, mindez a nyelvi működés során, meghatározott szituációban jön létre. (Kugler, 2017)

A beszélő megnyilatkozása során mindig egy megértett szituáció nyelvi kifejezésekkel történő közlése zajlik, ez nem független a beszélő nézőpontjától és a partner figyelmétől. Tehát a nyelv használata közös cselekvés, figyelemirányítás, szándékirányulás, ami valós interakció keretében történik. Következésképp a nyelvi rendszer egy olyan kommunikációs közeg,

¹ A funkcionális nyelv szemlélet – természetesen – összefüggésbe hozható a konstruktivista tanuláselmélet modelljeivel (is).

amelyben egy közösség nyelvi képességei, cselekedetei, nézőpontjai összegződnek; a nyelvi tudás ennek elsajátítása, nem pedig valamiféle magában álló grammatikai struktúra megismerésén alapuló ismeret. (Dérené – Kóródi – N. Császi, 2017: 33)

II.2. Az alsó tagozatos nyelvtanoktatás és a NAT

Szűken értelmezve az anyanyelvi nevelés az anyanyelvi órák feladata. Célja a művelt, köznyelvi nyelvhasználók nevelése, az önálló és alkotó gondolkodásmód kialakítása, gyakoroltatása, folyamatos fejlesztése. (Kántor, 2005)

Az új Nemzeti alaptanterv a változatos munkaformákban, a kreatív játékos, kísérletező feladatokban látja azt a lehetőséget, amelyen keresztül a tanuló a nyelv összefüggéseit, működését megtapasztalhatja. Az elsődleges cél az anyanyelvi kompetenciák fejlesztése, mindez pedig a nyelvtani szabályok bemutatásának a háttérbe szorítása mellett történhet. Az kerettanterv is hasonlóan fogalmaz: „a szavak jelentése és a helyesírás az elsődleges fejlesztési terület a szófaji kategóriák tanításával szemben.”

II.3. Tankönyv és nyelvkönyv

Formát vagy funkciót, esetleg jelentést tanítunk az alsó tagozatos nyelvtankönyvekben? Másképp megfogalmazva: nyelvtant vagy nyelvhasználatot? A 2017-es és 2018-as években olyan Újgenerációs, alsó tagozatos kiadványok nyertek tankönyvi engedélyt *Anyanyelv és kommunikáció* címmel, amelyek már kifejezetten és deklaráltan erre a szemléletre és nyelvreírásra épülnek.

Említettük, hogy alapvetően először a funkcionális nyelv szemlélet a magyar mint idegen nyelv módszertanában jelent meg, természetesen nem előzmény nélkül. Az elméleti háttérhez sokan járultak hozzá Gombóc Zoltántól egészen Hadrovics Lászlóig, illetve nemzetközi szinten Halliday és Matthiessen. A másik taneszköz a *Kiliki a földön* című kétkötetes nyelvkönyv, amelyet elsősorban 7-14 éves gyerekeknek ajánlják. Így életkor szempontjából is alkalmas az összevetésre. A könyv négy alapkészség fejlesztésére épít. Ezek a beszéd, a beszédértés, az írás és az olvasás.

II.4. A téri nyelv a vizsgált tankönyvekben

Hogyan érhető tetten a könyvekben a funkcionális szemlélet?

Mivel jelen dolgozat keretei behatároltak, ezért a kérdés vizsgálatát csak egy nyelvi funkció bemutatására szűkítjük. Ez pedig a funkcionális nyelvi kategóriák közül a térbeli viszonyok kifejezésének a kérdése. (Hegedűs, 2019)

Ez a nyelvi funkció természetesen több témakörrel rokon, így például a térirányok, a relációs szókincs, illetve az irányhármasság területével. E kérdéskör tankönyvi viszonylatban a téri orientáció fejlesztésétől, (mivel ez a rész-képesség-fejlesztéssel is összefügg, már az elsős tankönyvben megjelenik.) egészen a határozóragok, névutók, névmások és határozószók vizsgálatáig terjedhet. (Lukács – Pléh – Racsmány, 2007.)

A tanulásmódszertanban konszenzus van arról, hogy a tanulás, megismerés egyik fontos bázisa a téri tájékozódás és a saját testen történő biztos tájékozódás, a saját test térbeli helyének tudatosítása. Minderre hangsúlyt fektetnek a vizsgált tankönyvekhez tartozó tanítói kézikönyvek is. (Dérené – Kóródi – N. Császi, 2017)

Megfigyelték, hogy a névutók és az irányhatások tekintetében határozott érés figyelhető meg 4-8 éves kor között. Mindezt azért fontos felvetnünk témánk kibontása előtt, mivel a téri tudás több tényező együttes működésére támaszkodik, ilyen a nyelv, az észlelés, és a kategorizálás.

A téri tájékozódás kapcsolatos anyag jól megragadható a 3. osztályban megjelenő irányhármaság tanulásával. A kérdésnek a magyar mint idegen nyelv módszertanában jelentős szakirodalma van, illetve a külföldieknek magyartanításának alapvető sarkköve, témaköre. (Csonka, 2001)

A mai magyar nyelv rendszere II. kötete szerint „[...] a helyhatározókra jellemző irányhármaság, tehát a hol? honnan? hová? kérdésre felelő helyhatározóknak pontos kifejező eszközeik (ragjaik, névutóik) természetében is megnyilvánuló elkülönülése az elvontabb határozók körében is megfigyelhető”. A leírás szerint a jelenség más határozótípusoknál is megfigyelhető.

Az összevethetőség kedvéért segítségül hívom a tankönyveket elemző fejezetben Szili Katalin főnévi határozóragokat bemutató táblázatát. A „Vezérkönyv” (Szili, 2006) írója a következő módszertani lépéseket javasolja a határozóragok tanításakor a magyart idegen nyelvként tanítóknak:

1. táblázat: A magyar határozóragok rendszere

		1	2	3
A	hol?	-ban, -ben	-n, -on, -en, ön,	-nál, -nél
B	hova?	-ba, -be	-re, -re	-hoz, -hez, -höz
C	honnan?	-ból, -ből	-ról, -ről	-tól, -től

Forrás: Szili Katalin (2006)

Másfelől a helyviszonyok kifejezése különböző kommunikációs szituációk nyelvi reprezentációiban is megjelenhetnek: munka, oktatás, szórakozás, utazás, vásárlás, lakás, betegség, ügyintézés, földrajzi nevek (Budapesten, Debrecenben)

III. Jelen kutatás kérdései

A kutatás megvalósítása érdekében a következő kérdéseket és feltételezéseket fogalmaztuk meg. A fő kérdésünk az, hogy milyen nyelvléíró struktúrák, hasonlóságok, különbségek jelennek meg a funkcionális, kommunikatív szempontból az alsó tagozatos anyanyelvi tankönyvekben és a MID-könyvekben? Meghatározható-e a különbségek eredete? Továbbá milyen nyelvi minták és modellek következnek mindebből a pedagógiai térben?

Milyen kommunikatív értékű szerepe van a kínált feladatoknak, az indukciós szövegeknek, képeknek, stb. a nyelvről, kontextusról való ismeret közvetítésében a nyelvhasználat, nyelvtanhasználat vetületében?

a. Feltételezzük, hogy a vizsgált alsó tagozatos nyelvtankönyv és a MID-nyelvkönyv:

- az irányhármasággal, a főnévi határozóragokkal kapcsolatos tartalmakat eltérő módon, különböző sorrendben dolgozzák fel.

b. Feltételezzük, hogy a vizsgált MID-nyelvkönyv az újgenerációs nyelvtankönyvvel szemben:

- több és változatos térbeli helyszíneket jelenít meg.
- a témakör bemutatásakor indukciós szövegből, vagy eseményképből indul ki,
- előtérbe helyezi a párbeszédre épülő feladatokat és a kooperatív munkaformát.

Feltételezéseink szerint, azért lényeges az induktivitás és a kooperativitás meglétének és milyenségének vizsgálata, mivel ezen részterületek szorosan összefüggnek a funkcionális tankönyvi környezet megteremtésével.

IV. A vizsgálat módszere, mintavétel

Az összehasonlítás szempontsorának kialakításakor azzal az előfeltevéssel éltünk, hogy a funkcionális megközelítés tetten érhető, ha összefüggés tárható fel a párbeszédre épülő feladatok, a kooperatív munkaformák és a nyílt végű kérdések mennyiségében és minőségében, illetve abban, hogy mindez – vagyis az adott nyelvi jelenség bemutatására szolgáló lecke – egy a kontextust felállító indukciós anyagra, eseményképre vagy szövegre (referenciára) épül.

Tartalomelemző eljárással keresztmetszeti (összehasonlító) elemzést végzünk Weinbrenner-féle „komplex” tankönyvkutatási modell segítségével. Hármasszoros rendszerből a produktumorientált tankönyvkutatás típusát alkalmazzuk. Kiemelten kívánunk foglalkozni a szaktudományi dimenzióval. Ide tartozik a szaktudományi megfelelés, az aktuális szaktudományi eredmények, viták, módszerek jelenlétének a kérdése.

Jelen esetben ez a funkcionális nyelvészet eredményeinek a megvalósítását, didaktikai adaptációjának a kérdését jelenti, ugyanakkor ez a tanulmány csupán a téri nyelv/irányhármasság alsó tagozatos tankönyvi vizsgálatára tud vállalkozni. Mintavételünk csak az ezzel kapcsolatos anyagrészek feldolgozására korlátozódik.

V. Eredmények

V.1. Az Anyanyelv és kommunikáció tankönyvek

A tankönyvek áttekintése után azt látjuk, hogy igaz az a feltételezésünk, hogy *az irányhármassággal, a főnévi határozóragokkal kapcsolatos tartalmakat eltérő módon, elérő sorrendben dolgozzák fel* a vizsgált könyvek. Mindez többféle különbségben jelenik meg. Az alsó tagozatos nyelvtankönyvekben valójában nem a téri nyelv (formai, funkcionális) megismerésén van a hangsúly, hanem a szótó és a todalék különválasztásán, illetve különböző helyesírási szempontokon.

Megjegyzendő, hogy a felsorolt irányhármassággal összefüggő szófajok közül a névutók, névmások, határozószók csoportja része a könyvnek, de ezek bemutatását nem a térszemlélet elvei alapján szervezi, illetve nem mutat rá a köztük lévő nyelvhasználati összefüggésekre.

Az anyanyelvi nevelésben a határozóragok a nyelvhasználatban ismertek, ezért a könyv a forma felől közelíti meg a róluk szóló témát. Megjegyzendő azonban, hogy a *honnán, hol, hová?* (CAB) típusú csoportosítás átlátható ugyan, de összefüggésekre, alkalmazási módokra, így az *Anyanyelv és kommunikáció* csak részben teremt funkcionális keretet ebben a témakörben.

V.2. A Kiliki-féle nyelvkönyv

Ezzel szemben a *Kiliki a Földön* könyvben az irányhármasság, a téri tájékozódás nyelvi kifejezése is nagyon hangsúlyos, az első kötet szinte minden leckében megjelenik, többféle összefüggésben is, a második kötet fejezeteinek is a felében jelen van.

Van-e jelentősége a todalékok tanítási sorrendjének? A magyar mint idegen nyelv tanításában mindenképp, hiszen az egyszerűbb, gyakori formából indulunk ki és haladunk az árnyalt, speciális nyelvi területek irányába. A vizsgált nyelvkönyvben A1, A2, A3 a sorrend, illetve BAC.

V.2. Felépítés, a tankönyvek által használt módszerek

A MID-nyelvkönyv több és változatosabb helyszínt jelenít meg. Az újgenerációs könyvben elenyésző számban jelenik meg az anyaggal kapcsolatos kommunikációs szintér, illetve funkcionális helyviszonyjelölés. A Kilikiben minden nyelvi közlés valamilyen térben (otthon, piacon, városban) történik, hiszen a képek, a rajzok általában minden feladat kísérője, kontextust építő eleme.

Nem igazolódott, hogy csak a MID-könyvek építenek az induktív módszerre a témafeldolgozásban. Az *Anyanyelv és kommunikáció* főbb fejezetei eseményképekből indulnak ki, emellett minden esetben van kooperatív munkára vonatkozó feladat, ami kapcsolódik a kiinduló képhez. Pl.: *Alkoss szóban! Beszéljétek meg! Vitassátok meg! Beszéljétek meg a mondatokat jelentését! Értelmezzétek a jelentésüket!* Látható, hogy a könyvet kifejezetten osztálytermi munkához írták.

2. táblázat: Funkcionális módszerek és az irányhármasság témaköre a vizsgált tankönyvekben

	3. osztály - Anyanyelv és kommunikáció (tankönyv és munkafüzet)	4. osztály - Anyanyelv és kommunikáció (tankönyv és munkafüzet)
Hány leckében jelenik meg az irányhármasság?	- A főnév és a hozzá tartozók fejezetben - Öt lecke foglalkozik a kérdéssel (határozóragos főnevek, névutók, igeekötők) - A munkafüzetben szintén öt	- A főnév és a melléknév fejezetén belül - A tavalyi ismeretek ismétlése több oldalékkal együtt történik
Funkcionális helyviszonyok, kommunikációs szinterek	- A mondatfajták között - A fejezet nyitó kép elemzése helyszín szempontjából: utcakép, bolt	- A földrajzi nevek között
Mi a határozóragok tanítási sorrendje?	- A sorrend: honnan? hol? hova? 1. lépés: C1, A1, B1 2. lépés: C2, A2, B2 3. lépés: C3, A3, B3	-
Indukciós szöveg vagy kép	tankönyv: van munkafüzet: nincs	tankönyv: van munkafüzet: nincs
Kooperatív feladatok	munkafüzet: 14/1 tankönyv: 14/5	munkafüzet: 2/1 tankönyv: 3/1
Funkciót szemléltető feladat	munkafüzet: 14/3 tankönyv: 14/5	munkafüzet: 2/1 tankönyv: 3/1
Nyílt végű kérdések	munkafüzet: 14/3 tankönyv: 14/4	munkafüzet: 2/1 tankönyv: 3/1

Forrás: Saját kutatás

A *Kiliki* a gazdag képanyaga révén szemléletes ugyan, de mindent az írásbeliséghez köt. Az indukciós anyag jellemzően egy fejezeteleji párbeszéd, ill. egy főszereplőkkel történt eseménysor. A feladatok szinte kizárólag az egyéni munkához és az íráshoz kapcsolódnak. Jellemzők a *Kösd össze! Egészsítsd ki! Írd le!* típusú utasítások, de előfordulnak szóbeli, kooperatív instrukciók is: *Rajzold le! Mutatkozzatok be! Mutassátok be a gyerekeket! Hol van Magyarország?* Valószínűsíthető szándék a szerzők részéről, hogy leginkább önálló tanulásra tegyék alkalmassá a taneszközt.

3. táblázat: Funkcionális módszerek és az irányhármasság témaköre a vizsgált tankönyvekben

	Kilikii a Földön 1. kötet	Kilikii a Földön 2. kötet
Hány leckében jelenik meg az irányhármasság?	- Az első leckét kivéve, minden fejezetben megjelenik valamelyik részrendszere	- Összesen öt leckében, a könyv felében
Funkcionális helyviszonyok, kommunikációs szintek	- Helyviszonyok, szerkezetek a lakás berendezéseivel kapcsolatban - Továbbá: park, játszótér, űrhajó - Bármilyen nyelvi szerkezetben kifejezett tartalom „történik valahol”, hiszen a könyv jellemzően minden mondatához, szöveghez társít rajzot, vagy képet.	- Helyviszonyok, szerkezetek a bolt, az utca a metró, a mozi, az iskola, a park, a ház, az erdő, a büfé, a hentes kommunikációs szintereken - A város jellemző terei jelennek meg a beszédhelyzetekben - A bemutatott terek az utazással, nyaralással, Magyarország tájaival kapcsolatosak
Mi a határozóragok tanítási sorrendje?	- 3. lecke, Hol van? (-ban, -ben) 1. lépés: A1 - 4. lecke, Hol van Kiliki? (-n, -n, -on, -en, -ön) 2. lépés: A2	- 1. lecke, Hol van Kiliki? (-nál, -nél) 3. lépés: A3 - Hova megy Kiliki? (Hova? Hol?) 4. lépés: B1, A1; B2, A2; B3, A3 2. lecke, Honnan jön Kiliki? (Hova? Hol? Honnan?) 5. lépés: BAC, minden toldalék
Indukciós szöveg vagy kép	Tankönyv: van	Tankönyv: van
Kooperatív feladatok	tankönyv: 52/8	tankönyv: 31/5
Funkciót szemléltető feladat	tankönyv: 52/13	tankönyv: 31/8
Nyílt végű kérdések	tankönyv: 52/18	tankönyv: 31/12

Forrás: Saját kutatás

Amennyiben helyesnek ítéljük előfeltevéseinket, miszerint a kontextus típusa, a szóbeliség, a párbeszéd munkafarmák és a nyílt végű feladatok összefüggésében vizsgálható egy nyelvtankönyv funkcionális szemlélete – vagyis az, hogy a beszélő nyelvi nézőpontját és környezetét figyelembe véve írjuk le a nyelvi jelenségeket – akkor kijelenthető, hogy mindkét könyv megfelel, de eltérő módon ezeknek a követelményeknek.

VI. Összegzés, következtetések

A nyelvtani szabályok bemutatását középpontba állító tankönyvek háttérbe szorulásával párhuzamosan megjelentek a kommunikatív és funkcionális felépítésű, nyelvkönyvek szerkesztési, felépítési stílusát követő kiadványok. Ennek igénye, elvárása jelenik meg a tartalmi szabályzó dokumentumokban is. Természetesen a helyesírás nem vesztett jelentőségéből, viszont a „jelentés” kiemelése hangsúlyossá teszi a kontextusra épített, induktív menetű feldolgozási módot.

Bebizonyosodott, hogy az újgenerációs könyv irányhármassággal kapcsolatos fejezetében nincs valós funkcionális keret, mivel a struktúra a szófaji felosztást követi. (Kojanitz, 2014.) A szófaji felosztás a helyesírási ismeretek, illetve a szövegértés fejlesztése miatt elhagyhatatlan. Megállapíthatjuk, hogy kétségtelen előrelépés az indukciós nyelvbemutató, a sok kooperatív, szóbeli, nyílt végű feladat.

A funkcionális nyelvészet alsó tagozatos tankönyvi adaptációjának „gyermekbetegsége” abban áll, hogy a nyelvtankönyvek fókuszában nagyrészt továbbra is helyesírási, formai kérdések állnak, a tananyagrészek jellemzően nem jutnak el a jelentés és a funkció vizsgálatáig. Ebből adódóan az Anyanyelv és kommunikáció tankönyv nem helyez kellő hangsúlyt a bemutatandó nyelvi jelenséggel kapcsolatban arra, hogy az a tanuló nyelvváltozatára, nyelvi ismereteire, illetve az ezekből fakadó kognitív „igényeire” reflektáljon.

VI.1. További fejlesztési lehetőségek

A nyelvtanórai tudáskonstruálás akkor lesz hatékony, ha a diák viszonyba tudja hozni a tanórán történeteket saját nyelvi tapasztalataival és az ezzel kapcsolatos sematizálódó modellel. (Kugler, 2015.)

A további nyelvtankönyvi fejlesztésekkel az a cél, hogy minél eredményesebb dialógusviszony jöhessen létre a tanuló nyelvváltozata és a tudomány által írt nyelvértelmezés között. A funkcionális szemlélet eredményeképpen pedig egy életkori sajátosságokra, induktív beszédfolyamatra és használatra építő élményszerű nyelvmegismerés legyen az iskolai gyakorlat. (Tolcsvai, 2005: 359)

A felsoroltak mellett, egyre több iskolában és osztályban jelentkezik igény magyar idegen nyelvként történő tanítására. Éppen ezért célszerű volna összefésülni a magyartanítás anyanyelvként és idegen nyelvként használatos módszertani és metanyelvi apparátusát.

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Use of API Technology to Promote the Chatbot Knowledge Base and Integration within MOOC platform

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In the past year's chatbot technologies have proven to be effective modern Information Communication Technology applications that perform many different virtual tasks [1]. By applying Natural Language Processing chatbots can communicate and assist the user to perform some tasks in a specific domain [2]. This research aims to develop a chatbot by using the currently available technologies that promise convenient accessibility means for the user such as the Facebook Messenger platform and integrate the chatbot with a course on the Canvas MOOC platform to examine the potential of utilizing the chatbot in answering the participants' queries about the course. The selected course content was themes of Informatics. Another objective is to investigate the possibility and reliability of using API technologies to connect developed chatbots to the course content on the Canvas MOOC platform and use the API communication approach to expand the Chatbot knowledge base by retrieving the appropriate data from third-party knowledge centers such as Wikipedia.

Keywords: Chatbot, Conversational Agents, Pedagogical Agents, Intelligent Agents, API, Canvas, MOOC

I Introduction

Technology has changed the way people communicate and interact. One of the rapidly emerging innovations in information and communication technologies is the development of chatbots or conversational agents. Chatbots are computer agents that communicate naturally with humans using text and speech. These technologies can process user messages using natural language processing algorithms.

In recent decades, Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has significantly changed the higher education environment and the Smart Learning Environments (SLE) approach has emerged, which uses innovative technologies and artificial intelligence to enable greater flexibility, personalization, engagement, and motivation of learners [4].

The use of these technologies has become crucial as the high demand for education has recently put a lot of pressure on higher education institutions. Clear evidence of this is that the number of students per teacher is increasing [5]. This means that the support of each teacher for each student is decreasing significantly [6]. This is one of the main reasons for ineffective learning and a high dropout rate [7,8]. Academics and managers have started offering chatbots to address these daunting challenges in the education sector. Chatbots promise to solve a variety of problems in education today [27]. One of the biggest advantages of chatbots is that they can provide students with personalized and intensive tutoring [9], which is especially useful in large learning environments at universities or in Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs). The fundamental issue with chatbots is limited communication due to a lack of vocabulary and information that is incomplete or incorrect [10, 11, 12]. Due to this problem, chatbots have a low penetration rate and their use is limited to the simple dyadic conversation [13, 14, 15,3]. Therefore, future research should focus on expanding the knowledge base and turning the chatbot into an open educational resource [16, 17]. Most studies on chatbots in learning have been conducted in controlled experimental settings [18, 19, 20]. We need more research that focuses on the integration and use of chatbots 'in the wild', i.e. in the original environment of Massive Open Online Courses.

Our research question is to investigate the potential of using current online communication technologies to develop a chatbot and connect it, on the one hand, to massive knowledge centers that enable real-time communication and data transfer between chatbot and these platforms, to expand the knowledge base of the conversational agent, and on the other hand, to integrate the chatbot in real-time with course content on a MOOC platform so that the chatbot can respond to course-related questions from users using these communication methods and explore the possibility of deploying the chatbot on these platforms.

With respect to the research questions in this study, we will use publicly available technologies to develop a chatbot utilize application program interfaces (APIs) to connect the developed chatbot to course content on the MOOC platform as well as to large knowledge bases such as Wikipedia to expand the knowledge base of the conversational agent.

II Materials and methods

II.1 Chatbot Development

There are several platforms for developing chatbots, most of which are commercial and require payment for resources depending on the package used. One of these platforms is Chatfuel. From a developer perspective, the Chatfuel service is the most commonly used platform for chatbot development [22]. When developing the chatbot, our priority was to use publicly available technologies that provide modern development, integration and communication methods.

The Facebook Messenger app was used as the initial and client-side component of the chatbot. Recent statistics show how heavily Facebook Messenger is used and adopted by social media and mobile device users. Every month, more than 1.3 billion people use Facebook Messenger [21] and the

Facebook Messenger mobile application is the third most used app in the world, used by 68 percent of users [22].

The wit.ai API was used as the Natural Language Processing (NLP) engine for the chatbot. Wit.ai is an open and extensible NLP engine for developers that was acquired by Facebook. It is a free software-as-a-service (SaaS) platform that provides a simple user interface and fast-learning APIs to understand human communication in every interaction.

To connect the chatbot to the selected course content available on the Eotvos Loránd University MOOC platform, the Canvas API was used with multiple endpoints to retrieve specific information about the course in each case.

The Wikipedia API with various endpoints was used to extend the chatbot's knowledge base. The answer generation component worked in such a way that if the answer to the user query was not found in the course content, the questions were sent in structured data to the Wikipedia knowledge center via the API. In general, Wikipedia API answers were structured in the form of a summary of the term with an image, if available, and four randomly selected related terms for which the user could also submit a query.

Figure (1) illustrates the general structure of the chatbot, which consists of different components. In each component, different technology has been used. The connection between all the components is made through API technologies including Messenger app API, wit.ai API, Canvas MOOC API, and Wikipedia API. The chatbot webhook or server was implemented in NodeJS and JavaScript programming technologies. This component was responsible for forwarding the user messages to all other components and sending the response message to the Facebook Messenger app. The chatbot responds with a default message generated by the chatbot's server or the webhook if there was no matching response in all the components that generate a response based on the structured data entity.

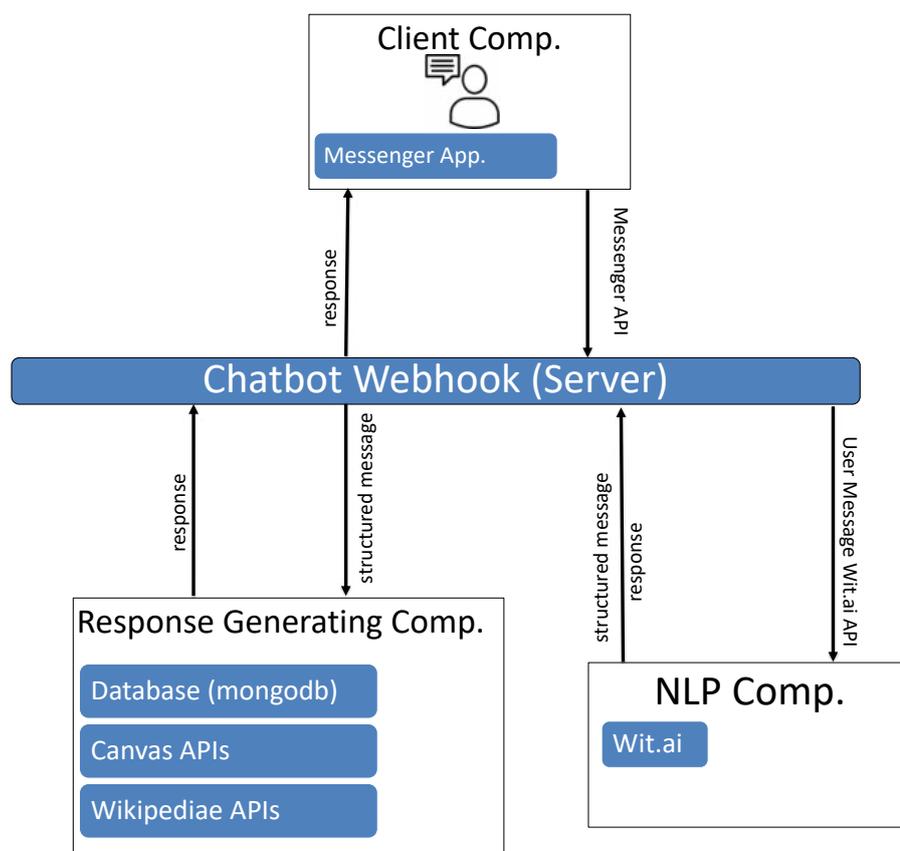


Figure 1. General Structure of the Chatbot

II.2 Course Selection and Data training

After developing the chatbot using publicly available technologies and APIs, the next step was to select an appropriate course and integrate the chatbot into that course. The course we chose for this purpose was the popular Experiential Informatics course on the Canvas MOOC platform of Eötvös Loránd University, which was open to the general public in the Hungarian language from June 10 to August 31 in the summer of 2021.

From the selected course content, 316 question-answer pairs were generated by going through each model of the course and identifying the possible questions students might ask. This dataset was used to train wit.ai, the NLP component of the chatbot, with the course content. Based on the questions generated in the dataset, different intent categories were created in wit.ai platform.

II.3 Data Analysis

For data analysis, we technically monitored the app log to analyze user messages to the chatbot and the conversational agent's response to user messages. To incorporate user feedback regarding the chatbot response to their message, each chatbot response was assigned a question asking the user if they were satisfied with the chatbot response to that particular question. The user could choose the option YES or NO.

The Messenger Analytic App and wit.ai Insights were used to analyze the interface through which the user interacts with the chatbot and the user's satisfaction with the chatbot response. In addition, these analytics tools were used to investigate the source of the chatbot response, e.g., to determine whether it came from the Canvas MOOC APIs used to connect the chatbot to the selected course content, or whether the response came from the Wikipedia APIs.

III Results

The result of the data collected and analyzed from the time the course was running shows that there were a total of 214 individual interactions and engagements between different course participants and conversational agents. Of these, 149 used the Facebook Messenger app to initiate an interaction and conversation, representing 69% of the total number of interactions. On the other hand, 65 other interactions, which accounted for 31% of all interactions, were initiated through the chatbot plugin, either through the course page on the Canvas MOOC platform or through the chatbot plugin on the website developed specifically for the course. This indicates that most students engaged with the chatbot through the Facebook Messenger platform using their hand devices.

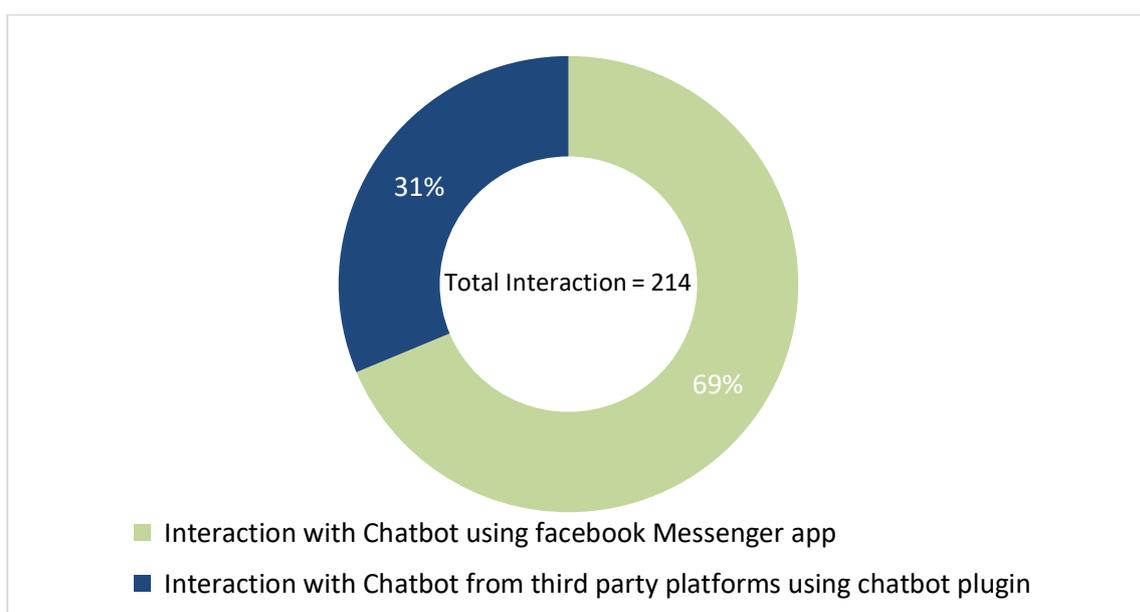


Figure 2 Source of User Interaction with the Chatbot

Participants identified 286 conversational agent responses to these utterances as correct responses, representing 68% of the total utterances. The remaining chatbot responses were either identified as inaccurate or not reported back by the participant.

Regarding the source of correct chatbot answers, 60% of all correct answers given by chatbots to participants' questions came from Wikipedia APIs and 40% from Canvas APIs used to access course materials. API technology appeared to be a reliable means of developing a chatbot and connecting it to the course content on MOOC platforms such as Canvas and real-time information centers to expand the knowledge base of this tool.

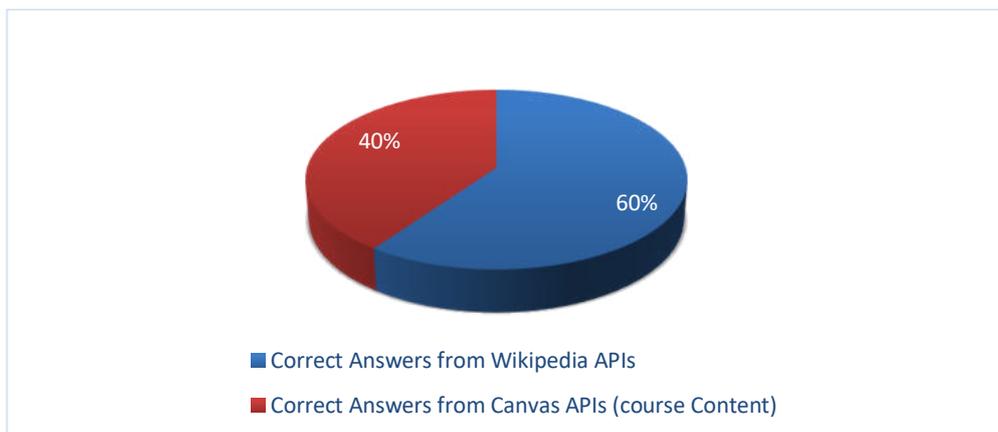


Figure 3. Source of Chatbot correct answer By APIs

IV Conclusion

The availability of sophisticated methods to access the chatbot is essential for the constant and convenient use of chatbot technology. In this study, we used the Facebook Messenger platform to integrate the chatbot through an API, which proved to be a well-accepted and user-friendly platform for interacting and messaging with the chatbot. The API technologies enabled robust connectivity and data exchange between the chatbot and course content on the Canvas MOOC platform on the one hand, and third-party applications such as Wikipedia Knowledge Center on the other. This was due to the variety, richness, manipulation capabilities, and format of the data that an API can transfer in real-time. In addition, the Wikipedia API seemed to provide a huge repository of information for expanding the chatbot's knowledge base.

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Fidesz's Conception of Democracy: Continuity or Radical Change?

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The categorization of the Orbán-regime as democratic or not depends on how one thinks about liberal democracy. If one accepts a mainstream definition of democracy, then Fidesz might fall outside this category. This essay aims to look at Fidesz's conception of democracy, instead of how Fidesz's democracy conception is viewed from the *outside*. The external assessment of Fidesz's conception of democracy runs along the lines that Fidesz, as a liberal party, was in line with the liberal democratic zeitgeist following the democratic transition. However a radical change happened when the party switched to the political right, which has since led to not just a deterioration of democracy, but a rejection of the liberal democratic ideal of the West. Fidesz, on the other hand, sees itself as the defender of democracy in the face of an increasingly undemocratic liberal democracy.

Keywords: Fidesz; liberal democracy; regime change; illiberalism; conflict

Introduction

In the past decade Fidesz has become the poster child for democratic backsliding in the field of democracy studies. According to many, the once liberal party that was celebrated for its role in the change of regime has created a hybrid regime (Bozóki – Hegedűs, 2018) and even become authoritarian (Ágh, 2016; Scheiring – Szombati, 2020). These evaluations are external evaluations, however. This essay aims to look at how Fidesz defines its conception of democracy, since Fidesz does not see itself as undemocratic, in fact, it posits that liberal democracy has become more and more undemocratic. The essay argues that looking at the definition of democracy through the lens of the conflict between the two elements of liberal democracy, liberalism and democracy, can help better understand Fidesz's current conception of democracy.

It is true that the Hungarian party system has changed significantly since 2010. The two-thirds majority electoral win of Fidesz-KDNP has given the governing parties an opportunity to make changes to the political system to the extent that Viktor Orbán, the prime minister and leader of Fidesz, has defined the system as an illiberal democracy. This essay argues, that the change in Fidesz's concept of democracy came earlier than 2010. The supermajority win and the transformation it made possible, was the outcome of the party following a systematic strategy outlined in the mid 90s. In order to prove this, the essay first looks at the differences and conflict between the liberal and right-wing conceptions of democracy, then presents the evolution of Fidesz's conception of democracy from the change of regime until the present. Finally, the essay comes to the conclusion that Fidesz's conception of democracy changed earlier and has much more continuity than commonly thought.

I. Limits to the mainstream conception of democracy

The categorization of the Orbán-regime as democratic or not depends on how one defines the concept of democracy. Following the third wave of democratization Francis Fukuyama's theory about the end of history (Fukuyama, 1989) has paved the way for liberal democracy to be the mainstream definition of democracy. The current narratives of democratic backsliding (Greskovits, 2015), hybridization (Levitsky – Way, 2010) etc. all measure the quality of democracy based on the prerequisites of liberal democracies. According to the 2021 Varieties of Democracy Index (V-Dem) the number of liberal democracies in the world has dropped from 41 to 32 in the past ten years (V-Dem Institute, 2021). At the same time, the Liberal Democracy Index (LDI) is composed of two elements. The Liberal Component Index (LCI) measures three liberal indices aside from the components of the Electoral Democracy Index (EDI); equality before the law and individual liberty, as well as judicial and legislative constraints.¹ While there are more indicators which look at institutions that guarantee free and fair elections and less about how governments are limited in terms of the protection of individual liberties and the checks and balances between institutions, the V-Dem Index values liberal democracies at a higher level than electoral democracies. While there is nothing wrong with this, all such reports are value based – therefore subjective – to a certain extent, it reflects a certain zeitgeist. This mainstream approach of emphasizing the liberal values of liberal democracy over the democratic ones may distort our picture of democracy though. To bring one example, according to V-Dem the indicators concerning the cleanness of elections did not decline, in fact in many cases they even showed improvement. Nevertheless, based on other factors the V-Dem report

¹The EDI, or the “minimum criteria” for democracy, is composed of five indicators, those of suffrage, elected officials, clean elections, freedom of association, freedom of expression and alternative sources of information.

comes to the conclusion that though the world is much more democratic than in the 1970s and 80s, on a global level the state of democracy has declined to that of the 90s.

What is interesting in this conclusion is that the 90s, or the time of democratic transition for most of East-Central Europe were about adopting western-style political institutions, introducing free and fair elections, and a free market economy. That is, the focus was primarily on the criteria of the EDI than that of the LCI. Especially in Hungary which was seen as the happiest barrack during the previous regime and where there was a peaceful, negotiated transition, societal expectations were to overcome western neighbors in terms of the standard of living. The role of individual liberties and freedom were of less importance on their list of expectations compared to other countries (Simon, 1995). Opinion polls carried out in January 1992, just half a year after the first democratic elections, showed that peoples' perception of democracy was that voters identified democracy with a welfare state (Lázár, 1993). 50% of those asked saw economic equality, while 38% saw political freedoms as the most important for democracy. Those with a higher level of education saw political freedoms as more important which showed that there was at least two different approaches to democracy, that of the people, and that of the elite.

A quarter of a century following the change of regime not much had changed. "...Hungarians consider economic well-being and financial security as much an integral part of democracy as free elections, the institution of the popular vote and civil liberties (Bíró-Nagy, 2016:14)". Based on the 2015 Autumn Eurobarometer results it can be seen that Hungarians saw existential and individual values as the highest priority, while they are less attached to democracy and especially the rule of law, and don't care much for values that strengthen social cohesion, such as solidarity or tolerance (Ibid). Financial stability was more important than democratic values, especially for those who were lacking financial stability or were negatively impacted by the change of regime. While the authors see this as one of the reasons while Viktor Orbán can be so successful, I would like to highlight the importance of what elements of democracy are measured and how important they are seen as. If we look at the quality of democracy in a country through the lens of a Schumpeterian minimalist conception of democracy or through a liberal democratic approach we will get very different results. While it is possible to say that the later is more desirable one, it is perhaps unwise to see it as "the" definition of democracy.

The debate over democratic backsliding has shed light to the role of the dominance of liberal elements in democratization studies. More and more authors are starting to differentiate between the two elements of liberal democracy – liberal and democratic ones – showing that there has always been conflict between the two.

I.1.1. The conflict of the two elements of democracy

It is important to examine the relationship of the two elements of democracy because many people feel that the balance between the two has tipped towards the liberal element. While conservative, right-wing politicians have felt since the end of the 1960s that a liberal dominance has come about, the liberal democracy vs. illiberal debate of the past decade is a new spin on this sentiment. Previously the dominance was seen as a primarily cultural dominance, today it is seen as a political, economic, and cultural one that needs to be counterbalanced, moreover tipped to their benefit. This can be clearly seen in the Hungarian right wing, conservative desire to copy the American conservative countercultural movement (Lakatos, 2019). This is in line with the fact that Fidesz does not see itself as populist, authoritarian or anti-democratic. Instead it feels that it has to defend democracy in face of an increasingly undemocratic liberal

democracy. This however is a political assessment which does not suffice with righting a perceived imbalance, it aims to change the Hungarian political system so that the liberal democratic dominance cannot reoccur. Let us look first at the political science arguments though, which aim to explain the relationship of the two elements.

Historically, the marriage of the two elements of liberal democracy was not evident. The liberal elements such as checks and balances, freedom of speech, or rule of law preceded the democratic ones (universal suffrage for example) as liberal political thinkers (John Stuart Mill, James Madison etc.) were afraid of democracy and the tyranny of the majority. The liberal elite of the time was very much against the expansion of democratic elements. The two elements of liberal democracy only fused into the term we know today at the end of the 1940s with universal suffrage becoming widespread.

In her book studying the development of European democracies and dictatorships from the French revolution to the fall of Communism, Sheri Berman argues that optimistic and pessimistic cycles concerning the future of democracies are not new at all (Berman, 2019). These were present at all previous democratic waves and the democratic backsliding that inevitably followed. The first thing to be learned from this is that consolidated liberal democracies come about after a long and difficult process full of challenges and failures. Historical experiences show that what is expected of democracies today – namely a quick and unmistakable, moreover irreversible change from dictatorship to democracy – was incredibly rare. Most democratic transitions were just the beginning of a process which led to a country becoming a liberal democracy, not the end.

Berman points out that the consolidation of liberal democracies in Europe came about in two phases. The first one, which started in 1789 and was about the dismantling of the political, social and economic legacy of previous regimes. This lasted till the second World War. The second phase was creating the political, social, and economic infrastructure of a new liberal order which could take the place of the previous one. The tragedies of World War II created the consensus that liberal democracy would be the desirable form of democracy. This is the time when most Western-European countries added those liberal guarantees into their constitutions which we now see as the fundamentals of liberal democracy. Everything about the new national, regional and international orders were designed to evade economic crises and social fragmentation which would lead to discontentment with democracy, hence the evolution of radical movements. Nevertheless this new order has been visibly shaken in the past decade, which, according to Berman, has caused several problems to resurface that have previously undermined liberal democracy.

In her essay titled “*Against the Technocrats*” Berman adds, that it is important to understand that while the fears concerning populism, illiberalism and majoritarianism are legitimate, attributing them to too much democracy is not (Berman, 2018). In this sense she goes against the traditional view of populism and liberal democracy, arguing that it is not the democratic element of liberal democracy that is responsible for populism. Authors such as Alexis de Tocqueville, John Stuart Mill or José Ortega y Gasset were afraid that democracy would lead to the tyranny of the majority and that the masses would come under the influence of illiberal dictators. Berman however thinks that the approaches which equate illiberalism with the unchecked power of the people misunderstand the historical development of liberal democracy, as well as the interaction of its two elements. She calls attention to the fact that democracy was always a precondition to liberalism, while this was not the case the other way around. As she says previously in an essay, “...although democracy unchecked by liberalism can slide into

tyrannical majoritarianism, liberalism unchecked by democracy can easily deteriorate into elitist oligarchy” (Berman, 2017).

Failed attempts at democratization played an important role in societies learning to appreciate liberal values and institutions. The French Revolution is a prominent example of this. The first modern democracy of Europe soon became a dictatorship. The dissolution of the Ancien Régime however is what made the rise of liberal democracy possible. This is partly why she feels that it is not “hyperdemocratization” that is threatening liberal democracy today, but the fact that the liberal elements have become too prominent. Democratic institutions and the elite have become isolated from society, causing dissatisfaction with liberal democracy which led to the strengthening of populist politicians in Europe and the United States respectively. In her view, it is not possible however to strengthen liberal democracy by constraining the democratic elements. Instead the elites and institutions should be more responsive to the needs of citizens, in this case the current situation will be temporary.

Dani Rodrik follows a similar approach. In his essay titled “*The Double Threat to Liberal Democracy*” he also builds upon the idea that the rise of illiberal democracies are a reaction to the imbalance of the liberal element of liberal democracy (Rodrik, 2018). “Illiberal democracy – or populism – is not the only political menace confronting Western countries. Liberal democracy is also being undermined by a tendency to emphasize “liberal” at the expense of “democracy” (Ibid.)”. This means that the power and accountability of democratically elected leaders is becoming more and more constrained by formal and informal factors such as bureaucracy, autonomous regulators, and independent courts. It is these bodies that set policies, or impose them from the outside through the global economy, hence the politicians’ possibilities to actually influence policies is restricted. In his book, “*The People vs. Democracy*”, Yascha Mounk calls this undemocratic liberalism (Mounk, 2019). Mounk differentiates between illiberalism, that is democracy without rights, and non-democratic liberalism, rights without democracy. An example of the first one would be the Orbán regime, while an example of the latter would be Greece following the 2008 financial crisis. Illiberalism and non-democratic liberalism are two sides of the same coin according to Mounk. On the one hand citizens preferences are increasingly becoming illiberal, and they tolerate ethnic and religious minorities rights less and less, on the other hand the elites truly have a hold on the political system and react to the needs of people less and less. Mounk’s conclusion is that one of the reasons for the crisis of liberal democracy is that it is becoming increasingly difficult to channel the opinion of the majority into the legislative process.

While there are many other examples, it is clear that there is a strong argument within the field of political science for the reassessment of the relationship of the two elements of liberal democracy and the name given to the conflict caused by the attempt to strengthen the democratic element. After showing the nature of the conflict I now present it through the case of Fidesz.

II. The evolution of Fidesz’s conception of democracy

A novelty of this essay is that it decides to look at Fidesz’s conception of democracy, instead of how Fidesz’s democracy conception is viewed from the *outside*. Not that the external evaluation of the party and its approach to democracy is not interesting, but much more has been written about it than of the self-interpretation of the party’s conception of democracy and how it has changed over time. What is common in these is that they generally evaluate Fidesz through the lens of liberal democracy. Therefore the external assessment of Fidesz’s conception

of democracy runs along the lines that Fidesz, as a liberal party, was in line with the liberal democratic zeitgeist following the democratic transition. However a radical change happened when the party switched to the political right, which has since led to not just a deterioration of democracy, but a rejection of the liberal democratic ideal of the West. I argue that Fidesz's interpretation is very different. It sees itself as the defender of democracy in the face of an increasingly undemocratic liberal democracy for many of the same reasons that have been mentioned in the previous section.

II.1.1. Fidesz's conception of democracy following 1989

It is impossible to study Fidesz's conception of democracy following the change of regime independent of the zeitgeist of the third wave of democratization. As a liberal party Fidesz was in line with the Western the approach to democracy for quite a while. It agreed with the dominant approach to democratization of the time, transitology, which saw democracy as the realization of peaceful transition of power following elections. Fidesz shared this interpretation, at the same time it was greatly disappointed by its results on the first free democratic elections in 1990. This disappointment was exacerbated by the fact that the next elections saw the victory of the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP), which Fidesz saw as the successor of the previous regime's ruling party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSZMP). Following the prominent role the party played in the change of regime, these two factors contributed to the changing of Fidesz. The party's perception of the political situation in Hungary was that though there had been a democratic transition formally, in reality it was just a transformation of the elite, aimed at the long term embedding of the political, financial and cultural elite. The fact that the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), the larger liberal party of which Fidesz was seen as the "youth movement" of, formed a coalition with MSZP in 1994 led to Fidesz identifying liberalism with a post-socialist ideology.

Even after the MSZP-SZDSZ coalition was formed, Fidesz was only critical of liberal politics. It was during the past decade that the party started to fight against liberal democracy itself, or rather the liberal elements of it which it saw as disproportionately dominant. At the time the party did not have the political power or the strategy to be able to step up as an ideological alternative to it. It became clear for the party that if it wanted to pose an ideological alternative it would need to take over the position of political, economic and cultural dominance from its opponents. While the infamous 2014 speech of Viktor Orbán at Baille Tusnad where he first referred to the Hungarian political system as an illiberal one can be seen as a watershed moment, the transformation of Fidesz's conception of democracy started much earlier, in the mid-90s. The 1996 party pamphlet of Fidesz preceding the 1998 elections called "*For a Civic Hungary*" (A polgári Magyarorszáért) clearly outlined this realization (Fidesz, 1996).

II.1.2. Fidesz's transition

If we look at the 1996 party pamphlet of Fidesz, which served as the basis of the party's program for the election we can see that the concept of the liberal-left's concentration of power was already prominently featured. What is interesting about it is that Fidesz saw both MSZP and SZDSZ as trying to embed its power using undemocratic means, by eliminating the possibilities for the transition of power laid down by the democratic institutions (Fidesz, 1996:49). It saw SZDSZ as trying to "latch on" to the new financial elite in order to gain support, and MSZP as a part trying to make parliamentarism unipolar. The ideological turn of Fidesz was motivated by a fear of democratic backsliding, as at the time democratic consolidation was not yet evident. Fidesz's evaluation of the situation at the time resembles very much the critiques formulated

about them since 2010. Fidesz's aim, starting from the mid-90s was to stop the liberal-left wing from becoming dominant. While this was not yet articulated at the time, it later became clear that this could only come about if Fidesz itself became a dominant party. We can find further evidence of this process in Viktor Orbán's 2009 speech at the Kötöcske civic picnic held annually for the supporters of Fidesz. The prime minister traditionally speaks at this private event every year and the 2009 speech was later published. In his speech he outlined the previously mentioned realization, and the fact that the civic alliance against the liberal-left wing dominance came about in 1996 with the Christian Democratic Party KDNP joining them. This served as the basis of the party evolving into a people's party.

The 1996 pamphlet is not just important because it shows the conception of democracy of the party but because it sheds light on the fact that many issues that are identified with Fidesz today were already present in their program at the time. Though the party's aim was to break the liberal-left's perceived concentration of power, this did not happen from one day to the next, rather it was carried out in a very conscious manner, step by step over a longer period of time, according to the possibilities afforded by its political position. In fact the process still hasn't come to its end, Fidesz is working on this project to this day.

Many elements of the party's previous liberal identity were still present in the pamphlet, but the transition could already be felt. For example the party identified itself as following the ideals of a civic democracy, a social and eco-friendly market economy, the rule of law, as well as national and international commitment. At the same time it already appears in the text that the party aims to redefine the values of modernity, adapting them to specific East-Central European and Hungarian qualities. Even at the time this was outside of the mainstream approach. At a time when Western orientation was self-evident, geopolitically Fidesz identified Hungary as "Eastern". They highlighted however, that Hungarian history had been a part of European civilization, built upon the moral and cultural values of Western Christianity, for over a thousand years (Fidesz, 1996:8). This can explain the sovereignty war fought by Viktor Orbán in the past decade. While many people wonder why a country of Hungary's size and power would go against the European Union instead of accepting the community's rules the pamphlet shows that Fidesz had championed a similar approach to Hungary's role in Europe as today long before the European integration process finished. They felt that based on its values and history, Hungary had achievements to be proud of which merited an equal partnership within the EU. They did not want to be subordinated or unconditional followers.

It is clear from the pamphlet that the party understood the weight of their transformation and that it would not be taken well. The party didn't expect sympathy or generosity from the countries of the EU but rather tight-fistedness, or from their perspective, the assertion of their interest. Even then their strategy was not blindly giving in to all demands made by Brussels, without formulating any towards the European Union. They felt that unless they protected their interests they will not be able to achieve results. This however would deal a blow to their likability.

II.1.3. The majoritarian model of democracy and the politics of conflict

The 1998 electoral victory of Fidesz gave the party the means to achieve its program. The difference in the party's style of government was immediately clear. Fidesz moved from the consensual model of democracy to a majoritarian one which led to the appearance of opinions according to which democracy was being undermined by Fidesz governance. As this essay only focuses on Fidesz's interpretation of its conception of democracy, presently I will not present

this approach. Rather I introduce the explanation given at the time for the need to move away from the consensual model identified with liberal democracy, which was interpreted as Fidesz's break with democracy.

As we could see in the previous point, Fidesz was aware of the fact that its change would cause conflict. It consciously decided to take on these issues instead of trying to reach a compromise. In a political science debate of the time Tamás Fricz pointed out that this lack of consensus was the key to the stability of the change of regime (Fricz, 2001:78). In his view, between 1990 and 1998 all anti-communist political actors followed the majoritarian model of democracy, as the two largest parties that participated in the change of regime (MDF and SZDSZ) agreed that there was consensus amongst the anti-communist parties, based upon which a competitive model of democracy could be built. This proved to be an illusion however, and very soon the fragmentation of the parties strengthened. In theory, a consensual democracy should have come about to counterbalance this fragmentation, but when Fidesz came to power in 1998 it decided that the conflicts between the different political camps must be addressed, otherwise they will resurface stronger later on. Fidesz didn't want to create the semblance of consensus, they felt that the distance between the two sides was too large to bridge with a "fake" consensus. Instead the party argued that as the change of regime hadn't finished in their opinion, or in other words the consolidation of democracy hadn't come about yet. Hence true consensus could only come about through conflict, by debating important issues.

Though Fricz saw Fidesz's actions as logical, based on their political goals, nevertheless he questioned the legitimacy of the use of the majoritarian model even when it contradicted Lijphart's theory. At the same time he argued that the majoritarian model evolved in a very different manner, and under very different circumstances than in Western Europe. He thought that in Hungary political competition was related to democratization, and while there was no consensus in the normative definition of democracy, everyone agreed that they wanted a democracy. The use of the majoritarian model in the eyes of Fidesz was the means of strengthening democracy. Naturally this interpretation went against the liberal-left's conception of democracy and already then, questions concerning the state of the rule of law arose. The majoritarian model was relegated to the background following the 2002 electoral loss of Fidesz, and by the time the party could win the elections again, in 2010, Fidesz was at a different phase of development and the majoritarian model was replaced by the concept of the "central sphere of influence" (centrális erőtér) and the National System of Cooperation (Nemzeti Együttműködés Rendszere).

In the previously mentioned speech at Kötöcs, Viktor Orbán said that the central sphere of influence was necessary exactly because there was no consensus amongst the different camps. The duality of the Hungarian political system meant that there was constant conflict. There were no common goals or shared values. The so called central sphere of influence was the ideological solution to achieving the goal Fidesz had set for itself in 1996 that is to create an alternative civic dominance of power in which they can minimize the return of the dual system.

III. Results

We could see in the previous section that the first Fidesz government was very conscious in carrying out the program it had set for itself in the mid 90s. While in their view this was a mark of their consistency, their opponents saw it as giving up their former values, and a moving towards the direction of autocracy.

Fidesz's aim was eventually to go beyond the critique of liberalism and rebalance the influence of the two elements of liberal democracy, liberalism and democracy. This however is an outcome of a long process. The party went from repositioning itself on the political spectrum, to network building, to becoming a people's party, to adopting a majoritarian model of democracy, to then amass such political influence that it could come to pose an ideological alternative to illiberal democracy as a system. It is important to understand that this process has not yet come to an end, illiberal democracy is just the current phase of this process.

The essay shows that one of the primary divergences of Fidesz's conception of democracy is concerning the role of conflict in politics. Fidesz decided to pose an ideological alternative to the liberal-left wing's concentration of power and the ideology they represented. This could not be achieved without conflict. According to the mainstream approach there cannot be consensus when posing an alternative ideological approach to liberal democracy. In the eyes of Fidesz, consensus can only be reached through debate, the central sphere of power was aimed at settling this question. In their view, by reelecting the government the people showed that they support the new system, which Fidesz considered as the finalizing of the 1989 regime change.

The essay also argues that Fidesz's conception of democracy broke away from the mainstream *earlier* than the external perception holds. If we look at written sources of the party from the mid-90s, we can see already the outlines of many of Fidesz's current positions (relationship to the EU, views of the liberal-left etc.) many of which were rooted in Hungarian historical experiences. We can draw a direct line in the development of Fidesz's conception of democracy from 1996 to 2014, when the illiberal narrative was born.

Finally, we can conclude that Fidesz's conception of democracy leads to a different form of governance. It is not just a difference in policies, that is, they are not just promising and doing different things than their opponents but along the same set of rules. The characteristic of the central sphere of influence is dominant governance, for several consecutive terms, as opposed to the previous system where a change happened practically every four years.² Fidesz's conception of democracy aims to be permanent within the frameworks of democracy. That is, it aspires to be a dominant party. This in itself is not necessarily undemocratic as the central sphere of power is actually legitimized and reinforced by elections. Since it is up to the voters to show they agree with the system, it actually even elevates the role of elections. If we interpret the quality of democracy through a Schumpeterian minimal approach, then Fidesz's conception of democracy can be interpreted as non-liberal, yet democratic.

IV. Summary

The findings of the essay prove that there is much more continuity in Fidesz's conception of democracy than what is attributed to the party. This is an important addition to the analysis of Fidesz, as it brings an additional perspective to the ideological transformation of the party, as opposed to the narratives that attribute the changes first and foremost to the personality of Viktor Orbán. The novelty of this essay is that it shows the process of the transformation of

² Except in 2006 when the Socialist Party was reelected for the first time since the change of regime. This led Fidesz to think that the liberal-left coalition would achieve the dominance that they were afraid of, therefore they felt that they must escalate their attempts to counterbalance it, leading to the concept of the central sphere of influence, the National System of Cooperation, and eventually to the concept of illiberal democracy.

Fidesz's conception of democracy through the perspective of Fidesz, trying to explain the factors that motivated the party along this route. The essay shows that the transformation in Fidesz's conception of democracy came about almost a decade earlier than what is generally thought, and that the party spent close to two decades consciously working toward the goal that it set itself in 1996. The transformation of Fidesz's conception of democracy can be directly traced from their 1996 pamphlet to Viktor Orbán's 2014 Baille Tusnad speech, where the illiberal narrative was born. We can also see that the desire to rebalance the two elements of liberal democracy was already present in the mid-90s as well.

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Kutatóközpont Politikatudományi Intézet

An Overview of the Damascene Commercial Buildings over the Ottoman Period

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Over the Ottoman period, Damascus witnessed the appearance of two type of commercial buildings, the first one is known as bedestan, while the second one is khan, which in turn has two types: the hypaethral khan- domed khan.

In order to analyze the Ottoman influences on the commercial buildings in Damascus, an overview of the bedestan in the Anatolian peninsula is presented, followed with one example of the bedestan in Damascus.

Regarding the second type of the commercial buildings (khan), examples of hypaethral khans are displayed in the Anatolian peninsula, and Damascus. Then examples of the domed khans are illustrated, knowing that, their existence were limited in Damascus

Keywords: commercial architecture- bedestan- the hypaethral khans- domed khans- Ottoman influence- local influences.

I. Introduction:

Given the important location of Damascus on the old trade route, and Damascene's active role in the local and national trade, its commercial architecture flourished over the Ottoman period. In addition, Damascus represented a departure point for pilgrimage caravanserai, encouraging the commercial movement.

Furthermore, when Damascus became part of the Ottoman sultanate in 1516, including all the Middle East, North Africa, Anatolia, Balkans, all parts of the Ottoman sultanate followed the same laws and legislations, which helped and motivated the internal trade all around the sultanate.

Not to mention that the efforts of the sultans to secure the long trade routes inside the sultanate caused an economic flourishing in Damascus. This economic prosperity induced governors and members of prominent families to construct different commercial constructions.

The types of commercial buildings varied in Damascus over the Ottoman period, including the (khan), which was common type in the islamic architecture. in addition, the bedestan, which appeared in Damascus for the first time, as an imported style from the Ottoman sultanate.

II. The bedestan:

The bedestan is considered a type of Ottoman commercial building, which consists of a longitudinal covered hall (domed or vaulted),¹ and is usually provided with at least two easily accessible entrances, which were locked at night, and protected by security men.²

At times in order to enlarge the commercial space of the bedestan, several shops were added that aligned its exterior walls.³

Over the Ottoman period, the bedestan had been developed and was considered as highly important commercial center. Hereunder some of its economic functions:

- It was a safe place to keep and sell valuable goods⁴ such as silks, goldworks, silverwares, and swords.⁵

- It was the place where traders led their commercial deals and arranged their caravans and commercial cruises.⁶

-The bedestan was provided with special designed safes, in order to keep the precious belongings of the individuals, such as jewelry and money.⁷

Thus, the bedestan introduced a primary form of the bank, which was used as a safe place for keeping the goods of the merchants.⁸

¹ (Petersen, 1996, p. 33)

² (Saoud, 2004, p. 21)

³ (ibid)

⁴ (Saoud, 2004, p. 21)

⁵ (Degegorge, 2005, p. 158)

⁶ (Al-Hadad & Malaka, 2015, p. 288)

⁷ (ibid)

⁸ (Saoud, 2004, p. 21)

Bedestans were found in all the important Ottoman cities, as their numbers differ from city to another depending on the size of the city and its commercial importance.⁹ While in the cities which are less important, the bedestan were replaced with the khan.¹⁰

It is worth mentioning the first bedestan was found in Beyşehir, in Turkey. According to inscription above its entrance, it dates back to the Seljuk period (1297). The layout of this bedestan was similar to the later ones, as it consisted of a closed rectangular courtyard, covered with six domes, and provided with three entrances. In addition to external shops which were scattered throughout its four sides.¹¹

Example of the Ottoman b

Bedestan in Turkey:

The bedestan of Bursa:

The bedestan of Bursa was built during the reign of Beyazit I. It was dedicated to the precious and valuable goods. Regarding its layout, it is a long and narrow building, divided into two rows of seven piers, each row is covered with 7 domes. This bedestan was provided with gates located in the middle of its two sides.¹²

The bedestan of Edirne:

It was built by Mehmet I in the beginning of the 15th century. As with other bedestans, this one also was specialized with expensive goods. It includes 36 storage rooms, with four gates positioned in each side. It is covered with 14 domes, 7 domes in each row, and supported by 6 piers in each side.¹³

The Sandal bedestan in Istanbul:

The Sandal bedestan was constructed by Beyazit II,¹⁴ as a commercial construction to house the trade of silk and other fine fabrics. It was deemed one of the largest bedestan in the empire.¹⁵

This bedestan takes its name from sandal which was used to be sold there (a cloth with stripe patterns successively woven in silk and cotton).¹⁶ The plan illustrates four rows, each row is covered with 5 domes, and these domes are supported by 12 piers. The bedestan has one entrance in each side.¹⁷

⁹ (Al-Hadad & Malaka, 2015, p. 288)

¹⁰ (Acun, 2002, p. 272)

¹¹ (Petersen, 1996, p. 33)

¹² (Freely, 2011, p. 45)

¹³ (Ibid, p.67)

¹⁴ (Ibid, 194)

¹⁵ (Duranti, 2012, p. 198)

¹⁶ (Al-Hadad & Malaka, 2015, p. 289)

¹⁷ (Freely, 2011, p. 194)

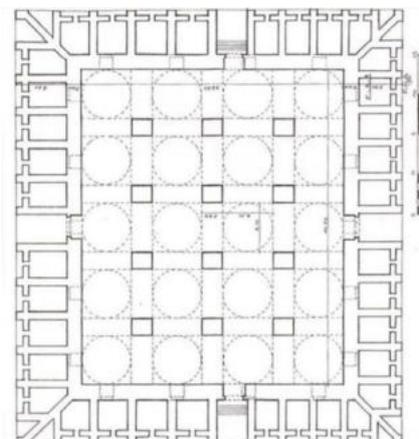


Figure 1 the layout of Sandal bedestan (Freely, 2011, p. 193)

Example of Ottoman bedestan in Damascus:

There is only one example of bedestan in Damascus, which was first known as the bedestan of Murād Pāshā and later as khan al Jumruk.¹⁸ It was built by the governor (wali) Murād pāshā (608-1609),¹⁹ and used for selling the luxurious textiles.²⁰

The architectural layout of the bedestan of Murād Pāshā:

The plan is distinguished with L form.²¹ The roofing of the entire plan is covered with six domes resting on pendentives.²² It has four gates, covered with metal sheet, strengthened with nails.²³

The courtyard has a fountain, surrounded with 53 large storage rooms and 8 small ones. About 40 storage rooms of them are provided with small upper parts which are accessible by a wooden ladder.²⁴

Externally, there are 9 storage rooms, and two stairs: one leads to an upper storage room while the other one to the room of the night guard.²⁵

Overall, the construction of this bedestan was a result of the Ottoman architectural influences. Hence, the Ottoman features appear clearly in this bedestan through rounded typical Ottoman domes.²⁶

¹⁸ (Weber, 1997-1998, p. 445)

¹⁹ (Zak, p. 49)

²⁰ (Degeorge, 2005, p. 176)

²¹ (Zak, p. 79)

²² (Luṭfi, 2011, p. 284)

²³ (al Munajid, 1949, p. 50)

²⁴ (Zak, p. 79)

²⁵ (Yehiā, 1981, p. 93)

²⁶ (Weber, 2000, p. 246)

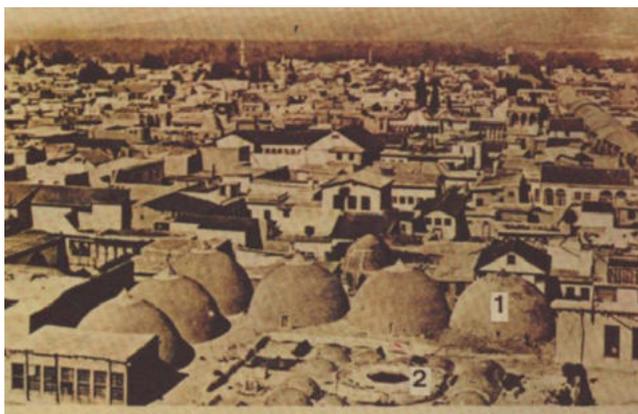


Figure 2 (1) the domes of khan al Jumruk (2) the domes of khan Qaṭanā (al-Shhābī, 1990, p. 146)

III. The khan:

The khans were established as a commercial environment, to enable the traders to collect and deliver their goods easily and manage their commerce in closed safe place.²⁷

The function of khan was not only as a trading center but also as a hostel, where the upper rooms of khan were dedicated as accommodation places for the travelers. While the commercial function took place in the ground floor rooms, which were used for the traders meeting, holding the agreements, storing the goods, in addition to its use as stable for the animals.²⁸

Generally, the khan was separated from the main street by a gate, or door, which is closed after the sunset, by the guard of the khan.²⁹

Overall, most of the Damascene khans consist of two floors, connected by stairs located near the main entrance, which in turn leads to a courtyard surrounded by rooms, used for commercial transactions (productions- sales- storage). While the rooms on the upper floor were employed for the accommodation (traders- travelers). Sometimes, the rooms of the ground floor are divided into two parts, by an arch, the front part was used as an office, and the back one was used as a storage room. On the other hand, the rooms in the upper floor are very similar to their counterparts on the ground floor, but they were less depth, as a result to the existence of the portico which preceded the rooms, and overiewed the courtyard, and usually they were less high than the rooms of the first floor, whereas the total height of the khan is between 8-12 meters.³⁰

As for roofing, most of the rooms whether in the ground or first floor were covered with groined or paralleled vaults, and rarely wooden flat ceilings. While, the roof of portico on the first floor was covered usually with paralleled or groined vaults, or small domes.³¹

Regarding the construction materials, as in the case of the important buildings, the khans were constructed of carved stones, while the domes are built of bricks and painted with white lime.³²

²⁷ (Bagbanci, 2012, p. 100)

²⁸ (Bahnasī, 2004, p. 198)

²⁹ (Gharipour , 2012, p. 46)

³⁰ (Zak, p. 78-79)

³¹ (ibid)

³² (Zak, p. 78-79)

Examples of khans in Turkey:

It is interesting to note that the first Ottoman khans were established in the marketplace of Bursa, the first Ottoman capital.

Koza khan in Bursa:

This khan is one of the largest khans in Bursa, specialized for the silk trade. It was constructed by Beyazit II in 1490.³³

Its plan illustrates obviously a porticoed courtyard, surrounded by 50 rooms on two floors, and in the center of the courtyard, there is a şadırvan surmounted by a mosque, resting on eight pillars.³⁴

Most striking, the mosque in the khan was a common feature in the architecture of the Seljuk khans of the 13th century,³⁵ whereas they were provided with a mosque, which stands separately in the courtyard. (Kiosk mosque).³⁶



Figure 3 the mosque in Koza khan (Freely, 2011, p. 44)

Kürkçü khan in Istanbul:

It is also known as the khan of the furriers and was built by the grand vizier Maḥmūd pasha, around 1462. This khan is considered the oldest khan in Istanbul.³⁷

It consists of two large courtyards: the first one had a mosque in its center, which is destroyed now, and surrounded by 45 rooms distributed on two floors. The second courtyard, located to the north of the first one, and has an irregular shape, with two floors and each one consisted of 30 rooms.³⁸

³³ (Freely, 2011, p. 43)

³⁴ (ibid)

³⁵ (ibid)

³⁶ (Saoud , 2003, p. 10)

³⁷ (Ibid, p. 126)

³⁸ (Freely, 2011, p. 126)

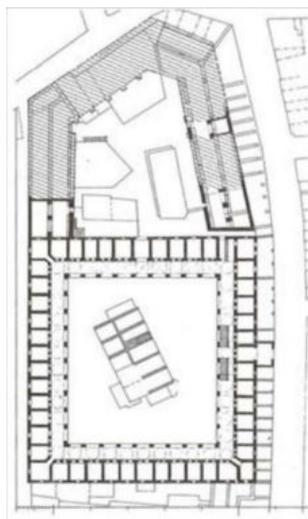


Figure 4 plan of khan in Kürkçü Istanbul (Freely, 2011, p. 126)

The khans in Damascus:

According to al Qasātilī, the number of the khans over the Ottoman period in Damascus was 139 khans.³⁹

There are two discernible types of the khans in Damascus:

- 1- The hypaethral type: this type is widespread in Islamic architecture. Its plan is distinguished with an open courtyard surrounded by rooms, distributing two floors.⁴⁰
- 2- The domed courtyarded type: it started to appear for the first time since the middle of the 16th century.

This khan consists of a domed courtyard surrounded with rooms, on two floors.⁴¹

Of great note, this type represents the development of the local Ottoman architecture.⁴² and has marked only in the Damascene khans.⁴³

It is interesting to note that in the following centuries, this type of khans started to replace the previous open courtyarded ones.⁴⁴

Examples of the hypaethral khans in Damascus:

al Ḥarīr Khan:

This khan is located Southwest of the Umayyad Mosque⁴⁵ in al Ḥarīr souk.⁴⁶ It dates back to the Seljuk period, which was well-known as al Qawāṣīn khan. Thereafter, in the reign of the wali

³⁹ (Qasātilī, 1879, p. 110)

⁴⁰ (Zak, p. 79)

⁴¹ (Weber, 2007, p. 195)

⁴² (ibid, p. 198)

⁴³ (Zak, p. 79)

⁴⁴ (Gharipour, 2012, p. 47)

⁴⁵ (Burns, 2007, p. 234)

⁴⁶ (Degeorge, 2005, p. 172)

Dervīsh Pāshā, in 1573, it was rebuilt according to its current situation,⁴⁷ as endowment, whereas its revenues were devoted for Dervīsh Bāshā mosque in Damascus.⁴⁸ What is more that the main function of this khan was to accommodate the silk traders.⁴⁹

The architectural layout of the khan:

It covers an area of 2500 square meters. It has 27 external barrel-vaulted storage rooms.⁵⁰ The decorated portal leads to a groin- vaulted vestibule, then the rectangular courtyard with a central basin, surrounded with 17 storage rooms, built of basalt stones, and covered with groined or barreled vaults.⁵¹ The second floor is surrounded with a domed portico, covered with 44 small domes.⁵² At the back of the portico, there are 52 rooms built of limestones,⁵³ each one is covered with barrel vault. Not to mention that all of these rooms on the second floor, were provided with windows opened to the interior and exterior side.⁵⁴ The façade of khan is dressed in alternating-colored white and black stones.⁵⁵

It is remarkable that the khan is currently in good condition. Its stores are used as workshops for socks, babouches, clogs, shoes, belts.⁵⁶

Based on the main layout and features of this khan such as: opened courtyard, domed portico, and the windows overlooking to the exterior, it is suggested that this khan follows the Ottoman sample.⁵⁷ Whereas its façade, which is decorated with alternating-colored stones (Ablaq), follows the local traditions.

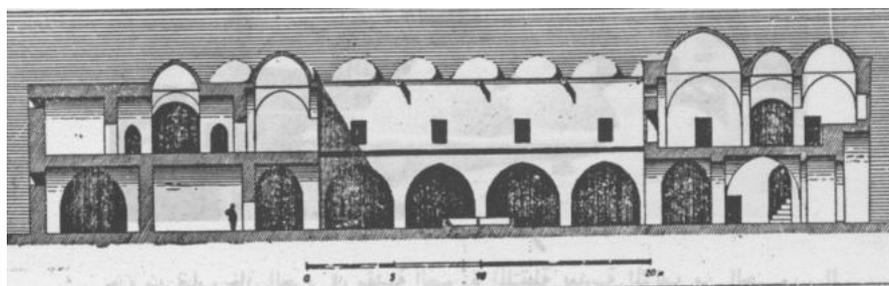


Figure 5 section of al Ḥarīr khan (al-Shihābī, 1990, p. 165)

⁴⁷ (al- ‘Ilabī, 1989, p. 481)

⁴⁸ (Degeorge, 2005, p. 172)

⁴⁹ (Çigdem, 1999, p. 74)

⁵⁰ (Yehiā, 1981, p. 92)

⁵¹ (Degeorge, 2005, p. 172)

⁵² (Sauvaget, 1932, p. 76)

⁵³ (Degeorge, 2005, p. 172)

⁵⁴ (Yehiā, 1981, p. 92)

⁵⁵ (Degeorge, 2005, p. 172)

⁵⁶ (ibid)

⁵⁷ (Weber, 1997-1998, p. 446)



Figure 6 exterior view of the domed portico of khan al Harir

(<https://www.bing.com/images/search?view=detailV2&ccid=dJIL%2B3yN&id=E883011FFD1F9B0853979748DA20BC532E54AEC3&thid=OIP.dJIL-3yNI1ojp2AWEkRILgHaFj&mediurl=https%3A%2F%2Fu.damagate.com%2F001a%2F4%2Fm8g>)

al Zayt khan:

It is located in the western part of the straight street (Midhat Pashā street),⁵⁸ it was built by Ḥasan Pashā al Sīāghushī,⁵⁹ between 1601 – 1602 ad.⁶⁰

The architectural layout of the Khan:

The gate leads to a groin- vaulted vestibule with a stair in each side, in addition to a room to the north of the western stair, was used as a room for the khan guard. In the center of the courtyard, there is a rectangular fountain, which surrounded with groin- vaulted portico, and behind it there are 28 barrel- vaulted rooms.⁶¹

The upper floor is flanked by a portico, covered with 19 domes, and behind it there are 26 barrel- vaulted rooms. Every room has two windows: one overlooked the portico and another one to the exterior.⁶²

Regarding the façade of this khan, it is covered with alternating-colored stones (Ablaq), with one qashani tile, in the top of the arch of the gate, as the Ottomans sometimes reused single tiles and panels as spolia in their buildings.⁶³

Currently this khan is used as textile workshop.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ (Zak, p. 47)

⁵⁹ (al- ‘Ilabī, 1989, p. 482)

⁶⁰ (Weber, 2000, p. 246)

⁶¹ (Yehiā, 1981, p. 94)

⁶² (Yehiā, 1981, p. 94)

⁶³ (Weber, 1997-1998, p. 437)

⁶⁴ (al-Shhābī, 1990, p. 262)

The local influences demonstrate in the façade of the khan, through its alternating-colored stones, (Ablaq) while the open courtyard of the khan, and the domed portico of the second floor, refers to the Ottoman influences.

Example of the domed khans in Damascus:

al khayyāṭīn Khan:

It is the oldest Ottoman khan in Damascus preserving its original model.⁶⁵

This khan was built by the Ottoman wali Shamsī Aḥmad Pāshā, in 1556. It is famous as al-Jūkhiyyah khan.⁶⁶ It was built as an endowment to cover the expenses of the religious complex, which was built by Aḥmad Shamsī Pāshā, and it is located near to the complex itself.⁶⁷

Due to its location in al- Jūkhiyyah souk, it is also known as khan al khayāṭīn in the end of the Ottoman period. This was a result of changing the name of al Jūkhiyyah souk to al khayāṭīn souk.⁶⁸



Figure 7 the courtyard of al khayāṭīn khan and the pendentives which held the domes (Herrle, Nebel, & Ley, 2008, p. 41)

The architectural layout of the khan:

This khan has a distinctive style, through its construction marked the beginning of the appearance of the Damascene domed courtyarded khans,⁶⁹ which were part of the architectural transformation in Damascus, starting from the middle of the 16th century.⁷⁰

It is consisted of the decorated portal, leads to a groin-vaulted vestibule, with a large hall and stair

⁶⁵ (Weber, 2007, p. 198)

⁶⁶ (Bahnasī, 2004, p. 216)

⁶⁷ (ibid)

⁶⁸ (Arnā' ūṭ, 1995, p. 196)

⁶⁹ (Weber, 1997-1998, pp. 446- 447)

⁷⁰ (Boqvist, 2012, p. 200)

on each side, possibly the southern hall was used as a kitchen in accordance with the existence of slots similar to chimneys.⁷¹

The plan shows a rectangular courtyard surrounded by a portico, and this courtyard was covered with two domes.⁷² However, today, these two domes are collapsed, while their pendentives are still existed.⁷³

Furthermore, this courtyard is flanked by twelve storage rooms. Each room consists of two domed parts. Whereas the upper floor has nearly 12 rooms, preceded with a barrel- vaulted portico.⁷⁴

Of great note, the synchronization of this khan construction with the existence of a workshop which took part in the construction of al Sulaīmāniyyah complex, and renewing the tekke of sultan Selim I, refers to the possibility, that this workshop, or the Damascene workers who were trained with it, had participated in the construction of this khan, under the order of the wali.⁷⁵

al - ‘Āmūd Khan:

It was built by Qāḍī al Quḍā Wālī al Dīn ibn Farfūr, in the 16th century.⁷⁶

The architectural layout of the khan:

Its plan shows an entrance that leads to a vestibule, with stair positioned on its Northern side, and storage room on its Southern side. It is noticeable that the first courtyard is covered currently with a metal roof and surrounded by nine barrel-vaulted storage rooms.

While the second floor has a portico surrounding with 16 barrel- vaulted rooms. Regarding the second courtyard, it was covered with four domes, surrounded with nine barrel- vaulted storage rooms.⁷⁷

However, the origin of these four domes is not clear, whether if they were built during the construction of the khan, or they were added later during the reconstruction of the khan in the reign of Ismā‘īl pasha al ‘Azim in 1731.⁷⁸

Thus, the local influences show clearly in this khan through its façade which is built of alternating-colored stones (Ablaq) and its domed courtyard as well.

⁷¹ (Bahnasī, 2004, p. 216)

⁷² (ibid)

⁷³ (Burns, 2007, p. 234)

⁷⁴ (Bahnasī, 2004, p. 216)

⁷⁵ (Weber, 2007, p.199)

⁷⁶ (ibid)

⁷⁷ (Yeḥiā, 1981, pp. 97-98)

⁷⁸ (Weber, 2007, p. 199)

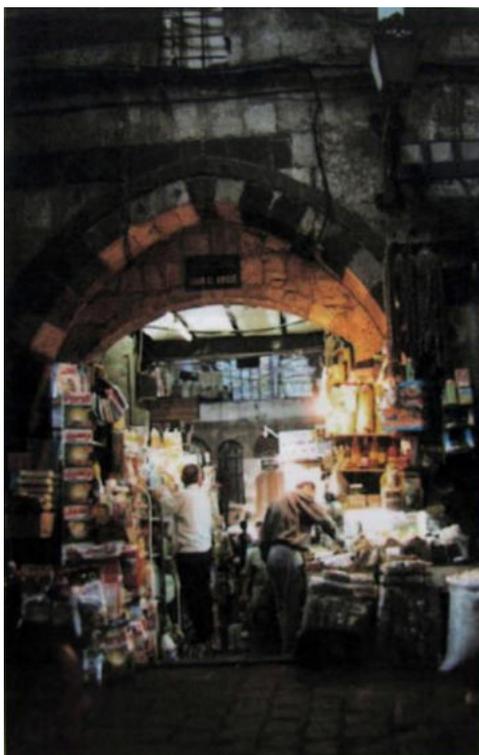


Figure 8 the facade of khan al 'Āmūd (Lutfī, 2011, p. 286)

Sulaymān Pāshā Khan:

It was the first khan built by al - 'Azim family in Damascus, indicating to the great prosperity of trade movement over this period.⁷⁹ It is located South of the straight street, and was built by Sulaymān Pasha al 'Azim, between 1732 – 1736 in accordance with an inscription above its gate.⁸⁰

The architectural layout of the khan:

There is an entrance leads to a vestibule covered with two groined vaults. On each side of the entrance, there are a stair and storage room.⁸¹

The khan has rectangular courtyard with a large basin in its center, and the courtyard was covered with two domes rests on pendentives, (today they are collapsed),⁸² but the pendentives are still existed.⁸³

In its ground floor there are 17 barrel- vaulted storage rooms,⁸⁴ whereas the upper floor, it consists of groin- vaulted portico, surrounded with 29 rooms, pierced with windows from the

⁷⁹ (Zak, p. 51)

⁸⁰ (Bahnasī, 2004, p. 217)

⁸¹ (Yehiā, 1981, p. 95)

⁸² (Degeorge, 2005, p. 195)

⁸³ (Yehiā, 1981, p. 95)

⁸⁴ (al- 'Ilabī, 1989, p. 483)

exterior and interior sides.⁸⁵ The façade of the khan is covered with alternating-colored stones (Ablaq).

It is worth to mention, the rooms of the upper floor are still keeping their original doors.⁸⁶

The local influences in this khan, appear clearly in the construction materials, as it was built with white and black stones, following the local traditions, and through the domed courtyard.

Before 2003 the rooms of the first floor were used as storage rooms for the food stuff, such as oil, groins, coffee, while the second-floor rooms were used as workshops for the tailors, and trade offices. After 2003 the khan was closed in order to restore it.⁸⁷



Figure 9 the facade of Sulaymān al 'Azim khan (Herrle, Nebel, & Ley, 2008, p. 48)



Figure 10 the courtyard of Khan Sulaymān basha al 'Azim and the pendentives which held the domes (Degeorge, 2005, p. 195)

As 'ad Pāshā al- 'Azim Khan:

It is located in al Bzūriyyah souk, South to As 'ad Pāshā al 'Azim palace.⁸⁸ This khan was established by the governor As 'ad Pāshā al 'Azim between 1751-1753.⁸⁹

The construction of this khan flourished the commercial movement in al Bzūriyyah souk, which was specialized in the cereal and spices trade.⁹⁰

The architectural layout of the khan:

It covers an area of 2500 square meters.⁹¹ It has an entrance leading to a vestibule covered with groined vaults. Furthermore, on its two sides, there are stairs reaching to the second floor.

⁸⁵ (Yihā, 1981, p. 95)

⁸⁶ (al- 'Ilabī, 1989, p. 483)

⁸⁷ (Degeorge, 2005, p. 195)

⁸⁸ (Zak, p. 51)

⁸⁹ (Weber, 2007, p. 202)

⁹⁰ (Zak, p. 53)

⁹¹ (ibid)

After the vestibule, there is a square courtyard, paved with basalt stone, and in its center, there is a fountain. The courtyard is covered with 9 domes, each one rests on a drum, and pierced with windows.⁹²

After the vestibule, there is a square courtyard, paved with basalt stone, and in its center, there is a fountain. The courtyard is covered with 9 domes, each one rests on a drum, and pierced with windows.⁹³ It is worth mentioning that the development of the Damascene domed khans reached its peak with the construction of khan As‘ad Bāshā al ‘Azim, with its nine domes.⁹⁴

The khan has luxurious stone façade, and the top of the entrance is decorated with muqarnas, surrounded with Ablaq decoration.⁹⁵

The local architectural tradition appears clearly in the construction of the khan, such as the alternating-colored stones, (Ablaq) and the domed courtyard.



Figure 12 the gate of khan As‘ad Bāshā al ‘Azim (DeGeorge, 2005, p. 197).



Figure 11 dome of khan As‘ad Bāshā al ‘Azim (DeGeorge, 2005, p. 198)

⁹² (Zak, p. 51)

⁹³ (ibid)

⁹⁴ (Weber, 1997-1998, p. 447)

⁹⁵ (al-Riḥāwī, p. 67)

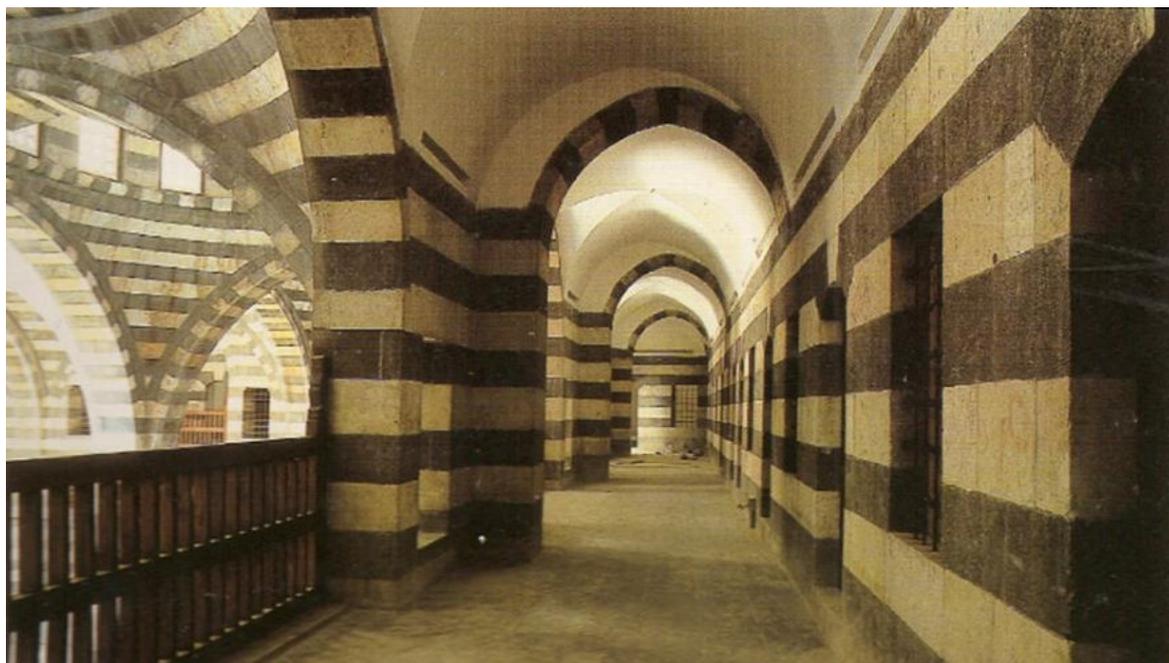


Figure 13 the groin- vaulted portico of the second floor of khan As 'ad pāshā al 'Azim (Degeorge, 2005, p. 199)

IV. Results:

- Ottoman khans in Turkey are characterized by two-story. They include a storage room surrounding an open courtyard, and a prayer room with a fountain in the middle of the courtyard. Furthermore, these Ottoman khans simultaneously functioned as hostels and commercial buildings. On the other hand, sometimes, these rooms were provided with furnaces. While, other khans have with stables, for the caravan animals.
- Regarding the ottoman khans in Damascus, there are two types of khans which are: an exposed courtyard khan that follows the Ottoman architectural traditions, with its open courtyard and the domed portico. The second type is domed courtyarded khan, which was unusual architectural style in the Eastern Mediterranean, appeared just in Damascus.

V. Conclusion:

- Over the Ottoman period, Damascus witnessed flourished movement of commercial buildings construction, sponsored by the traders or governors whereas it was usually part of waqf.
- As an influence of the Ottoman architectural traditions, domed commercial buildings (known as bedestan) appeared in Damascus, such as the bedestan of Murād basha.
- The origin of the domed courtyarded khans is still unclear. This is as a result of renovations and modifications of the Mamluk khans which still intact today. Thus, it is difficult to understand the influence of the Mamluk khans on the Ottoman ones.
- On the other hand, this type of domed courtyard khans had not appeared in the imperial architecture in Turkey, thus the domed khans in Damascus could not be traced back to the Ottoman influence.
- The appearance of this new type could be attributed to the influence of the domed bedestan, which appeared for the first time in Damascus over the Ottoman period. Knowing that

the architectural layout of the bedestan is the most equivalent one to the domed courtyarded khans.

- It is interesting to note that the domed courtyarded khans started with rectangular courtyard, covered with two domes, such as khan al khayāṭīn and khan Sulaymān Bāshā. Thereafter, they developed to khans with square courtyard covered with four domes, such as khan al 'Āmūd. The peak of this development showed in the khan of As'ad basha al 'Azīm.
- The khans in Damascus combined local and Ottoman traditions. The ottoman influences illustrate lucidly in many khans, through the domed porticoes which are considered significant features of Ottoman architecture. While the local influences are present only through the alternating-colored stones (Ablaq).

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Roman villa baths at the Middle Danube provinces Analyzing 1-1 examples

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This study examines the villa baths in the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior. In the territory of the Roman Empire the baths were built for public, military and private purposes. The villa baths were private baths. This study will discuss and compare villa baths from the Middle Danube provinces, including Noricum (today Austria), Pannonia (today Hungary), Moesia Superior (today Serbia) and Moesia Inferior (today Bulgaria). Hungary is rich in thermal water and baths belonging to villa estates used in the Roman Age.

The Roman people went to baths every day, bathing was a social activity. Roman baths had an apodyterium (changing room), a frigidarium (cold water room), a tepidarium (heating room) and a caldarium (a room with a hot plunge bath). Writing about the Roman baths, the ancient architect Vitruvius recommended that the caldarium should be built on the south or southwestern side. Roman baths had typology describing the arrangements of rooms.

The private baths were row-and block type and they were often rebuilt. The private baths were inside or outside at the villa. I will discuss first of the sizes of the buildings. The smaller baths were 90-160m² big and the bigger villa baths were 200-500m² big or more than 500m². The dates of the baths are as follows: the villa baths were built in the 1st-to the 4th centuries.

From the baths presented here it can be determined that the Middle Danube provinces were significant to Roman bathing culture. Usually simple in design, the baths were similar in size to those of other provinces. According to my opinion, that the villa baths in the Middle Danube provinces are very important for researching Roman baths. They provide information about the architecture and social culture. The simpler type was more common. The sizes of the baths were similar to the baths of other provinces. The baths covered several architectural periods. The baths have a great importance to tourism; with their conservation these historical monuments can be demonstrated and examined. With more research can we have more information about these buildings.

Roman Age, bathing culture, private baths, villa baths, Roman villas

I. Introduction

The Roman people went to baths every day, bathing was a social activity. On the territory of the Roman Empire the baths were built for public, military and private purposes. Roman baths had an apodyterium (changing room), a frigidarium (cold water room), a tepidarium (heating room) and a caldarium (a room with a hot plunge bath). Writing about the Roman baths, the ancient architect Vitruvius recommended that the caldarium should be built on the south or southwestern side.¹ There is a good summary of the Roman baths by Erika Brödner² and Fikret Yegül.³ Edit B. Thomas was the first researcher in Hungary who published all available information about Roman villas in Pannonia.⁴ Mária Bíró published a paper on Roman villas and Roman villa baths in Pannonia.⁵ There is a good summary about late Roman villas in the Danube-Balkan region by Linda Mulvin.⁶ Gyula Hajnóczy⁷ and Klára Póczy⁸ published papers and books about Roman baths and Roman aqueducts in Pannonia. Three studies are to be mentioned here: Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve,⁹ Pannonia fürdőkalauz, a monograph by Szilvia Horváth and Magdolna Kiss¹⁰ and an essay drafted by of the author this paper.¹¹

Roman baths had a typology describing the arrangements of rooms. There were row-type baths with the rooms next to each other in a row. Ring-type baths place the rooms in a circular arrangement. There was a double row-type, which could be used by men and women, although some rooms – such as the caldaria were doubled. There were also block-type baths.

The baths had a laconicum or sudatorium, steam baths and a palaestra, which was a gymnasium or exercise room. The baths also had a natatio – an outside bath. The strigil was a tool for cleansing the body by scraping away dirt, perspiration, and the oil that was applied before bathing in Roman cultures.

In Roman times the water was brought to houses and baths by aqueducts. The heating system “praefurnium” in Latin had 3 parts: an external praefurnium, an up-heating system with suspensura and a hollow wall. The heating room, the tepidarium and the warm water room (caldarium) were all heated by this system.

¹M. Vitruvius Pollio: De architectura. Liber Quintus. Caput Decimum. 1-5. <https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/vitruvius/vitruvius5.html#10.1> [accessed: 2021.12.12]

² Brödner, E.: Die römische Thermen und das antike Badewesen. Primus Verlag, 2011.

³ Yegül, F.: Bath and bathing in the classical antiquity. London-Massachussets, 1992.

⁴ B. Thomas, E.: Römische Villen in Pannonien. Beiträge zur pannonischen Siedlungsgeschichte. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest, 1964.

⁵ Bíró, M.: Roman villas in Pannonia. Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. 1974. Vol. 26. pp. 23-57.

⁶ Mulvin, L.: Late Roman Villas in the Danube-Balkan Region. 2002.

⁷ Hajnóczy, Gy.: Pannónia fürdőépítészete. Építés-Építészettudomány. 1974. Vol. 6. pp. 63-100.

⁸ Póczy, K.: Közművek a római kori Magyarországon. Műszaki Könyvkiadó. Budapest, 1980.

⁹ Mócsy, A. – Fitz, J.: Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve. Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990.

¹⁰ Horváth, Sz. – Kiss, M.: Pannoniai fürdőkalauz. Genianet Kiadó, 2019.

¹¹ Lang, T.: Római fürdőkultúra Pannoniában. In: Horváth, Sz. – Tóth, M. (eds.). A Fürdőélet és egészségturizmus a Dunántúlon az ókortól napjainkig című konferencia tanulmánykötete. Kaposvár, 2015. pp. 7-12.

II. Topic discussion: The villa baths

This study examines the villa baths in the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior. There is a good summary of Roman baths at Noricum by Stefan Traxler and Raimund Kastler.¹² The villa baths were private baths. This study will discuss and compare 1-1 villa baths from the Middle Danube provinces, including Noricum (today Austria), Pannonia (today Hungary), Moesia Superior (today Serbia) and Moesia Inferior (today Bulgaria). Ancient written sources and the most publication offer about public baths, but they don't mention villa baths and villa baths of the Roman provinces. According the current state of the research, in northwestern Noricum (Austria) there are 15 villa baths recorded.¹³ My paper focuses 1-1 villa baths from the Middle Danube provinces, because in the Middle Danube provinces several research was performed in the 1960's and in the 1970's. The role and existence of these buildings are linked to the civil environment.

Pliny the Elder (23-79 AD) distinguished two kind of villas near Rome: the villa urbana, a country seat that could easily be reached from Rome or another cities for a night or two, and the villa rustica, the farmhouse estate permanently occupied by the servants who generally had charge of the estate.¹⁴ Every villa had baths. The private baths were inside or outside at the villa. The private baths were row-and block type and they were often rebuilt. The smaller baths were 90-160m² big and the bigger villa baths were 200-500m² big or more than 500m².¹⁵ The dates of the baths are as follows: the villa baths were built the 1st-to the 4th centuries.¹⁶ The villa baths are the following: Moosdorf-Elling from Noricum, Nagyharsány from Pannonia, Beljina from Moesia Superior and Montana from Moesia Inferior.

¹² Traxler, S. – Kastler, R.: Römische Bäder in Nordwest-Noricum. Altgrabungen, neue Forschungen, typologische Aspekte. In: Kreiner, R. – Letzner, W. (eds.). *Sanitas per aquam. Tagungsband des Internationalen Frontinus-Symposiums zur Technik-und Kulturgeschichte der antiken Thermen.* Aachen, (2009) 2012. pp. 131-145.

¹³ Traxler, S. – Kastler, R.: Römische Guts-und Bauernhöfe in Nordwest-Noricum. Gehöfstrukturen, Wohn-und Badegebäude. *Fines Transire.* 2010. Vol. 19. pp. 233-252.

¹⁴C. Plinius Secundus: *Naturalis Historiae.* Liber 1.43 <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.02.0138:book=1:chapter=43&highlight=villaru> [accessed: 2021.12.12]

¹⁵ Traxler, S. – Kastler, R.: Römische Guts-und Bauernhöfe in Nordwest-Noricum. Gehöfstrukturen, Wohn-und Badegebäude. *Fines Transire.* 2010. Vol. 19. pp. 233-252.

¹⁶ Traxler, S. – Kastler, R.: Römische Guts-und Bauernhöfe in Nordwest-Noricum. Gehöfstrukturen, Wohn-und Badegebäude. *Fines Transire.* 2010. Vol. 19. pp. 233-252.

II.1 Noricum – Moosdorf-Elling

The villa of Moosdorf-Elling is located in Oberösterreich, today Austria. The excavation was begun in 2003 by Wolfgang Klimesch.¹⁷ The villa was 520m² big.¹⁸ The fourth room was the bath.¹⁹ It was a block type bath and 90m² in area.²⁰ The second room was the apodyterium, the fifth was the frigidarium, the third and the fourth rooms were the warm water rooms.²¹ The bath, which had an eastern-western orientation and can be dated to 2nd-3rd centuries.²² The bath was northern from the villa.²³

II.2 Pannonia – Nagyharsány

The villa of Nagyharsány is located in Baranya county, today Hungary. The ruins of the villa are near the Szársomlyó mountain, between Nagyharsány and Villány. The luxury villa was built by a senatorial family.²⁴ The Hungarian National Museum excavated the site in 2016. The bath was 544m² large and it was a row-type bath.²⁵ The bath was outside the villa and it was built during the 4th century.²⁶ The villa bath was researched by Ferenc Fülep in the 1960's.²⁷ The central building complex was northern-southern orientation.²⁸

¹⁷ Klimesch, W.: Der römische Gutshof von Moosdorf-Elling. Ergebnisse der Grabungskampagne 2003. In: Schwanzar, Chr. – Winkler, G. (eds.). Archäologie und Landeskunde: Beiträge zur Tagung im Linzer Schlossmuseum 26-28. April 2007 in Zusammenarbeit mit dem NORDICO-Museum der Stadt Linz. Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum. Linz, 2007. pp. 161-189.

¹⁸ Klimesch, W.: Die römische Gutshof von Moosdorf-Elling. Ergebnisse der Grabungskampagne 2003. Fundberichte aus Österreich. 2004. Vol. 43. pp. 537-549.

¹⁹ Klimesch, W.: Die römische Gutshof von Moosdorf-Elling. Ergebnisse der Grabungskampagne 2003. Fundberichte aus Österreich. 2004. Vol. 43. pp. 537-549.

²⁰ Klimesch, W.: Die römische Gutshof von Moosdorf-Elling. Ergebnisse der Grabungskampagne 2003. Fundberichte aus Österreich. 2004. Vol. 43. pp. 537-549.

²¹ Klimesch, W.: Die römische Gutshof von Moosdorf-Elling. Ergebnisse der Grabungskampagne 2003. Fundberichte aus Österreich. 2004. Vol. 43. pp. 537-549.

²² https://www2.rgzm.de/Transformation/Noricum/Villae_Noricum/Villen_Noricum.html [accessed: 2021. 10. 04]

²³ <https://web.archive.org/web/20090616103915/http://archaeologie-ooe.info/orte/moosdorf/villa-rustica/ausgrabung-des-badegebaeudes> [accessed: 2021. 12. 30]

²⁴ Mráv, Zs.: A late Roman luxury villa in Nagyharsány, at the feet of the Szársomlyó mountain. Hungarian Archaeology. 2021. Vol. 10. pp. 11-21.

²⁵ Szabó, M.: Roncsolásmentes régészeti módszerek alkalmazása római kori vidéki települések régészetében Magyarországon. Doktori disszertáció. Pécs, 2017. <https://pea.lib.pte.hu/bitstream/handle/pea/17182/szabo-mate-phd-2018.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> [accessed: 2021.12.30.]

²⁶ Mráv, Zs.: Egy késő római luxusvilla Nagyharsányban. Várak, Kastélyok, Templomok. 2019. Vol. 15. pp. 18-21.

²⁷ Fülep, F.: Janus Pannonius Múzeum Régészeti Adattár 1226-1283. 1963.

²⁸ Mráv, Zs.: Egy késő római luxusvilla Nagyharsányban. Várak, Kastélyok, Templomok. 2019. Vol. 15. pp. 18-21.

II.3 Moesia Superior – Beljina

The villa of Beljina is located in Serbia, near Belgrade. The building probably represents a part of a villa rustica.²⁹ The bath was built during the 4th and early 5th century.³⁰ It was a parallel row type and 99m² in area.³¹ It had 7 rooms.³² The public bath was bigger in Čačak.³³ In the construction two basic phases were observed.³⁴ In the second building period the structure has been extended to the east and west of 10,2m.³⁵ The original building of Beljina dated in the middle of the 4th century.³⁶ The original bath had an apodyterium, a frigidarium and three heating rooms.³⁷ In the second phase the bath received two new rooms (6 and 7), which increases space for changing and exercising and warm bathrooms.³⁸ According the newest research, room 1 and 7 were the changing rooms and the palaestra and room 2 was the frigidarium. In the northern part of the room 7 could be another pool with cold water (piscina) and there a latrine could possibly be placed.³⁹ Room 3 was the caldarium, room 4 was the sudatorium, room 5 was the tepidarium and room 6 probably was another caldarium.⁴⁰

II.4 Moesia Inferior – Montana I

The villa of Montana is located in Northwestern-Bulgaria. The villa baths were used in Moesia Inferior in Late Antiquity, too.⁴¹ They were often rebuilt.⁴² The bath was built during the 2nd-4th centuries.⁴³ It had 8 rooms and it was outside the villa.⁴⁴ The bath was a row-type bath.⁴⁵ The apodyterium was built during the first half of the 4th century⁴⁶.

²⁹ Јеремић, Г. – Гојгић, А.: Rimske terme in Čačku. Roman baths in Čačak. Čačak, 2012. pp. 5-126.

³⁰ Јеремић, Г. – Гојгић, А.: Rimske terme in Čačku. Roman baths in Čačak. Čačak, 2012. pp. 5-126.

³¹ Јеремић, Г. – Гојгић, А.: Rimske terme in Čačku. Roman baths in Čačak. Čačak, 2012. pp. 5-126.

³² Јеремић, Г. – Гојгић, А.: Rimske terme in Čačku. Roman baths in Čačak. Čačak, 2012. pp. 5-126.

³³ Čevriļaković Aleksić, М. – Gojgić, А.: Roman baths in Čačak – Infeasibility Study. Etnoantropološki problemi 2018. Vol. 3. pp. 631-649.

³⁴ Јеремић, Г. – Гојгић, А.: Rimske terme in Čačku. Roman baths in Čačak. Čačak, 2012. pp. 5-126.

³⁵ Јеремић, Г. – Гојгић, А.: Rimske terme in Čačku. Roman baths in Čačak. Čačak, 2012. pp. 5-126.

³⁶ Јеремић, Г. – Гојгић, А.: Rimske terme in Čačku. Roman baths in Čačak. Čačak, 2012. pp. 5-126.

³⁷ Јеремић, Г. – Гојгић, А.: Rimske terme in Čačku. Roman baths in Čačak. Čačak, 2012. pp. 5-126.

³⁸ Јеремић, Г. – Гојгић, А.: Rimske terme in Čačku. Roman baths in Čačak. Čačak, 2012. pp. 5-126..

³⁹ Јеремић, Г. – Гојгић, А.: Rimske terme in Čačku. Roman baths in Čačak. Čačak, 2012. pp. 5-126.

⁴⁰ Јеремић, Г. – Гојгић, А.: Rimske terme in Čačku. Roman baths in Čačak. Čačak, 2012. pp. 5-126.

⁴¹ Tomas, А.: Connecting to Public Water: the Rural landscape and Water Supply in Lower Moesia. Archeologia Bulgarica. 2011. Vol. 15. pp. 1-14.

⁴² Tomas, А.: Connecting to Public Water: the Rural landscape and Water Supply in Lower Moesia. Archeologia Bulgarica. 2011. Vol. 15. pp. 1-14.

⁴³ Dinchev, V. N.: Roman villas in the present-day Bulgarian lands. 1997. pp. 32-39.

⁴⁴ Dinchev, V. N.: Roman villas in the present-day Bulgarian lands. 1997. pp. 32-39.

⁴⁵ Dinchev, V. N.: Roman villas in the present-day Bulgarian lands. 1997. pp. 32-39.

⁴⁶ Tomas, А.: Connecting to Public Water: the Rural landscape and Water Supply in Lower Moesia. Archeologia Bulgarica. 2011. Vol. 15. pp. 1-14.

III. Results

I will first discuss the sizes of the buildings. The villa bath in Nagyharsány was the largest, it was 544m² large.⁴⁷ The villa bath of Beljina was 99m² in size.⁴⁸ The villa bath of Moosdorf-Elling covered 90m².⁴⁹ We don't know the sizes of the villa bath of Montana. I would like to present the following analogies of the sizes the villa baths: Moosdorf-Elling (Noricum) was 90m² large, Morzsg (Noricum) covered 219,45m² and the villa bath of Altheim-Weirading (Noricum) was 433,2m² in size.⁵⁰

Regarding the typology, the bath of Nagyharsány⁵¹ and the bath of Montana were row-type baths.⁵² The bath of Beljina was a parallel row-type bath.⁵³ The bath of Moosdorf-Elling was a block-type bath.⁵⁴ Regarding the tipology, the villa baths of Noricum were block or row-type.⁵⁵

Now I will discuss the numbers of the rooms. The bath of Nagyharsány had 15 rooms.⁵⁶ The bath of Montana had 8 rooms.⁵⁷ The bath of Beljina had 7 rooms⁵⁸, and the bath of Moosdorf-Elling had 5 rooms.⁵⁹

We can date the baths with inscriptions and finds, for example stamped bricks, coins or ceramics. In some baths, we do not know the finds, because there was little research in progress. The dates of the baths are as follows: the villa bath of Moosdorf-Elling was built in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.⁶⁰ The bath of Montana was built during the 2nd and 4th centuries.⁶¹ The bath of Beljina⁶² and the bath of Nagyharsány were built in the 4th century.⁶³

⁴⁷Szabó, M.: Roncsolásmentes régészeti módszerek alkalmazása római kori vidéki települések régészetében Magyarországon. Doktori disszertáció. Pécs, 2017. <https://pea.lib.pte.hu/bitstream/handle/pea/17182/szabomate-phd-2018.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> [accessed: 2021.12.30.]

⁴⁸Јеремиић, Г. – Гојгич, А.: Rimske terme in Čačku. Roman baths in Čačak. Čačak, 2012. pp. 5-126.

⁴⁹Klimesch, W.: Die römische Gutshof von Moosdorf-Elling. Ergebnisse der Grabungskampagne 2003. Fundberichte aus Österreich. 2004. Vol. 43. p. 537-549.

⁵⁰Traxler, S. – Kastler, R.: Römische Guts-und Bauernhöfe in Nordwest-Noricum. Gehöfstrukturen, Wohn-und Badegebäude. Fines Transire. 2010. Vol. 19. pp. 233-252.

⁵¹Szabó Máté: Roncsolásmentes régészeti módszerek alkalmazása római kori vidéki települések régészetében Magyarországon. Doktori disszertáció. Pécs, 2017. <https://pea.lib.pte.hu/bitstream/handle/pea/17182/szabomate-phd-2018.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> [accessed: 2021.12.30.]

⁵²Dinchev, V. N.: Roman villas in the present-day Bulgarian lands. 1997. pp. 32-39.

⁵³Јеремиић, Г. – Гојгич, А.: Rimske terme in Čačku. Roman baths in Čačak. Čačak, 2012. pp. 5-126.

⁵⁴Klimesch, W.: Die römische Gutshof von Moosdorf-Elling. Ergebnisse der Grabungskampagne 2003. Fundberichte aus Österreich. 2004. Vol. 43. pp. 537-549.

⁵⁵Traxler, S. – Kastler, R.: Römische Guts-und Bauernhöfe in Nordwest-Noricum. Gehöfstrukturen, Wohn-und Badegebäude. Fines Transire. 2010. Vol. 19. pp. 233-252.

⁵⁶Szabó, M.: Roncsolásmentes régészeti módszerek alkalmazása római kori vidéki települések régészetében Magyarországon. Doktori disszertáció. Pécs, 2017. <https://pea.lib.pte.hu/bitstream/handle/pea/17182/szabomate-phd-2018.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> [accessed: 2021.12.30.]

⁵⁷Dinchev, V. N.: Roman villas in the present-day Bulgarian lands. 1997. pp. 32-39.

⁵⁸Јеремиић, Г. – Гојгич, А.: Rimske terme in Čačku. Roman baths in Čačak. Čačak, 2012. pp. 5-126.

⁵⁹Klimesch, W.: Die römische Gutshof von Moosdorf-Elling. Ergebnisse der Grabungskampagne 2003. Fundberichte aus Österreich. 2004. Vol. 43. pp. 537-549.

⁶⁰https://www2.rgzm.de/Transformation/Noricum/Villae_Noricum/Villen_Noricum.html [accessed: 2021. 10. 04]

⁶¹Dinchev, V. N.: Roman villas in the present-day Bulgarian lands. 1997. pp. 32-39.

⁶²Јеремиић, Г. – Гојгич, А.: Rimske terme in Čačku. Roman baths in Čačak. Čačak, 2012. pp. 5-126.

⁶³Mráv, Zs.: Egy késő római luxusvilla Nagyharsányban. Várak, Kastélyok, Templomok. 2019. Vol. 15. pp. 18-21.

Villa baths were built inside or outside the villa. The four villa baths were built outside the villa. In Noricum the most villa baths were built outside the villa and some were built inside. In Pannonia the villa baths were built inside and outside the villa.

IV. Conclusions

From the baths presented here it can be determined that the Middle Danube provinces were significant to Roman bathing culture. Usually simple in design, the baths were similar in size to those of other provinces. According to my opinion, that the villa baths in the Middle Danube provinces are very important for researching Roman baths.⁶⁴ They provide information about the architecture and social culture. The simpler type was more common. (Table I.) The sizes of the baths were similar to the baths of other provinces, for example in Dacia.⁶⁵ The baths covered several architectural periods. They have also a great importance to tourism; with their conservation these historical monuments can be demonstrated and examined. With more research can we have more information about these buildings.

Table I. Characteristics of the villa baths

Villa baths	Size	Type	Rooms	Date	Inside/Outside
Moosdorf-Elling	90m ²	Block	5	2-3th century	Outside
Nagyharsány	544m ²	Row	15	4 th century	Outside
Beljina	99m ²	Parallel-row type	7	4 th century	Outside
Montana	—	Row	8	2-4 th century	Outside

⁶⁴ Traxler, S. – Kastler, R.: Römische Guts-und Bauernhöfe in Nordwest-Noricum. Gehöfstrukturen, Wohn-und Badegebäude. *Fines Transire*. 2010. Vol. 19. pp. 233-252.

⁶⁵ Țentea, O. – Burkhardt, B.: Bath and bathing in Dacia. Current state of research of the balnea. *Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology*. 2020. Vol. 7. pp. 12-21.

Figures



Figure 1. The provinces. Source: <https://digitalmapsoftheancientworld.com/digital-maps/provinces-of-the-roman-empire/> [accessed:2021.12.12]

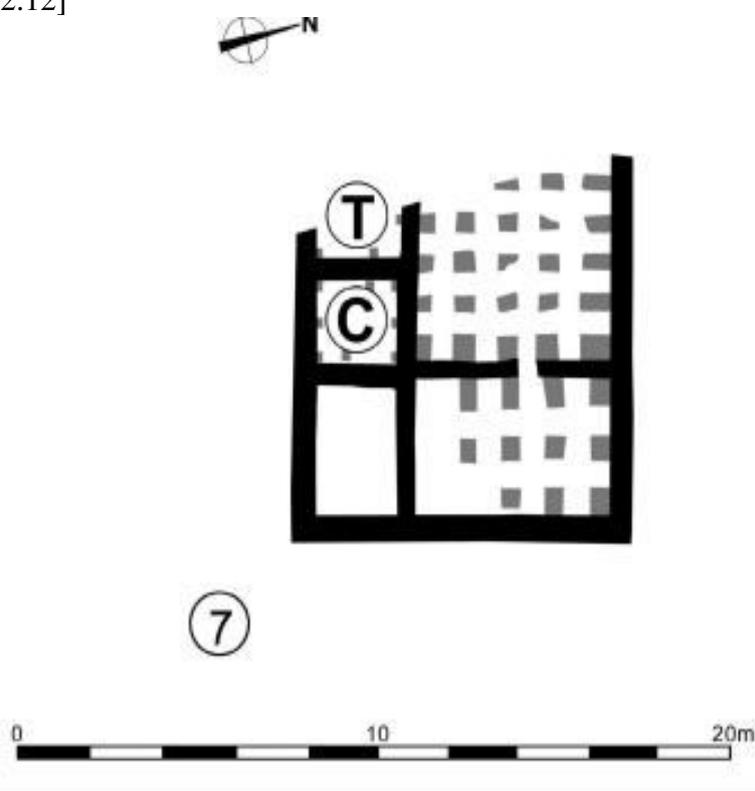


Figure 2. The villa bath of Moosdorf-Elling. Source: Traxler, S. – Kastler, R.: *Römische Guts- und Bauernhöfe in Nordwest-Noricum. Gehöfstrukturen, Wohn- und Badegebäude. FinesTransire. 2010. Vol. 19. p.243. Abb.7.*



[4] (1. ép.)

Figure 3. The villa bath of Nagyharsány. Source: Szabó, M.: Római kori villagazdaságok légirégészeti kutatása Magyarországon. Archeologiai Értesítő. 2020. Vol. 145. p. 218. 5. picture. 4. figure.

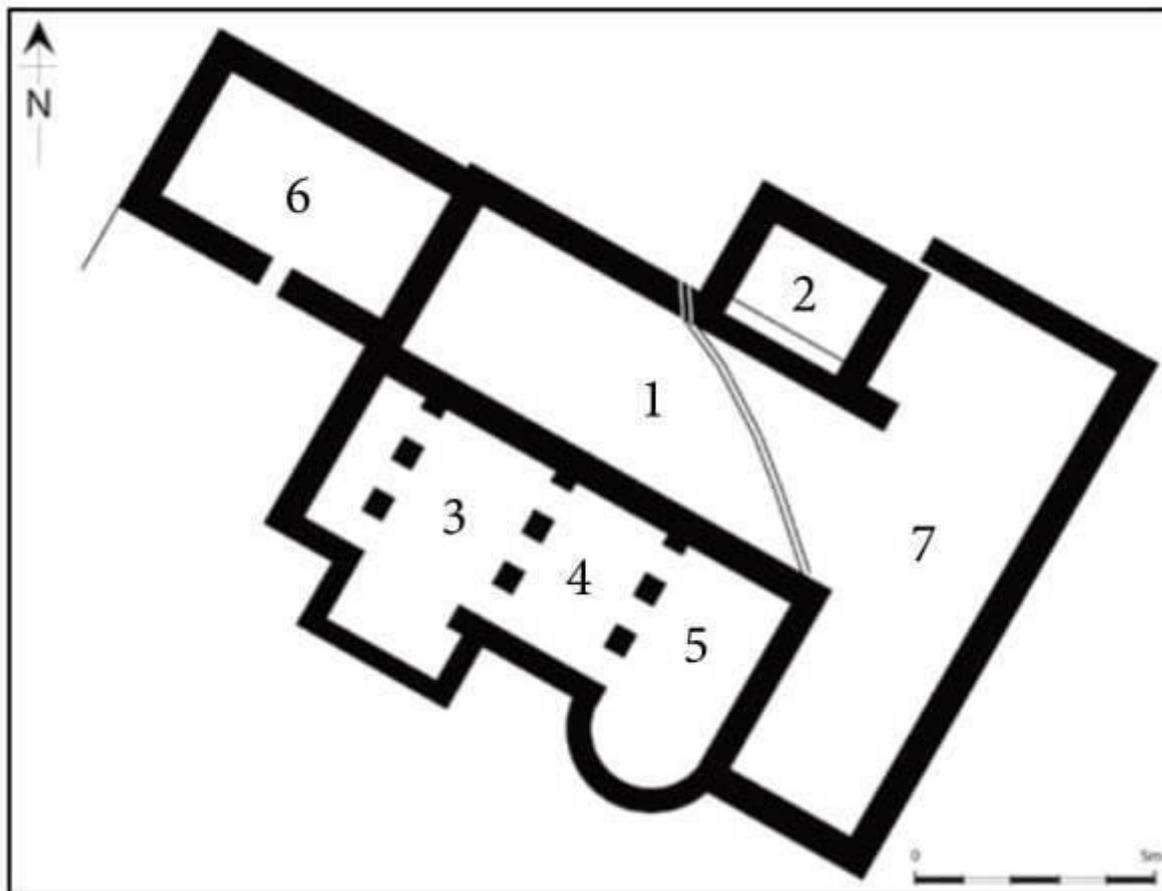


Figure 4. The villa bath of Beljina. Source: Јеремућ, Г. – Гожућ, А.: Rimske terme in Čačku. Roman baths in Čačak. Čačak, 2012. p.22. 25. picture



Figure 5. The villa and the villa bath of Montana I (number 7). Source: Harizanov, A.: *Drying the pots: facilities for pre-firing treatment of ceramic artefacts from the Roman period in Bulgaria. Bulletin Instrumentum. 2016. Vol. 43. p. 33. Fig.2.*

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Horváth, Sz. – Kiss, M.: *Pannoniai fürdőkalauz*. Genianet Kiadó, 2019.

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Consumer misbelieves during food crisis

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Food inequality is all-time high, the population continues to grow as resources continue to deplete. Our food industry is one of the biggest contributor to climate change and pollution, Food accounts for over a quarter (26%) of global greenhouse gas emissions [1]. The food system is vulnerable and inflexible, and cannot cope with the rapid changes and demand growth. As EU's policies and strategies suggest, we need to set up the foundation now for the future's better food systems that works better for everyone, everywhere [2]. How can we build up food systems that doesn't just survive, but grows and adapts? How can we mitigate the damages the unavoidable changes cause (emerging risks), and make food chains more resilient in uncertain times?

We have all experienced the vulnerability of our food chains as Covid19 has hit the world. In Hungary we have seen empty shelves when businesses and governments assured us that we will have enough food. The participants of the food chains acted unusually, consumers started 'panic buying' and piled up big amounts of non-perishable food, small farmers were not able to sell in the small markets, multinational companies had difficulties due to logistics and changing demand. The biggest cause behind the problems were fear, uncertainty and misbelieves.

What can we learn from previous food crisis to make sense what to do in the future? In this research we have collected and classified misbelieves in connection with food and Covid19. Misbelieves are tested amongst university students, with the use of a true or false game. Based on the results these misbelieves will be deactivated with attitude-forming communication tools. Rapid changes cause unavoidable stress and fear for the participants of the food chain (especially consumers), therefore the avoidable fear (misbelieves) should be eliminated and right food treatment practices and correct behaviour during crisis should be strengthened.

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Key words: misbelieves, food system sustainability, rural development, Covid19, consumer behaviour

I. Introduction

I.1. The importance of food system sustainability

The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) has shared a video on their social media platforms on 2021 October 14th, 10:30 a.m., where European Space Agency astronaut & FAO Goodwill Ambassador, Thomas Pesquet was logging in from the International Space Station, stating his concerns about our food system. He expressed how he was able to see with his bare eyes from the space station, the damage we have caused to natural resources and biodiversity, what motivated him to share the initiatives that work against climate change and its consequences. And one of the biggest negative effect is the spread of hunger and malnutrition. It is driving the spread of pests and diseases in plants and animals we depend on. At the same time intensive farming is putting (often unnecessary) pressure on natural resources.



1. figure: The facebook page of the FAO, with the post of Thomas Pesquet

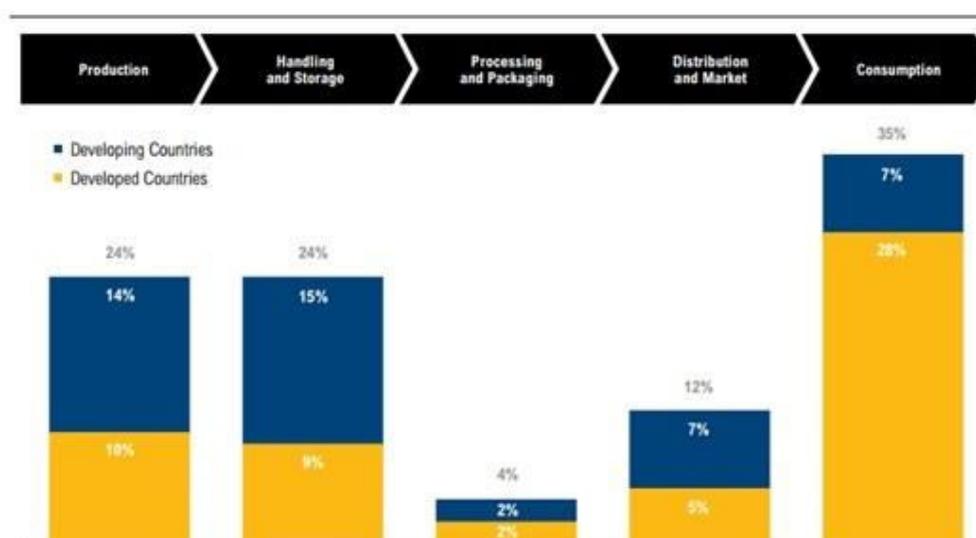
Source: Facebook page of FAO

“We need to favour more sustainable ways of farming that respects environment”, that means to be kinder to the soils, and this can be triggered also by consumers and citizens as well, for example by choosing the right products. He mentioned that “we have a lots of ways to make the food journey shorter, choosing local and seasonal foods”, reducing our carbon footprint. Growing our own food at home has further positive effects, “it is good to learn about growing food, because it helps us develop a greater respect for it”. We have reached a point, when our food system is at such a risk, that even NASA and ESA started to raise attention. Not surprising, if we consider that we must grow more food over the next 50 years than we did over the last 500 years (FAO, 2009).

I.2. Food system vulnerability and future tendencies

The economic importance of the food industry is unquestionable, and this economic growth has been accompanied by environmental degradation, endangering the very systems on which our future development and very survival depend on (ECOSOC, 2019). Food consumption, therefore demand is rising globally, it is expected to reach the massive amount of 3540 Kcal/person in 2050 (Alexandratos and Bruinsma, 2012). We have to produce more, using less resources to feed a rapidly increasing global population – while keeping in mind environmentally sustainable solutions. Europe's level of urbanization is expected to increase to 83.7% in 2050 (EC, 2020). These expanding cities affect consumption patterns and dietary behaviour as well, what means often a shift towards inadequate diets, unhealthy and resource-intensive food products, preference of easily accessible food products and convenience food. Innovative food technologies to feed the expanding urban areas in a healthy way is a challenge for our future.

Even though the economic prosperity present in Europe, access to safe and nutritious food is still not self-evident for all, and food poverty is a concern in many European countries (Galli, Hebinck and Carroll, 2018). Globally around 821 million people – approximately 1 in 9 people – were undernourished in 2017, rising from the already mournful 784 million in 2015 (ECOSOC, 2019). As an excessive amount of avoidable food waste coexists with hunger, it becomes a question of social justice since we could increase the food access for the undernourished (FAO, 2006; Britz et al., 2019). Our consumption patterns shifted towards a diet high in animal-based products and low in plants, but the former is generally less calorie-efficient, more resource-intensive and emit more greenhouse gases (West et al., 2014).



2. figure: Food loss and waste in the developing and developed regions

Source: Lipinski, 2015

In the developed countries food is wasted at the end of the food chain; while in the developing areas, the presence of poverty, malnutrition and hunger is still common, while food is lost at the beginning of the food chain due to lagging technology. In 1960 one hectare of land fed 2 people while in 2050 the same land will have to feed 5 people: 9.7 billion in total (Fischer, 2009). The environmental cost of the wasteful system will be paid by the whole society mainly through the scarcity of natural resources (what on long term is translated into the price of these resources, possibly leading to further injustice).

Material footprint has increased considerably as in 1990 8.1 tons of natural resources were used to satisfy a person's need, while in 2015, almost 12 tons of resources were extracted per person (ECOSOC, 2019). Land degradation – caused by agricultural activity – makes it difficult to produce more food, paired with the climate change-related extreme weather conditions we face. Besides the excessive land use, overfishing took such an extent that given species are endangered, and is a significant driver of declines in ocean wildlife populations.

The food sector accounts for around 30 % of the world's total energy consumption and accounts for around 22 % of total Greenhouse Gas emissions (Suh et al., 2006; ECOSOC, 2019). Climate change is getting to gain higher public attention, considering the climate strikes, and events just to mention the heat wave in India and Pakistan in 2015, California wildfires in 2017 and the natural disaster of Australia at the beginning of 2020. Besides these events receiving great attention, changes in our climate already undermine agriculture and food systems in many regions, making it more difficult to achieve food security and nutritional goals. Climate change affects food systems globally but impacts on low-income countries are expected to be particularly strong.

I.3. Covid19 effects on food system and consumer behaviour

Our survival – especially in wealthier regions – highly depend on food chain participants, who work together to move food from farm to plate. This is an extremely complex system, what has profound implications on the type of society we live in and the impact we have on the environment (Friedland et al., 1981, Friedland, 1994, Connor and Schiek, 1997; quoted by Fraser, 2006). Remembering, food system always had to adapt to the continuously changing circumstances. In the past, these challenges were met without any great hardship, but in our times, the changes occur faster and faster, and our robust and inflexible food system cannot change with the same speed.

Changes in our environment and the appearance of novel human, animal and plant pathogens (emerging risks) endanger the already vulnerable food chain, well presented by for example the African swine fever and the bird flu in Hungary in 2019, and of course, the emergence and subsequent spread of Covid19 had severe unexpected effect on our food industry as well. This epidemic has triggered an unprecedented politico-economic crisis, revealing the weaknesses of our economy, and food systems. There is still considerable uncertainty on how this multi-faceted crisis will evolve, but we see that this biomedical crisis is beginning to disrupt the global food system, a situation that could continue to get worse (van der Ploeg, 2020).

Considering the long-term aspects, the combined effects of Covid19, as well as corresponding mitigation measures and the emerging global recession could, disrupt the functioning of food systems without large-scale coordinated action. This disruption might end up on consequences for health and nutrition of a scale unseen for more, than 50 years (UN, 2020). According to the Federation of American Scientists (FAS, 2014) outbreaks can be highly disruptive to the movement of people and goods, leading to regulations and restrictions on travel and trade in order to reduce the further spread of disease. The Covid19 affected food system in direct and indirect ways as well. The introduced lockdown affected and increasing parts of society starting with restaurants and schools, then more and more people started home- office. The close-up of schools had unfortunate consequences as well, according to the report of UN (2020), at the end of May 2020, 368 million school children were missing out on school meals for the major share of their daily nutritional needs.

Farmers markets closed, and tourism almost completely stopped. People started to change their food related behaviour, and policies were also introduced, further changing the situation, such as time zones, mask and gloves. Home delivery raised, and even eating patterns changed. The unprecedented logistics failure, for example when trucks were stopped at the borders) led to the spoilage of a large amount of food, not to mention difficulties for the industry in demand forecast. The close-down of restaurants, pubs and hotels changed as well for example the lives of the employees and suppliers, touristic regions suffered, festivals and events were cancelled.

Whilst this new situation emerged, consumers met a lot of information, from trustworthy and not trustworthy sources as well. In case of any crisis or newly emerging situation, the spread of misbelieves and myths is a natural tendency. This time, unfortunately misbelieves might lead to risky behaviour as well regarding food treatment and in purchase situations. To avoid this, the World Health Organization as well started an initiative, called *Mythbusters*¹, to spread the right information at the same time period this research has been started. According to FAS (2014) developing and utilizing programs that educate the public about infectious diseases likely to significantly reduce the spread of disease. In this study we have examined some food related Covid19 myths among university students in Hungary, aiming to reveal the spread of these, as educating the public about the right food treatment behaviour during crisis situations might prevent risky behaviour and contribute to the better mitigation measures and public communication strategies for future crisis situations.

II. Survey amongst university students about food and Covid19 misbelieves

II.1. Research method, data collection and misbelieves

II.1.1 The design of the 'test'

The topic of the linkages between Covid19 and food has many aspects that are outside of the common knowledge. In addition, even though it is still a high topic at the time of the research, it is also not the most interesting topic for university students, who are the main target group of this research. The test had to be constructed in the easiest and simplest way in order to avoid random filling and question skipping. Therefore, the survey was a one pager, including 4 sections: the first section deals with basic demographic questions. The second part contained 4 fill-in short questions, asking participants about their food treatment behaviour during the pandemic. The third section contained 12 general statements, where with a Likert scale we have measured how do participant feel about the global problems, such as global warming; and if their shopping behaviour changed during the Covid19. The last section served as a true or false game (using Likert scale), where 15 statements were listed. In this true or false test, they had to express their opinion (also using a Likert scale, where 1: for sure true, 4: I do not know and 7: for sure false) in case of 15 statements. As the statements were sometimes dealing with difficult topics, I wanted to provide some extend to express how sure they are about the truth of these statements. 7 true and 8 false statements were listed concerning Covid19 and food related issues.

II.1.2 The Likert scale and possible biases to be kept in mind

A Likert scale is a group of statements and predefined responses that measure the intensity of the respondents' feelings towards the preceding statement. Each statement and the answers that go with it are called an 'item'. The construct that an item measures is called a 'variable'. A Likert scale typically has multiple items, all of which that measure the same underlying

¹ <https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/advice-for-public/myth-busters>

the database, the lessons learned should be utilized at the university's communication campaigns against misbeliefs, but might suggest the general situation amongst young Hungarian citizens as well.

II.3. Myth bank

Misbeliefs and misconceptions have been collected (hereafter misbelief bank) in connection with the Covid19 and food handling, food purchase and food treatment in general from social media and scientific content. This misbelief bank includes the general standpoint valid in 2020.

These misbeliefs can be divided into 4 groups:

1. Misbeliefs in connection with the purchase situation and behaviour
2. Misbeliefs in connection with the mode of infection
3. Misbeliefs in connection with the infection prevention
4. Misbeliefs in connection with the cure of the virus

From this misbelief bank, 15 statements have been selected, then modified in a way that we were able to test 8 false and 7 true statements, discussed in the results section (in the order of the appearance in the test).

III. Results

III.1 Misbeliefs

III.1.1 Statements and science behind

1. The Covid19 virus can be caught through food consumption. (FALSE)

According to the current statement of WHO, there is currently no evidence that people can catch COVID-19 from food (WHO, 2020a). This is also supported by the standpoint of FAO (FAO, 2021) and Nebih (National Food Chain Safety Organisation of Hungary) (Nebih, 2020a).

2. The Covid19 be present in the food becomes inactive upon safe heat treatment (maintaining a core temperature of 72 ° C for at least 2 minutes). (TRUE)

This true statement was mentioned by the National Food Chain Safety Office of Hungary regarding good food handling practices during the pandemic. They have released several guides and publications for all the actors of the food supply chain (Nebih, 2020a).

3. The colloid silver active ingredient is effective in curing the Covid19 disease. (FALSE)

This misbelief was mentioned by Sahoo et.al. (2020), unfortunately there is no scientific evidence that we could cure the Covid19 disease with this. Looking for alternative drugs and cures, without the suggestion of medical experts is a serious risky behaviour.

4. Strengthening the immune system cannot reduce the risk of infection. (TRUE)

Strengthening the immune system is advised by WHO in order to heal better from the disease (WHO Mythbusters, 2021). Unfortunately, healthy people can also catch the virus. We have excluded this statement from further calculations, as during the test, some participants gave the feedback that the wording of this statement was hard to understand or misleading, therefore conclusions might not reflect truth.

5. With proper and varied diet we can reduce the chances of Covid 19 infection. (FALSE)

This statement was the pair of statement 4. Healthy eating is strongly advised by WHO in case of any virus or disease crisis, but unfortunately we cannot prevent catching the virus or disease by this (WHO Mythbusters, 2021).

6. Covid19 may be present in drinking water and should be consumed after boiling. (FALSE)

This misbelieve has been mentioned by more sources (Sahoo et.al., 2020), (Intermountain, 2020). According to the latest opinion of the National Public Health Centre of Hungary, the drinking water is safe and during the processes any possible virus or pathogen is eliminated. There is no need to boil the tap water before consumption in Hungary (NNK, 2021).

7. The consumption of alcohol can cure the COVID-19. (FALSE)

The misbelieves regarding alcohol curing or preventing the infection with Covid-19 were common in the social media at the beginning of the pandemic, and many sources mentioned the existence of these alcohol related misconnects, such as Mistry et. al., (2021), Dutta et. al., (2020), Sahoo et.al., (2020), WHO Mythbusters (2021). The WHO stepped up against this misbelieve strictly, as it is not only dangerous to believe in a useless cure and expose people to get sick, but the rise of alcohol consumption became a serious issue during the pandemic and caused an additional problem, called as "second wave crisis" by NAK (2021a). It is true, that in the ideal concentration, alcohol is useful to kill the Covid-19 virus on surfaces. Drinking alcohol does not destroy the Covid-19 virus. Moreover, it's consumption is likely to increase the health risks in case a person becomes infected. At a concentration of at least 60% by volume, alcohol works as a disinfectant on your skin, but it has no such effect within your system when ingested (WHO, 2020b).

8. It is necessary to wear the mask even after vaccination. (TRUE)

There is a myth regarding wearing or not wearing mask after Covid-19 vaccination. Unfortunately, the vaccine (as all vaccine) does not mean 100% protectiveness. There's still a risk of getting Covid-19 and also transmitting it to somebody that's not immune after the vaccination, therefore mask has to be used until enough people get the vaccine and has immunity (for example in crowded supermarkets) (CDC, 2021).

9. The Covid-19 virus is mainly able to survive on smooth, rigid surfaces such as plastic and stainless steel. (TRUE) (Nebih, 2020a)

It is very important to understand the basic behaviour of the Covid-19 virus by citizens in order to behave in a safe way during pandemic crisis. One important aspect is the understanding of what surfaces and how often need to be cleaned.

10. Buying products shipped overseas is dangerous, as they can be covid-19 infectious. (FALSE)

Around third of consumers worry that products shipped from abroad could pose a Covid-19 safety risk, according to market research firm Kantar. The company surveyed 45,000 people across 17 countries. Products from China and the United States were perceived risky by according to Kantar's findings, with 47% saying they were far less in favour of buying these foreign products (CNBC, 2020a). According to the U.S. Centres for Disease Control and Prevention, "*although the virus can survive for a short period on some surfaces, it is unlikely to be spread from domestic or international mail, products or packaging*" (CDC, 2021; quoted by CNBC, 2020a). The information published in the UK government's official website is in

accordance with this stand point, “*The risk of imported food and packaging from affected countries being contaminated with coronavirus is very unlikely*”, “*This is because the law requires the exporter to follow the right controls during the packing and shipping process to ensure good hygiene is met*” (gov.uk, 2021, quoted by CBNC, 2020).

11. Young people are more likely not to become infected with the Covid-19. (FALSE)

According to the Mythbuster of WHO (2021a) older and younger people equally can be infected by the Covid19. Even though, older people, and people with pre-existing medical conditions might be more vulnerable to becoming severely ill with the virus. This misbelieve might lead to the risky behaviour of the younger generation.

12. By touching Covid-19 infected surfaces and objects, the virus can get on the hands, which can then enter the body by touching the face, mouth or nose. (TRUE) (DCD, 2021)

As stated at Misbelieve 7 before, understanding the spread of the virus is the key in prevention and right behaviour, especially during shopping situations.

13. When we get home after shopping, we need to wash the packaging of the food products. (FALSE)

According to Nebih (2021a), we do not need to wash the packaging of the food (but as usual we need to wash fruits and vegetables). We should not waste energy on activities not efficient against the spread of the virus, but concentrate on right behaviour during purchase situation.

14. The Covid-19 virus is killed by simple disinfectants as well. (TRUE)

EPA (Environmental Protection Agency) states that the well-known, already used disinfectants are effective against Covid19, and it is not affected by the mutation of the virus, as SARS-CoV-2 have not changed these physical features (EPA, 2021).

15. Covid-19 virus can survive for up to several days on given surfaces. (TRUE)

Based on the recent findings of CSIRO (Yang et. al.,2020), Australia’s national science agency; SARS-CoV-2 can survive on surfaces for significantly longer than many had anticipated, even for 28 days in the ideal circumstances, meaning that cleaning, washing hand becomes even more important (mentioned by CNBC, 2020b).

III.1.2 Misbelieves and the spread of them

Considering the test, in the ideal case, only ‘7’ and ‘1’ should have been selected by the participants, while looking at the spread of the answers, we clearly see that these statements were not self-evident for the respondents. We examine spread of data and variance, but will not consider the mean, as we have to judge whether counting the means would provide results with true content behind in Likert scales. Unfortunately, in this case these numerals are just descriptive codes, and from a mathematical perspective, a ‘For sure it is true’ response indicates more agreement than ‘True’, but it does not show how much time stronger it is.

Statement	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#9	#10	#11	#12	#13	#14	#15
True	14%	24%	8%	19%	14%	12%	16%	24%	11%	9%	16%	48%	19%	21%	31%
More like true	7%	21%	6%	6%	14%	9%	5%	11%	12%	7%	13%	17%	11%	14%	18%
Maybe true	12%	10%	8%	7%	16%	12%	6%	11%	11%	8%	13%	7%	10%	12%	10%
Neutral	19%	20%	48%	11%	18%	22%	9%	19%	30%	27%	19%	9%	17%	21%	15%
Maybe false	10%	7%	7%	6%	10%	12%	4%	7%	8%	11%	12%	6%	11%	12%	9%
More like false	15%	7%	7%	14%	11%	11%	10%	8%	11%	11%	10%	3%	10%	10%	7%
False	20%	8%	14%	36%	15%	19%	50%	18%	14%	24%	15%	8%	19%	9%	7%

1. Table The frequency of answers for all the statements

Source: self-edited table

The 'easiest-to-solve' statements were Statement#12 (how does the virus spread), and Statement#7 (alcohol does not heal Covid19). But still, we see that less, than half of respondent being sure about the right answer. Also, it is quite worrisome, that for example 18% do not believe, that wearing the mask would be necessary after vaccination (Statement#8). Being unsure about something that should be key behaviour during risk situation is almost as bad as strongly believing a false statement. Considering this, we can identify all 15 statements as misbelieves, or missing knowledge.

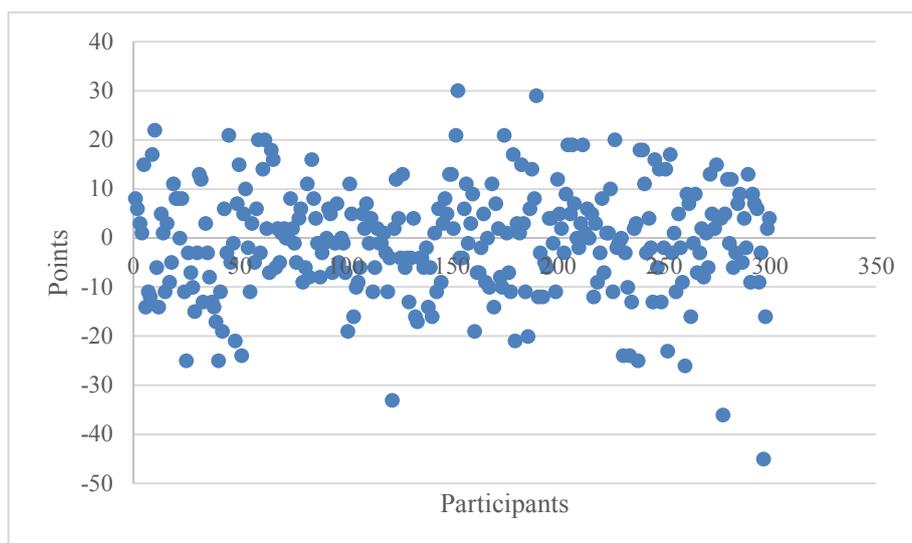
We might also look at the results aggregated: examining participant per participant the answers, and measuring Covid19 related knowledge with it. Contemplating the true or false game as a test at the university, all students would have failed. Giving plus points for the right answer, and minus points for the right answer –considering it was a 7 point Likert scale – we will give the following points:

Likert scale	Meaning	Points given	
		True statement	False statement
1	True	3	-3
2	More like true	2	-2
3	Maybe true	1	-1
4	Neutral	0	0
5	Maybe false	-1	1
6	More like false	-2	2
7	False	-3	3

2. Table Points given based on answer

Source: self-edited table

Looking at all the 'test results' of the 300 participants, the average point would be -0.04 point (maximum 45 point, minimum -45 point). Considering the evaluation per participant, we see a great spread of results. If it was a test at the University and we would let pass those, who reach at least 22.5 point, only two participant would have succeeded.



4. Figure Test results per participant

Source: self-edited diagram

Also, quite worrisome to see, that data spread around the 0 line, whilst in an ideal case, most data should appear above. As we have used minus points as well, if we would let pass those, who had a greater result, than 0 point; still more, than half would have been failed. As mentioned before, reaching 0 point still refers to missing knowledge or misbelieve; this data further confirms that the participants have many myths in mind.

III.2 Behavioural changes during food purchase situation

III.2.1 Attitude examination regarding food purchase habits

In the second section of the test, we have asked the participant to judge from a 1 to 7 scale to what extend they agree with given statements. These sentences were all in connection with behavioural changes due to the Covid19 situation, and the policies and measures introduced. Whether the participants considered supermarkets as dangerous areas during the pandemic, is hard to judge, as there is a wide spread in the answers (variance 1.75), only 31.66% agreed with this statement to some extent, we should not assume, that the demand in supermarkets would drop due to fear or intrust.

Totally disagree	53
Disagree	46
Maybe disagree	43
Neutral	63
Maybe agree	55
Agree	27
Totally agree	13

3. Table It is dangerous to buy food in big shopping centres during the pandemic (f)

Source: self-edited table

Totally disagree	74
------------------	----

Disagree	80
Maybe disagree	61
Neutral	44
Maybe agree	23
Agree	11
Totally agree	7

4. Table It is dangerous to buy food in farmer's market during the pandemic (f)

Source: self-edited table

Still, the farmer's market as a dangerous shopping environment was chosen less often, only 13.66% agreed to some extent with the statement, that it would represent a danger (variance 2.13). We could look at this, as an opportunity for this traditional selling point for small farmers. In the examined region where this research have been conducted, small scale farming has a great potential, and the environment for food production is also quite ideal. Growing trust in the small markets could pose further potential for the short food supply chains to grow and develop.

Totally disagree	86
Disagree	44
Maybe disagree	33
Neutral	29
Maybe agree	36
Agree	43
Totally agree	29

5. Table I try to buy food less frequently during the pandemic (f)

Source: self-edited table

Totally disagree	103
Disagree	47
Maybe disagree	26
Neutral	47
Maybe agree	36
Agree	23
Totally agree	18

6. Table I stock more durable food than usual during the pandemic (f)

Source: self-edited table

Even though, purchase situation is a chance to catch the virus (in particular an unavoidable one), the participants did not express that they would choose to buy food less often during the crisis situations, neither do they believe they would stock more durable food, than usually. In Hungary, at the beginning of the pandemic, many durable food products had higher demand as usual, and some supermarkets were failing to satisfy these increased demands, resulting in ostensible food shortages. As this research represents young university students, maybe we could have get quite different results including other age groups in the data collection.

Totally disagree	138
Disagree	29
Maybe disagree	22
Neutral	16
Maybe agree	29
Agree	31
Totally agree	35

7. Table I order food online more often, than before during the pandemic (f)

Source: self-edited table

We have expected a strong agreement on the statement if respondents order food more often, than before the pandemic situation. This segment showed a soaring rise in Europe according to the latest research results (such as according to Baarsma and Groenewegen, 2021). Only 31% agreed with this statement at least to some extent, and we can surmise several reasons behind this. Maybe it is due to that university students had to move home to their families due to online classes, and in the family often not their classic role is the cooking or food purchase. Also, this age group might have experienced always filled shelves in the stores during their lifetime, while the older age groups have seen precedents before for food shortages, and might have not trusted the system as much. Explaining the differences between the age groups, and reasons behind deviations should be a future research prospect.

Totally disagree	3
Disagree	5
Maybe disagree	14
Neutral	53
Maybe agree	46
Agree	78
Totally agree	101

8. Table Sustainability is important for me (f)

Source: self-edited table

Seeing that sustainability is important for the young university students is not a surprise, we also see here a lower variance as well (1.39), compared to the other statements, 75% agreed with this to some extent. We could also assume the low random filling rate examining the results of this question (also, those participants are not considered in this research, who systematically choose only one answer for all questions in the test).

III.2.2 The participants opinion on the measures introduced during the pandemic

At the beginning of the test, we have introduced short free word questions. When asking non-compulsory fill-in questions, it is quite often left empty by the participant, or filled with only a few words. Surprisingly, there was one question, where we have experienced long and detailed opinions, therefore we can assume that the question triggered emotion, or was really interesting for the young university students (only 5.33% left this question empty). This question was

dealing with the introduced regulations and measures during the Covid19 in the shopping situations (such as changed opening hours, headcount limitation or time zones).

The suggestions of the participants summarised (general opinion):

- Time zones should be eliminated or designed in a way not to bother people who are working
- Compliance of the elderly regarding time zones should be strengthened
- Opening hours should not be tightened, as it resulted in crowded areas
- Headcount limitations, mask wearing and hand cleaning are necessary measures
- Masks and hand sanitizers should be easily accessible and cheap
- Avoid panic and avoid sudden introduction of new measures

14.33% agreed with all the introduced measures and would not change anything in the future. Often participants expressed that they do believe with most of the measures, but listed some suggestions or raised their concerns regarding one or more rules. The striking and surprising result was that 132 students wrote down their doubts about the introduced time zones, with quite a furious tone (using often expressions like unfair, pointless, thoughtless or silly). The most unfortunate aspect of this data is that often the elderly was mentioned with a bad tone, such as expressing anger that they do not take the time zones seriously, that this measure was introduced because of them, expressing blame.

VI. Conclusions

Myths and misconceptions regarding the Covid19, food and purchase situations are quite well-spread globally, and according to the findings of this research; they are quite well-spread amongst young university students (n=300) in Hungary, Veszprem county a well. A striking case is that younger people tend to have that comfortable belief, that they will not catch as easily Covid19 virus or that they can not get that sick. Older people, and people with pre-existing medical conditions might be more vulnerable to becoming severely ill with the virus, this thought might be also leading to risky behaviour. Looking at the data, this might be a quite well-spread risky thought (42%).

Many believed, that the virus can be caught through food consumption (33% believed, 19% do not know), what is (besides not being true) poses additional stress and fear in these uncertain times. Also unnecessary to believe, that this virus may be present in drinking water and should be consumed after boiling, still many did (33%) and many were unsure (22%). Not enough students (58%) were aware of the fact, that Covid19 be present in the food becomes inactive upon safe heat treatment (maintaining a core temperature of 72 ° C for at least 2 minutes, what should be quite self-evident looking from the food-safety viewpoint, as most viruses and bacteria can be eliminated with such treatment. The Covid-19 virus is mainly able to survive on smooth, rigid surfaces such as plastic and stainless steel, what is neither a common knowledge amongst the university students (30% do not know, 33% think it is not true). By touching Covid-19 infected surfaces and objects, the virus can get on the hands, which can then enter the body by touching the face, mouth or nose, being a common way of infection. Fortunately, 72% had this knowledge. Strengthening the immune system cannot reduce the risk of infection, but many believe so (56%), also many try to avoid or reduce the chances of Covid19 infection with proper and varied diet (44%).

Fortunately, only 22% believed to some extent that colloid silver active ingredient is effective in curing the Covid19 disease. Several frauds appeared due to the fear of people in these uncertain times. The Food and Drug Administration of the United States for example had to

post on twitter about the myth around colloid silver, as they had a hard time dealing with people selling ineffective drugs and alternative medicine. Besides drugs, a quite wide-spread myth was in connection with alcohol. In the right form, surfaces can be cleaned with it, but unfortunately, we cannot cure Covid19 with it's consumption (64% were aware of this, but 27% believed in this myth to some extent). Buying products shipped overseas are not dangerous, as it is unlikely that they can be Covid19 infectious, but less, than half of the participants knew it (only 24% being totally sure). We neither have to wash the packaging of the food products, when we get home after shopping (the spread of this myth in our research is 40%). It is necessary to wear the mask even after vaccination in the supermarkets, and we hear this information all around the media. Still, 33% did not think it would be necessary, what could pose an unnecessary risk.

According to the recent study of Tabong and Segtub (2021) about the Covid19 misconceptions in media, misinformation is widespread regarding this virus, these myths necessitate culturally sensitive health communication strategies that take into account local perceptions of Covid19 in order to tackle the circulation of misconceived messages about the pandemic.

We have asked the participant to judge to what extend they agree with statements in connection with behavioural changes due to the Covid19 situation, and the policies and measures introduced. The participants did not particularly judged supermarkets as dangerous areas during the pandemic (only 31.66% agreed with this statement to some extent), neither farmer's market (only 13.66%). Despite our expectations, the participants did not think that they would buy food less often during the crisis situations, neither do they believe they would stock more durable food, or order food online more frequently, than usual.

The most striking finding of this research was unfortunately the tension caused in our society. There was a non-compulsory fill-in question dealing with the introduced regulations and measures during the Covid19 in the shopping situations (such as changed opening hours, headcount limitation or time zones). 14.33% agreed with all the introduced measures, often participants listed some suggestions or raised their concerns regarding one or more rules. The striking and surprising result was that 132 students spoke against specifically the introduced time zones, with quite a furious tone (using often expressions like unfair, pointless, thoughtless or silly).The elderly was mentioned with a bad tone, such as expressing anger that they do not take the time zones seriously, that this measure was introduced because of them, expressing blame.

According to the suggestions of the participants, time zones should be eliminated or designed in a way not to bother people who are working, and compliance of the elderly regarding time zones should be strengthened. The opening hours should not be tightened, as it resulted in crowded areas, resulting in further risk for consumers. The headcount limitations, mask wearing and hand cleaning are necessary measures according to the participants. They also suggested, that masks and hand sanitizers should be easily accessible and cheap for all. They emphasized that we should avoid panic and sudden introduction of new measures in the future, as with measures that are not well designed, we might create unnecessary tension in our society. At the time of the crisis, we need cooperation more than ever.

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Relationship between the project manager and successful project implementation

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Abstract

For the implementation of projects, it is essential to appoint the appropriate person to head the project organization, who will manage the organization, compliance with costs and deadlines throughout the project, from preparation to implementation. There are many types of projects, we can talk about software development or serious investments such as stadium construction. Due to the variety of projects, a person with a different education, experience and mentality must be selected. Of course, it is possible to categorize projects at some level and to carry out the selection accordingly, but each project has its own uniqueness, which makes this selection difficult. The labour market is challenging, there are few professionals with project experience, so it is often necessary to start a project with career starters or staff with no project experience. The number of projects is on the rise in all areas of the economy. However, with the increase in the number of projects, the number of unsuccessful projects increases. My research revealed that one of the main causes of failures is an inappropriate project manager. The purpose of this study is to present a close link between the project manager and the successful project implementation.

According to the results of my research, it was confirmed that there is a significant relationship between successful project implementation and a properly selected project manager. The appropriate project manager should be employed for the project to be implemented, who has experience in a similar project. You should not hire an inexperienced or otherwise qualified project manager as this can lead to failure.

Keywords: project, project manager, project implementation, organization, experience.
JEL Code: O15, D2

I. Introduction

The importance of project management is constantly growing all over the world, because by taking advantage of the importance of globalization, the representatives of the private, civil and public sectors can perform their complex tasks by applying project management. International statistics indicate a significant increase in project management jobs over the next decade. Investors usually want to implement their plans and ideas in the form of a project. The type of a project is determined by the value of the investment and the technical content of the project. One of the most important tasks in working in a project system is to develop the competencies of project managers, as these influence processes, decision-making mechanisms and work culture. An essential project organization and project manager is an essential condition for the successful implementation of a project. The design of the project organization depends on the investment value and the technical content of the project, but the person of the project manager is essential. Projects are different, but in one thing they all agree that every project has a person in charge, the project manager. The project manager must have the appropriate qualifications, competencies and experience to succeed in the project entrusted to him. Why is it important to hire the right project manager? According to statistics, the majority of investment projects, approx. 30% are not implemented within the framework of the project. Either the deadline or the costs cannot be controlled by the investors and the project manager has a major role to play in this. My goal is to present the failure of the project implementation, considering the aspect of selecting the project manager.

II. Literature review

Project, project management

According to Mihály Görög (2003: 26): “A project is any activity that is a one-time and complex task for an organization, the duration of which (start and end) and the costs (resources) of its fulfilment are defined, and (similarly to the strategic objectives) aims to achieve a defined goal (result)’.

According to the Project Management Institute (PMI): A project is a series of reasonably chosen activities involving the use of resources (time, money, people, materials, energy and space) to achieve predefined goals (PMI website: www.pmi.hu)

Projects have some basic features, namely that they are limited in time, cost and resources (human and technical). The project must therefore be completed within a given timeframe and within a given budget. In fact, this is the essence of project management. Project management is the management, control, organization of the project process itself, which focuses on the resources on the one hand and the methodological and technical tools on the other hand to achieve the goal. (Görög 2001, p. 18)

Project management is the field of resource organization and management, the aim of which is to achieve the goals of the project within a given time and budget, in accordance with quality parameters, as a result of the work performed by the resources. (Görög M. 2003, p. 51)

Projects play a key role in the development of the economy, as illustrated by a World Bank survey which estimates that the amount spent on projects is about 22% of GDP generated in the world economy, meaning every fifth dollar generated from project-like activities in the world. In developing countries e.g. 43% in China and 39% in India. (World Bank, 2008)

For the Project Management Institute, the largest professional organization in project management, Anderson Economic Group prepared an analysis of the professional situation of project management in 2017 and pointed out two important phenomena. One such phenomena is that project management activities are gaining an increasing role in other areas beyond the seven classic industries previously identified (construction, energy, manufacturing, ITC, finance and insurance, oil and gas and business services), e.g. in health care. Another such phenomena are the increase in labour market demand for the number of jobs with project

management skills. According to the research, by 2027, employers will need 87.7 million employees working in the field of project management. (Project Management Institute, 2017). At the beginning of the development of project management in the middle of the 20th century, new professional knowledge, new project management tools and methods, e.g. The creation and development of PERT (program evaluation and review technique) or WBS (work breakdown structure) have been completed in the hands of end users. (Morris, 1997). The United States military industry and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and, of course, the construction industry played a key role in the development and knowledge of project management. The development of project management knowledge was undertaken by the largest project management organizations. Examples of such organizations are the Project Management Institute (PMI) or the International Project Management Association (IPMA) with a European background. These organizations have developed standards summarizing the basics of project management, which have contributed to the recognition of project management as an independent discipline.

Project management is the process of a conscious effort by one or more people, consisting of planning, managing and controlling resources (knowledge, skills, tools, techniques and money) to ensure that the project meets the partnership requirements, the objectives set, and time and cost constraints. (Henczi L.- Murvai L. 2012, p. 41.)

III. Material and method

I was the first to review the domestic and foreign literature. To write this study, I studied the topics of project, and project management. I did secondary research, studied scientific publications and international statistics. I also incorporated the answers I received during the iterations in my field of research into the study.

My research is basically exploratory, but the analyses and results of the study also contain explanatory experiences. Based on qualitative information and data, I explore and analyse the relationships between the factors presented.

IV. Results

After setting up the project organization, the first step is to find and hire the right project manager. This is one of the most difficult tasks. There are many projects and basically almost all of them are unique, so the project manager needs to be flexible and has the right project management skills. Depending on your qualifications, you may be technical, economic or even a lawyer, but it is important that you know and apply project management tools. Of course, for example, when building a plant, it is preferable for the project manager to have a technical degree, but if the members of the organization below perform the professional tasks, the project manager should have more management skills. Project management is also a difficult task because the project manager needs to know not only the technical content of the project, but also the economic, legal, occupational safety, quality, etc. parts as well. So, you need to be aware of the full scope of the project in every way. You need to be cost sensitive, but you also need to meet deadlines. However, there are not many such professionals in the country. In a simpler project, the different fields of expertise are still transparent, but in a complex, complicated high-value project, it is difficult. Therefore, proper project manager competence is essential when implementing a serious project.

IV.1 Based on what qualities do we choose a project manager?

IV.1.1 Based on education

Technical or economic, other, both? It depends a lot on the content of the project. There are projects where the degree is clearly defined. For example, a software development project

where the organization has a small staff, up to one person for the entire project, should only be outsourced to an IT professional. The same goes for product development. It is necessary to employ a specialist who is already proficient in the given field and knows the investor's products and is involved in the production processes. The situation is different when building a plant. It is advantageous to entrust the management of the project to a representative of one of the fields (mechanical, electrical, architect, control technician), but if the organizational structure includes sub-project managers, the project manager can be an economist or a lawyer with project management skills and experience.

IV.1.2 Always according to the project content

The content of the project greatly influences the structural structure of the organization and, accordingly, the selection of the project leader. There are areas where it is essential to select the right professional for the content, and there are areas where the project manager's professional background does not influence project management because the organization includes the appropriate professional competencies.

IV.1.3 According to the investment value of the project

The investment value fundamentally influences the number and professional composition of the project participants. In general, the technical content of higher value projects is also higher, so the organizational structure of the project will be designed accordingly.

IV.1.4 Depending on the project organization

The organizational structure of a project depends on the value of the project and the content of the project. It can be an organization of one or two people and there can be up to 40-50 people in the project organization. One or two people may be enough for the software development mentioned earlier, but the construction of a plant already requires a large project organization. The investors must determine with what resources and in what organizational structure they want to carry out the investment. It must adapt to the current situation of the labour market and the project organization must be designed accordingly. It may be necessary to involve own and external resources in the project organization, but this is already a strategic decision.

- ⇒ The investment can be carried out by setting up your own project organization, internal project: when you carry out the implementation of the project with your own resources.
- ⇒ It can be done with the help of a project management company, external project: it concludes a contract with external contributors.
- ⇒ A combination of these can lead to mixed projects: when both the own resources of the initiating organization and the external contributors contracted with it are involved in the implementation of the projects.

IV.1.5 Based on project management skills

Communicational, organizational, leaders, attitude. All of these are needed to run a successful project.

IV.1.6 Based on project management leadership styles

The project manager has to solve complex and risky tasks in order to complete the project, and the success of the project depends mainly on his competence. An appropriate leadership style is required to manage a project organization. Turner defined the following project management leadership styles:

Project management leadership style	Competence examined		
	Decision making	Decision execution	Flexibility
Laissez-Fair	high	high	high
Democratic	high	low	high
Autocratic	low	low	high
Bureaucratic	low	low	low

Table 1: Source: Turner, J. R. (1999). *Handbook of Project-based Management: Improving the Process for Achieving Strategic Objectives*.

In fact, a representative of any leadership style can be qualified to lead a project if they have the appropriate experience and qualifications.

International statistics show surprising results in terms of project implementation. Below I present three international statistics, which show the statistics and the reasons for the unsuccessful implementation of the projects.

The first report: Standish Group Chaos report 2020.

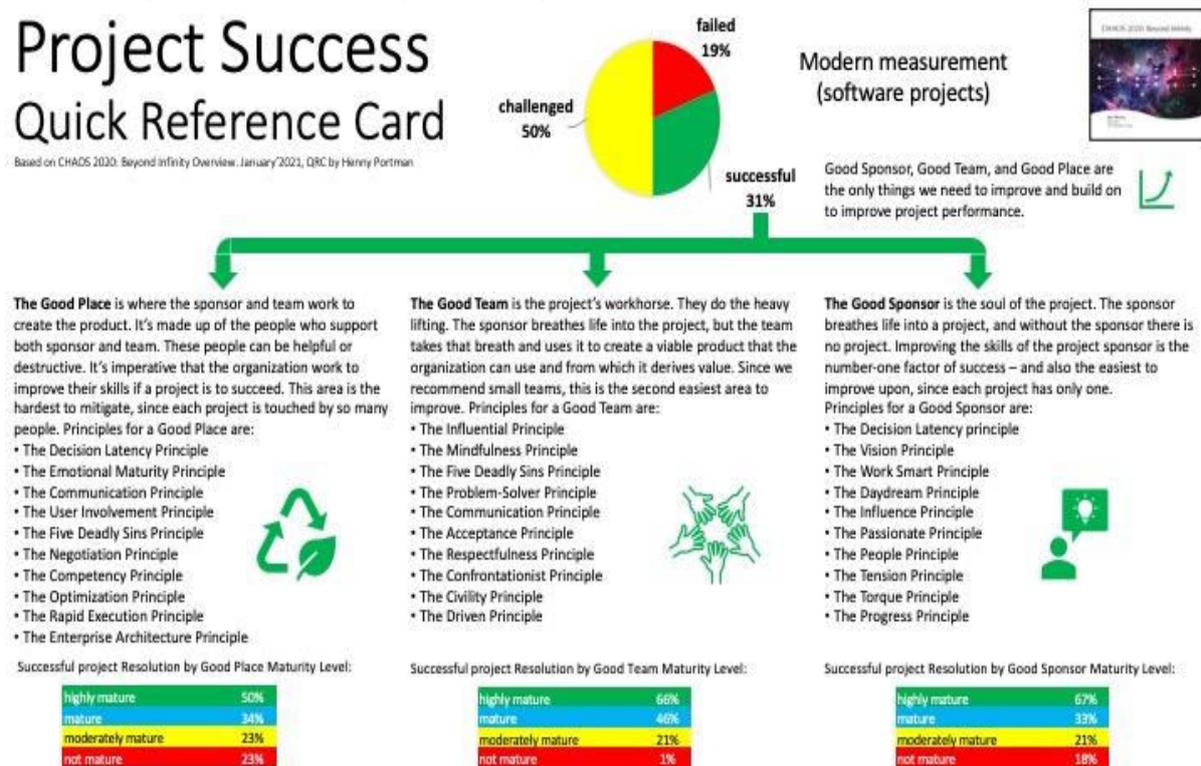


Figure 1: Standish Group Chaos Report 2020.

The second report: Project Failure Statistics according to a 2019 IPMA global survey:

- Only 19% of organizations deliver successful projects, at least most of the time
- Only 30% of organizations deliver on time
- Only 36% deliver projects on budget
- Only 44% deliver projects that meet original goal and business intent
- Only 46% of projects delivered receive stakeholder satisfaction

The third report: Inexperienced project managers are among the primary causes of project failure 20% of the time, according to the PMI's 2017 Pulse of the Profession report.

Q: Of the projects started in your organization in the past 12 months that were deemed failures, what were the primary causes of those failures? (Select up to three.)

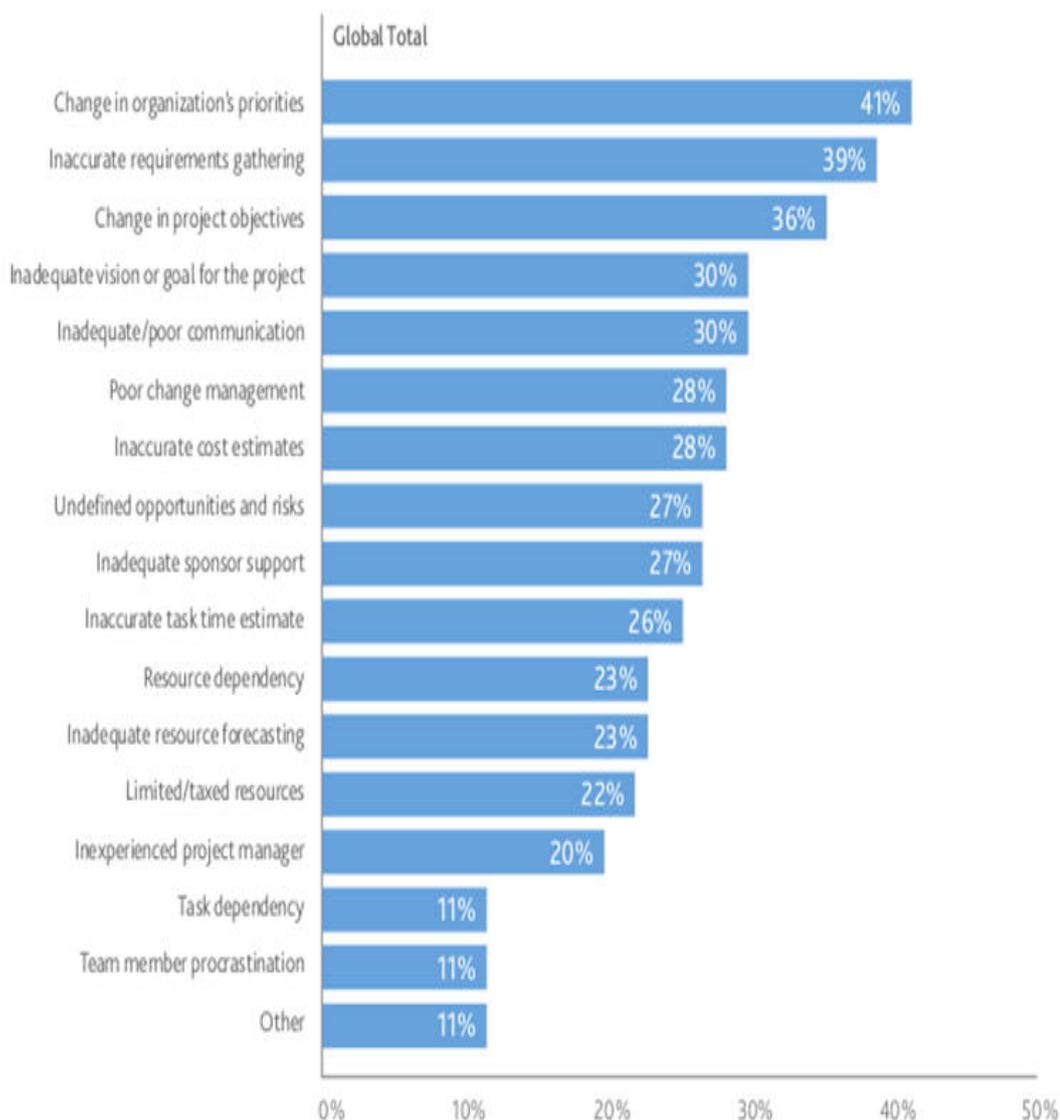


Figure 2: PMI's 2017 Pulse of the Profession report.

In the course of my research, I asked the following question in my questionnaire and during the interviews conducted:

„Statistics show that more than 30% of investment projects are delayed, not in line with the original technical content and not within the planned cost. What do you think is the reason for this?“

I got the following result. 46.7% of the respondents think that project managers are responsible for the failure of the project.

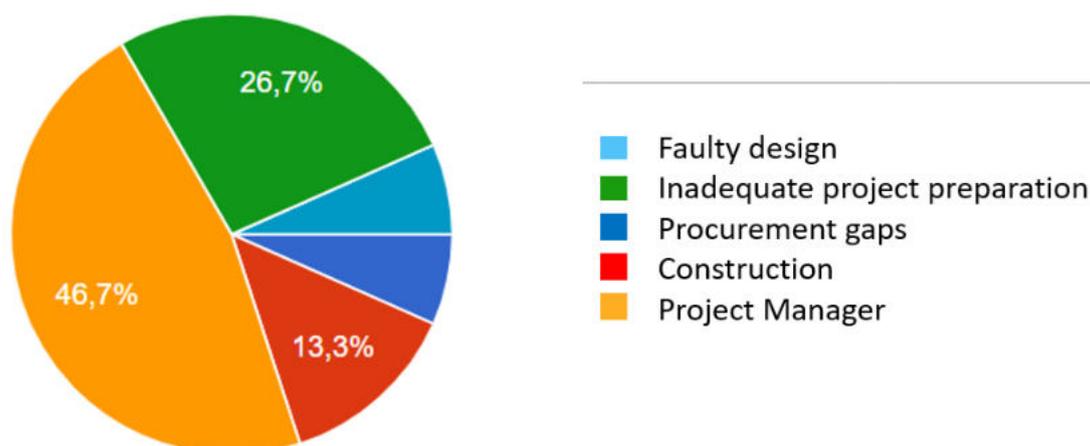


Figure 3: questionnaire response evaluation (own editing).

I conducted a total of 5 in-depth interviews with senior executives, 3 major investors and 2 major contractors. 4 people replied that at least 50% of the project manager is responsible for the failure of the project. 1 person feels only 40% responsible for the project manager.

V. Conclusions and recommendation

The above mentioned has been formulated based on my own experience, interviews conducted during my research, and elaboration of the literature. I have gained experience as a technical director of a project implementation company for the last 10 years. We have implemented investment projects on behalf of international and domestic customers. The projects had different technical contents and different investment values, and accordingly the project managers had to face different challenges.

The purpose of my research was to show a close relationship, which was confirmed by the results obtained. According to the results of my research, it was confirmed that there is a significant relationship between successful project implementation and a properly selected project manager. The appropriate project manager should be employed for the project to be implemented, who has experience in a similar project. You should not hire an inexperienced or otherwise qualified project manager as this can lead to failure.

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A Contradictory Transition: Revisiting Economic Policy during Stalinism and the “New Course” in Hungary 1948–1955

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The communist leadership introduced Stalinist economic policy in Hungary from 1948, which was made possible by political takeover and changes in Soviet foreign policy. From that point a not less controversial era began and partially continued, a period of “transition” from capitalism to socialism. The transition was meant originally to be a gradual transformation at least in propaganda and in official speeches, for instance regarding agriculture, while in the reality rapid economic and political Stalinization took place. The analysis focuses on economic policy and to related views and discussions in the literature. How came the Soviet New Economic Policy (NEP) suddenly to the foreground in 1953? What was the official standpoint on its application during the transition period in the people’s democracies before Stalin’s death? The topic can be elaborated from a transnational and interdisciplinary perspective.

Results: Up until accelerated De-Stalinization, Stalin was praised for defending and continuing Lenin’s NEP and also for introducing forced industrialization and collectivization in the late 1920s. Economists tried to give a historical evaluation of the NEP and “state capitalism” while the ideological framework of the people’s democracies was still unclear. The starting point of this study was a research on agrarian policy changes from 1952 and the path to the changes in economic policy in mid-1953. It can be assumed that it was not possible to raise the question of the NEP in the Stalinist period. The analysis points out that the NEP was mentioned and studied mainly linked to agriculture from Bulgaria to the German Democratic Republic between 1950 and 1953 from a contemporary viewpoint. Economic difficulties contributed to reassess some parts of the transition which mixed elements of the NEP and war communism in the Stalinist Soviet command economy.

Conclusions: There was no economic balance in the short or in the long run and the Hungarian Stalinists obviously preferred radical way of transformation. Resistance to collectivization contributed to the decision in the whole region to allow and to expand free market sales to improve food supply. The deepening economic crisis forced the Soviets to order the communist leaders in Central Europe to ease policies. The NEP controversy in Hungary in 1954 shows undoubtedly how important this matter was even if it did not cause “ideological earthquake”. The discussions had an unexplored prelude in the years before 1954 and it had impact on economic reform thinking in the following years. The party apparatus could not dissolve the contradictions regarding NEP and Stalinist economic policy so easily and it did result ideological confusion and hesitancy.

Keywords: industrialization, nationalization, collectivization, NEP, De-Stalinization

I. Introduction

The Hungarian economy underwent a long and multi-layered transformation in the second half of the 20th century. The years between 1945 and 1955 were elaborated from many perspectives in the literature, and the analyses triggered further speculations on economic policy of the communist party. The years up until the total political takeover were put in a broader and disputed context, namely in the changing framework of the political system. The economy of the “people’s democracy” faced multiple challenges, for instance reconstruction and reparation. The political coalition had dealt with economic issues under the supervision of the Soviet authorities while the communist party gained more ground in politics. The degree of state intervention in economy increased while the first elements of centrally planned command economy were established. In 1947 the first three year plan had begun. In the following year, in 1948, the communist party announced collectivization of agriculture. The first five year plan was prepared from 1948 and it was promulgated in 1950. In 1951 the five year plan was revised and the plans increased. The economic plans aimed to accelerate industrialization of the country.

According to the literature, the political leadership of the communist party pursued in the first three years of the people’s democracy in Hungary partially a state capitalist economic model with elements of the Soviet New Economic Policy (NEP).¹ The Hungarian Communist Party had not announced such economic aims officially, and its representatives did not speak about it publicly, but Ernő Gerő spoke internally about it for example in 1948.² The period of transition continued after 1947/1948, however almost full nationalization of industrial, commercial and financial sector took place.³ The party switched economic policy and introduced complete centrally planned economy, known as command economy.⁴ The Stalinist Soviet type industrialization and collectivization got priority.⁵ First, there was officially no state capitalism, war communism or NEP period in the second half of the 1940s, and second, the radical transformation between 1948 and 1953 mixed elements of war communism and NEP.

From 1947 it was made clear that there cannot be a national path to socialism and the party had to adapt the Soviet methods. If 1948 and 1953 mark the years of change in economic policy, it is a relevant question, how can we analyze the economic development as an organic process without setting one year as a turn of the transformation?⁶ This question is connected not just to periodization but to changes of economic system and control. The second congress of the communist party in February 1951 distorted economic policy further. What happened between 1948 and 1951, and between 1951 and 1953? An oversimplified explanation emphasizes the assumption that the communist party pursued radical transformation until the end. It means that the basic aim was to abolish the dual basis of economy (eliminating capitalist elements in economy) and to establish the socialist mode of production that way. One of the main challenges of the communists was the creation of socialist productive relations in the countryside. Most sectors of the economy were socialized, but one part of the

¹ Rovó 1964: 60–62.

² Berend T. 1963: 105–106.; Berend T. 1976: 72–73.; Szamuely 1988: 347. Gerő spoke about state capitalism and NEP on 3 March, 1948 in the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party and mentioned state capitalism or referred to it on different occasions in 1947 and 1948. Gerő 1950a: 237, 248–249, 255–256, 277.

³ Friss 1954: 277–283.; Mocsáry 1991: 37–39.

⁴ Gregory 1990: 18–25.

⁵ Friss 1955: 14–21.

⁶ Berend T. 1965: 810–811.

economy remained capitalist. Mostly private producers were cultivating land and were producing agricultural goods.

At the plenum of the Central Committee on 27 November, 1948 Rákosi simply set an unrealistic aim, the collectivization of agriculture within 3 or 4 years. This aim could have been met just only with the liquidation of kulaks, forcing peasants to join cooperatives and other administrative measures like compulsory delivery. It meant also the shortening of the transition, abandoning state capitalism and also NEP gradually but in fact as fast as possible. State investments should have been used to industrialize economy and modernize agriculture; the yields had to improve food supply of increasing population of cities and accumulate more capital for the industry. The newly established cooperatives were not able to produce more than the private farmers because they needed or had nonproductive investments. So far as private producers were the main factor in agriculture, capitalist market and productive relations existed in the economy, therefore economic policy had mixed elements of radical Stalinist Soviet economy and the NEP. The system experienced dysfunction and the party perceived the signs of problems and later the broadening crisis. The rationing of food was introduced again in January 1951. The leadership had to decide direction of agrarian policy and it was forced to allow further NEP measures. The textbooks contain neither on economic policy in general, nor on agrarian policy and agriculture in particular details on the paradoxes of the Sovietization of economy and the NEP. The authors focused mainly on the paradoxes of investment policy and collectivization, furthermore generalized some certain trends of economic policy and system.⁷ The problems of periodization of economic history, the changes of economic system and control make more relevant to point out the blurred boundaries of the economic development and to revisit the economic policy during Stalinism and the “new course”.

II. Bolshevik/Soviet Economic Policy from 1921

After the beginning of the “new course” in Hungary, various views emerged on former economic policies. On the one hand, it was claimed that the NEP was applied from 1945 or from 1948, and then during the “new course”. On the other hand, some people argued that the NEP was distorted from 1948/1949, 1950 or February/March 1951. The communist leadership assumed that when mass collectivization was completely finished and the kulaks were liquidated, there should not be need of NEP elements in the economy anymore. Why did the NEP have significance even in these years in the socialist camp?

The Bolsheviks introduced under the leadership of Lenin the NEP in 1921. There is a huge number of analyses on this topic in the literature. Authors raised the questions whether it was planned earlier and whether it was a permanent policy in the long-term. Furthermore, its timeframe could not be easily defined from a historical point of view, some authors claimed that the end year of NEP was 1927, 1928 or 1929; some of them added the years of mass collectivization to period of transition and concluded that the NEP ended by 1935 or 1936.⁸ The Bolshevik/Soviet New Economic Policy was later “rediscovered” in the 1960s and in the 1980s, when the need for a serious economic reform grew. The implemented economic reforms had a basic “model” in the 1920’s when it came to changes in economic mechanism

⁷ Závada 1984: 137–158.; Petó – Szakács 1985: 151–189.; Gunst 2001: 132–140.; Varga 2008: 280–294.

⁸ Szamuely 1988: 344.

and to turn to a limited degree to market economy.⁹ Lenin's views on state capitalism from 1917 and 1921 and on the NEP were also subject of analyses.¹⁰

The main feature of the NEP was linked to agriculture and agrarian policy. One of the most important issues of the Russian civil war was food supply. The state's grain monopoly seemed necessary to distribute food centrally. It was part of socialism and communism in the eyes of numerous Bolsheviks, while total military food dictatorship could not be implemented. Taking away surplus from the peasantry without compensation was described as requisition and confiscation in many analyses. Free trade and markets were prohibited, but some authors argued that there should not be made a sharp distinction between war communism's and NEP's food policy. The grain procurement methods were relaxed and black markets also existed. The so called *razverstka* was seen as a pragmatic method of grain procurement.¹¹

The grain crisis in 1920/1921 then forced the Bolsheviks to change politics and Lenin argued that the grain tax in kind or food tax, it was called in Russian abbreviated as *prodlog* should be introduced which happened in the spring of 1921. The peasants had an obligation to give over an exact part of the grain to the state as tax; this was in 1923/1924 replaced by a monetary tax as a single agricultural tax. The peasants were able to sell the surplus on the free market.¹² The Bolsheviks had implemented a currency reform and reestablished the bank system in order to create a basic financial system for payments. Lenin claimed that in the transition phase it was the only way to form bond between industry and private producers in agriculture, to boost exchange of goods between town and countryside and to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance. Furthermore, he did believe that trade would bring peasants together and they would cooperate and form lower forms of associations. The NEP did not mean just a change in economic policy, but a change in the economic system as well. The liberalization led to further concessions and to a limited market economy. It was considered at that time that this was a return to "state capitalism", which then turned to a full-scale "state socialism" when Stalin decided to accelerate industrialization. Stalin's stance on the NEP was very fluctuant. He had criticized it already at the XII party congress in April 1923, but he had defended NEP policies in the mid-1920s.¹³ He began arguing that socialism can be built in one country. The turn in economic policy came in the second half of the 1920s. At the end of the decade, free markets were restricted and then prohibited. The grain was collected centrally because of food shortage and to finance industrial investments and development. The kulaks were being liquidated during the collectivization.¹⁴

The NEP and the theoretical and methodical questions on its application created not just an ideological and political controversy but an economic one as well. The questions were connected to transition of the whole economy from capitalism to socialism and to food supply which was in focus after 1945. However, economic crisis forced communist regimes to adapt elements of the NEP in very difficult economic situations, for instance to consider giving more economic freedom to private producers in agriculture. The attempt to skip or merge phases of the so called transition failed in Central and Southeast Europe between 1945 and 1953, because the communist dictatorships' economies had to introduce Soviet command economy, to collectivize agriculture, to industrialize and to prepare for a new world war. Was

⁹ Sipos – Lengyel 1975.; Sochor 1982.; Szamuely 1988: 349–353.; Kalmár 2019: 154–155.

¹⁰ Barla 1970: 67–102.; Barla 1978: 33–38.; Dányi 1987: 323–344.

¹¹ Szamuely 1970: 17–32.; Lih 1986: 673–688.; Pach 1995: 47–56.

¹² Vincent Barnett analyzed free markets' integration level and commodity price movements. Barnett 1995: 329–352.

¹³ Miller 1925a: 124–129.; Miller 1925b: 418–420.; Himmer 1994: 516–517.; Berend T. 2008: 143.

¹⁴ Narkiewicz 1966: 23–37.; Desai 1976: 65–66.; Berend T. 2008: 132–148.

the Hungarian economy mixed and did economic policy contain elements of war communism, NEP and radical Stalinism at the same time between 1948 and 1953?

III. Stalinization: Radical Transformation and the NEP

The Hungarian case was partially unique and similar to the countries in the region. The communist leadership began collectivization and cooperativization of agriculture from 1948/1949. The main aim was half-officially that mass collectivization will be achieved by 1952/1953. The state and party organs began to organize campaigns from 1949 to force peasants into cooperatives which were based on the Soviet kolkhoz model. There were three types of cooperatives and the members could keep their land titles when joining the collectives. In 1950 and 1951 larger campaigns were implemented and administrative measures were tightened. Officially, the peasants were joining voluntarily cooperatives and any form of violence and coercion were condemned. The party's peasant policy contained that they were in the phase of restriction of kulaks, but in reality, kulak estates were being liquidated since the land reform. The next step would have been the announcement of the phase of mass collectivization and the liquidation of kulaks approximately in 1952.

The Hungarian communist leadership was seemingly united regarding economic policy. Nobody raised voice against the unrealistic plans publicly. Despite all the efforts the newly founded cooperatives were operating in an insufficient way. Many of them were indebted and non-profitable. At the very beginning of the 1950s, economic problems surfaced and these were perceived by the Stalinist regimes in the region. Collectivization had to be completely paused or slowed down because of the active or passive resistance of the peasantry. In most of the countries food supply was based on compulsory delivery and other measures, while food was rationed. The communist parties' programmes contained that private farmers should be supported by various means; however, in most countries the Stalinist leaderships put more pressure on them to join cooperatives. As a result, arable land remained uncultivated and peasants fled the countryside. The problems of agricultural production caused disruption in food supply system. At that point the NEP came in the foreground. The volumes of Stalin were published and according to these works Stalin was the one to be praised for the success of the NEP in the Soviet Union. Stalin also expressed the view that the NEP would be an unavoidable part of the transition in capitalist countries where the economy undergoes the transformation from capitalism to socialism.¹⁵

Stalinist leaders and economists were referring to the NEP partially as a model for their own economic policy, however, it was not clarified how NEP was applied and by which methods.¹⁶ Ernő Gerő, who supervised and controlled the central economic organs and advised the general secretary on main economic issues, had direct influence on the economic decision-making. In his review article on Stalin's eleventh volume in October 1950, he argued that the NEP had to be applied in Hungary to a specified extent. He did not give details what he exactly meant on that but he mentioned that the party had to use market relations to steer economy towards socialism. The main point of his argument was while there was a limited

¹⁵ Gerő 1950b: 762–764.

¹⁶ László Szamuely pointed out different interpretations of the NEP but simply skipped these questions regarding the time period of 1948 and 1953 and stated that NEP was not even mentioned during High Stalinism. Szamuely 1988: 342–348.

market mechanism under state control, the socialist procurement and distribution should be enhanced.¹⁷ Gerő had a lecture at the party college on 15 June, 1950 about the construction of socialism in the people's democracies. He did detail the economic problems of the countries which were considered as people's democracies, and stated that the economy consisted of three sectors: the socialist sector (state and cooperatives), the capitalist sector (kulaks for instance) and small producers. He drew the conclusion without mentioning transition that the economy of the people's democracies was in the similar state as it was in the Soviet Union in the 1920s during the NEP. However, the NEP elements of economy will be weakened parallel with the expansion of the socialist productive relations.¹⁸

Gerő's NEP remarks had impact in jurisprudence and economics. Shortly after the second party congress in February and March 1951, a prominent jurist, Gyula Eörsi published an article on the new economic policy and the civil law. Eörsi emphasized the need for a socialist civil law which includes the private property rights of small agricultural producers.¹⁹ In the economics, which adapted Stalinist dogmas and principles, Gerő's remarks were explained in more details by the theoretical working group of the party on political economy, which was led by László Háý. The working group prepared a brochure on this topic in mid-1952 and repeated many points from Gerő's speeches on the NEP. The authors of the brochure made an important remark:

*“The socialist state starts under the conditions and with the help of the new economic policy the socialist industrialization and achieves collectivization of agriculture and constructs socialism. However, this does not mean that the NEP – during its application – would be equal to the whole system of the economic policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The NEP does not include all the processes, methods and measures which define the economic policy of the socialist state during the period of transition.”*²⁰

Three stages of application of the NEP were differed: the reconstruction (from 1945 to 1948/1949), the first stage of socialist construction (from 1948/1949 to 1951), and the developments after the second party congress and the December decision in 1951. In May 1951 some restrictions on trade were abolished, but the compulsory delivery became a permanent part of the economy which made possible to include private farmer production in the planned economic system. The contradictory situation was created by the political decisions. The brochure's conclusions warned that leftist and rightist deviation in application of the NEP should be condemned.²¹

There was no one word about state capitalism maybe because industry was almost fully nationalized. The communist economic policy, system and control could not find easily a “middle way” or balance to apply NEP during various circumstances. The general secretary never spoke about the NEP between 1948 and 1953, and consequently the party or government decisions never mentioned NEP as an economic policy. The accelerated collectivization caused the elimination of private interests and initiatives in the private sector of agriculture, but partially in the cooperative sector as well. As Gerő explained, the communist leaders believed that NEP was a necessary element of economic policy on a temporarily basis. He believed that accelerated collectivization would abandon it and NEP would be a part of the past very soon.

¹⁷ Gerő 1950b: 762–764.

¹⁸ Gerő 1950c: 11–14, 24–25.

¹⁹ Eörsi 1951: 238–245. Civil law and land law were codified in the Soviet Union in the 1920s.

²⁰ Háý 1952: 8.

²¹ Háý 1952: 15–43.

The economic policy consisted of mixed elements anyway, for example war economy or war communism. The party took one part of grain and other products from the peasantry by compulsory deliveries away. The producers gave food at fixed prices which were lower than production costs to the state. After the fulfillment of delivery quotas and keeping one part of the remaining food as supply for themselves (consumption and for seed), almost nothing remained to sell on the market. The compulsory delivery made production non-profitable. The state redistributed food and kept one part of it as part of preparation for a war and for export. At the beginning of 1951 rationing was introduced again; it was abolished successfully at the end of the first three year plan in the late 1940s.

The party's economic policy faced other huge challenges and problems already in 1950. Introducing food ration cards again and prohibiting free trade of grain did not solve the roots of the problems. The chief of economic affairs of the party, Gerő perceived the signs of the unfolding economic crisis. Some attempts were already made in 1951 to correct policies, which continued in the following year, however, it was filled with paradoxes.²² The literature did not throw light on the changes and further corrections on agrarian policy between 1951 and March/July 1953. Despite the slight and slow shift in agrarian policy, the Stalinist leadership did not plan general changes on economic policy. The changes were from this point of view results of a process and development in economic policy.

The communist party held its second congress from 25 February to 1 March, 1951. Party decision has been made which contained that 80% of agriculture should be collectivized in the first half of the 1950s. The reduction marked a small but important modification compared to November 1948. Moreover, the written party decision included that the private peasants should be supported. Archival sources reveal that the party set the task to abolish food rationing and to make free trade of surplus grain possible by the end of the year. The good harvest contributed to accomplish these goals, but the party planned to set new consumer prices and wages at the same time. The party's decision on abolishment of rationing and free trade of certain agricultural products were clearly NEP-style measures. Gerő's speech at the second party congress made this evident. On 28 February, 1951, as usual, he talked lengthily about the state of the Hungarian economy. At one point, he talked about the further reinforcement of worker-peasant alliance, and that the NEP policy should be continued with some restrictions. Free trade of surplus should have given incentive to private farmers to produce more and to increase procurement.²³ Articles were published during 1951 on free trade and NEP in the newspapers of the counties party organizations. According to the official narration, the application of the NEP was necessary in the period of transition and to lay down the foundations of the socialist economy. It was also emphasized that the socialist sector and the small private producers were "fighting" together against capitalism in the NEP period and it resulted the elimination of capitalist elements.²⁴ This principle was clearly a more Stalinist distortion of NEP policy.²⁵ In July 1951 an article was published by Imre Nagy in which he

²² Baráth 2018: 1–2.

²³ A Magyar Dolgozók Pártja II. Kongresszusának jegyzőkönyve, 1951. február 24. – március 2. Szikra Kiadó. Budapest, 1951: 350–351.

²⁴ A szabadpiac a szocializmus építésének időszakában. Délmagyarország. 1951. 7. évfolyam. 175. sz. 1951. július 29. 2. oldal. László Patera: A NEP-politika és alkalmazása országunkban. Északmagyarország. 1951. 7. évfolyam. 263. sz. 1951. november 11. 2. oldal.

²⁵ When Imre Nagy published his volume on agrarian policy in 1950, this narrative was used to describe the period of NEP in the Soviet Union in the 1920s. Nagy 1950: 314–316.

mentioned the significance of free trade of eggs, milk and poultry.²⁶ These were the first products which surpluses could be sold after fulfillment of compulsory delivery quotas.

Another blow was to private trade that the delivery quotas were constantly increased in 1951 and in 1952. The peasants could not fulfill the unrealistic obligations. Behind the scenes there was another reason why the Stalinist regimes pushed for more grain procurement: Stalin convened the Stalinist leaders of the people's democracies in January 1951 and told them that investments in military industry should be increased.²⁷ The food situation deteriorated further in 1952 when extremely bad weather hit agriculture and the yields were below average.

The party already decided in September 1951 to slow down collectivization in some places if necessary. Violence against peasants was condemned and the regime ordered the party organs to consolidate economically the existing cooperatives. In the following year, the Central Committee made a decision in July 1952 to slow down collectivization overall and projected the end of mass cooperativization several years later.²⁸ The implications of this decision are unexplored in the literature. Gerő delivered a speech on economy at the plenum of the Central Committee on 29 November, 1952. He openly admitted that the main objective should be the economic reinforcement of cooperatives and it should determine further pace of collectivization. Consequently, the party cannot pursue mass collectivization in the near future.²⁹ The NEP was not mentioned, however, Rákosi held a speech in the Parliament on 15 December, 1952 and echoed the same about the cooperatives, but he painted a more positive picture on the cooperative movement.³⁰ The poor harvest had negative impact on economic situation in Hungary and in the second half of 1952 more changes and corrections were planned and then prepared in agrarian policy.

The regions' countries did almost the same before March and June 1953, the communist regimes implemented currency, price and norm reforms, and free trade of grain has been allowed. The state procured grain and agricultural products not just through compulsory deliveries but through obligatory contracts to produce certain crops and through the state's central acquisition efforts (state purchase), which meant mainly that the state bought agricultural products at fixed prices. Food shortage was a result and it was clear that food supply was a critical point. The solution was less collectivization, restricting and slowing down liquidation of kulaks, giving private peasants incentives to produce more.

The Hungarian communist party and the government made and promulgated a decision to allow among others the free trade of surplus grain on 2 December, 1951.³¹ The decision with the above mentioned measures were prepared in the most secretive way, as it happened in other countries in the region. Linked to the decision on free trade in 1951, in March 1952 an

²⁶ Imre Nagy: Gazdag termésünk begyűjtéséért. Szabad Nép. 1951. 9. évfolyam. 152. sz. 1951. július 1. 1–2. oldal. The decree of the presidential council on procurement of 1951/1952 came into force on 18 March, 1951.

²⁷ Wettig 2005: 635–650.

²⁸ National Archives of Hungary, National Archive (MNL OL), 276. f. 53. cs. 83. ő.e. 20 September, 1951. 1. Proposal on strengthening cooperative farms. Letter of the Central and Political Committees of the Hungarian Worker's Party to the counties' and Budapest's party organization on question of the cooperative movement. MNL OL, 276. f. 53. cs. 102. ő.e. 17 July, 1952. 1. Proposal on the pace of socialist transformation of agriculture.

²⁹ Gerő 1952: 1238.

³⁰ Rákosi Mátyás elvtárs beszéde az országgyűlés 1952. december 15-i ülésén. Társadalmi Szemle. 1952. 7. évfolyam. 12. sz. 1206–1207.

³¹ The dynamic and trends of free trade or black markets between 1948 and 1953 at the local level is mainly unexplored in the literature. Magyar Közlöny. 1951. no. 166. Decision no. 1.034/1951 of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic and of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party on abolition of rationing, on pricing and waging, and on free trade of certain agricultural products.

article indicates that the party's education center for cadres organized lectures on the application of the NEP in Hungary.³²

In the autumn of 1952, some delivery quotas were decreased but it did not solve food supply problems. By 1952/1953 a broader economic and system crisis was unfolding.³³ It became clear that cooperatives should be supported financially and economically in a more intensive way and not just by voluntarist methods. Some sources indicate disagreements on economic policy within the communist leadership. Zoltán Vas, who was the head of the National Office of Planning, stated in his memoir that he wanted to include NEP in economic policy and the decision on 2 December, 1951 was made possible by taking his views into account.³⁴ Imre Nagy took also part in the preparation of the December decision on free grain trade.³⁵ He was deputy prime minister from mid-November 1952 who was responsible for the whole agricultural branch and the NEP argument can be found in the administration under his leadership while it prepared and coordinated various measures as crisis management before June 1953.

Nagy criticized the work of central organs in the first months of 1953, while the Stalinist leaders were planning and executing another round of purges. In addition, the Soviet policies were affecting the Hungarian internal affairs in many ways. One of these was the XIX congress of the Soviet communist party in October 1952. A textbook was prepared on political economy and Stalin's view was published in 1952. Stalin pressed two points, first, commodity circulation and money exchange on the markets should be eliminated gradually, and second, it should be replaced by the exchange of products. The Soviets were analyzing the market's role in the economy from the perspective of the transition from socialism to communism.³⁶

Many economists were analyzing Stalin's views on political economy. It raised also questions on the transition from capitalism to socialism. Aladárné Mód wrote an article on production of agricultural commodities. In the first page of her article, the author urged for the need of production of agricultural commodities and the commodity circulation on the market. She linked this part of the economy to the application of the NEP in Hungary. The article was published in the April-May issue of the journal *Társadalmi Szemle* (Social Review).³⁷

Imre Nagy delivered a speech at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in May 1953 as part of his inauguration at the Academy about some economic problems of transition from capitalism to socialism in the people's democracies.³⁸ Nagy did refer to Stalin's work to emphasize some aspects of the period of transition not just in 1953 but earlier as well.³⁹ Nagy clearly linked the decision from December 1951 to the NEP more times. He argued that small farmers were producing most of agricultural goods, thus it was necessary to develop their production and to involve their surplus in the market. There was no threat of capitalization because of strict restrictions. The proper application of the NEP would help to establish socialist agriculture. Nagy claimed that the December decision should be developed further. In this context, Nagy

³² A Pártoktatás Háza közleménye. 1952. március 28-án, pénteken este 6 órakor a Pártoktatás Házában előadást tartunk „A NEP alkalmazása Magyarországon” címmel. *Somogyi Néplap*. 9. évfolyam. 70. sz. 1952. március 25. 2. oldal.

³³ Gyarmati 2013: 167–219.

³⁴ Vas 1990: 104–105.

³⁵ Rainer M. 1996: 481.

³⁶ Sztálin 1952: 898–899, 945–946.; Whitman 1956: 384–408.

³⁷ Mód 1953a: 416–418.

³⁸ Nagy 1953.

³⁹ Rainer M. 1996: 499–500.; Csató 2019: 68.

stressed the need of state procurement; he explained why it was a necessity that the state took away agricultural products as compulsory delivery from the producers.⁴⁰ It is utterly exaggerated in the Hungarian literature that Imre Nagy was mainly responsible for the forceful requisitions and to fulfill the unrealistically increased quotas.

Nagy had clash with Gerő on the causes of delivery arrears in 1951.⁴¹ His authority was limited and the main political direction was determined by the Stalinist leadership. Nagy opposed coercion but pushed for fulfillment of procurement plans, while he advocated free grain trade. The procurement quotas were determined in every year and it caused uncertainty for individual farmers. After the decision to delay mass collectivization in mid-1952, some quotas were reduced. Related to this topic, one of the most important planned changes was probably the preparation of a new compulsory delivery system. Archival sources indicate that an internal party decision was made on it by December 1952. It was logical step by the regime because if mass collectivization was delayed, compulsory delivery system could have been reorganized. Gerő planned that the cooperatives should be economically reinforced in the next two years. These plans had impact on the whole food supply system. Some preparations started in the first months of 1953. It is unclear to what extent was Nagy involved, but the Secretariat of Department of Agriculture of the Council of Ministers coordinated the efforts from April/May 1953. If somebody, then Nagy did understand what kind of significance it would have on food supply if a new compulsory delivery system would have been introduced. According to the original plan, the new system would have been determined the quotas for private farmers for two years. This was modified later to three years. The measure would have caused stability in agricultural production and farmers could have taken more surplus to the market. It was surely seen by Nagy as developing previous NEP elements and measures.

A parliamentary election was held in May 1953 and the Hungarian Independence People's Front's programme contained already in April 1953 that the new system of procurement will be introduced as part of the measures of the new government. In early May Nagy held election speech for instance in Kaposvár and he had mentioned that the new system will be introduced. The Hungarian literature did not pay attention to this fact and simply associated the new system with the radical policy change in July 1953. According to archival sources, the preparations were started already in the spring, presumably in April and in May.

IV. “New Course” and the NEP. Economic Theory, Debate and Ideology

The Hungarian communist system was based on the Stalinist Soviet model; however, latter underwent significant changes from March 1953. The internal Soviet power struggle had impact on the socialist camp as well. The economic crisis caused turmoil in the German Democratic Republic and riots took place in Bulgaria and in Czechoslovakia. The “collective leadership” of the Kremlin decided to take measures to change domestic policies in the satellite states. Despite of further developments after J. Stalin's death on 5 March, 1953, Stalin's and the Soviets' stance was unclear on the link between Stalinist economic policy and the NEP before and after March 1953.

⁴⁰ Nagy 1953: 535–536.

⁴¹ Rainer M. 1996: 481.

The huge turn in politics meant recalibrating economic policy, partially the start of Destalinization and thaw in the international relations. Numerous paradoxes and contradictions were unresolved. The “new course” and its “new economic policy” were not brand new, however, the new government tried to emphasize the changes and corrections which were literally opposed by the Stalinist cadres and functionaries.⁴² The policy of forced collectivization and industrialization was abandoned and concessions were given to the peasantry. The preparation of the new compulsory delivery system continued and it came into force at the end of 1953. The “new course” meant definitely the further development and continuation of agrarian policy changes from the late years of High Stalinism. It was also clear that the party compared the new circumstances and processes to the Soviet NEP, therefore the NEP controversy grew even more during the “new course”. Moreover, Stalin’s death triggered other reactions; from 1953/1954 preparations began to redesign and to reform the economic system and mechanism.⁴³ The basis was partially the NEP, because decentralization and rationalization were linked to economic policy in general.

The decision of the Central Committee from the end of June and the prime minister’s speech from 4 July did not contain NEP and did not refer to the Soviet NEP. Nagy mentioned the need for improving trade relations, which was considered a NEP-style measure.⁴⁴ The government programme’s economic policy was called however as new economic policy which term referred probably indirectly to the NEP which also meant new economic policy. The very slight difference was marked by the expression of the words of this abbreviation in Hungarian: the former was called “új gazdaságpolitika” while the latter as “új gazdasági politika”.

Imre Nagy himself mentioned the decision on 2 December, 1951 at the Central Committee meeting on 27–28 June, 1953 and added that it should have been developed further, a phrase which he used already in May. The main obstacle in doing so was the Stalinist economic policy from his point of view.⁴⁵ Two months after the announcement of the “new course”, Aladár Mód, the husband of Aladárné Mód, published an article in the Social Review on the NEP-policy and its application in Hungary.⁴⁶ This article was the beginning of the “open” discussion on the NEP; numerous articles were published in the Social Review up until July 1954.⁴⁷ First, the different views were made public, and second, the discourse went further than just asking questions on the application of the NEP. The main question was, was the NEP itself the system of the economic policy or it was the basis of the economic policy and the economic system? The NEP controversy became part of the discourse in economics, and it gave a first push of revival of economics in Hungary. At the scientific session of the Károly Marx University of Economics on 22–23 March, 1954, a speech was delivered by Tamás Nagy on some questions of application of the NEP in Hungary, as part of the discussion on the NEP.⁴⁸ The lecturer concluded that the “new course” marked the beginning of a new

⁴² Nagy 1984: 25.

⁴³ Teplán 1981: 163–172.; Barla 1981: 41–48.; Szamuely 1982: 5–16.; Berend T. 1990: 17–92.; Barla 1991: 79–90.; Maltsik 2002: 33–52.

⁴⁴ Nagy 1954: 359–360, 363–364. It can be found in the Central Committee’s decision as well. <http://www.rev.hu/sulinet45/szerviz/dokument/MDPKV.htm> (Date of access: 31.12.2021)

⁴⁵ Nagy Imre a Központi Vezetőség előtt. Nagy Imre elvtárs beszámolója az MDP Központi Vezetőségének 1953. június 27-én tartott ülésén. Beszélő. 1984. 4. évfolyam. 10. sz. 634–635.

⁴⁶ Mód 1953b.

⁴⁷ Hozzászólások a „nep” alkalmazásának kérdéseiről indított vitához. Társadalmi Szemle. 1954. 9. évfolyam. 4. sz.

⁴⁸ A Marx Károly Közgazdaságtudományi Egyetem tudományos ülészaka. Magyar-Szovjet Közgazdasági Szemle. 1954. 4. sz. 360–367.

stage of application of the NEP and the NEP was the basis of the whole economic policy.⁴⁹ The debate was ended by an article published by the editors of the Social Review in July 1954. The tone of the article was “moderate” but the authors intended clearly to put an end to the discussion of the NEP.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the authors determined the NEP as follows:

“The ‘NEP’ – during its application – is the basis of the whole economic policy, but it itself does not cover all aspects of economic activities of the dictatorship of the proletariat which are carried out to construct socialism.”⁵¹

Nagy’s government faced ideological barriers. The application of the NEP was maybe part of “path looking” for Imre Nagy, as János Rainer M. tried to explain Nagy’s attitude in his biography in the 1990s.⁵² Regarding the general secretary, Mátyás Rákosi, it was for him rather an opportunity to show his commitment to the “new course”. It was a paradox itself that instead of Imre Nagy, the Stalinist general secretary was talking about the NEP at the meeting of the Central Committee on 31 October, 1953. The meeting and its decision contributed probably to start the NEP debate. The decision of the Central Committee contained for the first and for the last time ever direct reference to the NEP in the history of the party after 1945.⁵³ Rákosi’s speech was published in the newspapers including the part on the NEP.⁵⁴ The general secretary expressed self-criticism and stated that the application of the NEP was distorted before June 1953. From the autumn of 1953 to February 1954 a series of articles were published on the proper application of the NEP in the counties’ newspapers.⁵⁵ The communist party held its third congress on 25–30 May, 1954. There were neither ideological or theoretical clarifications, nor pragmatic questions of economic policy on the agenda; the party had to show unity.⁵⁶ Mátyás Rákosi delivered a lengthy speech on economy, and he simply mentioned NEP in one sentence while expressing criticism of former policy, adding that the use of administrative methods led to disruptions in agricultural production.⁵⁷

After the first half of 1954, the debate and the publicity on the NEP quietly ended. This was probably in connection with the gradual shift in economic policy at every echelon of the state. The dogmatist cadres in the apparatus tried to defer the measures of the “new course” and expressed their disagreement.⁵⁸ At the Central Committee meeting on 1–3 October, 1954 Béla Szalai spoke about the state of economy and further tasks. He did mention the measures to

⁴⁹ Csató 2019: 69–72.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 72.

⁵¹ A „nep” és gazdaságpolitikánk kérdéseinek helyes megvilágításáért. Társadalmi Szemle. 1954. 9. évfolyam. 7. sz. 129.

⁵² Rainer M. 1996: 426–429, 499–500.

⁵³ MNL OL, 276. f. 52. cs. 25. ó.e. Proposal on the decision of the Central Committee on 31 October, 1953.

⁵⁴ For example: A Politikai Bizottság beszámolója a Központi Vezetőség 1953. június 28-i határozatainak végrehajtásáról. Rákosi Mátyás elvtárs beszéde a Központi Vezetőség 1953. október 31-i ülésén. Délmagyarország. 1953. 9. évfolyam. 263. sz. 1953. november 10. 1–4. oldal. Szabad Nógrád. 1953. 9. évfolyam, 90. sz. 1953. november 11. 1–3. oldal.

⁵⁵ For example: A „nep” alkalmazásának egyes kérdései pártunk gazdaságpolitikájában. Zala. 1953. 9. évfolyam. 241. sz. 1953. október 14. 2. oldal. A „nep” alkalmazásának kérdései. Délmagyarország. 1953. 9. évfolyam. 274. sz. 1953. november 22. 5. oldal. A „NEP” alkalmazásának néhány kérdése. Komárommegyei Dolgozók Lapja. 1953. 8. évfolyam. 99. sz. 1953. december 12. 2. oldal. Viharsarok Népe. 1953. 9. évfolyam. 296. sz. 1953. december 18. 4. oldal. A „NEP”, mint a kapitalizmusból a szocializmusba való átmeneti korszak gazdaságpolitikája. Bácskiskunmegyei Népújság. 1954. 9. évfolyam. 9. sz. 1954. január 12. 2. oldal. A „NEP” lényege, alkalmazásának sajátosságai hazánkban. Tolnai Napló. 1954. 11. évfolyam. 20. sz. 1954. január 24. 6. oldal.

⁵⁶ Barla 1981: 30–33.

⁵⁷ A Magyar Dolgozók Pártja III. kongresszusának rövidített jegyzőkönyve, 1954. május 24–30. Szikra Kiadó. Budapest, 1954: 39.

⁵⁸ Barla 1981: 33–41, 49–50.

boost agricultural production, for instance widening market relations and increasing material incentive of farmers to increase yields. Szalai linked these features directly to the NEP in his speech.⁵⁹ The Stalinists regained control in the first months of 1955 and they saw in the NEP just a necessary and temporarily element in economic policy as before 1953.⁶⁰ The meeting of the Central Committee in March 1955 was devoted to condemn rightist deviation and the NEP was clearly removed from the agenda.⁶¹

The “new course” was a huge opportunity to implement measures which could have had long term effects, but there were obstacles, first of all the Stalinist “opposition”. In the second half of 1954 some sort of rearrangement in the internal power struggle between Nagy and the general secretary Rákosi was started. The shift was linked to the changes of domestic politics in the Soviet Union. The next turn occurred in the first months of 1955, when Nagy was removed from his position and Restalinization begun. The collectivization was restarted, the Central Committee made a decision on 7–8 June, 1955 on the socialist transformation of agriculture and further tasks of developing agricultural production. The decision detailed the role of state procurement and free markets in the economy. It was partially a silent attack against free trade and market; because the party accused now these “economic tools” as cause of not fulfilling the quotas by private farmers. The more the farmers could sell on the free market, the more they could profit. The party leaders also accused some traders for profiteering from increasing market prices. The emphasis was put on state procurement, and a statement was made on compulsory delivery system: it is a constant element of the economic policy and system and will remain in place after full collectivization. However, it was also claimed that free market and trade will be maintained to a limited extent.⁶²

The party decision marked a reversal indeed, but could not be fully implemented in praxis. After February 1956, the preparations began to develop further the compulsory delivery system and later it was once and for all abolished during the revolution by the government of Imre Nagy. After the suppression of the revolution and freedom fight, the new communist regime installed by the Soviets repeated this measure. László Szamuely considered this measure as the greatest accomplishment of NEP-style policy, and all in all the “completion” of it, even if the Lenin’s NEP was partially outdated after mass collectivization of agriculture from 1959 and 1961.⁶³ Berend T. was pointing presumably to this measure when claimed that the post-1956 economic policy was partially the continuation of the NEP.

The above mentioned Soviet textbook on political economy was prepared and then published in Hungarian in 1955.⁶⁴ The textbook contained a chapter on the construction of socialism in the people’s democracies and a subsection on the economic order of the European people’s democracies. The authors stated that market relations were used in the people’s democracies to establish cooperation based on commerce between industry and agriculture, but it was stressed that the main aim was the collectivization of the countryside.⁶⁵ Imre Nagy reflected on the NEP during his “outcast period”. He wrote essays on various topics in 1955 and in 1956. It is a remarkable difference that while Nagy had to explain the necessity of socialist

⁵⁹ MNL OL, 276. f. 52. cs. 27. ó.e. Central Committee meeting, 1–3 October, 1954.

⁶⁰ Molnár – Nagy 1983: 29.

⁶¹ MNL OL, 276. f. 52. cs. 28. ó.e. Central Committee meeting, 2–4 March, 1955. The political situation and the tasks of the party. Report and decision of the Central Committee.

⁶² MNL OL, 276. f. 52. cs. 30. ó.e. Central Committee meeting, 7–8 June, 1955. Central Committee decision on the socialist transformation of agriculture and further tasks of developing agricultural production. Mándi 1955: 620.

⁶³ Szamuely 1982: 16–17.; Szamuely 1988: 349.

⁶⁴ Fedor 1955.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 632.

transformation of agriculture without referring to the NEP in 1950, he wrote an essay probably in the summer of 1955 about the role and significance of the NEP.⁶⁶ He explained in his essays that Hungary skipped more periods of the transition and the NEP was not purposefully applied.⁶⁷ Furthermore, Nagy's essay which he devoted to NEP detailed his views on this issue. Nagy reflected probably to the NEP debate's question and claimed that the NEP was the basis of the whole economic policy which sheds away gradually parallel with the construction of socialism. The NEP was not applied according to Nagy during 1952, in addition, he hinted at disagreements on its application in the communist leadership. He also pointed out that the quasi Stalinist restauration meant a hidden criticism of the NEP which was quietly condemned as rightful deviation and opportunism.⁶⁸

V. Summary and Results

After the Second World War the Hungarian economy underwent a long and complex transformation. It was a process which began in agriculture with a communist land reform. The people's democracies had common and different points in their economic policy. The first years after the war were marked by a transition to a communist-style "state capitalism" with some NEP and war economy elements. The "mixed economy", however, remained contradictory after the introduction of Stalinist Soviet radical economic policies. A huge paradox was linked to agriculture, because the communist leadership pursued officially a moderate agrarian policy which was distorted and radicalized in the reality. The aim was to force peasants into cooperatives and to abolish private ownership of means of agricultural production, including land.

Collectivized agriculture was not just an ideological feature of the communist system; it was an economic achievement as well. It had to modernize land use by consolidating fragmented land in large-scale fields. Another aim was economic autarchy and self-sufficiency, in this case, to produce food for the own population. However, the "grain question" remained unresolved for a long time because of the turmoil which was caused by forced collectivization and decline of extent of tilled land. After mass collectivization a slow recovery started. A "turning point" was probably in 1952, when the Stalinist leadership partially realized that mass collectivization and liquidation of kulaks cannot be done in the near future. The contradiction between policy and its implementation caused confusion, but NEP elements had to be maintained because it was connected directly to food supply and food supply system. Imre Nagy could have had a significant role in the development of food supply in this regard.

The new economic policy during the "new course" was not entirely new; but it was neither the complete "imitation" of the Soviet NEP, nor a limited Stalinist economic policy. There were changes and corrections which could have developed further, and this trend in economy was clearly closer to a "Hungarian version" of the NEP. Imre Nagy claimed that the phase of the "new course" was indeed the time period in which NEP was applied in its original way, when its elements were maximized in economic policy. The NEP controversy was not resolved completely and there was probably no consensus at the political level if the NEP should be the basis of economic policy and system in the long term. The "new course" could

⁶⁶ Nagy 1950: 272–299.; Nagy 1984: 112–118.

⁶⁷ Nagy 1984: 25–28.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 112–116.

have provided a broader framework for the NEP and economic changes, the administration started to codify civil law and land law as it happened during the NEP in the Soviet Union. The need of reform of economic system and control grew and the first ideas were formulated in 1954. For many, the NEP meant probably already during Stalinism not just a necessary element of economic policy but an alternative economic policy. The Stalinist economic policy was full of paradoxes and controversies and this is the main reason why it could be called a contradictory transition which was not accomplished during Stalinism. There was no balance between war economy, NEP and Stalinist radicalism, however, it remained a relevant question what kind of balance had these elements during the “new course”. The process and transformation could be called because of this reason a “hybrid transition”. The market relations were restricted and partially abolished, and this point made the NEP more significant when it came to restore market relations.

Regarding economic history, much more research should be done to reveal the paradoxes and contradictions of communist economic policy after the Second World War and especially between 1948 and 1953. The application of the NEP during this time period is not explored in the literature. Generalizations and simplifications contributed to create a common view on the transformation. Forced industrialization and collectivization were emphasized, while the NEP as topic was neglected. Archival sources were analyzed to a limited extent because it would be beyond of the scope of this article. International perspectives were also taken into account to a limited extent because of the same reason, but there are many aspects linked to these features which could give more details related to this research topic.

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The Effect of Ascorbic Acid on Liquid Egg Products

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Eggs contain most of the micro and macro nutrients needed to support cell growth and replacement. (Matsuoka *et al*,2017). Egg products manufacturing was started in the late 1980s due to increased consumption and demand for stable products with diverse applications. (Sharif *et al*,2018). Ascorbic Acid (vitamin C) is well known for its antioxidant properties and the ability to increase iron absorption. Fortifying food with ascorbic acid can increase antioxidant and anti-inflammatory properties (Traber & Stevens, 2011). The aim of this study is to determine the effect of fortifying 4 different liquid egg products with different dosage of ascorbic acid on the product's physical and chemical properties. Ascorbic acid was added to 3 samples of 200 g of weight of 4 different products which are: liquid whole eggs (LWE), liquid whole egg with salt (LWES), liquid egg white (LEW), and liquid egg yolk (LEY). 3 different concentrations were added to three samples of all products with the following dosage 1% 2% 3% respectively in comparison to a blank sample of the same product, then dry content, pH, Color, and viscosity was measured. Fortifying egg products with Ascorbic Acid can affect the pH, color, and viscosity in all four liquid egg products.

Keywords: Liquid Egg products, Vitamin C, Liquid whole Eggs, Liquid Egg white, Liquid Egg Yolk.

I. Introduction

Eggs contain most of the micro and macro nutrients needed to support cell growth and replacement, they are inexpensive sources of high-quality protein with a good content of minerals and vitamins. With an amino acid score of 100 egg whites are known to be a good source of high-quality proteins, studies have shown that the net protein utilization value for egg white proteins, whether it is cooked or uncooked, is higher than that of both whey and soybean proteins (Matsuoka *et al*,2017). Due to eggs' ability of providing 9 essential amino acids making them a great source of high biological value. Scientifically speaking, egg content of protein is usually used to compare the protein quality of other food (Herron & Fernandez, 2004). Egg products manufacturing was started in the late 1980s due to increased consumption and demand for stable products with diverse applications. Food manufacturers that use dry egg products because it's easy to handle and relatively cheap (Sharif *et al*,2018), they also prefer using liquid whole egg products because of its processing convenience if compared to fresh eggs. Food industry in Europe uses both grade "A" fresh eggs and grade "B" second quality eggs. products which fit human consumption (Rossi *et al*, 2010). On the other hand, eggs must be clean, dry, fully developed with no cracks, if there are any cracks eggs can be used in the processed products if used as soon as possible and minimal contamination from egg's shells is required (Rossi *et al*, 2010). Liquid egg products are highly sensitive to microorganisms that's why they are pasteurized before packaging to ensure its safety for human consumption(Lee *et al*, 2001). Due to eggs thickening, emulsifying coloring and foaming abilities food industries use it in many ways such as pasta, mayonnaise, pastry, and other baked foods (Kiosseoglou & Paraskevopoulou, 2006). Ascorbic acid (Vitamin C), well known as one of the water-soluble vitamins and the most powerful antioxidants, was first isolated by the Hungarian biochemist and Nobel Prize winner Szent-Györgyi in 1928 (Matsuoka *et al*,2017). One of the most special properties of ascorbic acid is that it can work as both acid and base. Ascorbic acid is a very important vitamin in plant foods, which is found in 2 forms ascorbic acid and dehydroascorbic acid and characterized by its degradability in processing and food preparation. As many studies mentioned, the degradation of Ascorbic acid is not completely understood but the impact factors are known for model solutions only (Aka *et al*, 2013).

II. Materials and Methods

II.1 Experimental design

4 different pasteurized liquid egg products: liquid whole eggs (LWE), liquid whole eggs salted (LWES), liquid eggs white (LEW), liquid eggs yolk (LEY) were obtained from (Capriovus Ltd., Hungary) and fortified with 0% 1%, 2%, 3% ascorbic acid was added to 200 ml sample of each product respectively and dissolved completely. Then pH, viscosity, dry matter content measurements were done.

II.2 pH Measurements:

A 50 ml sample was obtained from the original 200 ml of all products with different ascorbic acid concentrations 0% 1%, 2%, 3% then pH was measured. The pH of samples was measured at 15°C using a portable digital pH meter (206-pH2; Testo SE & Co. KGaA, Germany). 3 repetitions of all sample measurements were obtained.

II.3 Rheological Measurements:

A 30 ml sample was obtained from the original 200 ml of all products with different ascorbic acid concentrations 0% 1%, 2%, 3% to examine the rheological behavior of all products. To perform the test aMCR 92 rheometer (Anton Paar, France) in rotational mode equipped with a concentric cylinder (cup diameter 28.920 mm, bob diameter 26.651 mm, bob length 40.003 mm, active length 120.2 mm, positioning length 72.5 mm) was used. Anton Paar RheoCompass software (version 1.21.852) was used to control the equipment. The temperature of rheological measurements was kept constant at 15 °C. Shear stress was measured by increasing and decreasing shear rate between 1 and 1 000 s⁻¹ for 31 measurement points with a period of 3 s. The Herschel-Bulkley model was used to analyze the flow curves (shear rate-shear stress diagrams). This model was used to describe the rheological properties of liquid whole eggs (LWE), liquid whole eggs salted (LWES), liquid eggs white (LEW), liquid eggs yolk (LEY) at 15 °C.

III. RESULTS

III.1 pH change

change in pH in LWE, LWES, LEW, and LEY samples was seen as illustrated in Table 1. As Ascorbic acid concentration increased, the pH of all samples was decreased respectively in comparison to the control sample (0% added ascorbic acid). The decrease is expected due to ascorbic acidic properties.

Table1: shows the average value of pH of all four products after adding ascorbic acid in 0,1,2 and 3 % W/W respectively.

Sample	pH value
LWE 0%	5.83
LWE 1%	5.33
LWE 2%	4.72
LWE 3%	4.24
LWES 0%	6.59
LWES 1%	5.78
LWES 2%	5.02
LWES 3%	4.70
LEW 0%	6.16
LEW 1%	5.02
LEW 2%	4.61
LEW 3%	4.32
LEY 0%	5.75
LEY 1%	5.61
LEY 2%	5.06
LEY 3%	4.80

III.2 Rheological Properties

The importance of studying rheological properties in food science is due to its ability to utilize food processing operations and sensory characteristics, it can also give a great amount of information about the microstructure of food. knowing the rheological properties can make material handling easier in industrial manufacturers. Figure 1, 2, 3, 4 show the results of the rheological analysis obtained in this study, where samples were examined freshly in 15 C degree setup. The effect of ascorbic acid on all products viscosity is seen clearly and parallelly with the increase of its concentration. It Is known that ascorbic acid can decrease the pH of solution due to its ability to work as an acid which will have a direct effect on viscosity. Benoit and his colleagues found that by decreasing the pH an increase in viscosity is observed (Benoit et al, 2011).

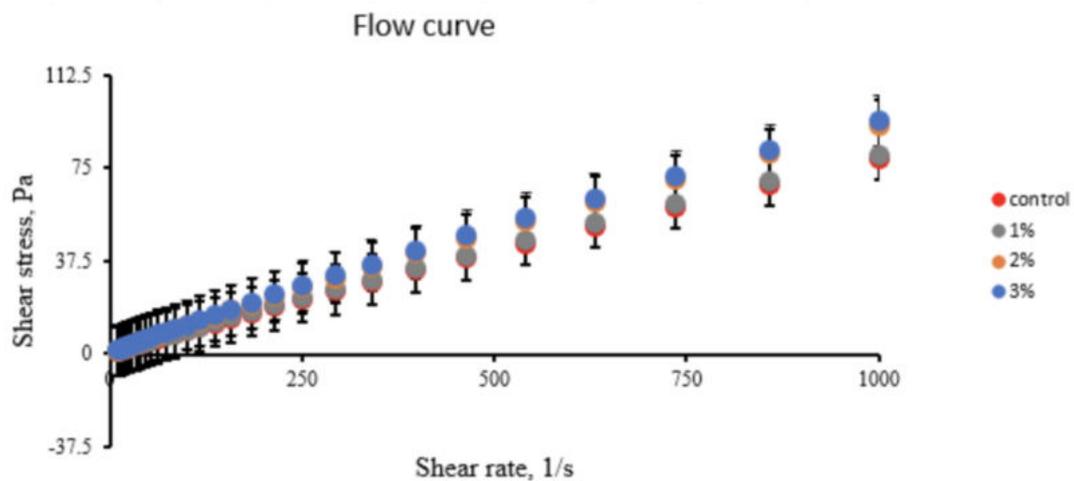


Figure1: Effect of different concentrations of ascorbic acid 1%,2%,3% w/w on Liquid egg yolk Viscosity in comparison to the control sample (0% of ascorbic acid).

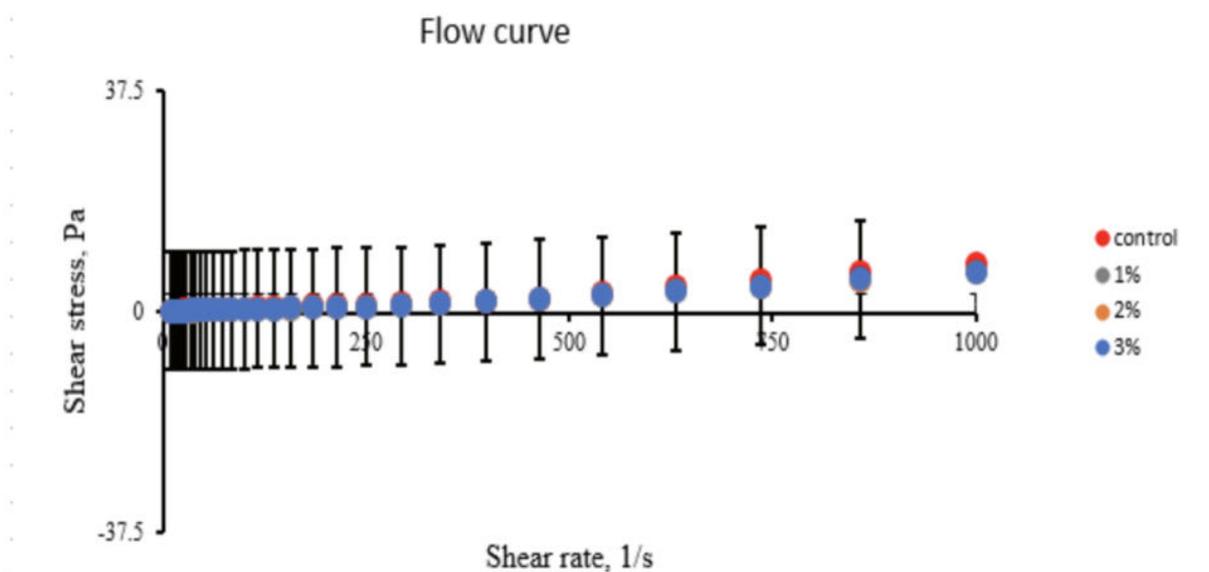


Figure 2: Effect of different concentrations of ascorbic acid 1%,2%,3% w/w on Liquid egg white Viscosity in comparison to the control sample (0% of ascorbic acid)

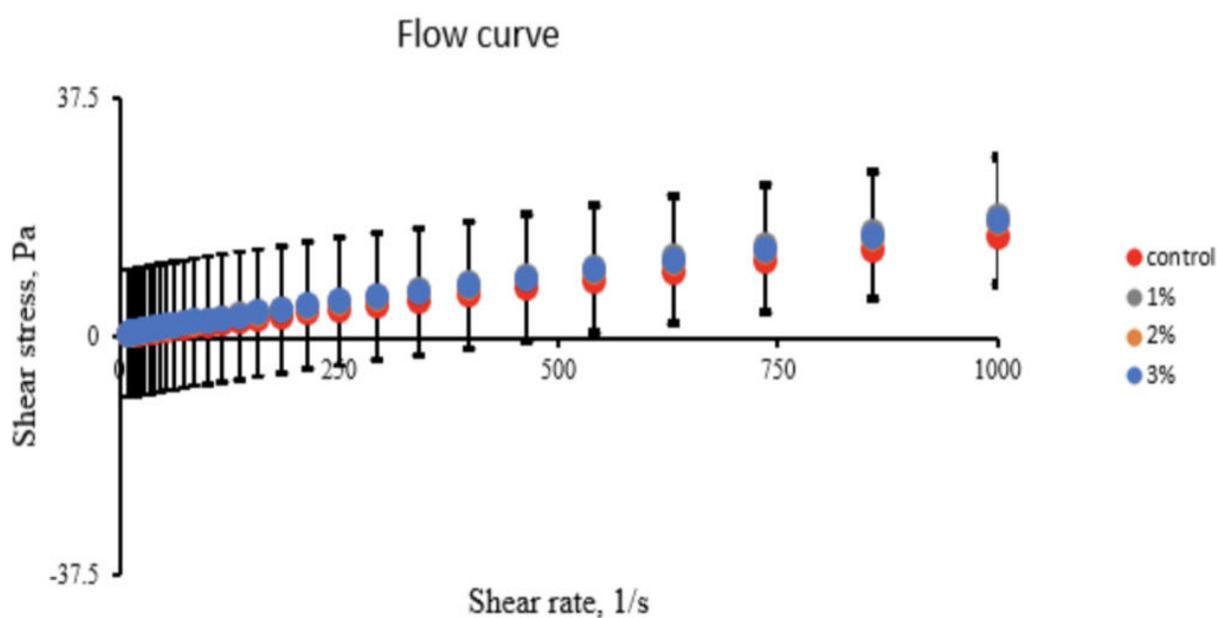


Figure3: Effect of different concentrations of ascorbic acid 1%,2%,3% w/w liquid whole eggs viscosity in comparison to the control sample (0% of ascorbic acid).

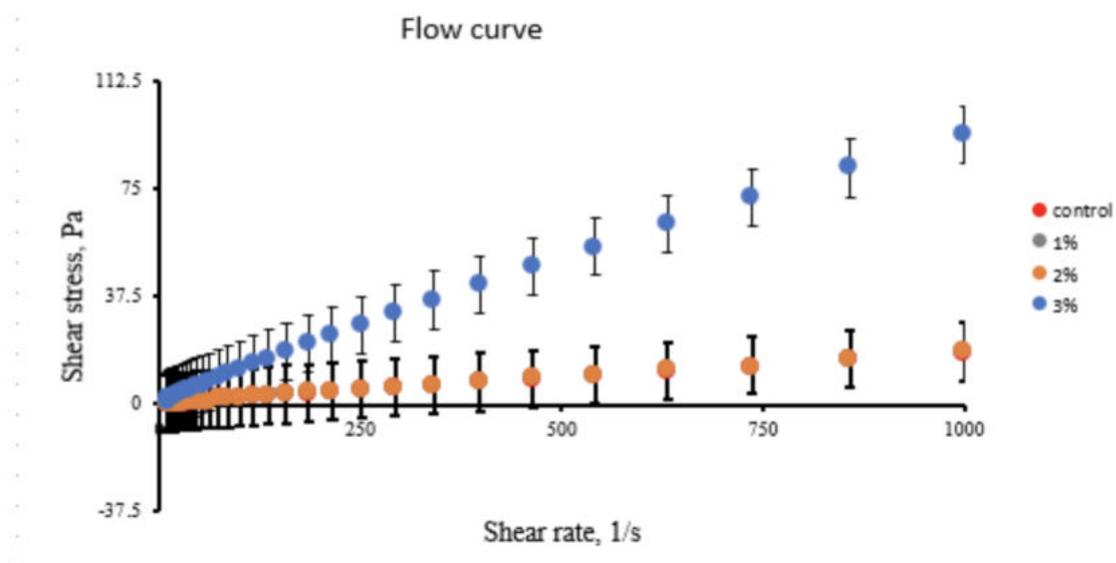


Figure 4: Effect of different concentrations of ascorbic acid 1%,2%,3% w/w salted liquid whole eggs viscosity in comparison to the control sample (0% of ascorbic acid).

IV. Conclusion

Ascorbic acid has a positive direct relation to liquid whole egg, liquid whole egg salted, liquid egg white, and liquid egg yolk viscosity by lowering the products pH.

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Ottoman pottery in al-Marqab Castle

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The study will discuss a typology of an unpublished collection of Ottoman potteries that were discovered in al-Marqab Castle during systematic archaeological excavations of the Syro-Hungarian Archaeological Mission (SHAM). al-Marqab is one of the most significant fortifications on the Syrian coast. For nearly a millennium, the site was continuously inhabited from its foundation at the end of the eleventh century until 1958.

The Syro-Hungarian Archaeological Mission (SHAM) carried out excavations in the northern part of the inner suburbia of al-Marqab Castle. Where it found an Ottoman complex of buildings, built in medieval origins, and a Late Ottoman house with a garden and several rooms. The systematic archaeological researches at the al-Marqab Castle have also led to the discovery of a large collection of Ottoman pottery, glass fragments, iron fragments, coins, and animal bones. Among these archaeological materials discovered were complete or fragmentary preserved smoking pipes.

This study also provides a historical overview of al-Marqab Castle in the Ottoman period as well as a brief of the history of Ottoman pipes, their development, and characteristics in different eras.

Keywords: al-Marqab Castle, Ottoman, Pottery, Pipes

I. al-Marqab Castle in the Ottoman Period:

al-Marqab is located on a hill formed by an extinct volcano high about 360 meters (1,180 ft) above sea level on the road between ÓarÁbulus and al-LadziqĎa, overlooking the Mediterranean Sea, and is relatively recent by comparison with other castles in the Syrian coastlands. (Figure 1) According to the Arabic sources, it was established by the local population around the year 1062,¹ and, in view of its strategic location overlooking the coastal route and its mountainous hinterland, was named al-Marqab, the 'look-out post'. After a brief period of Byzantine occupation that began in 1104,² it was first taken by crusaders from Antioch in 1117–18 and settled with Franks and Armenians.³

In 922 AH/1516 AD, the Battle of Marj DÁbĎq put an end to the Mamluk rule in the Levant, and it became part of the Ottoman Empire.⁴ During the reign of Sultan SulaymÁn al-QÁnŰnĎ (927-974 AH / 1520-1566 AD), the Levant was divided into three administrative districts known as Vilayet (states): Damascus Vilayet (states): included ten brigades (sanjak). Aleppo Vilayet (states): included nine brigades. ÓarÁbulus Vilayet (states): included five brigades. al-Marqab district was followed by the ÓarÁbulus al-ShÁm Brigade.⁵ In 929 H/1523 the Turkmen Prince ManŰr Ibn Hasan 'AsÁf, undertake wide authority in the ÓarÁbulus area, In 979 AH / 1572 AD, where his province extended from the al-Kalb River north of BayrŰt to ÍamÁ (It was within his province al-Marqab area).⁶ According to the table excerpt from Daftar al-ŰŰAbŰ (Ottoman archives) No. 998 (Istanbul), the area was divided into 954 AH/1547 AD two provinces, each headed by an independent prince, the northern province was Jabla and the southern was ÓarÁbulus, and there were 30 districts belonging to the province of ÓarÁbulus at that time, including al-Marqab, according to the table, the area of al-Marqab was included: 39 villages, 112 farms, and 346 families.⁷ During the reign of Sultan MurÁd III (986 AH / 1579 AD), he issued an order taking ÓarÁbulus from the rule of 'AsÁf family and delegated instead of them SĎfÁ family under the rule of YŰsuf SĎfÁ.⁸ According to the Ottoman census of the year 1003 AH / 1594-1595 AD, the population of province ÓarÁbulus was 14.728 people, included the al-Marqab area which contained: 35 villages, 148 farms, 853 Muslims, and 49 Christians.⁹ During YŰsuf SĎfÁ rule, conflicts began between the SĎfÁ family and the al-Ma'nĎ family led by Emir Fakhar al-DĎn al-Ma'nĎ II. After the death of YŰsuf SĎfÁ in 1033 AH / 1624 AD, Fakhar al-DĎn endeavored to take control of the SĎfÁ family areas, which forced the SĎfÁ family to give up the fortresses of al-ÍuŰn and al-Marqab.¹⁰ After a while, Emir Fakhar al-DĎn dominated all the Eyalet of ÓarÁbulus.¹¹ By 1042 AH / 1633 AD, Fakhar al-DĎn had extended his territory. Wherefore, the Ottoman grew increasingly uncomfortable with the Emir's increasing powers, Ottoman's determination to remove him from power, wherefore the Ottoman Empire dispatched an army to capture Fakhar al-DĎn, then the army seized al-Marqab Castle. Thus, al-LadziqĎa and ÓarÁbulus returned under the government of one WaĎ, as it was before the rule of Fakhar al-DĎn.¹²

¹ YÁqŰt, *Mu'jam al-buldán*. V/127.

² Comnena 1969: 365.

³ Ibn 'AbdazzÁhir, *Tashrif*, 85.

⁴ Meier 2004: 420.

⁵ BayÁt 2007: 166.

⁶ SÁlim 1966: 361.

⁷ 'UghĎ 2000: 74-77.

⁸ DrŰza 1959: 286.

⁹ 'UghĎ 2000: 74-77.

¹⁰ MaÝIŰf 1934: 237.

¹¹ YanĎ 1881: 406.

¹² al-LÁdziqĎ 2013: 209.

al-Marqab Castle was visited in 1104 AH/ 1693 AD by the Damascus traveler al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghanḍ al-Nábilḍ (1050-1143 AH/ 1640-1731 AD), where he said, "al-Marqab Castle, it is one of the greatest castles, high in the air, and it has a major mosque, and the castle has five layers".¹³ In 1210 AH/ 1796 AD, a huge earthquake occurred in al-Ladziqḍa, most of the houses were destroyed, and the castles of al-Marqab and QadmŪs were massive damaged.¹⁴

The Ottoman ruler of Egypt, IbrÁhḍm Pasha ibn Muḍammad ‘Aid, launched a campaign to Syria in 1247 AH/ 1832 AD and extends his power over the Levant. At that time, there was an important incident the ruler of al-Marqab ‘Abdallah Agha ‘Adra, was killed because he insulted an Egyptian officer while he was passing in the area of al-Marqab.¹⁵ After the Ottomans regained the Levant from Egyptian rule in 1255 AH / 1840 AD, they achieved administrative changes in the al-Ladziqḍa brigade where it was divided into fifteen provinces. The province of al-Marqab had 78 villages, divided into two districts: the Zamrḍn area with 35 villages, and the area of al-Marqab with 43 villages, it was ruled by Sunni Muslims.¹⁶ In the year 1279 AH / 1863 AD, a split occurred in al-Marqab between the Banḍ ‘AdzrÁ of the Muslims and the Banḍ ‘ArnŪq of the Christians, this dispute ended with arrested 17 of the Muslim movement’s leaders from Banḍ ‘ArnŪq, some of them were temporarily banished it to beyond the AsitÁna, and most of them died in exile, and some of them returned after serving their sentences to al-Marqab. During the reign of Midḍat Pasha in 1296-1298 AH / 1879-1881 A.D. Lutfallah ḍAfandḍ NŪfal al-ÓarÁbulḍ from the Greek Orthodox was appointed as a surrogate (Qaim Maqam) of the district (Kaza) al-Marqab, he was the first Christian selected to be a surrogate in the Syria Vilayet.¹⁷

According to the SÁlnÁmah, (official ottoman annual books): "al-Marqab castle described as one of the most important castles, and was inhabited by Banḍ ‘AdrÁ. The fortified castle located on a towering mountain rising about 1,000 feet above the equality of the sea, the SÁlnÁmah mentioned that the citadel was a center of the government as well as a residential residence for the people and Banḍ ‘AdrÁ, there were 78 houses inhabited by Muslims, including one Christian family, and there was a mosque (which was a church), 10 shops and one oven".

At the end of the 19th century, the coastal area was followed to BayrŪt Vilayet, which included five Sanjaks: BayrŪt, ‘AkÁ, ÓarÁbulus, al-Ladziqḍa, and Náblis, Sanjak al-Ladziqḍa included the districts (Kaza) of al-Ladziqḍa, Ńahḍwn, Jabla, and al-Marqab. In 1338 AH / 1918 AD, the French navy fleet occupied the Syrian coast and that year was the end of the Ottoman era in the Levant and the beginning of a new period in the history of the region.¹⁸

¹³ al-NÁblsḍ, *al-Íaqḍqa wa al-MajÁz fi al-RiÍla ‘Ilaa BilÁd al-ShÁm wa MiÒr wa al-ÍijÁz*, 55-56.

¹⁴ Sbeinati 2005: 398.

¹⁵ al-LÁdziqḍ 2013: 231-235.

¹⁶ ‘Iwad 1969: 64.

¹⁷ al-LÁdziqḍ 2013: 44,88-89, 256.

¹⁸ ‘Umaḍrḍ 1995: 321-322.



Figure 1. *al-Marqab Castle location.* (Source: Winter, S. (2016). A history of the ‘Alawis. Princeton University Press. p. 82)

II. A brief history of tobacco:

At the end of the sixteenth century, about a hundred years after its arrival into Europe from America, tobacco first arrived at the Ottoman Middle East.¹⁹ As early as 1599 AD, tobacco smoking was practiced in the Levant. Between 1601 and 1603 AD, it was introduced into Egypt, and from there it became popular in Turkey by 1605 AD. Then, the custom of smoking quickly spread across the Ottoman Empire,²⁰ and people very soon became addicted to smoking. The pipe-makers guild was established in Sofia, in 1604 and soon afterward, pipe-making shops appeared in all the major cities of the empire.²¹ Although tobacco was primarily the concern of physicians in the beginning, as noted by Ottoman historian Ibrahim Peçevi, and appeared in medical manuals by the end of the sixteenth century, as its leaves were prescribed as a cure for bites and burns,²² tobacco relieves headaches, coughs, stomach diseases.²³

Before the seventeenth century, Middle Easterners did not smoke cigarettes, as demonstrated by the number of Islamic fatwas expressed at this period by the Ottoman administration regarding the legality of smoking.²⁴ During the time of the Prophet, tobacco was not known and was therefore not mentioned in the Koran or the Sunnah.²⁵ Shortly after a tobacco's rise in popularity, issued a fatwa banning it as an intoxicant, as religious authorities in Mecca combined it with alcohol, opium, and coffee.²⁶ The discussion about the use of tobacco was not only religious but also political. In Istanbul in 1610 AD, physical penalties for smokers were already published. A temporary ban was issued in 1612 AD by Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-1617 AD). After that, Murad IV (r. 1623-1640 AD) imposed a strict ban on smoking. He began

¹⁹ Grehan 2006: 1352.

²⁰ Robinson 1985: 151.

²¹ Craiovan, 2017: 156.

²² Grehan 2006: 1354.

²³ Gaşpar 2016: 260.

²⁴ Keall 1993: 279.

²⁵ Gruia 2013: 23.

²⁶ Simpson 2000 a: 14.

a campaign against tobacco cultivation and consumption in 1631 AD, but the sultan chose to punish smokers by death after the great fires of 1633 AD in Istanbul.²⁷ Despite the smoke ban, many districts of Istanbul were completely burned down in 1637 due to a burning pipe.²⁸ During the reign of Sultan Ibrahim (r. 1640-1648 AD), the severest anti-smoking laws were rescinded, followed by a decree in 1646 AD permitting the consumption of tobacco and coffee because they were bringing a large profit to the treasury of the country.²⁹ By 1700 AD, most of the tobacco produced by the Ottoman market was grown in Macedonia, Anatolia, and northern Syria, particularly in the hills around the port of Latakia, al-Marqab used to produce the finest tobacco,³⁰ and after some time in Lebanon, and Palestine,³¹ these cities were already supplying most of the needs on the internal market. In this way, tobacco became cheaper compared to Western European areas, which were still imported from America.³² In the early 1720s, smoking finally became legal under a fatwa entitled al-ÑÎ bayn al-ÐikhÛÁn FÐ Íukm IbÁÎit al-DukhkhÁn [“Peace Among Brothers Concerning the Legalization of Smoking”] and issued by the Damascus mufti al-ShaÐkh ‘Abd al-GhanÐ al-NÁbulÐ (1641-1731 AD). The justification was provided on the grounds that “smoking is like food: if it hurts, stop it; if it does not, why not smoke?”³³ By the middle of the eighteenth century, regardless of age or social position, pipe smoking was fashionable for men and women.

Clay pipes characteristics, aspects relevant to typology for pipe and dating:

The smoking pipes used in Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean, the so-called in Turkish as the chibouks, (Arabic: shibuk).³⁴ While north-western Europeans used kaolin pipes primarily, the English-style kaolin pipes were likely to be more influential to styles in Istanbul, the imperial center of the Ottoman empire, where tobacco and the English pipes reached Turkey by Thomas Dallam's agency ship master³⁵ and arrived the chibouk consisting of three parts to the Middle East from North Africa and were readily adopted as the main means of smoking tobacco early in the seventeenth century.³⁶

The chibouk consists of several elements: the head or bowl: the main part of a pipe, containing the tobacco. Differed in shape: cylindrical, figurative, and polygonal. Could be open or closed with a metal lid, it was made of a variety of materials including stone, metal,³⁷ or wood, jasmine was the favoured wood since it is said to absorb nicotine, but clay is the preferred material.³⁸ The keel: the lower part of the bowl, the chamber where tobacco actually burned. The Shank: connected the keel and the ring, channeling the smoke. The ring: the prominent end of the shank, where the stem was inserted to channel the smoke. Two other important parts of the pipe should also be mentioned: the stem and the mouthpiece that archaeological excavations typically do not discover, stem: a bone, wood, or metal tube inserted into the ring. The stem length could range from one meter to four meters.³⁹ Mouthpiece: the part of the pipe connected to the stem and placed between the lips. These mouthpieces were made of bone, reed, wood,

²⁷ Gruia 2013: 24.

²⁸ de Vincenz: 101.

²⁹ Simpson 2013: 254-255.

³⁰ al-LÁdziqÐ 2013: 178.

³¹ Simpson 2000 b: 171.

³² Gaşpar 2016: 260.

³³ Simpson 2013: 255.

³⁴ de Vincenz: 101-102.

³⁵ Baram 2002: 149.

³⁶ Bouzigard 2010: 18.

³⁷ Robinson 1985: 265.

³⁸ Bakla 2007: 367.

³⁹ Demjén 2018: 222.

or more rarely of coral or ivory, and it was possible to add gold, enamel, and precious stones, "according to the buyer's taste and purse".⁴⁰ (Figure 2)

Archaeologically, the bowls are the most recovered objects exhibiting tobacco use, the other parts are seldom uncovered because the organic stems do not preserve, and mouthpieces tended to be reused.⁴¹

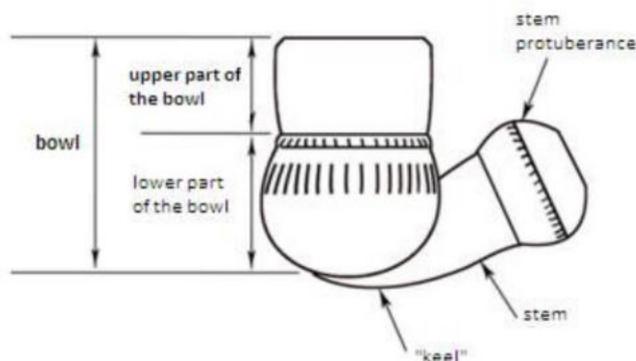


Figure 2. *chibouk* components. (Source: Khalil, W. (2018) *The Collection of Ottoman Tobacco Pipes from Azov Museum-Reserve in Russia*, Journal of the General Union of Arab Archaeologists: Vol. 3. P.239)

In Europe and the Ottoman Middle East, climate and cultural differences contributed to the production of two different styles of pipes. There is an opinion that the hot weather generated a preference for the inhalation of 'cold smoke' in most of the Middle East, whereas smokers favoured 'hot smoke' in the coolest weather of Europe,⁴² the technological solution to this problem of smoke cooling in a three-part style inside a dry pipe compensation. The longer stem length, for example, helps the smoke to cool until it reaches the smoker, and wet silk has also been used to cover the stem to improve its cooling capabilities. In the hottest climates of the southern portions of the empire, the longer stems, up to four meters, were favoured, while shorter stems, twenty centimeters to one meter, were used in the more northern, cooler climates.⁴³

Pipes gradually changed with the availability of tobacco. Changes in the shapes and styles of tobacco pipe - bowls from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries used in the empire provide a way of dating Ottoman sites accurately.⁴⁴ Hayes is responsible for one of the first typologies of clay-pipes, which for researchers dealing with Ottoman material culture is still a valuable reference. Where it enables archaeologists working in different regions that were once part of the Ottoman Empire have been able to use these typologies to describe their findings based on studies undertaken by Hayes and also other works for others, such as Robinson, and thus date clay pipe - bowls with a hundred years precision.⁴⁵

II.1. Early styles of clay tobacco in the seventeenth century:

Typically, the earliest forms of pipe-bowls are fashioned from light, fine grey clay, resulting in an off-white, grey, yellow, light brown, or tan-colored fabric. The use of white or pale grey clay probably echoes an English or Dutch prototypes, it was an imitation of European style but

⁴⁰ de Vincenz: 103.

⁴¹ Baram 1999: 142.

⁴² Fairholt 1876: 208.

⁴³ Dekkel 2008: 114.

⁴⁴ Bouzigard 2010: 22.

⁴⁵ Baram 1995: 301.

was replaced by red or buff clay by the end of the seventeenth century.⁴⁶ These pipes were very small in dimension, in comparison to later versions, as tobacco was still costly at the beginning of the seventeenth century because it was an imported commodity, and have a small rounded bowl and a short shank with a stepped ring.⁴⁷ Other characteristics present on early forms recovered at Suba in Palestine were narrow bore diameters stepped-ring terminations, and restrained pattern-wheel rouletted decoration on the shank-end, or an absence of decoration.⁴⁸ (Table 1).

II.2. The eighteenth-century:

The eighteenth-century types demonstrated a great diversity of shapes and colors. The fabrics tended to be earthen shades of red or reddish-brown to light brown, occasionally with a coarser material and often lightly polished.⁴⁹ There were also heavily decorated grey pipes. Bowl shapes included rounded, sack-like, cylinder-shaped, or disc-shaped. The pipe bowls also increased in size as tobacco became more easily available and less costly. The shanks were shorter with a stepped ring, and rounded bowls with a cylindrical upper portion, and the bowls tended to break along this junction.⁵⁰ The keel has not been formed yet but usually outlined either by incised lines or rouletted bands. The pipes from this time are characteristically heavily decorated with a variety of motifs and designs, rouletted and molded decoration were characteristic of the eighteenth century.⁵¹ (Table 2). The body was decorated at the end of the eighteenth century with carved floral and arabesque decorations and rouletting. The shank is also decorated with a rouletted band and the ring is carved to form petals.⁵² (Table 3).

II.3. The nineteenth century:

Pipes started to be standardized in the early and mid-nineteenth century, as an expansion of mass manufacturing also restricted the variation of the pipe-bowl to just a handful of types. The dominant colors were reddish browns, and the typical shapes were rounded or disc-shaped bowls. Pipes were spread of red-slipped burnished, with larger bowl capacity, and thickening of the ends of the shank, as well as the appearance of simple, or painted bowls and stamps that may or, may not be markings of the manufacturers. There were usually several rows of notch-rouletting on the swollen shanks.⁵³ Pipe-makers started to use fewer motifs or designs by the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Large lily-shaped bowls were predominant, often decorated, and exhibited maker's marks.⁵⁴ The lily shaped of the pipe was dated in Istanbul from the mid to the late nineteenth century, although this form was present in Rosetta, Egypt, in the late eighteenth or the early nineteenth century.⁵⁵ (Table 4)

II.4. Catalog:

This study is based on 8 pipes are previously unpublished fragments recovered from excavations conducted by the Syro-Hungarian Archaeological Mission (SHAM).

In this catalog, the pipes are arranged chronologically, by comparing them with similar pipes in other regions.

⁴⁶ Robinson 1983: 266.

⁴⁷ de Vincenz: 114-115.

⁴⁸ Simpson 2000 b: 147.

⁴⁹ Hayes 1980: 5.

⁵⁰ Baram 2002: 153.

⁵¹ Simpson 2008: 438.

⁵² de Vincenz: 137.

⁵³ Bouzigard 2010: 26.

⁵⁴ Baram 2002:153.

⁵⁵ Bouzigard 2010: 26.

Table 1. Ottoman pipes in al-Marqab Castle from the seventeenth centuries

No.	Description, Dating, Comparison	Illustration
1	<p>Pipe; grey, pale; the base of the bowl, that has no keel, is spherical and decorated with scarification and two lines of rouletted at the end of scarification. The straight and short shank, the shank ends in a stepped-ring termination, framed by a notch-rouletted line above and below.</p> <p>Dating the seventeenth.</p> <p>Comparison: Beltrán de Heredia 2012: Fig.10.1: 123.⁵⁶</p>	

Source: own description and photo [2021].

Table 2. Ottoman pipes in al-Marqab Castle from the eighteenth centuries

2	<p>Semi-complete pipe; with part of the rim and shank missing; grey fabric and surface; the bowl is round shape and decorated with grooves arranged vertically, the keel resemble the “V”, incised motifs can be found also on diameter of shank and in the upper part of the bowl. The shank is short, with very well-embossed ring, it is decorated with motifs that are not apparent due to the missing part.</p> <p>Dating the eighteenth century.</p> <p>Comparison: Gaşpar 2016: Fig.9.12: 273; Gaşpar 2019: Fig.1.1: 147.</p>	
3	<p>Semi-complete pipe; light grey fabric and surfaces; lightly swollen shank-socket decorated with two rows of leaf-stamp impressed, framed by incised and notch-rouletted lines above and below, the lower part of bowl decorated with three rows of rayed dot stamp impressions, framed by incised and notch-rouletted lines above and below, the upper part of bowl straight, part of a bowl broken. (Syrian style).</p> <p>Dating the eighteenth century.</p> <p>Comparison: Simpson 2008: Fig.268.13-14: 434.</p>	

Source: own description and photos [2021].

⁵⁶Beltrán de Heredia, Miró, & Soberón 2012: 123.

Table 3. Ottoman pipes in Marqab Castle from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

4	An only bowl preserved, part of the rim broken; grey clay with dark red burnished. The bowl decorated with floral motifs, framed by a notch-rouletted line below. Dating the eighteenth - nineteenth century. Comparison: Demjén 2018: Fig.101: 244; Jašarević 2018: fig.1.10: 225. ⁵⁷	
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Source: own description and photo [2021].

Table 4. Ottoman pipes in al-Marqab Castle from the nineteenth and the middle of the nineteenth century.

5	An only bowl preserved, fine, hard, red clay and slip, burnished. Bowl compressed to a wide disk. Lower part of the disk ends in a rectangular sole, decorated with a wide squiggly line, a group of dots in the spaces in the form of triangles, while the contour of the sole is decorated with the toothed wheel. Dating nineteenth century. Comparison: Robinson 1985: C101.Pl 57: 188.	
6	Semi-complete pipe; with part of the ring missing; reddish-yellow clay, red slip, burnished; lily-shaped bowl, multi-faceted, in center of each bowl facet there are floral motifs made printing technique on polygonal surfaces on the bowl, the decoration consists of leaves with serrated ends. The ring is broken in the shank, there are two lines around the diameter of the ring, stamp on the left side of the shank. Dating the nineteenth century. Comparison: Costea 2007: Pl.VII.5:355.	

Source: own description and photos [2021].

III. Glazed earthenwares:

III.1. Marbled Ware (Ceramica marmorizzata)

In this ware, the glazed design imitates marble. The effect was achieved by running together various colored glazes or slips in such a manner that they do not merge but appear as different-colored streaks, which were made at many centers in Northern Italy and Provence from the 16th c. onwards.⁵⁸ Pisa is the most well-known production center in Northern Italy, but similar wares were made at several other places, such as Montelupo, the Po valley, Liguria, and Lombardy. Because Pisa was the principal distributor of glazed wares in the Mediterranean at this time, most of the Marbled Ware in the eastern Mediterranean is thought to have originated there. Marbled Ware has found all over the Mediterranean basin, as well as in north-eastern Europe, including England; it even found its way to Colonial America.⁵⁹ It was imitated later by Ottoman workshops but in a lower quality.

⁵⁷ Jašarević 2018: 213-237.

⁵⁸ Blake 1981: 105.

⁵⁹ Stern 2014 a: 146.

It is made of fine, hard, brownish-red fabric, there are bichrome examples, usually in red and white, and polychrome examples, with added brown and green or, sometimes, black.⁶⁰

It has been found at several sites in Nazareth,⁶¹ Damascus,⁶² and Istanbul in contexts dating to the seventeenth century.⁶³ Similar bowls were also found at Koukليا in Cyprus.⁶⁴ Ottoman imitations of this ware were produced at Ganos, on the north-western shore of the Sea of Marmara, in the seventeenth century, and most likely at other centers within the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁵

Figure 3: Bowl, Profile from a rim to lower body. Out-turned rim, hemispherical body. Fabric: fine, hard, red, rare small voids. Decoration: inside, marbling in white and red, colorless shiny glaze; colorless shiny glaze below the rim, which runs down the wall.

Date origin: late 16th-first half of 17th c. Pisa.

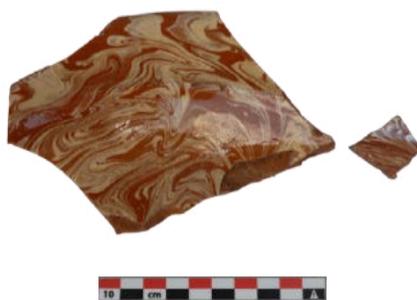


Figure 3. Marbled Ware (*Ceramica marmorizzata*) (Source: own photo [2021])

III.2. Didymoteicho Slip-Painted Wares

These vessels are very common in Ottoman-period sites throughout the region. It was produced at Didymoteicho in Thrace, northern Greece.⁶⁶ This historical city has a long pottery production tradition that starts in the thirteenth–fourteenth century to the seventeenth century and then continues in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁶⁷ According to the account of seventeenth-century traveler Evliya Çelebi, the city had 200 pottery kilns at that time. Several kilns were uncovered and many kiln wasters were removed during excavations at the main entrance just outside the walls. These discoveries have been dated to the early nineteenth century.⁶⁸ These bowls were widely distributed throughout the eastern Mediterranean basin.⁶⁹ They were also present in shipwrecks in the western Mediterranean.⁷⁰ They were very popular in the Levant, for example, in ‘Akko, Nazareth, and Yafo.⁷¹ They were also unearthed in the Damascus Citadel.⁷²

These vessels' ware is soft and contains little limestone inclusions. The color of the ware ranges from light red to red to reddish yellow or orange-brown. The glazes come in two different

⁶⁰ Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986: 33-37.

⁶¹ Bagatti 2002: 187–192, Fig. 69:7–10.

⁶² François 2009: 57, Fig. 3:13–15.

⁶³ Hayes 1992: 265, Fig. 98:11.

⁶⁴ von Wartburg 2001: 378, Fig. 10:25.

⁶⁵ Hayes 1992: 276–277.

⁶⁶ Megaw and Jones 1983: 244-245.

⁶⁷ François 1995: 213.

⁶⁸ Bakirtzis 1980: 148, 153.

⁶⁹ Hayes 1992: 276, Fig. 144.

⁷⁰ Amouric, Richez and Vallauri 1999: 155–156, Figs. 281, 282.

⁷¹ Avissar and Walker 2009: 11, fig. 2.7:1–3.

⁷² François 2008: 80 800, Nos. 1–4.

colors: brilliant green and ochre yellow. The vessel was initially slip-painted and then glazed, resulting in a bright green or ochre yellow slip-painted ornamentation and a darker unslipped portion. The ornamentation are free-hand criss-cross patterns trickling from the rim to the inside, generating a "dripping" of hues under which the slip-painted decoration appears in yellow over a brown backdrop or pale green over a dark green background.⁷³

There are two kinds of bowls or dishes: the first has a ring base with a little flange created by folding the rim over. These looks to be the more popular kind, and it comes in both green and yellow colors. The second type has an everted ledge rim that ends into a small hook and seems to appear only in green.⁷⁴

Similar vessels with the same group slip-painted ornament were constructed elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, such as near Didymoteicho at Ganos. A group of huge bowls and basins with comparable slip-painted ornamentation may be found even in Çanakkale. This kind of vessel was discovered among Kütahya and Çanakkale vessels during the Saraçhane Mosque excavations in Istanbul, and Hayes dated it to 1860–1880. It is quite possible, that this type of pottery was imitated elsewhere, but only petrographic analysis can determine this with certainty.⁷⁵

Figure 4: fragment of a bowl with flaring walls and an outwardly folded rim creating a little flange was the most widespread type of Drip-Painted Ware of the Ottoman period. It is decorated with white slip-painted motifs that are covered by a bright green translucent glaze. The slip-painted styling depends on a band painted around the rim, as well as random strokes above the entire body.

Comparison: Similar bowls were reported from various Ottoman sites in Palestine Stern 2014a: Figs. 1:15, 148, Jordan Walker 2009: Fig. 5.19:2, 51–52.

Dating: nineteenth to the early twentieth century.



Figure 4. Didymoteicho Slip-Painted Wares (Source: own photo [2021])

Figure 5: One almost complete bowl with a folded rim creating an external flange and a small ring base. White slip-painted with a transparent ochre yellow glaze. Except for the rim, the outside is unglazed. The inside of the bowl shows marks of a tripod was employed to pile up the pottery in the kiln.

Comparison: François 1995: pls. I–V, de Vincenz 2020a: Fig. 5:8, 89.

Dating: nineteenth to the early twentieth century.

⁷³ Yābā 2016: 60.

⁷⁴ Stern 2014 a: 148.

⁷⁵ de Vincenz 2020 a: 89.



Figure 5. *Didymoteicho Slip-Painted Wares* (Source: own photo [2021])

III.3. Monochrome glazed wares

In Ottoman-period sites, monochrome glazed pottery, primarily in green or yellow, is a common sight. The tradition of producing monochrome glazed wares can be traced back to the Mamluk period when green glazed vessels were among the most common.⁷⁶ Monochrome Glazed Ware of the Ottoman period includes bowls, basins, and jugs. The glazed bowls of the Ottoman period differ from their Mamluk predecessors mainly in their shape. Although these bowls occur with several rim types, one of the most characteristics are the upturned ledge rim, which is often hooked at the end.⁷⁷ This ware may have been locally made. These wares are made from different fabrics, and most likely reflect the productions of different workshops. All the wares have a white slip on the interior, occasionally extending just below the rim on the exterior. The green or yellow glaze was applied over the slip; the glaze is usually well-melted, but occasionally flakes off.⁷⁸ Includes these wares: shallow bowls with a ledge rim and a low ring base that are covered with a monochrome, yellow or green glaze on the interior.⁷⁹

Figure 6: One of the bowl fragments has a high ring base with low concentric grooves on the inside bottom, as well as a stilt mark. It is covered from the interior with a dark green glaze over a thin white slip. These monochrome lead-glazed bowls represent a highly common and long-lived Ottoman-period bowl form, which is frequently found in sites throughout the Mediterranean.

Fabric: Reddish-brown or orange-brown clay.

Slip: On the inside, there is a white slip.

Glaze: Green glaze of different shadows, that flake off frequently. The bowls are glazed on the interior and over the rim.

Comparison: Stern 2017: Fig. 4:1, 2,8.

Dating: 16th to early 20th centuries.



Figure 6. *Monochrome glazed wares* (Source: own photos [2021])

Figure 7: bowl fragment has a low ring base, a thin layer of slip, and a yellow glaze on the interior.

The Ottoman bowls are made of rather fine orange-brown clay and are glazed inside with a smooth, well-adhering glaze. The lip of the ledge rim is usually slightly upturned.

⁷⁶ Avissar and Stern 2005: 12-15.

⁷⁷ de Vincenz 2020 b: 318.

⁷⁸ Stern 2014 b: 84.

⁷⁹ Stern 2016: 88.

Fabric: Reddish-brown or orange-brown clay. There are a lot of white and brown grits, as well as some white inclusions. On the inside, there is a white slip under a yellow glaze.

Comparison: Yābā 2016: Fig. 31:10,59. Vionis 2016: Fig. 16: c3, 371.

Dating: 16th to early 20th centuries.⁸⁰



Figure 7. Monochrome glazed wares (Source: own photos [2021])

VI. Coffee Cups

The most prominent item found on Ottoman period sites is the small coffee cups which are still in use today to drink so-called Turkish coffee. The Ottoman Turks were known for their coffee drinking and pipe smoking, and Turkish coffee cups have frequently been discovered alongside smoking pipes in Ottoman-period ruins.⁸¹ It is worth mentioning briefly the history of coffee production and expansion. It is in the fifteenth century that we have the first information about coffee trees or coffee drinking. They appear in the Sufi monasteries of Yemen, but their use spread rapidly, and already by the sixteenth-century coffee use had reached the other parts of the Muslim world, it spread to Italy and the rest of Europe from there. The same thing happened with coffee and smoking: it was outlawed by orthodox imams because it was thought to arouse and stimulate the senses, leading to unorthodox behavior. But in 1524 the Sultan Selim I ordered a fatwa and coffee was to be allowed.⁸² In Istanbul, the first coffee house opened in 1554.

Soft-paste, hard-paste, and porcelain coffee cups were made in the Ottoman Empire and Europe. A major production sites for coffee cups was in Kütahya, in Western Turkey, while European imported vessels came mainly from German factories such as Meissen, KPM Berlin, Limbach, Nymphenburg, and Frankenthal.⁸³

VI.1. Meissen Coffee Cups

As the fashion of coffee drinking spread in Europe, and with a growing demand for porcelain coffee cups in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the eighteenth century, the Elector of Saxony Augustus the Strong founded in 1710 the porcelain factory in the Albrechtsburg at Meissen. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Meissen produced coffee cups -the so-called *Türkenbecher*- for the Turkish market, Many of the cups were not stamped on the bottom with the typical crossed-sword factory mark, but with pseudo-Chinese signs.⁸⁴ It seems that some commercial agents feared that the crossed-swords might be mistaken as a Christian symbol.⁸⁵ It is rather complicated to identify Meissen porcelain in excavations since the finds are a fragmentary and the mark is not always preserved. Moreover, it is known that the marks were

⁸⁰ Stern 2014 b: 84.

⁸¹ de Vincenz 2019: 177.

⁸² Stolleis 2001: 193.

⁸³ de Vincenz 2020 a: 98.

⁸⁴ Röntgen 1996: 250-259.

⁸⁵ Milwright 2008: 137.

also faked, which makes the identification even more problematic.⁸⁶ However, some pieces are so special that they can be confidently recognized.⁸⁷

Figure 8: Cup with a chocolate brown surface and a blue strip under the rim on the white interior. A blue flower motif may be found on the inside base. The cup is not marked, but it seems probable that it is a Meissen cup, from 1720 through 1775, made these vessels with a brown exterior and a blue-on-white interior decoration, as well as this type of Koppchen circa 1740.⁸⁸

Suggested dating: mid-eighteenth century.

Comparison: Sterba 1989: colorplate no. 6 for exterior color,⁸⁹ de Vincenz 2017: Fig. 5:4,125, François 2009: Fig. 4:25, 62.

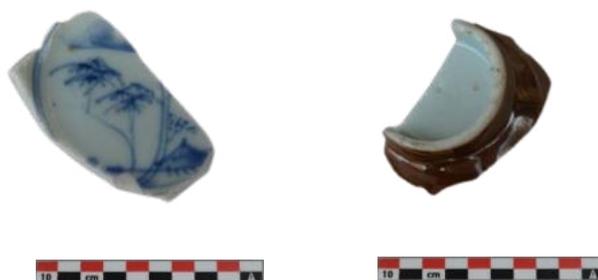


Figure 8. Meissen Coffee Cups (Source: own photos [2021])

V. Conclusions

The Ottoman Pottery in al-Marqab castle is one of the important topics that have not been fully studied. One of the ideas that can be inferred during this research is to identify the features of the pottery industry, its decoration, its quality, and its method of formation in the Ottoman period. In addition, it helps to gain a full understanding of the economic situation in the region. And also the study of pottery may allow deducing the daily life of culture, religion, and relations with neighboring countries such as import and export.

The main goal of this study is a better understanding of ceramic production in al-Marqab Castle from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries and the most important changes in pottery production, and also collecting of the Ottoman Pottery in al-Marqab castle and presented in one catalog.

⁸⁶ Röntgen 1996: 287-300.

⁸⁷ de Vincenz 2017: 125.

⁸⁸ Röntgen 1996: 201, fig. 309.

⁸⁹ Sterba 1989: 55.

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Challenges in Simulated Medical Communication Training at the Time of Covid-19 Pandemic

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The Covid 19 pandemic has brought a dramatic drop in personal patient-physician encounters. On evaluating the situation it turned out that in the long run online health care activities including online consultations and telemedicine will gain increasing importance. Successful patient-physician communication is essential in the process of healing, and medical students need to be properly prepared for it. An effective method of providing this kind of preparation is involving actor-patients in the simulation-based communication skills development, which takes place in simulation labs providing authentic setting for the activity. As a consequence of the pandemic several forms of health care communication moved into the online space and online education was introduced, which sheds new light both on the interactions to be taught and the methods to be used in teaching simulated communication.

Simulation-based communication skills development involving professional actors has been conducted at the University Medical School of Pécs since 2016. As a result of the restrictive measures aiming at slowing down the spread of the pandemic, the training has been conducted in the form of electronic distance learning since 23 March 2020. Simulation-based medical communication training moved to the Microsoft Teams surface, which made it necessary to revisit the syllabus and methods. We aim to present our own experiences and the international trends by comparing on-site and on-line simulation exercises.

Based on students' feedback and the partial assessment of the video-recorded teaching sessions it seems clear that the simulation exercises performed in online form were successful, having ensured the development of the students' communication skills with regards to telemedicine.

Keywords patient-physician communication, simulated medical encounters, distance learning, telemedicine

I. Introduction

I.1. Medical communication

Medical communication is an umbrella term for a range of intrinsic and extrinsic communicative activities. The former type takes place within the discourse community of biomedical researchers and medical practitioners, while the latter type of exchange, the major focus of the present study, lies in the basis of the healing art, requiring health care providers to communicate with their lay clients. While earlier, in the so-called paternalistic era of health care provision the patient's role in the encounter was restricted to serving as a source of information necessary for the physician to set up the diagnosis and decide on the therapy, nowadays physician -patient communication is regarded as a most important constituent of the healing process. This latter type of communication is an asymmetric encounter, where the physician equipped with the knowledge and skills acquired during the training elicits and provides information of the patient's medical status, educates the patient, moreover, communicates empathy and tries to create an atmosphere of trust and confidence.

I.2. Medical interviewing skills development

Preparing medical students for using this tool of extraordinary importance in their daily routine has always been among the most challenging issues of medical education and training. The aim has been to provide the greatest possible number of communication situations they can expect to encounter in their professional career. Traditionally this demand was met by the so-called bedside teaching, a set of clinical practical courses, where medical students, among other aspects of their future profession, were required to gather as many hands-on experiences with communicating with patients as possible. While many medical educators regard this type of hands-on experience as the one and only effective way of communication skills development, it poses a number of difficulties, which mostly, though not entirely originate from the ever-growing number of medical students.

I.3. Simulation in medical interviewing skills development

A most ingenious way of overcoming this problem was the introduction of simulated practicals. The teaching venue has always been a very important part of the simulation, as it is meant to create an authentic setting for the exercises, which could be a hospital ward, an examination room, a GP practice or an intensive care unit. In this authentic venue the so-called Complex Simulation Exercise was possible, which allowed the simultaneous practice of communicative and professional competences including interaction with patients and the use of the examination tools available. Such simulated on-site communication training with actor-patients in the MediSkills Lab has been offered by the Department of Languages for Biomedical Purposes and Communication at the University of Pécs, Faculty of General Medicine since 2016 (Koppan, A et.al.,2017)

I.4. Simulated medical interviewing skills development online

The venue gained special importance at the time of the Covid-19 pandemic, when, due to the lockdown, the traditional forms of communication based on the physical presence of the participants have become impossible. An online teaching format was introduced, and the Faculty Leadership entrusted the subject leaders with the development of the methodology for this format. The MediSkillsLab as an authentic venue could no longer be considered as a safe environment for our exercises, so the online space became the new arena for simulation-based medical communication skills development. First and foremost, we had to decide which of the scenarios developed for the on-site format of exercises were suitable for the online exercises, and in what form. At the same time new scenarios needed to be developed to suit the online format and the sudden changes in the healthcare system.

The aim of this study is to present and assess the experience of online simulated medical interviewing skills exercises compared to face-to-face teaching, based on students' evaluations (Mohos, A. et al., 2020)

II. Methods

II.1. Course organization

The elective simulated medical communication training course was open to a maximum of 15 students each semester, for 12 weeks, one 90-minute practical per week. This means that medical students did not study in the form of a block course, but in a one-and-a-half-year course, which is unprecedented in other medical schools. The first of the 12 sessions were devoted to theoretical preparation, including an overview of medical interview as a basic genre both from professional and linguistic-communication points of view and also the other fields and genres of medical communication. The possible ways of simulating the patient – doctor encounters and the exercises to be used were also explained.

II.1. Course design

The MediSkillLab was the setting for the traditional, on-site exercises. Various scenarios were developed as tasks for the students over the course of the 11 weeks. The tasks were carried out first in small groups and then individually by each student. During the exercises, particular emphasis was placed on the appropriate mastery of the medical interview as a basic genre of medical communication, which was the theme of the exercises in the first weeks. The course participants were exposed to increasingly difficult situations where the patients became less and less cooperative (decreasing compliance). After practising this skill, they moved on to communication situations in other areas of medical activity, such as providing medical information, communicating diagnoses, informing a patient's relative, therapeutic discussions and persuasion. At the very end of this sequence were the communication of bad news (a diagnosis that has a fundamental impact on the quality of life) and the communication of death news.

II.3. Exercises

Cases, situations and patient profiles collected by clinicians were transformed into scenarios in which the role and tasks of the student(s) were defined. The students were partnered with professional actors (in the role of patient and/or relative, or medical staff) who also received specific instructions for the role, which included the symptoms of their individual illness or illnesses, the patient's medical history, personal details and life history, present life situation, character and attitude during the discussion. The actor-patient was thus given a very large number of specific instructions which could not be changed during the interaction (symptom, complaint, medical history, personal data (Bates, P., 2017; Owen, D., 2018; Eklics- Koppán, 2020).

.Yet the conversation was spontaneous and improvisatory, as there was no specific script, it was as contingent as in reality, it was shaped by the participants, its outcome and realisation depended on them, but, of course, mainly on the medical practitioner. There was a timeframe for carrying out the tasks, as in real life, neither doctors nor medical staff have unlimited time available, but rather are constantly under time pressure, which students need to get used to. In accordance with the principle of gradualness they also had the opportunity to practise, to identify mistakes and to improve. By the end of the course they had acquired the necessary routine and they were able to communicate effectively under time pressure.

II.4. Evaluation

After the completion of the scenario, a three-way evaluative feedback followed: after performing the simulation the students were evaluated from the medical and linguistic perspectives of the communication. The simulation patients were also asked to provide feedback about the students' performance. This third aspect is of particular interest to all students and future doctors, as it was the "patient" who commented on their performance. Most naturally the students were also asked for self-evaluation, how they felt in the situation, to what extent they felt they had fulfilled the task given, where they had made mistakes, what they would do differently in hindsight. The other students were then involved in the discussion, so the evaluation was useful for all participants, and it also provided new perspectives and guidelines for the next task. The exercises were recorded by the MediSkillsLab's built-in cameras and were archived. The students' performance and progress during the semester could be tracked on these videos, and the instructors could also look back at the working material, which serves as a basis for further methodological development and improvement. A detailed evaluation of the exercises, the individual assignments and the semester's work was carried out each semester, which was done by the students with the help of questionnaires, and an in-depth interview was conducted with each student at the end of the semester, in which they were asked for longer individual answers to specific questions. These were compared and evaluated in a number of publications on the effectiveness of the method and we were able to conclude that our practices translate the simulation into a teaching model designed to develop students' communication skills.

II.5. The online simulation method

The coronavirus outbreak challenged the faculty and the simulation medical communication practices. An online teaching format was adopted, and the faculty management entrusted the subject leaders with the development of methodology for implementing this format. The MediSkillsLab as an authentic venue was no longer a safe environment for the exercises. Personal contact became impossible, and the online space became the new arena for simulation-based medical communication. The faculty chose Microsoft Teams as the platform for online education, so training sessions were conducted there from March 2020, which posed methodological challenges for the team of clinicians and language communication trainers. First and foremost, decisions had to be made about which of the scenarios developed for the online exercises were suitable for the online exercises, and in what form, and what new scenarios needed to be developed due to the online format and the sudden changes in the healthcare system. On developing the online exercises, it was found that the pandemic has created completely new communication situations for all actors in the health sector. In analysing the situation, the course design aimed at two basic tasks: to process the new, current communication situations resulting from the coronavirus pandemic and to visualise the situations that were handling the effects of the quarantine.

II.6. Telemedicine in medical interviewing skills development

The coronavirus epidemic resulted in completely new patient pathways in the health care system in order to avoid the risk of infection, the 'preliminary' telephone conversation before a personal visit to the health care provider - in non-emergency situations – became necessary, in order to find out as best as possible about the condition of the person seeking help, to decide whether immediate personal care was necessary and, if so, where to refer the patient (tele/online interview).

The ban on visits to hospitals and all health care units and nursing homes in the wake of the emergency also created a completely new situation for health care staff, patients and their relatives. Obtaining information about the condition of patients, who often were in a vulnerable state, by personal contact became completely impossible. It had to be replaced exclusively by telephone and telemedical communication. Overburdened hospital staff, constantly pressed for time found it difficult to meet the information needs of the patient's relatives, which created new and often tense communication situations and put the communication skills of doctors and nurses to the test. The channel of communication for difficult diagnoses or even death news was shifted to an exclusively telemedical

platform, mostly the telephone, making it even more difficult for healthcare staff to conduct difficult conversations. (At the same time, the quarantine, the psychological effects of confinement, the possible absence of the attending physician due to discharge or age, also had a negative impact on the condition and care of chronic patients. Dealing with these issues was also a very important task for course designers.

III. Results

III.1. Questionnaire

A questionnaire including 12 Likert scales, 3 questions requiring textual answers and 4 multiple choice questions was used for evaluating the online simulated medical communication course. The questionnaire was completed by all the 30 course participants, 15 students in each of the spring semesters of 2019-2020 and 2020-2021 academic years. Besides, each student gave an oral interview where they were asked to summarize their opinions of the course.

The simulated medical communication exercises were rated as successful and useful by more than 90% of the students who completed the evaluation, and 100% of the students answered "yes" to the question "*Does this course have a place in the training or did it develop useful skills*".

The cases and topics covered were found very useful by 100% of the students, and 100% found them very topical. Answering the question on how important the students felt the course in preparation for telemedical medical communication, 35% found it very important and 65% found it important.

More than 93% of the students were able to simulate real-life situations in all the exercises. The work of the actors participating in the course and the authenticity of their performance were also rated as excellent by 100% of the medical students, as was the training of the course instructors and doctors. The organisation of the online exercises was also rated as excellent by 100% of the respondents. Communication about the course including sharing information with students, explaining the next class assignments was rated as excellent by 86%. The feedback given during the solution of tasks and situations was considered very useful by all students. The first multiple-choice question was "*Whose feedback was the most valuable for you?*", in which 57% of the students said that the feedback from the doctor, the communication specialist and the actor-patient was equally important to them, while 23% of the students considered the feedback from the doctor and 20% from the communication specialist to be the most important. The next question asked whether they considered individual tasks or group tasks more useful or both equally important during the course. 48% of students considered both individual and group assignments equally useful, while 42% considered individual assignments the most useful. The final multiple-choice question was meant to assess a new aspect of online simulation exercises mentioned above, namely how useful or distracting they found it to have all students present in the background behind a switched-off and microphone during all individual tasks in online exercises, listening to their individual work "real time". Fifty percent of the students would find this very useful and felt they would learn from it, 21% would not be bothered by it and only 27% said they would be bothered by it.

III.2. Interviews

Typical evaluation of the course in the interviews was mostly encouraging, however, the participants also pointed out some major drawbacks.

"The lack of personal interaction was a disadvantage, as personal presence would have allowed us to improve our body language. Also, in some cases, the technical background caused problems such as voice lag or delay, which could make it seem as if we were cutting into the patient's words. And it was beneficial because this kind of doctor-patient contact is really becoming more and more relevant, so practising telecommunication also helps us to develop." (Course participant 1)

"But there were also many advantages to the online form, and in our time the importance of this and the need for it from the patient's point of view is growing." (Course participant 2)

"Overall, I think that despite the online format, the class was perfectly implemented. I didn't feel that the quality of the teaching was inferior because it was online. Every class was an experience because we always had a different task (Actors presented a different type of patient from class to class). I liked and found useful that the teachers provided us with tips on the chat interface. These tips were particularly important as this was the first time, we had encountered anamnesis recording and there were situations where we needed to get help. Not once did I feel insulted. The criticisms were entirely for our improvement." (Course participant 3)

IV. Discussion

The present study was meant to find out about the relevance and applicability of an innovative experimental simulated online medical communication course introduced at the Faculty of General Medicine of the University of Pecs. As the course was designed and launched under the pressure posed on medical education by the Covid-19 pandemic, it can be regarded as a piloting effort aiming at collecting experiences for developing regular medical communications skills courses and making them part of the curriculum. To the best of the authors' knowledge no online course in which both communication and medical skills development would be included, has been developed and used elsewhere.

Online simulated communication provides limited opportunity for practising face-to-face interactions that have been processed so far. It is not yet suitable for so-called complex simulation (physical examination, use of simulation tools), although this may soon be partially possible with the development of the use of medical simulation tools. Unfortunately, due to technical reasons (internet connection, microphone sound slipping due to simultaneous speech), the representation of multi-actor interactions is also very difficult, so it was not used in the exercises under investigation. Due to the lack of personal presence, the possibilities for non-verbal communication were also very limited. Nevertheless, one of the advantages of the online format should be mentioned here, which is the focused perception of facial expressions due to the constantly very close camera positions, which allows to detect very precisely every movement of the eyes and facial features of the interlocutors. This is probably also the reason why, even in the lack of a personal presence, an intimate relationship between the communicating parties is established, which is a prerequisite for a realistic simulation. This intimacy was also facilitated by the fact that during the online exercises, the interactions could be witnessed by the group members without their presence disturbing the intimate, often dramatic, conversations. Indeed, the online format allows them to be present as observers with cameras and microphones switched off, with only the two interacting partners seeing each other. The evaluations showed that in this type of conversation, the students felt more "left alone", more able to forget and to block out external factors, more focused on the task at hand and on the reactions of their communication partner. This suggests that emotionally saturated situations (e.g. reporting bad news) can be presented and experienced online and are well suited for simulation training. Of course, one of the basic prerequisites for this is still the involvement of the actors, whose performance is not at all influenced by the camera, and who are perfectly capable of realising any character or attitude, and even of changing it flexibly

It is the online format that has become important. The purpose of simulated communication exercises is learning, practicing, students can make mistakes, they can start again, or stop, they can ask for help on the way, they can repeat - without harming or emotionally damaging the other person in the situation. The online format has offered a tool to help the practitioner in the simulation without the need to interrupt the interaction. This tool is the chat function, which has opened up a new possibility

for the smooth management of the simulation and the provision of assistance. The students currently in graduate training are already part of a generation for whom being online is a completely natural medium, whose functions they can master with brilliant speed. The simulation is always witnessed in the background by the clinician and the communication expert, who are either present in person in the traditional format or listening and observing the interaction from outside. And the listener often needs help, as he or she is trying out situations he or she has never experienced before. They are often stuck, not knowing where to go next, what the next question or argument should be, etc. Before they experience a failure, help from the professional arrives in the chat function: a few words, some possible ways to go. Another advantage is that the instructions received in the chat were seen in an instant and could be seamlessly integrated into the next sentence, the doctor present did not have to interrupt the communication, the conversation continued smoothly. Not only the listener, but also the actor-patient can receive instructions in the chat function in the same way: professional help (e.g. if the name of a medicine or the extent of a symptom needs to be given), instructions to guide the interaction. As described above, actors receive extensive training for their roles, but it is still a spontaneous interaction, an improvisatory genre, since there is no script. This is why not all actors are up to the task, because only a few are able to improvise within the given framework. The development of the interactions is therefore entirely contingent, and the presence and attention of an external 'director' can be important, who can give instructions at certain points to guide the simulation towards the predetermined goal. Last but not least, he or she can discreetly warn all participants to respect the time limits.

The advice and discussion received in the chat function also played a big role in the students' work with each other, especially at the beginning of the semester, during the group anamnesis interviews, where they shared the interview questions among themselves and helped each other with advice and ideas during the interview.

Another advantage of the online format was appreciated by both students and faculty members that it was possible to login to the class from anywhere, for very busy clinicians especially during the pandemic this was a huge advantage, but also a time saver for both students and faculty.

The study has some limitations. The relatively small number of course participants does not make it possible to draw statistically based conclusions. Although the three-way course evaluation yielded a number of useful lessons to be learned for further course design and implementation, it was mostly based on students' feedback, a valuable but somewhat one-sided assessment. An objective measuring tool, such as testing students' communicative performance in real-life situations, could be used to assess the usefulness of such online medical communication skills development courses.

V. Conclusions

As the pandemic is far from over, online courses remain important for the effective training of medical students. More research and experience is needed to further develop these types of courses, which are particularly promising for delivering certain content and developing the communicative skills needed for doctor-patient communication. The online format is either not suitable at all, or only to a limited extent for delivering certain content and developing certain communication skills. It is important to take stock of these contents and skills and develop the most appropriate methods for their acquisition, even in the online space.

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Ifjúkori modern önarcképek – a Bildung narratíva megjelenése a magyar újhullám filmjeiben

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Tanulmányomban azt mutatom be, hogy miért terjednek el a magyar újhullám ideje alatt a nevelődési történetek, és ezeket milyen tematikai és formai megoldások jellemzik.

Kulcsszavak: magyar film; újhullám; Bildung; modernizmus; fiatalok; generáció

I. Bevezetés

I. 1. Filmtörténeti kontextus: újhullám, nemzedékiség, személyesség

A magyar újhullám a hazai filmtörténetben az 1963 és 1969 közötti időszakot jelöli. A korszak a magyar filmtörténeti kánon csúcspontja. Aranykorként is hivatkozik rá a filmtörténetírás, utalva ezzel arra, hogy sok jelentős film született (pl. *Húsz óra*, *Szegénylegények*, *Hideg napok*, *A tanú stb.*), és sokszínű volt a magyar filmkultúra ekkor (szakfolyóiratok megjelenése [*Filmvilág*, *Filmkultúra*], filmfesztiválok indulása). A korszakot a politikai szerepvállalás hangsúlyos jelenléte, a személyes hangvétel megjelenése, a szerzőiség elterjedése és a nemzedékiség megjelenése teszi egyedivé a magyar filmtörténetben.

Az aranykorként is számontartott periódus kitüntetett szerepéhez az együtt munkálkodó poétikai modernizmus és reformista politika hatásmechanizmusai egyaránt szükségeltettek (Varga, 2004, 431). Az előbbi alatt az európai modernizmus eredményeinek hazai megjelenését értjük. A filmes modernizmust a modern művészet adaptálódásaként értelmezhetjük bizonyos filmtörténeti folyamatokhoz, ezáltal „*a modern film nem annyira egy specifikus filmfajta, inkább a modern művészet egy sajátos formája*” (Kovács, 2010, 29). A modern művészet alapvető esztétikai elvei a szubjektivitás, a reflexió és az absztrakció.

A reformista politikához azt a nem kodifikált együttműködést köthetjük, mely a hatalom és a filmkészítők között jött létre. A kádári konszolidáció okozta enyhülés következtében bizonyos fenntartásokkal ugyan, de a rendezők érinthettek korábban nem támogatott témákat (ötvenes évek, ötvenhatos forradalom), tehát a politikai elit bizonyos engedményeket tett a filmesek és a tágabb értelemben vett kultúra emblematikus képviselői felé is. Ám fontos, hogy mindezt a 3T néven ismertté vált művészet- és értelmiségpolitika koordinátái között teheték meg, melyet 1957-től képviselt Aczél György, és amelynek lényege, hogy az alkotókat és a műveket a türt, tiltott, támogatott kategóriákba sorolta be a korabeli vezetés. „*Támogatott műnek a »pártos« és a »szocialista realista«, türtnek a nem marxista, de a marxizmussal nyíltan nem polemizáló, és tiltottnak a politikailag félreérthetetlenül antimarxista és rendszerellenes alkotások számítotnak*” (Romsics, 2010, 495). A magyar film pedig „meghálálta” a hatalom „engedékenységét”: ezidőtájt díjesővel jutalmazott exportcikk lett, mely a szocialista Magyarország hírnevét öregbítette a keleti blokk országaiban és a vasfüggönyön túl is. Vagy ahogyan Jancsó Miklós fogalmazott: a magyar filmet Aczél György választja ki „*friss virágnak a rendszer akkor még kicsit bűdös gomblyukába*” (Jancsó, 2000, 411). Emellett a kultúrpolitikai szemlélet paradigmaváltását jelzi az is, hogy az ötvenes évekre jellemző előzetes cenzúrát a kora-kádári időszakban utólagos cenzúra váltotta fel, mely azt jelentette, hogy csak a kész vagy félkész, leforgatott művek kerültek a cenzorok elé. Ennek egyik következménye az lett, hogy a „*hatvanas évek alkotásai, a társadalmi elkötelezettségű, politikai és történelmi tabukat döntő, külföldön is elhíresült művek azonban, még ha csonkítások árán és hónapokat várakoztatva is, de elkerülték a cenzúra legbrutálisabb formáját*” (Varga, 2005, 117).

I. 2. Fiatalok a kamera mögött

Egy új filmrendező-nemzedék, a Máriaassy-osztály tagjai (Elek Judit, Gábor Pál, Gyöngyössy Imre, Huszárik Zoltán, Kardos Ferenc, Kézdi-Kovács Zsolt, Rózsa János és Szabó István) és korban hozzájuk közel álló alkotók (Gaál István, Novák Márk, Sára Sándor) indulnak el a hatvanas években, akiknek munkái markánsan alakították a magyar filmtörténet stílustérképét ebben az időszakban. Hangsúlyozandó tény, hogy nem csupán pályakezdők startolnak ekkor, hanem náluk idősebb direktorok (Jancsó Miklós, Kovács András, Bacsó Péter) is ekkortól dolgoznak aktív rendezőként. A korszak jelentőségét mutatja, hogy eltérő korú rendezők egyaránt életművük meghatározó darabját készítik el ekkor (Gelencsér, 2014, 33).

Fontos, hogy az ekkor kialakult nemzedéki beszéd elterjedéséhez a kádári kultúrpolitika konszolidálódó klímája szükségeltetett. Ez igaz mind a filmrendező-generációkban való gondolkodásra, mind a filmekben reprezentált nemzedékek konstrukcióira. Az idősebb nemzedék alkotói az ötvenes években nem törekedtek, nem törekedhettek arra, hogy nemzedékük élményeiről meséljenek, hiszen dolguk az volt – Nádasy László szavaival élve –, hogy „állami feladatokat” lássanak el (Létay, 1966, 51). „Elmulasztottunk megküzdeni művészi önállóságunkért, beláttuk, amit nem lett volna szabad belátnunk, hogy fel kell oldódnunk a filmgyár kollektív munkájában. ... A látszólagos egységért le kellett mondanunk saját egyéniségünkéről” – nyilatkozta Kovács András (Létay, 1966, 49-50). A Máriaóssy-osztály és annak holdudvara lesznek az elsők, akik – Makk Károly szavaival élve – én-filmeket készíthettek, és tudatosan kezdhettek életműépítésbe (Varga, 2019).

A fiatal rendezők indulását és idősebb társaikéhoz képest eltérő filmtörténeti pozíciójukat az intézményrendszer változása is segítette: a Balázs Béla Stúdió kreatív alkotóműhelye eddig nem látott lehetőséghez juttatta a pályakezdőket. Emellett a technikai változások (hordozható kézikamera, direkt hang) is kedvezően befolyásolták indulásukat, és hozzájárultak ahhoz, hogy számukra a filmkészítés hozzáférhető és elérhető legyen, és könnyebb, gyorsabb, közvetlenebb művészi tevékenységgé változzon.

Nem szabad szem elől tévesztenünk azt a tényt sem, hogy az ötvenes évek vége és a hatvanas évek eleje, közepe a fiatalok „berobbanásának” időszaka volt az egyetemes filmtörténetben: ez az újhullámos rendező-nemzedékek és stílusok megjelenésének periódusa volt. Ekkor teljesed(het)ett be a szerzői film elmélete a gyakorlatban is szerte Európában és újította meg a filmkészítők filmről való gondolkodásmódját és a mozgókép funkcióját: a rendezők személyes történeteiket mesélték el a mozgókép segítségével, elvont gondolatok kifejezésére használták és tudatosan helyezték el önmagukat és alkotásaikat egy élő művészeti filmes tradícióban. A szerzőiség a forma játékoságát és felszabadulását is elhozta, mely sajátos rendezői kézjegyek megszületését is maga után vonta.

Ezt összegezve elmondható, hogy a magyar újhullámra jellemző személyesség elterjedéséhez a kádári konszolidáció kultúrpolitikája, a modern film paradigmája, a szerzői elmélet hazai térnyerése, az intézményi- és technikai változások és egy új generáció színrelépése, illetve velük a generációs szemlélet előretörése vezetett. Mindezek alapozták meg azt, hogy a nevelődési narratíva kardinális elbeszélői mód legyen a magyar újhullám filmjeiben.

I. 3. Fiatalok a filmvászonon

A magyar újhullám korszakában hat irányzatot különböztethetünk meg (Varga, 2004, 435). Ezek közül az egyik az Így-jöttem filmek csoportja, melyet személyes és generációs önvallomásként határozhatunk meg (Uo.). Ezeket az alkotásokat az ars poetica-jelleg, az önvallomás, a nemzedékiség és a líraiság jellemzi. Olyan műveket sorolhatunk ide, mint Gaál István *Sodrásban*, Zöldár, Szabó István *Álmodozások kora*, *Apa – egy hit naplója*, Sára Sándor *Feldobott kő* és Sándor Pál *Bohóc a falon* című munkái.

Ezek az alkotások olyan szerzői munkák, melyekben a rendezők saját élményeikből kiindulva, fiatal szereplők történeteit írják vászonra kamera-töltőtollukkal¹. A fiatal főszereplők történetei véleményem szerint hasonlóságokat mutatnak az irodalomtörténetből jól ismert fejlődés-, vagy

¹ Alexander Astruc 1948-as írásában fogalmazza meg kamera-töltőtoll elméletét, mely a klasszikus szerzői teória egyik alapszövege. Astruc szerint a film képes absztrakt és személyes gondolatok kifejezésére, és ezáltal az irodalmi nyelv kifejezési szintjére jutott. „A rendezés (*mise en scène*) már nem egy jelenet illusztrálásának vagy bemutatásának eszköze, hanem valódi írás. A szerző úgy ír a kamerájával, mint az író a töltőtollával” – írja Astruc (Astruc, 1948, 137). Ennek következménye az, hogy a film szerzője, azaz rendezője válik az alkotásért felelős művésszé.

nevelődési regény műfajával, melynek középpontjában a protagonista Bildungja, azaz nevelődése áll.

Wilhelm Dilthey *Élmény és költészet* (1925) című munkáját elsőként tartják számon a fejlődésregényről írt tudományos munkák között. A szerző definíciója szerint a Bildungsroman – melyet jellemzően német műfajként azonosít – egy olyan fiatalember története, aki az élet különböző szakaszaiban bizonyos változásokon megy keresztül (szerelem, barátság, harc) és végül megtalálja a helyét a világban. Sammons is a változás fogalmát emeli ki mint a(z angol) fejlődésregény esszenciáját: hangsúlyozza, nem az számít, hogy a Bildung folyamata sikeres-e avagy a hős elbukik, hanem az, hogy mindenképpen együtt jár az ében bekövetkező változással (Sammons, 1981). Buckley (Buckley, 2002) definíciója szerint a Bildungsroman egy olyan regénytípus, amely két-három tulajdonságot felvonultat az alábbiak közül: gyerekkor, generációs konfliktus, vidékiség, tágabb társadalmi környezet, önnevelés, elidegenedés, szerelmi megpróbáltatás, hivatáskeresés és filozófia. Sammons-szal ellentétben, aki szerint mindegy, hogy sikeres-e a Bildung vagy sem, Lukács György elméletében a fejlődésregényt szükségszerűen jellemzi a boldog végkifejlet (Lukács, 1975), és ezt az álláspontot képviseli Bahtyin is (Bahtyin, 1986). Bahtyin a nevelődési regényt olyan szövegformaként határozza meg, amelyben „a hős megváltozása szüzséképző jelentőségre tesz szert” (Bahtyin, 1986, 436). Megkülönbözteti a nevelődési regény öt típusát. Ezek közül az egyik a realiztikus forma, melynek legfőbb jellemzője, hogy a szereplő a történelmi idővel szoros összefüggésben változik. (Korábban a regényekben a főszereplő változása egy stabil történelmi háttér előtt történt.) Bahtyin szerint a *Gargantua és Pantagruel*, a *Simplicissimus* vagy a *Wilhelm Meister tanulóévei* című regényekben a fiatal főhős nevelődése többé nem magánügy: „a fejlődő ember alakja lassanként levetkőzi privát jellegét ... és egy tökéletesen más szférába, a történelmi lét tágas terepére lép ki” (Bahtyin, 1986, 440). Úgy vélem, hogy ez a bahtyini tipológia alkalmazható ezekre az Így jöttem-történetekre, hiszen ezekben az alkotásokban a főszereplők változása történelmi összefüggésben ábrázolódik.

Fontos, hogy a nevelődési műfaj megjelenésének aktualitását az adja, hogy a hatvanas években a fiatalság társadalomban betöltött szerepe megváltozik: felértékelődik, középpontba kerül. Ezáltal azt mondhatjuk, hogy a nevelődési narratíva megjelenése és elterjedése szervesen összefügg a korabeli társadalmi-politikai kontextussal, hiszen a tanulás és a(z) (ön)nevelés, az egyik legfontosabb szocialista értékek voltak. György Péter *Kádár köpönyege* című tanulmányában kifejti, hogy a szocializmusban a társadalmi nevelődés programja középponti szerepet játszott. Ez azt jelentette, hogy a vezetés a társadalom minden tagjának „felkínálta a társadalmi előrehaladást garantáló tudáskészletet” (György, 2005, 43). Ehhez köthetően, a Kádár-korszak első periódusában, azaz az 1956 és 1962-63-ig tartó periódusban erősödik fel a társadalmi mobilitás jelensége. Ebben az időszakban sok vidéken élő, paraszti sorból származó fiatal egyetemre megy, hátrahagyva saját gyökereiket és múltjukat új életet kezdenek a városokban („*semiben sem hinni, s igen sokat elérni*” [György, 2005, 51]). Ezt a jelenséget nevezi György Péter „*determinációmentes »szabadság élménynek«*” (György, 2005, 51), s a korszak egyik legfigyelemreméltóbb vívmányaként aposztrofálja.

II. Témakifejtés

II. 1. A hipotézis, a vizsgált korpusz és a módszer ismertetése

Hipotézisem szerint a hatvanas években a Bildung narratíva a modernista stílussal együtt jelent meg a fiatal rendező-generáció Így jöttem-filmjeiben, ezért dolgozatomban a Bildung narratívát alkalmazó, fiatal rendező-generáció által készített szerzői filmeket vizsgálom a modern jellemzők megvalósulásával együtt. Az általam elemzett filmek a következők: Gaál István: *Sodrásban* (1964), Szabó István: *Álmodozások kora* (1965), Szabó István: *Apa – egy hit naplója*

(1966), Kósa Ferenc: *Tízezer nap* (1967)², Sára Sándor: *Feldobott kő* (1968). A csoport „előzményfilmjének” tekintem Jancsó Miklós *Oldás és kötés* (1963) című alkotását, melynek modern formái megoldásai és tematikus motívumai a későbbiekben a fiatalok itt elemzett Így jöttem-történeteiben élnek tovább.

Tanulmányomban kvalitatív módszerrel dolgozom és induktív jellegű munkát végzek, azaz az egyes filmek elemzése után vonok le általános következtetést.

II. 2. Az elemzés szempontjai és definíciók

A felnőtté válásnak mint változásnak a modellezésére bevezetem a nevelődési marker fogalmát, melynek segítségével rendszerezem, hogy egyes szereplők milyen változásokon mennek keresztül a történet során. Megkülönböztetek három típust: külsőt, belsőt és vegyest. Külsőnek azokat a tényezőket nevezem, melyek nem a főszereplővel történnek, de hatással vannak az ő fejlődésére. Ilyen pl. a halál eseménye: a Görög halála a *Feldobott kőben*, Laci halála az *Álmodozások korában*. Fontos, hogy ezek természetét is megfigyeljük: a *Feldobott kőben* a halál politikai jellegű, míg Gabié a *Sodrásban* című alkotásban egzisztenciális színezetű. Belső tényezőnek azokat nevezem, melyek a szereplővel történnek meg. Érdekes megkülönböztetnünk testi, érzelmi és szakmai altípusokat. Érzelmi lehet a szerelmi (pl. Jancsi és Éva történetszála az *Álmodozások korában*), testi lehet a betegsége (pl. Laci leukémiája az *Álmodozások kora* című filmben), szakmai lehet a munka területét érintő változás (pl. *Álmodozások kora*). A vegyes kategóriájába olyan eseménytípusokat sorolok, amely külső és belső is egyaránt, tehát a szereplővel is és a többiekkel egyidejűleg történik. Erre példa a közösség szétesése (pl. *Álmodozások kora*, *Sodrásban*).

Emellett azt is megfigyelem, hogy a protagonisták transzformációja a történet során két irányba változhat: lehet pozitív és negatív. A változást erkölcsi értelemben mérem. Amennyiben pozitív változásról beszélünk, úgy a főszereplő fejlődésen megy keresztül a történet során, tehát ebben az esetben fejlődés-történetet azonosíthatunk. Ha a protagonista negatív irányba változik, akkor leépülés-történetről beszélünk.

Továbbá az is érdekel, hogy a fiatalok felnőtté válása értelmezhető-e a társadalomba való integrációként vagy sem; interpretálható-e a vizsgált jelenség nevelési célzatú történetként és ha igen, hogyan jelenik ez meg. Mivel a vizsgált korpuszt a fiatal, pályakezdő alkotók munkáira szűkítettem, így megvizsgálom, együtt jár-e a Bildung valamilyen generációs értékkel vagy sem.

Érdekel az is, hogy milyen visszatérő tematikák jelennek meg a felnőtté váláshoz kapcsolódóan ezekben a nevelődési történetekben. A Bildungnak, azaz a protagonista nevelődésének egyik eleme lehet a nemzedéki konfliktus, amely a két generáció, apák és fiúk, anyák és lányok, férfiak és ifjak szemléletbeli, életmódbeli, gondolkodásbeli különbségeiben érhető tetten. A két jelenség, a felnőtté válás és a generációs konfliktus egymáshoz való viszonya a következőképpen értelmezhető: a Bildung horizontális, amennyiben több esemény formálja a főhőst; intraperszonális, hiszen végeredményben a személyiségen belül zajló változásként azonosíthatjuk. Ennek része lehet, de nem szükségszerűen feltétele a szülőkkel vagy a felnőttekkel való konfliktusok különböző megvalósulásai, melyet vertikális természetűnek értelmezhetünk, hiszen generációk közötti és jellemzően interperszonális jelenségként

² Külön meg kell indokolnom, hogy miért elemzem itt a *Tízezer nap* című alkotást. Úgy vélem, hogy ebben az alkotásban kardinális jelentőségű lesz a Bildung narratíva, méghozzá azért, mert jól példázza azt, hogy a nevelődési narratíva és a nevelési célzatú történetek fontos elemei voltak az akkori filmes és kultúrpolitikai gondolkodásnak. Hiszen a cenzúra, valamint az alkotók részéről született egyezség értelmében a film bemutatásának feltétele ennek a keretnek a hozzáadása volt a filmhez. Ennek lehetséges magyarázata az, hogy a fiatal fiú nevelődési történetének beemelése – az, hogy a fiatalok hogyan látják apáik generációját, a közelmúlt történelmét –, kiemelkedő szerephez jutott ekkortájt. Egy olyan megoldás volt ez, melyet nemcsak a fiatal rendezők, hanem a kultúrpolitika képviselői is támogattak.

definiálhatunk. Erre a jelenségre mint a hatvanas évek ifjúságának egyik esszenciájára is hivatkozhatunk, hiszen ezt „*a korabeli hivatalos diskurzus – keleten és nyugaton egyaránt – előszeretettel ábrázolta úgy, mint a generációk közötti konfliktusok megjelenési formáit. A szociológia, a kultúrtörténet és a társadalomtörténet - átvéve ezt a beszédmódot - elfogadta, hogy a gyermekek fellázdak apjuk társadalma ellen. A hatvanas évek közepétől elszaporodó ifjúsági kutatások evidenciaként kezelték, hogy a fiatalok szubkultúrái valami ellen irányulnak ... azaz ellenkultúrák*” (Horváth, 2009, 12). Bár Horváth Sándor hozzáteszi, hogy ezt „*egyetlen empirikus alapokon nyugvó kutatás sem tudta eddig igazolni...*” (Uo.).

A protagonista Bildungjának másik motívuma a korszakra jellemző mobilitás, melyet fentebb már részleteztem.

Az ehhez kapcsolódó másik fontos alkotóelem az identitás fogalma. Az identitás kifejezést 1950-ben vezette be Erik H. Erikson pszichológus, mely pszichoszociális fejlődéseméletének kulcsfogalma volt. Az identitás én-azonosságot jelent, és jellemzően a serdülőkor ideje alatt alakul ki a személyiségfejlődés során. „*Az identitásválságot tulajdonképpen a serdülés pszichoszociális oldalának is nevezhetnénk. S túljutni is csak úgy lehet ezen az életszakaszon, hogy kialakul az identitás, amely döntően meghatározza majd az egyén későbbi életét*” – írja Erikson (Erikson 1991, 437). Ez az identitás-válság több általunk elemzett filmben fontos eleme lesz a főhős Bildungjának.

Emellett az itt vizsgált alkotások modernista formai megoldásaira is koncentrálok. A szubjektivitás mellett a reflexió reprezentációt is vizsgálom. Egyrészt látni fogjuk, hogy a fiatal rendezők számára a filmes reflexivitas már „*természetszerűen illeszkedik be ... gondolkodásukba*” (Pethő, 2003, 122), magabiztossággal utalnak más filmekre, és határozzák meg önmagukat és alkotásukat ezek viszonyrendszerében. Vincze Teréz (Vincze, 2013) felosztását kölcsönvéve megkülönböztetünk reflexív és önreflexív filmes alkotásokat. A reflexió egy általános kategória, mely alatt minden olyan reflektív formai megoldást értünk, mely a film működés módjára vonatkozik. Erre példák lehetnek „*a belső keretek, melyek a film keretére reflektálnak; a filmképen megjelenő kamera; a film a filmben különféle változatai; a szereplők moziba mennek, filmet néznek; sztárcameók a diegézisben*” (Vincze, 2013, 25). Vincze értelmezésében a filmes önreflexió az, amikor „*a film olyan tükröszerkezetet hoz létre, melyben a teljes film tükröződik, nemcsak annak valamely darabkája*” (Vincze, 2013, 25). Ennek megvalósulása Ingmar Bergman *Persona* című filmje. Kiemelendő, hogy a modern művészfilm történetében megjelenik a kritikai reflexivitas, mely a szerzőiség és az önreflexió találkozásából született és „*a szerző médiumra vonatkozó reflexióját jelenti A kritikai reflexivitas együtt jelenik meg azzal a gondolattal, hogy a film individuális szerzővel rendelkezik, akinek sajátos viszonya van a valósághoz és a médiumhoz*” (Kovács, 2010, 237).

III. Eredmények

IV. 1. Generációs konfliktus, mobilitás, identitás

Már a középnemzedékhez tartozó Jancsó Miklós *Oldás és kötés* (1963) című filmjében is jelen vannak a nevelődési műfaj meghatározó tematikus motívumai, melyek a nemzedéki konfliktus, a mobilitás és az identitás. A főszereplők felnőtté válását meghatározza a főszereplő és nála idősebb generáció mentalitásbeli különbségéből fakadó ellentét. Jancsó filmjében ez elsőként a fiatal és idős orvos közötti szakmai nézeteltérésben mutatkozik meg. Az itt megjelenő generációs konfliktus nemcsak életkori különbségekből fakad, hanem a régi iskola és a modern orvoslás „harca” is: Ambrus szerint a műtét egy koncert, melynek ő a karmestere; tehát magára művészként, nem kisiparosként tekint. Karaktere sokban megelőlegezi az *Almodozások kora* Oláh Jancsiját, aki szintén munkahelyi feljebbvalóival verseng hasonlóan agilis módon. A generációs konfliktus másik megvalósulási formája Ambrus és apja között fennálló

elidegenedett viszony és kommunikációképtelenség, mely a tradíció és a modernitás, a régi és az új dualitását is megjeleníti.

A fiatal rendezők filmjei közül az *Álmodozások* korában jelenik meg először ez a motívum. Itt szigorúan szakmai vonatkozásban: Jancsi és az idősebb mérnök, Harrer közötti szóváltásában két eltérő értékrend és világnézet csap össze: Harrer munkáskáder, akinek nem volt lehetősége tanulni, szemben Jancsiékkal, akiknek ez a lehetőség már eleve adatott volt. Harrert a párthoz való lojalitása és jó kádere miatt emelték ki, nem szakmai hozzáértése okán, ami Jancsit bosszantja. Jancsi messianisztikus, lázadó és újító szellemű attitűdjét párhuzamba állíthatjuk Szabó István filmrendező ars poeticájával. Az idősek, az öregek fala, amit át kell törni értelmezhető ugyanis az idősebb filmrendező generációk sematikus, történetmesélő, álrealista-szocialista realista szellemiségű filmkészítésének kritikájaként, míg Szabó új hullámra reflektáló, játékos-könnyed, személyes filmnyelve pedig a filmkészítés korszerű, azaz modern tendenciáinak hazai, úttörő jelentőségét hivatott demonstrálni.

A *Sodrásban* esetében a fiatalok Bildungjának nem szerves része a nemzedéki konfliktus. Bár megjelent Laci és orvos szülei között a kommunikációképtelenség, de az nem vezetett közvetlen konfliktushelyzethez, inkább csak a szituáció leírásához, a modern egyén alapvető elidegenedettségre érzéséhez tartozott hozzá.

Ugyanezt láthattuk a *Feldobott kő* című filmben: Pásztor Balázs Bildungjának nem számottevő része a generációs konfliktus, bár megjelenik a történetben, még hozzá a nagypapával szembeni szóváltás során. A nagyapa értelmezésében Balásznak több lehetősége van, mint ami nekik jutott, Balázs pedig azt szeretné, ha megvalósulna, amiért megdolgozott, és amiért ígéretet kapott úgy, hogy közben igazságérzete se sérüljön. Nemcsak eltérő generációk, hanem eltérő szemléletmódok különbsége ez, mely a mélyben más politikai rendszerek összeütközése is egyben.

A *Tízezer nap* történetében Széles István és fia, az ifjú Széles István közötti generációs konfliktus alapvetően személyiségük gyökeresen eltérő vonásaiból ered. Az apa szélsőségesen passzív, röghöz kötött figura: ezt jól példázza az a jelenet, melyben minden beavatkozás nélkül végignézi Csere Mihály halálát az őrszobán, vagy amikor felesége rosszul lesz a földön munka közben, csak fia siet a segítségére. Számára egyetlen szent dolog van a világon: az a föld, a magántulajdon. Az ifjú Széles István életútja nemcsak a fiú, hanem saját édesapja tudatos törekvése is, hiszen fiát minden áron egyetemre akarja küldeni és más életet szán neki. Ezzel – nem szándékosan – egyúttal azt is megfogalmazza, hogy az ő értékrendje nem folytatható, az már nem érvényes valóság; a fia jobbra érdemes. A fiatal fiú 1956-ban részt vesz a forradalomban, tehát az apai mintával ellentétben aktív, lázadó természetű karakter. Első generációs értelmiségi, aki nem a magántulajdon mennyiségében, hanem szellemi szinten próbálja „lemérni” szülei hagyatékát.

Az itt vizsgált filmekben a fiatalok története arra a társadalmi folyamatra reflektál, amelyet mobilitásnak nevezhetünk, melynek során az ötvenes, hatvanas években paraszti származású fiatalok mentek a (fő)városba tovább tanulni. Szabó kivételével Jancsó, Gaál, Sára és Kósa filmjeiben is kardinális jelentőségű lesz ez a motívum, melyben a rendezők saját generációs, nemzedéki élményeikre reflektálnak. A mobilitás mint fizikai helyváltoztatás egyben az ében való változást is magával hozza, ezáltal az identitásválság lesz ennek a társadalmi jelenségnek az egyik következménye az egyénre nézve. Fogalmazhatunk úgy is: a filmek ennek a politika által felkínált alkunak az egyénben végbemenő egzisztenciális következményeit dolgozzák fel. Vagyis az identitásválság is a felnőtté válás szerves része mindegyik alkotásban. A főszereplő felteszi magának a ki vagyok?, honnan jöttem? kérdést, a nevelődési történetek pedig ezt a dilemmát bontják ki.

IV. 2. Nevelődési markerek

A főszereplők változását a nevelődési markerrel mértem. Ezt összegezve elmondható, hogy fiatal főszereplők felnőtté válását leggyakrabban a halál, a szerelem és a szakmai hivatással kapcsolatos történések határozzák meg. Mind közül a legmeghatározóbb elem a halál vagy annak valamilyen formája (pl. öngyilkossági kísérlet) volt, amely mindig külső tényezőként jelent meg, tehát nem közvetlenül érintette a protagonistákat. Értelmezésben ebben egy generációs értéket azonosíthatunk, mely Szabóék nemzedékét jellemzi. Ők az 1948 és 1962 közötti időszakban, a hosszú ötvenes években szocializálódott generáció tagjai (Róbert-Valuch, 2013). Számukra az eszmélés traumatikus eseményekhez kötődik: a kommunista hatalomátvétel és a diktatúra kiépülése, majd az 1956-os forradalom és az azt követő megtorlás, valamint az erőszakos kollektivizálás traumája lesz számukra meghatározó élmény. Ezek az események meghatározó elemei lesznek alteregó-hőseik felnőtté válásának. A nevelődési marker természetében érezhető egy lineáris változás: idővel ugyanis a halál (külső, testi) természete egzisztenciálisból (*Oldás és kötés, Sodrásban, Álmodozás kora, Apa – egy hit naplója*) politikai színezetűvé (*Tízezer nap, Feldobott kő*) válik (lásd 1. táblázat). Ez a politika konszolidációjával arányosan változik: azaz történelmi-politikai értelemben a halál kritikai jelentést ölt, szemben az általánosabb, elvontabb „természetes” halálok egzisztencialista színezetű „üzenetével”.

Film címe	Bemutató év	(Fő)szereplő(k)	Nevelődési marker	Típusa
			Külső, testi	
Oldás és kötés	1963	Járom Ambrus	Professzor rosszullete (betegség)	Természetes jellegű
Sodrásban	1964	Luja, Vadóc, Laci, Böbe, Karesz, Gabi és Zoli	Gabi halála (vízbe fúlás)	Természetes jellegű
Álmodozások kora	1965	Oláh Jancsi	Laci halála (betegség)	Természetes jellegű
Apa - egy hit naplója	1966	Takó Bence	Apa halála (betegség)	Természetes jellegű
Tízezer nap	1967	Ifjú Széles István	Apa öngyilkossági kísérlete (akasztás)	Politikai jellegű
Feldobott kő	1968	Pásztor Balázs	Iliász halála (gyilkosság)	Politikai jellegű
			Apa internálása	Politikai jellegű

1. táblázat: A külső, testi altípusba tartozó nevelődési marker az *Így jöttem*-filmekben.

Szinte mindegyik alkotásban azt láthattuk, hogy a főszereplő integrálódik a társadalomba (*Oldás és kötés, Álmodozások kora, Apa – egy hit naplója, Feldobott kő*), ezáltal céljuk az is

lehetett, hogy mintát nyújtsanak az ifjúság számára. Emellett a társadalomba integrálódó főhős jellemfejlődésén megy keresztül a történetek során. Ez is a nevelési célzatot szolgálja.

IV. 3. Nevelési célzat

A *Sodrásban* kivételével a filmeket az alkotók nevelési célzatú iránymutatással zárják. Járom Ambrus története a fővárosba való visszatéréssel ér véget. A szerző – Lengyel Józseftől átvett – nevelési célzatú mottót illeszt a történet végére, melyet heterodiegetikus narrátor tolmácsolásában hallhatunk: „*Ha napnézéstől elveszted a látást; Szemed okold, ne a nagy sugárzást!*” Ennek jelentősége az egyéni felelősség hangsúlyozása.

Az *Álmodozások kora* végén az egyes szám harmadik személyű narrátor többesszám első személyűvé válik. Itt Jancsi (és rajta keresztül Szabó) tanító, nevelő célzattal summázza önmaga felnőtté válással kapcsolatos tapasztalatait, ám a többesszám első személy használatával elősegíti a nézői azonosulást, valamint személyes indíttatású történetét kollektív, nemzedéki élménnyé növeszti. A reggeli telefonébredés során elhangzó „Tessék felébredni!” nemcsak Jancsinak, hanem generációja álmodozásának végét, az illúziókkal való leszámolást jelenti. Erre ráerősít a telefonos kisasszonyok megsokszorozódott képe, mely ugyancsak a kollektív élménnyé növesztést szimbolizálja.

Az *Apa – egy hit* naplója című alkotásban Bence az által válik felnőtté, hogy önmagát nem apjához képest, hanem saját cselekedetei és képességei szerint határozza meg. Ennek a gondolatnak a jelképes foglalat a film vége felé található jelenet is, melyben az egyetemista Bence átússza a Dunát („*At kell úsznom a Dunát. Egyszer kell érnem valamit a magam erejéből. Csak a magam erejéből, ami erőt és kitartást igényel. ... Nem mesélni, hogy apa átúszta*”). Bence figuráján keresztül Szabó arra biztatja a nézőt, hogy a múltban élés helyett cselekedjenek a jelenben. Nevelő szándék jelenik meg itt is, ezáltal az *Apa* is nevelődési történet, mely az *Álmodozások kora* Tessék felébredni! záróakkordjára rímel a társadalmi-kollektív szerepvállalásra való felhívással.

A *Tízezer nap* esetében a történet azzal ér véget, hogy ifjabb Széles István eljut a tengerhez és egy nevelési célzatú monológban összegzi azt a különös örökséget, amit felmenőitől kapott. Annak ellenére, hogy a fiatal fiú több ízben el akarta oldani a köteléket, mely az apjához és a földhöz kötötte (egyetemre ment, részt vett az 56-os forradalomban és csak az anyja sokadik levele után tér haza, lázad a szülei ellen), a „megoldás” épp az lesz, hogy nem tekint el tőle, hiszen rájön, hogy mindig részese lesz annak a földnek, ahová született, és azoknak az embereknek, akik között felnőtt. „*Itt a fiatal hős ... mint médium, az emlékező feltárást indukáló figura jelenik meg*” – jellemzi őt Vincze Teréz (Vincze, 1998). Ifjú Széles István azonban már „meghaladta” az apja mentalitását és környezetét: az idős Széles földhöz és röghöz kötöttsége, beszűkült világa nem a sajátja már; a Rész helyett az Egész az övé („*Itt van előttem a tenger. Ez is az enyém. Valami furcsa módon érzem, hogy testként folytatódok a külső világban, nem a fűben, a fában, hanem az Egészben*”), bár „*a tízezer nap fényében*” láthatja azt csak meg: apáik történetének árnyékában.

Pásztor Balázs története is nevelési célzatú monológgal zárul („*Majd számonkérlek tőled a történelmet, és igazuk lesz! Kérd számon a történelmen az embert, és igazad lesz! És kérd számon magadtól is!*”). Sára filmrendező alteregóján keresztül a művész társadalomformáló szerepét hangsúlyozza, és azt, hogy mindig emberként, erkölcsileg helyes magatartást képviselve kell élnünk, legyen szó akármilyen történelmi-politikai környezetről. Az ő értelmezésében „*a jövő embere az, akinek nem lehet ígérni semmit*”; aki cselekvő, és küzd az igazságért – a maga eszközeivel. A rendező Pásztor Balázs alakján keresztül rajzolja meg a művészi és emberi magatartás zsinórmértékét a nevelési célzatú zárlatban.

IV. 4. Reflexió, önreflexió, kritikai reflexivitás

A modern film egyik jellemzője, a reflexió a mozi, a mozilátogatás formájában jelenik meg az *Álmodozások kora*, az *Apa – egy hit naplója* és a *Feldobott kő* című filmekben.

A kis Takó Bence édesanyjával születésnapja alkalmából moziba megy, amelyet *Chaplin, a diktátor* című filmjének plakátja díszít. A film előtti híradófelvételek a háborús bűnösök kivégzését mutatják, melyek a kisfiút borzongással töltik el. Édesanyja megjegyzi, hogy édesapját is elvitték ezek a rossz emberek (nyilasok). Ez a megjegyzés elindítja Takó édesapjáról szóló fantáziaképeinek sorozatát, mely a film egész narratív szerkezetét meghatározza. A mozi azért lesz fontos helyszín, mert Bence édesapjáról szóló fantáziasorozata itt kel életre elsőként.

Az *Álmodozások korának* egyik kulcsjelenete az, amikor Éva és Jancsi beülnek a moziba, hogy megnézzenek egy történelmi összeállítást, amelyben Éva gyerekként látható az úttörőtáborban. Filmtörténeti jelentőségű pillanat, ahogy dokumentum és fikció egymásnak feszül Szabó játékfilmjében. A személyes narratíva és a történelem mozgóképes lenyomata az 1956-os résznél ér össze: itt már nem nosztalgáznak, hanem számot vetnek, hiszen fiatalként részesei voltak a „drámai eseményeknek”. Fontos filmtörténeti tény, hogy ebben az alkotásban láthatunk először manipulálatlan 56-os felvételeket (Fazekas-Pintér, 1988, 48). A hangnemváltással együtt komolyabb témákra terelődik a szó: felmerül a disszidálás kérdésköre, majd a sokat idézett párbeszéd következik („– *Te kommunista vagy? – Igen. – És te? – Én mérnök vagyok.*”). Éva elmondja, hogy gyerekkori szerelme már külföldön él. Ő azonban nem ment vele, mert félt, hogy „kimarad a történelemből”, és be akarta bizonyítani, hogy magyar. Jancsi hozzáteszi, hogy benne fel sem merült ez az opció igazi választásként. A szubjektív és az objektív történelem képei a néző fejében adódnak össze egy lehetséges, egyszerre személyes és történelmi léptékű sorsértelmezéssé.

Ezek a példák azt szemléltetik, hogy a múlttal a fiatalok a mozi, a film által szembesülnek. A történelem nem a saját életük része, hanem áttételes formában van jelen: számukra csak bizonyos távolságtartással, mediatizált formában érhető el, vagy történetek formájában (Izd. Ani által elmesélt családi história vagy Éva szüleiről szóló anekdotája) élnek tovább. A múlttal, a történelemmel való szembesülés egyúttal a fiatalok identitásának egyik fontos összetevőjeként jelenik meg itt, mely hozzásegíti őket önmaguk megértéséhez.

Több alkotásban is megjelenik a film a filmben motívuma. Jancsó *Oldás és kötés* című alkotásában egy amatőr rövidfilm kap helyet, mely a férfi Mártával való fikciós kapcsolatának különböző stációit mutatja be: a szerelmes évődéstől egészen az Engesztelés Napjához (Jom Kippur) köthető szomorú táncjelenetig. A szüzsébe ágyazott filmrészlet funkciója tehát az, hogy absztrakt formában mutassa be Márta és Ambrus kapcsolatát, akik folyamatosan reagálnak, párbeszédbe helyezkednek a látottakkal, ezáltal erősítve párhuzam lehetőségét.

Szabó *Apa – egy hit naplója* című filmjében a fiatalok statisztaként vesznek részt egy holokausztról szóló filmben, tehát itt egy forgatási jelenetet láthatunk. A sokat idézett jelenet során Takó barátaival sárga csillagot visel, miközben sétálnak át a Lánchídon. A rendező instruálja a statisztákat, megfeddi a vigyorgó embereket és tragédiát kér az arcokra. Egyik pillanatról a másikra kiemelik Jancsit a tömegeből, megfosztják Dávid-csillagától és nyilas kiegészítőket kap: sapkát és fegyvert nyomnak a kezébe, melyek új identitását fémjelzik: zsidóból nyilas lesz; üldözöttből üldözötté válik egy parancs hatására.

A film a filmben szerkezet egy speciális formája a mise-en-abyme, ami a szöveg vagy film öntükrözésének egy módozata, egy „olyan tartalmi jellegű önreferencia”, amely „tükröként reprodukálja valamiképpen a szövegegész folyamatait” (Pethő, 2003, 138). Vagyis a filmben megjelent másik film valamiképpen tükrözik egymást, vagyis vincze-i értelemben önreflexívvé válik. Ennek a megvalósulása jelenik meg a Sára Sándor *Feldobott kő* című filmjének

zárójelenetében, melyben Pásztor Balázs leforgatja saját filmjét, mely a *Feldobott kő* címet viseli és amely több szempontból is reflektál Sára azonos című munkájára. Ez a rész mintegy vörös farokként, utólag, a cenzúra miatt lett hozzátoldva Sára alkotásához, és azt a rendszer számára kedvező képet rajzolta fel, mely szerint, amit nem lehetett a Rákosi-érában (a mozgókép eszközével beszélni a „valós” viszonyokról), azt a Kádár-rendszerben már lehetséges megvalósítani. Meglátásom szerint a film epilógusa ennek a gondolatnak a reprezentációja. Ez az önreflexív zárlat egyedülálló a magyar filmtörténetben. Véleményem szerint a kritikai reflexivitas jelenik meg itt, és Sára Sándor Pásztor Balázs alakján keresztül a filmrendező művész és a műalkotás feladatáról elmélkedik, és ez a – fentebb már elemzett – nevelési célzatú szövegben kerül megfogalmazásra.

IV. 5. Szubjektivitás

A modern művészet másik jellemzője a szubjektivitás. Ahogy fentebb kifejtettem, az itt vizsgált filmek esetében ez a személyesség és a líraiság megjelenését vonja maga után, mely a legtöbb esetben homodiegetikus narrátor formájában jelenik meg. Ehhez kapcsolódik az alteregóhősök megjelenése, mely a művek önéletrajzi jellegéből fakad.

Emellett több esetben jelenik meg a szubjektív beállítás. Az *Oldás és kötés* című filmben Járom Ambrus átalakulását egy mentális kép is érzékelteti, mely a szülői házban átaludt délután során jelenik meg: Ambrus Bildungjának érzékeltetését egy radikális, fejre állított beállításban fogalmazzák meg az alkotók.

A *Sodrásban* című alkotásban a fiatalokat a rendőr a Tisza-partján kérdezi ki a baleset körülményeiről. A keresztkérdések során azt firtatja a rendőr, hogy véletlen baleset történt-e vagy esetleg szándékosság vagy öngyilkosság áll a háttérben. A kihallgatás során a kamera szubjektívvá válik, antropomorfizálódik, a rendőr nézőpontját veszi fel. A rendőrtől érkező kérdésekre a választ a kamerába mondják el a szereplők, ezáltal a reflexív gesztus által a néző közvetlenül részesévé válik az eseménynek. Ő maga is ítéletet mond(hat). Miután a rendőr megállapítja, hogy véletlen baleset történt egy újabb emlékezetes jelenet következik: a fiatalok vonulnak a kietlen, homokos parton. Felelősök után kutatnak: egymást és magukat is kémlelik, ennek vizuális megfogalmazását koreografálja meg a rendező a szubjektív kamera és a reflexió együttes alkalmazásával. A fiatalok a kamerába néznek, egymást kémlelik, a nézőt is kíméletlenül bevonják a „játékba”.

A változást ragadja meg a filmben (elsőként) megjelenő montázs-szekvencia vagy lírai etűd-kompozíció, mely Laci szobájához köthető és a fiú mentális képeként értelmezhető (Gelencsér, 2014, 55-60.). Ebben a montázsban modernista megoldással mutatják be az alkotók a fiú életterét, felfüggesztve a narrációt ezáltal, tehát ezt is értelmezhetjük narrációs kommentárként. Meglátásom szerint ez az értelmezés kitágítható azzal, miszerint Laci trauma által bekövetkezett, a világ észlelésében bekövetkezett változásaként is olvashatjuk ezt a szekvenciát. A sorseseemény után már nem ugyanolyannak látja a szobáját, mint korábban, hanem a jólismert környezet melegsége helyett absztrakt, geometrikus kompozíciókként nehezül rá a megváltozott világ tragédia utáni súlya.

Szabó István *Apa – egy hit naplója* című alkotása Takó Bencéről szól, aki a háború ideje alatt szívmegeállás következtében veszítette el édesapját. A kisfiú számára három emlékkép maradt meg apjáról: amint az udvaron tyúkokat kerget, a kórházban magához öleli őt, és amikor az udvaron felemeli őt és megforgatja a világban. Ezek az emlékek szubjektív nézőpontból láthatóak, elősegítve ezzel a nézői azonosulást és a kisfiú perspektíváját hangsúlyozzák.

Pásztor Balázs, a *Feldobott kő* protagonistája a meghíusult egyetemi felvételi után munkába áll és földmérőként dolgozik, melynek során víztároló építéséhez végez előkészítő méréseket teodolit segítségével. Ez az eszköz formájában hasonlatos a kamerára, ám van egy fontos különbség: ebben az „optikában” a világ „a feje tetejére áll”: emberek, arcok, tájak egy fordított

rend szerint léteznek. Ez a képi megoldás találóan fejezi ki Balázs lelkiállapotát a körülményekre vonatkozóan: ezek a szubjektív képekben megjelenő belső érzések arról mesélnek, hogy Balázs a külső, a felszíni rend ellenkezőjét látja: a világ erkölcsi, politikai értelemben a feje tetejére állt.

IV. Összegzés

Tanulmányomban bemutattam, hogy a nevelődési narratíva megjelenése a korabeli társadalmi-politikai kontextussal hozható összefüggésbe. Továbbá hasonlóságokat mutattam be az irodalomból jól ismert fejlődésregény narratívája és a fiatal főszereplők Bildungját megfogalmazó Így jöttem-történetek között. A filmrendezők a fiatal protagonisták felnőtté válását a generációs konfliktus, az identitás és a mobilitás kérdéseivel összefüggésben, történelmi-társadalmi metszetben ábrázolják. A főhősök integrálódnak a társadalomba, ezáltal mintát nyújtanak a fiatalság számára. Ezt erősíti az alkotások végén megjelenő nevelési célzatú zárlat is. A nevelődési markerek tekintetében a halál, a szerelem és a munka különböző formái voltak hangsúlyosak. A modern film jellemzői közül a reflexió és a szubjektivitás válik hangsúlyos formaszervező elvvé ezekben a nevelődési történetekben.

Jancsó Miklós, Gaál István, Sára Sándor, Szabó István és Kósa Ferenc itt elemzett Így jöttem-történetei nemcsak a fiatalok felnőtté válásáról szólnak, hanem áttételesen egy filmrendező generáció élményeiről is tanúskodnak. Ezekben az alkotásokban a Bildung narratíva modern tematikai-formai megoldások segítségével reprezentálódik, ezáltal a magyar újhullám egyik meghatározó tematikus és formai jegyévé válik.

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International sheep meat consumption

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Abstract: Meat is an essential component of human diets in many populations, providing high-quality nutrients and essential micronutrients, including iron, zinc, and B vitamins. Sheep give rise to four major products: meat, wool, milk, and skins. In many parts of the world, particularly temperate regions, meat is the major product, and the importance of meat production is increasing worldwide. Sheep meat is sourced from a large variety of production systems that can determine muscle quality, meat composition, and nutritional characteristics – being rich in several minerals, vitamins and essential polyunsaturated fatty acids. One of the problems for the sheep industries is that consumers have different opinions on quality across the world. This means that the production of a consistent, non-seasonal product is extremely difficult. This review article basically focuses on the comparison of international sheep meat consumption and processing technologies.

Keywords: *Sheep meat, consumption, worldwide, processing, health, source*

I. Introduction

Meat is an essential source of protein in the human diet, and as such it has a key role in our food culture. Meat is providing high-quality nutrients and essential micronutrients, including iron, zinc, and B vitamins [1]. In many parts of the world, particularly temperate regions, meat is the major product, and the importance of meat production is increasing worldwide.

One of the most important meats is sheep meat. Sheep can produce meat, milk, skins, and wool. Sheep meat is sourced from a large variety of production systems that can determine muscle quality, meat composition, and nutritional characteristics – being rich in several minerals, vitamins and essential polyunsaturated fatty acids (PUFA). Like other ruminants, sheep meat is a good source of n-3 PUFAs, branched-chain fatty acids (FAs), and PUFA biohydrogenation intermediates, particularly conjugated linolenic acid, CLA, trans-octadecenoic acids, which exhibit potentially beneficial effects on human health [2]. Besides having health effects, FA also plays an important role by enhancing the texture, flavor, and aroma, and subsequently acceptability of meat [3]. One of the problems for the sheep industries is that consumers have different opinions on quality across the world. This means that the production of a consistent, non-seasonal product is extremely difficult. Sheep meat consumption is dependent on cultural factors and will be increasing as populations and incomes grow. Countries with a long tradition of consuming sheep meat also consume many products, such as hams, sausages and pates, or other processed products. Many of these products correspond to ancient methods of preserving meat at a time when there was no other way of preserving than curing with salts, air drying or smoking. Thus, the purpose of this review article is the comparison of international sheep meat consumption and processing technologies.

II. Global sheep meat consumption and products

II. 1. Sheep meat consumption

Global meat production has been undergoing a moderate increase (by 1.25% in 2017; up to 323 million tons). This has been driven in particular by higher consumption in developing countries, where beef and poultry meat are the largest meat markets, while sheep and goat meat remain a niche market in the consumer daily diet. Globally, in 2018, the small ruminants sector included around 1209 million head of sheep and 1046 million head of goats, representing a little less than 12% of total Livestock Units (LU) [4].

In Europe, in 2018, the sheep and goat populations included approximately 146 million head, representing approximately 11% of total LU [4]. For the sheep sector the most relevant product in economic terms is sheep (lamb) meat, followed by dairy products and wool [5]. Despite the low relevance in terms in the share of LU, the small ruminant sector helps to maintain local traditions and to preserve the environment in many marginal rural areas. Nevertheless, the European sheep and goat meat sector increasingly suffers from international competition and weakness in the internal market. On the supply side, the seasonality of consumption and the carcass imbalance caused by only few cuts being demanded on the market (i.e., leg, chops and, to a minor extent, shank) create market opportunities for a large share of imported products. Inadequate production levels translate into the highest world importation of sheep and goat meat by European countries, which come mainly from New Zealand and Australia [4]. On the demand side, the lack of appeal of sheep and goat meat, especially by younger consumers, and the switching of meat consumption from red meats to pork and poultry meat are all factors contributing to decreasing the consumption of sheep and goat meat in Europe. Europeans have been consuming and using ovine products for about 12,000 years. Recently, production systems have constantly changed to meet demand and consumer trends.

In all of the countries, the lamb consumption was mainly occasional and seasonal—it increases during specific times of the year (e.g., Christmas, Easter, with the exception of Turkey)—and for special occasions—“Lamb is the perfect Sunday meal” or “Good for special occasions like Christmas and Easter”. Only respondents from Mediterranean countries (Italy, Greece, Turkey) reported cooking lamb meat more often during the week at home as a substitute for other kinds of meat.

Sheep meat production systems are very diverse around the world. Each country, each region, each

breeder has its own “mix” of purposes (wool/milk/meat), and its own “mix” of feed (range land/domestic or agricultural waste/cultivated feeds). A wide range of types of animals is produced, from the suckling light lambs of Greece (6 kg, 4 weeks), to the Australian weather (30 kg, 2 years). Even on a single market, the purchasers of slaughter companies are every day in front of a great variety of animals, among which they have to choose the more convenient for their sales. All these types of meat are in competition on the international market.

II. 2. Sheep meat processing technologies

The need to preserve meat for later consumption dates back to ancient times. The oldest forms to preserve and store meat are salting, drying, and smoking. Fermentation and ripening tandem is another efficient methodology with no cooling required or other processes of meat preservation also used a long time ago to extend the shelf life.

Currently, meat processing is not exclusively for the need for preservation but, mostly, to satisfy consumer demand and the acceptability for products with traditional palatability and flavor characteristics. Given the wide variety of existing products industrial or handmade-manufactured, we decided to group the products into three groups: dried and semi-dried products, sausages and cooked or precooked prepared products.

II.2.1. Dried and semi-dried products

All products that are naturally or artificially dehydrated, salted, cured, smoked or not will be considered as dry and semidry products. Some fermented sausages with short or longer ripening periods will also be part of this group.

In South America, dried meat strips from several animal species, including sheep and goats exposed to sun, wind and smoke, are called jerky or charqui. The charqui is made from small pieces of fresh meat salted and pressed for several days, dried and with most of the water removed and that can be stored for several months without the need for refrigeration.

One of Norway’s most important dry-cured meat products, with a long tradition of consumption since the time of the Vikings, is Fenalar, a dry-cured ram leg or mutton, and the Pinnekjøtt, a dry-cured side of lamb or mutton [6]. Traditionally the salted legs were dried and hanging from pillars in storehouses and smoked, but today, production plants with control of the temperature, relative humidity and air velocity are used. Smoke today is slightly used only to add taste and flavor. The Pinnekjøtt is a dry-cured meat from the side of lamb or mutton placed in boxes in layers of meat and coarse salt for 1.5 to 3–4 days and rinsed in freshwater to prevent the salt precipitation during the dry period: 10 to 15 days in a room at 10–15 °C temperature and 65–75% of relative humidity or 6–7 weeks if pre-tending a more dry product.

In Asia, mainly in the Himalayan area (Nepal, Northeastern India, Tibet and Bhutan), there are different fermented meat products, using sheep meat [7]. Suka ko Masu is a dried/smoked product usually consumed in Nepal and India. The dried and smoked goat and buffalo meats are sliced in strips of 25–30 cm hanging above the kitchen oven for 7 to 10 days and are consumed mixed with mustard oil, turmeric powder and salt. In the Kumanu Himalayas, the

greema/arija is a popular semidry sausage. Some other ethnic meat products, such as kheuri in Sikkim India, are a mixture of yak or beef stuffed and pressed into the sheep stomach and hung in open-air space for one to two months [8].

The large amounts of dry and semidry sheep products worldwide, with a special focus on the most depressed areas of agriculture and livestock in the world, are evidence of the importance of sheep productions as a way to overcome protein deficits using food preservation ways that respect the environment, producing and consuming meat products with low carbon footprints.

II.2.2. Sausages

Although not so common in sheep meat, there are some sausages traditionally recognized for their individuality and linked to the consumption history in the regions that produce them. Some of them are fermented sausages fresh or smoked. In Middle Eastern countries, fermented sausages are produced from many different animals instead of pork (beef, buffalo, camel, horse, lamb, goat and mutton) [9]. Sucuk, also known as sujuk, is a dry-fermented Turkish sausage very common in Southeastern Europe, the Middle East and Middle Asia. Sucuk and other similar sausages are made of beef, goat and sheep meats and tail fat [10], with garlic, salt and other ingredients such as sugar, nitrites and/or nitrates and various seasonings and spices. Sheep tail fat is a constituent of Turkish fermented sausages and kebabs.

II.2.3. Cooked and precooked prepared products

Lamb and goat are the most popular meats used in Arab countries, where there are some popular street-prepared dishes such as Shawarma (a food made with marinated cuts of meat skewered on a vertical rotary roasting fork (spit) and baked by radiant heat), Kibbeh or kebbah (a traditional food consisting of a mixture of ground bulgur and minced lamb or beef meat, which are made as a dough) or the Kofta (another dish made with minced meat) [11].

In Turkey, the traditional meat used to make kebabs is lamb.

In Mexico, barbacoa is a very traditional dish prepared with lamb or goat, which is slow-cooked in an underground oven lined with hot coals and covered with agave leaves until very tender and juicy. Today there are some food industries that commercialize precooked barbacoa ready to eat at home and that can be exported mainly to countries with Mexicans immigrants.

In Spain, one of the most famous dishes is “Lechazo de castilla”, a milk-fed lamb slow-roasted in firewood ovens. Corresponding to modern lifestyles, there are also food industries that offer a delicatessen product, such as Lechazo, in a precooked and vacuum-packed form, ready to serve on the table in 30 min.

Unfortunately, many of these products are unknown to the general public, but they are the basis of foods for populations in developing countries, with peculiar sensory qualities and, at the same time, with high nutritional values and nutraceutical characteristics. Most of them deserve to be recognized as cultural heritages of the gastronomy of these countries and with world recognition with support and protection.

III. Conclusion

Sheep processed meat products are not as popular as pork, beef, or poultry and are generally considered not as important, they have a very important role in meat consumption around the world. Meat consumption can be influenced from a variety of factors including global economy, consumer perceptions and food safety. Consumption of sheep meat is influenced by cultural factors and will be increasing as populations and incomes grow. Predicting future trends in markets for sheep meat seem to be towards a slight increase.

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The artistic ensembles of the socialist armed forces in Central-Eastern Europe - The socialist friendship project

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During the second half of the 1940s – early 1950s, artistic ensembles were formed throughout Central–Eastern Europe, modelled on the Alexandrov Ensemble. Under the auspices of the newly organised armies, with the aim of representing their own military, their goal was to entertain and ideologically educate the soldiers, as a cultural example opposed to capitalist countries. The cultural background – created by the Soviet influence – determined their programming policy, especially at the time of their establishment. The programmes of friendly artistic ensembles and local artistic trends filled a part in shaping their repertoire as well. The emphasis on the exclusivity of the Soviet model is also reflected in the contemporary press and in the later historiography of these ensembles. My aim is to provide a critical reading of the initial years of these ensembles in the light of East-Central European musical institutions and local processes.

Focusing on the East German, Polish, Czechoslovak and Hungarian ensembles, I will attempt to explore the circumstances of their formation, based on, the archive documents of the Hungarian ensemble, press materials and the few secondary sources highlighting the local differences that defined and formed the ensembles' artistic profile.

I. Introduction

After the Second World War, the countries of the Central and Eastern European region, including Hungary, were caught up in a great power mentality that consciously sought to distinguish itself from the Western world; this aspiration determined the face of the region's development.¹ Until 1949, the Soviet Union did not systematically seek to propagate the Soviet system and the communist worldview in the countries under its influence. The centralising elements of the Soviet system were applied flexibly by the satellite states in the 1940s, although local leaders sought to follow this pattern as closely as possible as an expression of loyalty.² An important part of this process was the formation of amateur and then professional singing and dancing ensembles, which could be modelled on their Soviet counterparts. Although the reports on the founding of the art collectives belonging to the armies emphasise the exclusivity of the Soviet model, as if in self-justification, these writings have not, in my opinion, been treated with sufficient criticism in the literature.

Focusing mainly on the Hungarian ensemble, the Honvéd Central Performing Arts Ensemble], my paper wishes to explore the circumstances under which other Central and Eastern European ensembles formed and to examine the Soviet influence. Based on archival sources and research into the contemporary press, my paper highlights the local differences that determined the ensembles' later artistic profile.

II.1 The sample military ensemble: The Alexandrov Ensemble

In Hungary, in 1947, on the initiative of the Minister of Defence, Péter Veres, the establishment of a multi-member military artists' collective similar to the Soviet army's art ensemble was put on the agenda of the cultural-political leadership.³ As in the neighbouring countries, the Hungarian political leadership aimed to educate the Hungarian Defence Forces in cultural and ideological matters, to teach labour movement songs and to "make folk arts popular".

It is not possible to examine the extent to which the neighbouring countries' associations served as a model for the negotiations on the formation of the Honvéd ensemble without knowing the protocols. The only evidence of their decisive role is a document from 1952, in which, "based on the experience of the artistic ensembles of the people's democracies already operating here and there under the auspices of the army", the Hungarian ensemble was also composed of a mixed civilian and military male chorus as an experiment.⁴

The most direct influence was presumably exerted by the ensembles that had performed in Hungary with great success between 1945 and 1949, such as the Ukrainian State Song and Dance Ensemble, the Moiseyev Dance Ensemble, the Alexandrov Song and Dance Ensemble and the Soviet Air Force Song and Dance Ensemble, urged the Hungarian government to set up its national-military artistic ensemble.

Both the Hungarian press and secondary sources point to the A. V. Alexandrov Soviet Army Twice Red-bannered Academic Song and Dance Ensemble, established during the consolidation of Stalin's dictatorial position, as the most important model. Initially consisting

¹ Kalmár, M.: Történelmi galaxisok vonzásában. Magyarország és a szovjetrendszer 1945–1990. Osiris kiadó Budapest, 2014. p. 42

² Kalmár. p. 44.

³ Mészöly, G.: Honvéd Együttes – 70 év művészet és történelem. Zrínyi kiadó, Budapest, 2019. p. 10.

⁴ A Magyar Néphadsereg Ének- és Táncegyüttese kezdeti évei. 1948.V. – 1952.IX., 124. (Honvéd Ensemble Archive) [hereinafter HEA] p. 2.

of 12 members, this self-taught military ensemble was formed to promote the dissemination of ideology, the cultural development of soldiers and to support the self-taught artistic work of the army. Although, in line with the ideals of the Soviet leadership, the leader of the artists' collective, Alexander V. Alexandrov, envisioned the realization of these goals in the form of a break from the musical traditions of the Tsarist bureaucratic system, the ensemble's programs were nevertheless based on the music of the Tsarist army, beyond the folk tradition and the music of agitation and propaganda music. Under the leadership of Alexandrov, the ensemble grew rapidly, and by 1935 it had 135 members.⁵ Their repertoire ranged from the music of Beethoven, Tchaikovsky and Wagner to music that was inseparable from military music, while the men's repertoire was based on songs collected, arranged and often rearranged by Alexandrov in the barracks, but their first guest appearance in Paris in 1937 also included popular opera choruses. It was probably at this time, after winning the Grand Prix at the Paris World's Fair and receiving rave reviews internationally, that the Soviet political leadership recognised the ensemble's role in spreading socialism and representing the Soviet Union's power. From then on, their guest appearances increased considerably, and after 1945 they were seen as pacification actions by the occupying army in the satellite states.⁶ This cultural transfer was part of the Sovietisation of the region, which, according to Czech historian Karel Durman, was a tactical issue for the Soviet Union.⁷ The countries conquered during World War II gradually adapted to the Soviet model in different ways.

II.2 Formation of the Central–Eastern European ensembles

In a major monograph written by Czech historians, *The Origin, Development and Collapse of the Soviet Bloc 1944–1989*, Czechoslovakia, Romania and East Germany – which were the most important cultural links for the Hungarian community – were included with Hungary among the countries that were "complicated" to Sovietise because the process was slower under Soviet military or police control.⁸ The influence was not only political and economic but also cultural: art was to be used as a weapon of propaganda in the fight for the Cultural Revolution. From the mid-1940s onwards, Stalinist-style associations of musicians were formed, the first being the Polish in 1945 and the last the East German in 1951, but the idea of a unified cultural model was only conceived after the Zhdanov decisions in 1948.⁹

Thus, the first generation of military ensembles, the Czechoslovak and Polish ensembles formed during the Second World War, cannot be considered the first products of Soviet pressure, even though the Soviet military occupation and the performances of self-taught music groups played an indirect role in their development. The small groups, made up of enthusiastic amateurs, were intended to entertain soldiers in wartime conditions and to foster a sense of national belonging on foreign soil, and Soviet influence was not initially evident in the repertoire or in the structure of the ensembles.¹⁰ Strengthening cultural cohesion was particularly important for these two nations, as during the Second World War, there were only so-called émigré governments in both countries, Poland and Czechoslovakia did not exist.

⁵ Surin V.: „In memory of A.V. Alexandrov”. *Sovetskaya Muzyka* 1946

⁶ Tallián, T.: Magyarországi hangversenyélet 1945–1958. MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, Budapest, 1991. p. 32.

⁷ Durman, K.: Popely ještě žhavé... I: Válka a nukleární mír. Karolinum, Praha, 2004, pp. 192-193.

⁸ Vykoukal, J. – Litera, B. – Tejchman, M.: Východ. Vznik, vývoj a rozpad sovětského bloku 1944–1989. Nakladatelství Libri, Praha, 2000. pp. 101-102.

⁹ Mitrovits, M.: A népi demokráciától a proletárdiktatúráig. A csehszlovák–lengyel–magyar eset összehasonlító vizsgálata. In: Mitrovits, M. (ed.) Sztálin árnyékában. Országház könyvkiadó, Budapest, 2018. p. 18.

¹⁰ Šmidrkal, V.: „Něžné zbraně”: Múzické instituce socialistické armády v Československu, NDR a Polsku. Praha, 2014. p. 166.

The ensemble (the later Vít Nejedlý Army Artistic Ensemble "Armádní umělecký soubor Víta Nejedlého", or AUS VN), formed from the semi-amateur orchestra of the 1st Czechoslovak Battalion stationed in the Soviet Union, drew on the German military music tradition, while the Polish ensemble (Polish Army Central Artistic Ensemble "Centralny Zespół Artystyczny Wojska Polskiego"), formed from amateur members of the Polish 1st Division, was more of a military theatre, performing dramatic scenes, recitations, songs and dances based on Polish national and military themes, refraining from overtly political and religious themes, to maintain a wide range of supporters.¹¹ Both ensembles were rooted in German-Austrian military music, and it was only through the ideas of their musical leaders that Soviet influences were introduced into the repertoire and structure of the ensembles, as a kind of self-Sovietisation. Vít Nejedlý, professor of choral conducting at the Moscow Conservatory and leader of the Czechoslovak military musicians, saw the political and educational function of music as the primary role model for Soviet ensembles, and expressed his commitment as a composer, conductor and member of the Musicians' Union in writing. In 1944, shortly before his death, he published an article in the Polish Army Gazette, entitled *Military Art Ensembles*, on the importance of Soviet ensembles and their propaganda influence, rooted in strong folk art, which became the ars poetica of the ensemble after his death.¹²

The second-generation ensembles, formed between 1947 and 1951, which were typically made up of male, symphony, dance and folk orchestras, were no longer self-propelled musical groups zealously following Moscow's orders, but Soviet propaganda ensembles in the service of ideology. In the male repertoire of the newly formed artist collectives, such as the GDR, Romanian, Bulgarian and Hungarian ensembles, it is also evident that the revolutionary workers' marches and workers' anthems that had already become established were not initially incorporated, because they were created by the old social system and thus became politically undesirable.¹³ The bulk of their repertoire consisted of Soviet cantatas and mass songs composed for the Alexandrov Ensemble, but in all states they tried to encourage the composition of ideological music by offering scholarships or tenders to the Soviet Union. This pattern cannot be called exclusive, especially since the Central and Eastern European states were part of a cultural region within the Austro-German culture of Europe, in which the civic and mass musical culture was well developed and their musical leaders had grown up in the same tradition.

Historian Vaclav Smidrkal argues that, despite the need to adopt the Soviet model, the countries of the Eastern Bloc did not receive long-term, regular assistance beyond one-off consultations and visits, so the leaders drew on their cultural heritage in addition to their brief personal experiences.¹⁴ As far as we know at present, the archive material of the Honvéd Ensemble does not include any document from 1945–1949 describing the activities of the Soviet ensemble, but only press material from the 1960s about their tours and the history of the friendly ensembles. A later report on the experience of the visit of the Czechoslovak Composers' Union shows that, even if there were no uniform requirements to be met by the ensembles at the time of their formation, they followed each other's work from the outset, as can be seen from their repertoire in the 1950s. According to the press, it was only in the 1960s that the 'friendship project' was strengthened, but research by Romanian musicologist Nicolae Gheorghita shows that to develop the repertoire of the new Romanian military ensemble created in 1947, the Romanian

¹¹ Šmidrkal, p. 176.

¹² Nejedlý, V.: *Kritiky a stati o hudbě (1934–1944)* Svaz československých skladatelů, Praha, 1956.

¹³ Tokaji A.: *Mozgalom és hivatal. Tömegdal Magyarországon 1945–1956.* Zeneműkiadó, Budapest, 1983. p. 28.

¹⁴ Šmidrkal, p. 33.

Army cultural authorities asked the Polish, Hungarian, Czech, Albanian and Bulgarian embassies to send folk, patriotic music to be included in their repertoire.¹⁵

II.3 Soviet cultural relations of the Honvéd Ensemble

The influence of the song and dance ensembles of the people's democracies is exemplified by the fact that the demand for the formation of a Hungarian ensemble was first expressed in 1948 in the pages of the *Éneklő Munkás (Singing Worker)* magazine, edited by Sándor Jemnitz, in connection with the guest performance of the Romanian Armed Forces' Song and Dance Ensemble in Hungary. The author of the article is emphatic about the formation of the Hungarian ensemble:

But let's not write about the performances now, but let's think about why we Hungarians still don't have a professional singing, dancing and music ensemble that is maintained by the state, like the Romanians, the Yugoslavs and the Russians. After the Alexandrov Ensemble, the Ukrainian Folk Ballet, the Svechnikov Choir, the Belgrade Radio Choir, we are now reminded of the Romanian Honvéd Ensemble. Only the small-minded and those who are ignorant of our real cultural life can believe that we are not capable of this. The leaders of Hungarian public life have now been convinced by the Vásárhelyi Choir and the NÉKOSZ [National Alliance of People's Colleges] dance ensemble that we Hungarians have something to say to Europe in the field of art. [...] The artistic foundations of the Hungarian State Singing and Dance Ensemble have already been laid by the Vásárhelyi Choir and the NÉKOSZ Dance Ensemble, and the "Magyar Múzsza", which is now organising the work of these two ensembles in a series of successful projects, is obviously well suited to the tasks of organisation and cultural policy. Let our leaders take note of this great task and provide the financial conditions to enable us to proudly and to the delight of the people place the Hungarian State Song and Dance Ensemble alongside the above-mentioned ensembles!¹⁶

The significance of the article, in my opinion, was not in listing the ensembles that performed in Budapest until 1948, or in bringing the Hungarian artists' collective to life, but in the fact that the anonymous author of the article, instead of adopting the Soviet model, pointed out that the artistic foundations of the Hungarian ensemble were already laid in the framework of the Vásárhelyi Choir, a choir of workers, and the dance ensemble of the National Alliance of People's Colleges. It is no coincidence that a few months after the article appeared, the leaders of these two ensembles, choreographer Iván Szabó and conductor Zoltán Vásárhelyi, were asked by the Minister of Defence to form the ensemble of the Hungarian People's Army.

The artistic directors of the Hungarian ensemble enjoyed certain freedom in the formation of the groups, despite the Soviet framework and objectives. Iván Szabó started with dancers recruited from his former amateur ensembles. Géza Körtvélyes, a dance historian, pointed out that the military leadership expected from the very beginning that, even if stylistically and in terms of the formal language they would draw from folk dance, in terms of content the world

¹⁵ Gheorghita, N.: Muzică, ideologie, și propagandă în fanfarele militare ale armatei populare din România stalinistă. In: Muzicile militare moderne. 2016. p. 31.

https://www.academia.edu/30780355/MUZIC%C4%82_IDEOLOGIE_%C8%98I_PROPAGAND%C4%82_%C3%8EN_FANFARELE_MILITARE_ALE_ARMATEI_POPULARE_DIN_ROM%C3%82NIA_STALINIST%C4%82 [letöltés ideje: 2021.11.12.]

¹⁶ „Román-magyar barátság” [Romanian-hungarian friendship] *Éneklő Munkás* January 1948

of Soviet stylized dances, the military profile, should prevail in their shows.¹⁷ However, adapting to Soviet stage dances based on classical ballet was not a problem for Iván Szabó, who was convinced that ballet technique was the basis of all modern dance.¹⁸ As a convinced communist, Zoltán Vásárhelyi also did not distance himself from the adoption of the sophisticated Soviet model. In an interview in 1950, he commented on the extent to which the Hungarian ensemble's men's choir resembled the Soviet ensemble:

"The high choral culture of the Soviet Union is a shining, almost unrepeatable role model. The perfectly balanced bright sound, the discipline, the enthusiastic performance style and the almost tangible connection that Soviet choirs can create with their audiences from the moment they step on the podium is the goal I see for myself in leading the Honvéd Art Ensemble."¹⁹

Vásárhelyi's statement and the development of the ensemble's repertoire show that even if the Soviet ensemble was initially seen as an example, the value of the ensemble was not seen in its appearance and repertoire, but in its function as a musical educator.

By building up the choir school, Vásárhelyi and his soloists taught the musically untrained but well-voiced soldiers with the so-called Kodály-method, so that they could become authentic interpreters of the literature he considered the highest, Bartók and Kodály choral works, thus setting an example for amateur ensembles. The ensemble's first repertoire, therefore, shows a kind of dichotomy: alongside works borrowed from the Alexandrov ensemble's repertoire, they taught choral works by Bartók and Kodály, which had already been popularised under the Horthy regime by amateur workers' choirs.

Consultations with the leaders of Soviet ensembles also suggest that foreign experts were primarily commenting on the programmes put together by Hungarian artistic leaders and that the methodological basis was being developed by local experts.

In the case of the dance troupe, Iván Szabó's vision and the cultural leadership of the Hungarian Defence Forces combined to invite Alexander Kozsenkov, the choreographer-ballet master of the Alexandrov Ensemble, to the dance troupe soon after its formation in 1948, who urged the development of the troupe through the early training of its founders. In the case of the men's choir, sources say that it was only in 1951, after a year of active work at the faculty, that Soviet experts were first consulted, when they performed with Zacharov, Novikov and the Pyatnitsky Choir as part of the month of Soviet-Hungarian friendship.²⁰

In this case, the historiography of the discussion with the experts only contains appreciative criticisms, while in the consultation with the leader of the Gavrilov ensemble in May 1951, the suggestion made to Vásárhelyi is already included, that the direction of the Hungarian ensemble is appropriate, but that more warrior soldier songs about the homeland and the Party are needed in the programme.

The question of the extent to which the Alexandrov ensemble determined the initial operation of the Hungarian ensemble is answered by the internal history of the Hungarian male choir and orchestra's two-week guest appearance in the Soviet Union, written in 1952. The Hungarian delegation had its first opportunity to attend the rehearsal of Boris Alexandrov's men's choir in April 1951 and to learn about the workings of the ensemble from the conductor's account. This

¹⁷ Körtvélyes, G.: Balett és néptánc kapcsolata Magyarországon 1945–1956. In: Dienes, G. – Maác, L. (eds.) *Táncstudományi Tanulmányok 1969-1970. Magyar Táncművészek Szövetsége Tudományos Tagozata*, Budapest, 1970. p. 22.

¹⁸ Kővágó, Zs.: „Szabó Iván emlékezete” In: Kővágó, Zs. (ed.) *Táncstudományi Tanulmányok 1998–1999: Magyar Táncstudományi Társaság*, Budapest, 1999. pp. 76-77.

¹⁹ „Három arckép zeneművész tanácsstagokról” *Éneklő nép*, november 1950

²⁰ *A Magyar Néphadsereg Ének- és Táncegyüttese kezdeti évei. 1948.V. – 1952.IX.*, 124. p. 34.

time, the Hungarian historiography gives rich details of the rehearsal order, the preparation of the programme and the musical skills of the soldiers:

"Their internal day-to-day work is only 3 hours a day, or 4 hours for political sessions, and even in these hours they only rehearse programmes, there is no music school or music theory training. This is not necessary because they only recruit academically trained singers who can read a newspaper." ²¹

By highlighting the difference between the Hungarian and Soviet orchestras, the author also pointed out the differences in structure, which also calls into question the exclusive influence of the Soviet ensemble. While the Alexandrov ensemble was accompanied by a small folk orchestra, the Hungarian ensemble, like the Central European ensembles, had a large symphony orchestra, which initially accompanied the dance choir and the male choir, and then, under Gyula Dávid, also gave solo concert performances from the 1950s onwards.

In 1951–1952, the contacts established with the above-mentioned Soviet ensembles and professionals led to changes in the objectives and working methods of the Hungarian ensemble in the light of the Soviet model - an increase in the number of male choirs, more frequent visits to the big cities in the countryside and a reduction in the number of monthly performances.

The measures had little effect on the repertoire, despite the fact that Yevgeny Anyisimov expressed serious objections to certain Hungarian works in a review published in Pravda on 16 April 1951:

"There were palpable remnants of the influence of the formalist movement, which had not yet been overcome, and which were alien to folk song. This was expressed in the complex harmony and initially in the loss of melody. Such was the case, for example, with the songs "I would not have seen you" and "The Caradian Notes"..." ²²

The musical practice of the time shows that the socialist realist musical concept was not an aesthetic category, but a construct repeatedly redefined by the authorities, yet it is surprising that the artistic leadership of the ensemble was not only in favour of the choral works of Bartók and Kodály, but that the political leaders also sought to find fault with the performance of these works rather than with the transformation of the repertoire.

Although the measures overruling the Hungarian ensemble's operations seem to have triggered a new self-sovietisation in 1952, the accounts of the performances in the mid-fifties show a growth in the ensemble's classical music output. In 1955, Pál Gergely, the leader of the ensemble's orchestra, also attempted a return to the ensemble's Soviet roots, encouraging the composers to write new marching songs and Soviet military songs, because, as he wrote:

In recent years, it has been proven on several occasions that our composers are also inspired and attracted by the great potential of this rich performing arts scene. But they have also been deceived on more than one occasion by the excellent means, which could easily be mistaken for the end: a whole series of works were written for the Ensemble - and not for the army! The means often became an end, even an end in itself! [...]

They will only be able to fulfil their true vocation if they can find a close connection with the daily realities of life in the People's Army. Only a deeper knowledge - and, let us add, a love - of this reality can make army artists into military artists. [...]

²¹ A Magyar Néphadsereg Ének- és Táncegyüttese kezdeti évei. 1948.V. – 1952.IX., 124. p. 63.

²² *Pravda* 16.04.1951.

*It is up to us to turn our people's army, which is the sharp weapon of the proletarian dictatorship, into a flower garden of art, including music. We have spared and will spare no effort or sacrifice to make it so.*²³

III. Conclusion

In conclusion, we can see that Pál Gergely's call was in line with the cultural policy objectives that have been expressed by all the ensembles in the region, but I think that the documentation of the Central Defence Ensemble's Soviet contacts and the changes in the form and content of the ensemble is a good indication of this, that a more in-depth study of the ensembles' activities, the development of their repertoire and the methods of training their replacements are necessary to write about the real impact of the Soviet model and to talk about the artistic values and their impact on the wider masses in the region, in addition to the propaganda function.

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²³ Gergely, P.: „Zene a Néphadseregben” *Szabad hazánkért*, 01.05.1955.

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Az emberentúli eszméjének története, avagy gondolatok a transzhumanizmus története ürügén

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Absztrakt: A természettudományok és technológia gyors fejlődésével felerősödtek azok a jövőről alkotott elképzelések, és gondolatok, melyek 50-100 évvel ezelőtt csupán látnoki, álomszerű, vagy a sci-fi irodalom szintjén voltak elképzelhetők. A biológiai emberiséget meghatározó korlátok: a halál, betegség, és az életminőség mind más megvilágításba kerültek az új technológiák megjelenésével. A modern társadalmak számára az egyéni szenvedés enyhítését egyre kevésbé jelentik a hagyományos, vallásos-lelki tanok, sokkal inkább egy-egy technológiai eljárás, vagy egyszerűen egy pirula helyettesíti azokat. A halál, mind távolabbivá vált a várható életkor kitolódásával. Az olyan emberi esetlegességeket, mint az éhezés, történelmi-természeti járványok, lakhatás, ivóvíz hiány, stb. látszólag mind jobban az irányítása alatt tartja az emberiség. Ezek szűkössége, emberi életre gyakorolt káros hatásai, a saját rendszereink rossz skálázása, és erőforrásaink helytelen menedzsmentje miatt történik, és nem egyre kevésbé egy ismeretlen természeti törvény okán.

A transzhumanista gondolatok ebben a modern korban születtek meg, és jobban hatással van rájuk mind a mai napig a Szilikon-völgy tudományos-technológiai fétise, semmint a poszthumanista filozófia művészi, esztétikai megközelítése.

A transzhumanizmus általam megfogalmazott minimalista definíciója alapján, egy olyan emberképet vázol fel, mely az emberi létező folyamatos kiterjesztésében hisz, miközben fő célja a poszthumán cél megvalósítása lesz. A poszthumán lét egy, az Univerzumot meghódító létforma, mely számára nem létezik a halál, tetszőleges az élethossz, a környezeti változókat (hő, betegség, légszennyezés) könnyen viseli, és gondolkodását a modern biotechnológia és fejlődő MI határozza meg, javítja fel. Megalakulásától fogva interdiszciplináris, sok bioetikai kérdést vet fel, antidogmatikus, és érzékenyen reagál a technológiával kapcsolatos eszmékre (AI).

A transzhumanizmus látnoki vállalkozás, mozgalom, közös gondolkodás, filozófia, antropológia kritika, irányított fejlődéstan, bizonyos esetekben vallás, és politikai párt is.

Dolgozatomban ennek a gondolatrendszernek a történeti és filozófiai gyökereit szeretném feltárni, bemutatni, és a teljesség igénye nélkül megvizsgálni, hogy mely kérdései tehetők fel a 21. században tudományos megalapozottsággal is.

Kulcsszavak: bioetika; cyborg; extrópia; krionika; poszthumanizmus; transzumanizmus; szingularitás

Bevezetés

„Merek én, mit merhet ember;
többet a ki mer: Nem ember”
- Shakespeare: Macbeth ¹

“ A kései huszadik században, a mi időnkben, egy mítikus időben, mi mind kimérák vagyunk,
gépek és organizmusok elméleti és kitalált hibridjei, röviden szólva, kiborgok vagyunk.”
– Donna Haraway: A kiborg kiáltvány ²

“Mondd el, mit szoktál, bár mi nem feledjük,
mesélj arról, hogy itt vagy velünk együtt
s együtt vagyunk veled mindannyian,
kinek emberhez méltó gondja van.”
- József Attila: Thomas Mann üdvözlése (1937)

A *transzhumanizmust*, mint fogalmat először két kortárs jelenségen, egészen pontosan, egy személyen keresztül és egy orvosi kutatás bemutatásával szeretném szemléltetni. Majd, ennek a mozgalomnak és filozófiának a történeti háttérét kísérlem meg feltárni, főbb személyeinek, mozgóerőinek, fogalmainak a bemutatásával. Végül rátérek a szerintem leginkább égető, a transzhumanizmus által megfogalmazott kérdésre.

Miért lehet fontos a filozófia számára a transzhumanizmus történetének vizsgálata? Egyfelől egy világnézet és a hozzá kapcsolódó fogalmak, személyek előtörténete már önmagában is magyarázatot hordoz bizonyos világnézetek kialakulását illetően. Másfelől, a transzhumanizmus kialakulásában vannak olyan apró momentumok, melyek vizsgálata segíthet a különböző rendszerek működésének, egymásra-hatásának, egymástól való kölcsönzéseinek, esetleges torzításainak megértésében. Nem utolsó sorban pedig, a transzhumanizmus, mely a technológiai optimizmus ösvényét tapossa, kiemelt figyelemre tarthat számot a jelenkor embere számára, hiszen azokat az örök, elemi vágyakat mozgatja meg, melyekre a 19. századi tudományos optimizmus, vagy korábban az alkímia is bejelentkezett³. Emberi, talán túlságosan is emberi vágyak.

I.A transzhumanizmusról két példán keresztül szólva

Először egy igazi kiborgot szeretnék bemutatni, majd egy olyan orvosi gyógykezelést és egyben kutatást, mely az első példa által bemutatott célokat és eszközöket teljessé teszi. A transzhumanizmus természetesen ennél jóval nagyobb totalitásra törekszik. A fenti példák csupán azt szolgálják, hogy kézzel foghatóbb képet kaphassunk, és hogy segítsenek tudatosítani, hogy mennyire a jelenkor és nem egy képzelt, vagy távoli jövő problémái ezek.

¹ Szász Károly fordításában, William Shakespeare: Macbeth-jéből: “ I dare do all that may become a man; Who dares do more is none.”

² “By the late twentieth century, our time, a mythic time, we are all chimeras, theorized and fabricated hybrids of machine and organism; in short, we are cyborgs.” Haraway (1991), 151.p

³ Az Örök Ifjúság Forrását, a Bölcsék Kövét keresve az emberiség már elméletben találkozott ezekkel a gondolatokkal. Az uralkodó erkölcsi tekintély, az egyház általában elutasította az ilyen irányú kutatásokat, mint ördögi praktikákat, ám Albertus Magnus, vagy Aquinói Tamás nyomán az alkímista gyakorlat elfogadottabbá válhatott. (Bostrom (2005), 1.pp.)

I.1. Színekre hangolva

2004-ben, egy brit fiatalember, aki saját bevallása szerint egy *olyan világból jött, ahol szürke az ég, ahol a virágok is mindig szürkék, de még a televízió is inkább fekete-fehér*, merész lépésre szánta el magát.⁴ Oka volt rá, hiszen veleszületett **kromatikus látással** élt: vagyis csak két színt tudott megkülönböztetni. Ha történetesen a ködös Albion felett mosolygós nap ragyogott volna, színnel telítve a tájat, ő azt sem érzékelhette volna.

A Dartingtoni Művészeti Főiskolán éppen befejezve a zeneszerző szakot, néhány újtó, információ-technológiában jártas emberrel hozott létre egy közös projektet: meghekkelték⁵ a természetes látását. *A koponyájához egy antennát csatlakoztattak, az antenna érzékelője egy kamera lett, mely a színeket közvetítette hangokká alakítva. Az eszköz egy telefonos alkalmazással van összekötve, így a szín-hang átváltás oda-vissza megvalósítható és rögzíthető. A technológia már korábban is létezett, ám azt hallássérültek megsegítésére használták.*⁶

Az eredeti elképzelés nem a kromatikus látás gyógyítása volt, hanem *egy új érzékszerv létrehozása*, egy kiegészítő szervé. Neil Harbisson saját szavaival:

„A céloom sosem az volt, hogy valamin felülkerekedjek. A szürkesávban való látásnak sok előnye van. Jobb az éjszakai látásom. Könnyebben emlékezek alakokra, és nem egykönnyű becsapni engem álcafestékekkel. Valamint a fekete-fehér fénymásolatok olcsóbbak is. Nem éreztem azt, hogy fizikai problémám lenne, és sosem akartam a látásomat megváltoztatni. Egy új látószervet akartam alkotni.”⁷

Merész döntés. Saját bevallása szerint öt héten át szenvedett fejfájástól, és öt hónapjába telt, mire a hangokat el tudta különíteni a fejében. Idővel az eszköz súlyát 1 kilogramm alá csökkentették, és az antennát ténylegesen csak 2015-ben integrálták, a vezérlő csipet már korábban a bőre alá fecskendezték. Az integrálás miatt egy újabb akadály bukkant elő: hivatalos okmányok készítésekor, a brit kormány előírás szerint olyan képet kell készíteni, ahol a fej szabadon van, vagyis sem sapka, kendő, stb. nem takar semmit. Egy évig tartó levelezés után, 2016-ban hivatalosan is elfogadták, hogy Neil antennát visel a fején, vagyis így került a fényképe brit útlevelébe. Ezzel hivatalosan is ő lett *az első kiborg a Föld nevű bolygón*.

2010-ben jött létre Katalóniában a **Kiborg Alapítvány** (jelenleg az USA-ban, New York-ban működik), mely a kiborgok jogi aktivista szervezete, valamint a kiborgok művészeti, kulturális támogatását tűzte ki célul. Alapítótársa Moon Ribas, gyerekkori barátja, aki táncművész, maga is az első kiborgok egyike, lábimplantátuma egy szeizmikus mozgást érzékelő chip, mely képes közvetíteni a jeleket, alkalmanként fényforrások felé, ezáltal ritmust teremtve a táncra. Közös fellépéseik, rendezvényeik és projektjeik meghatározóak az alapítvány életében.

A kérdés Neil esetén immár nem az, hogy hogyan lehetséges ez, hanem miképp lehet ezt az új eszközt, ezt az új érzékszervet a mindennapokban használni. Amikor lemegy a helyi közértbe, és végignéz a polcokon, a fejében diszkózene lüktet. Amikor az erdőben sétál, olyankor a szűrt UV fény nyugtató lüktetését hallgatja; ha az emberekre néz, akkor nem fekete és fehér bőrt lát, hanem sötét narancsszínűt és világos narancsszínűt (nem hinném, hogy kalibrációs hiba lenne, számára az emberek narancssárgán „hallatszódnak”); más hangokhoz öltözködik, ha jókedve van és más hangsor szerint, mikor bánatos.

⁴ Harbisson, Neil (2012)

⁵ Stix (2016)

⁶ Synesthesia (“érzékek egysége”), a természetben is előforduló jelenség, amikor egy hangot színként lát az egyén, vagy amikor egy szín látványa egy hangot idéz elő benne. Bővebben lásd: Allen-Hermanson and Matey: Synesthesia

⁷ “My aim was never to overcome anything. Seeing in greyscale has many advantages. I have better night vision. I memorize shapes more readily, and I’m not easily fooled by camouflages. And black-and-white photocopies are cheaper. I didn’t feel there was a physical problem, and I never wanted to change my sight. I wanted to create a new organ for seeing.” Donahue (2017)

Összefoglalva, Neil Harbisson, zeneszerző kromatikus látását egy, a koponyájába integrált eszköz egészíti ki. *Eredeti elképzelése, nem a meglévő látásának, színlátás-hiányának a javítása, hanem egy új érzékszerv integrálása, vagyis az emberi képesség-kiterjesztés volt.* Az eszközt folyamatosan fejlesztették, és ő is folyamatosan szokta meg az eszközt. Jelenleg Neillel népszerűsítő rendezvényeken találkozhatunk, de más projektjei is elérhetőek⁸.

I.2. Ember és gép

Gregoire Courtine és Jocelyne Bloch svájci gerinc-specialisták, David nevű paciense, gerincsérülés következtében nem tudott járni (spinal cord injury).⁹ Az agy küldött jeleket, ám a gerincsérülés miatt azok nem jutottak el a lábakig. Ezt kiküszöbölendő, egy neuroprotézisnek nevezett elektro-mechanikai eszközt műtöttek be a páciensnek.

A testtartást segítő robot-rendszer jelenleg úgy működik, mint egy távirányító. Amint bekapcsolja egy applikáció segítségével azt David, elektromos jeleket kap a gerincoszlop, hogy a járás funkcióit aktiválja. Ezáltal képes a kerekesszékből felkelni, és kis segítséggel járni. Az eredmények kecsegtetők.

A jövőben szeretnék az applikációt egy agyi implantátummal kiváltani. Ezáltal – a távlati tervek szerint, - a páciens már gondolatával képes lenne beindítani a motorikus funkciókat a járáshoz. Ez a példa, Harbisson példájával kiegészülve jól felvázolja nekünk, hogy az emberi gyógyászat és a kiborg-technológia hogyan találkoznak. A kiborg technológia elve szerint mindig egy emberi kiterjesztést keres, mely egy emberi funkciót javít fel, míg az orvosi gyógyászat a normális emberi élet feltételeit kívánja megteremteni ugyanezen eszközökkel. Ugyanaz a robotkar egy félkarú ember számára pótkar, míg egy kiborg számára ez egy harmadik kar.

Mind a két példa húsbavágó etikai kérdéseket feszeget. Hiszen az orvosi eredmények esetén mindig kérdés a társadalmi hozzáférés, azaz hogyan osztható meg ez az újítás demokratikusan mindenki közt. Illetve, a másik kérdés, hogy az ember milyen messze mehet el a kísérletezéssel, amikor az emberi test integritása a kérdés. Figyelembe véve, hogy az elmúlt 50-100 év filozófiai vitái kihangsúlyozták az emberi test integritását (feminista jogok, abortuszhoz való jog), most ez ismét előtérbe kerül, azonban sokkal általánosabb, és társadalmilag skálázott formában: döntéseink mindannyiunkra hatással lesznek.

I. A transzhumanizmus

A *transzhumanizmus* egy filozófiai irányzat, egy mozgalom, egy művészeti szemléletmód (világnézet), mely szerint az emberi lét és jelenség kiterjeszhető, jobbá tehető, fejleszhető a tudomány és a technológia által. A transzhumanista antropológia célja a poszthumán, az állati lét örökségeit levetkőzött ember, melyet a technológia vértéz fel új, és jobb képességekkel. A poszthumánnak három „szuper” jellemzője van: szuper-élethossz, szuper-életminőség, szuper-intelligencia.

Ezekre a célkitűzésekre a transzhumanizmus úgy tekint, mint betegségekre, mint technikailag legyőzendő feladatokra. Alapállítása tehát az ember tökéletlen létezése, és annak ember általi tökéletesítésébe vetett hit. A transzhumanizmus tisztában van ennek az állításnak a technológiai fétisizmushoz való hasonlításával.

A Transzhumanista Kiáltvány talán ezért is morális elveket, felelősségeket határoz meg. Társadalma nyitott társadalom, erősen individualizált egyének társadalmi víziója. A

⁸ A kiborg projekt weboldala: <https://cyborgproject.com/> [utolsó megnyitás 2021.08.10.]

⁹ Az alfejezet megírása során felhasználtam: Barnett (2016), May (2013) cikkét, illetve Wagner et al (2018) és Formento et al (2018) tudományos beszámolóit.

poszthumán az ő szemükben akkor jön létre, amikor a MI által támogatott gép egybeolvad a biológiailag javított emberrel.

II.1. Transzhumanizmus vagy poszthumanizmus?

Itt fontos megemlíteni, hogy a *poszthumán filozófia* inkább egyfajta válasz a transzhumanizmusra, mely sokkal inkább a hagyományos humanizmus emberképével ellentétben határozza meg magát, azt állítja, hogy az ember egy határterületen mozgó, folyamatában megragadhatatlan, kreatív entitás. Főbb eszmetörténeti gyökereit a képzőművészetben, irodalomban, valamint a feminista- és zöld filozófiában látom. Eme filozófia számára fontos fogalmak még: *emberi (humán)*, *embertelen (anti-humán)*, *antropocén*, *non-dualizmus*.

Amíg a transzhumanizmus főbb gondolkodói az amerikai Nyugati-part közismert személyei közül kerülnek ki (Elon Musk, Bill Gates, Zoltan Istvan, Max Moore, Nick Bolstrom, McAfee stb.), addig a poszthumanizmussal kapcsolatos szerzők egy nagyobb földrajzi térben érhetőek tetten. A fő okot abban látom, hogy a transzhumanizmus a kriogenikai vállalkozásokkal közel egyidőben jelent meg, annak technológiai ígéreteire reflektált, és a Szilikon Völgy lakosainak körében hamarabb elterjedt ennek az ismerete. (Úgyis, mint megismerendő új technológia, és úgyis mint, potenciális vásárlóként való ismeretszerzés, reklám.) Illetve, erős kötődése van az M.I., robotika, beágyazott rendszerek irányában is, ami miatt az ITC szakemberek érdeklődésére számíthat. A kritikai vagy irodalmi poszthumanizmus számára viszont erős a humanizmus-kritika, a politikai filozófia, a korábbi értékek dekonstrukciója (heideggeri destrukció olyan formában, melynek a végén, a derridai dekonstrukció alapján, valamilyen hálózatos forma alakul ki egy-egy fogalom esetén).¹⁰

Jelen dolgozatban a technológiához közelebb álló transzhumanizmusról beszélek tehát, és a kritikai poszthumanizmus által nyitott ösvényeket nem járom be.

II.2. A transzhumanizmus további jellemzői

A szingularitásnak¹¹, habár nincs kiemelve, fontos szerepe van filozófiájában, hiszen a tökéletesen egybeolvadt ember-gép, mint poszthumán éthosz elérése az egyik fő cél. Meglátásom szerint maga a szingularitás gondolata is olyan hatással volt a transzhumanizmusra, mely pozitív lökést adott egy jövőbeni tudományos áttörésekre alapozott hithez.

A transzhumanizmus hatalmas tudományterületeket fog át (interdiszciplináris): M.I., robotika, genetika (CRISPR), bioetika, vallás, művészet, design, gyógyítás, társadalomfilozófia, politikai mozgalom/párt, divat stb. Attól függően, hogy egy gondolkodó vagy csoport mely irányból vizsgálja ezt a fogalmi struktúrát, olyan irányultságú reflexiója lehet a transzhumanizmusra. Mindegyikre igaz ugyanakkor, hogy az eredeti Transzhumanista Kiáltványhoz¹² képest fogalmazza meg, vagy ha korábban már létezett, akkor fogalmazza újra önmagát.

A transzhumanizmus magát nem tartja vallásnak (habár a vallás helyett ajánlja magát). Annak ellenére, hogy eszméi az emberiség nagy kérdéseire vonatkoznak: örök élet, szenvedés. Kifejezett megváltástannal nem rendelkezik, csupán egy általános hittel a tudomány gyors és

¹⁰ A kritikai poszthumanizmust illetően lásd Ferrando (2013), magyar fordításban megjelent a Helikonnál, lásd: Ferrando (2018). Illetve, a transz- és poszthumanizmusról bővebben még Horváth-Lovász-Nemes (2019) 28-37.pp.

¹¹ A szingularitás lehetőségeiről lásd Vinge (1993) cikkét.

¹² A Transhumanist Declaration (2013) a fentiek alapján kinyilvánítja, hogy hisz abban, hogy a szingularitás elkerülhetetlen, és a változással az emberiség képes egy job jövőbe lépni. Feladatunk az emberiség megőrzése, valamint kiterjeszti az emberi jogokat más élőlényekre, és a jövőben megjelenő új, hybrid fajokra is. A morfológiai szabadság értelmében az egyén testi változtatása szinte korlátlan lehetőséget kap a technológiától a jövőben.

hatékony fejlődésében. Illetve létezik Amerikában transzhumanista egyház is (Öröklét Egyháza, Hollywood), tagjainak száma csekély. A Mormon Egyház¹³ és Rael Egyháza¹⁴ az általam fellelt mindössze két vallási csoport, melyek intézményi szinten is támogatják a transzhumanista eszméket.

Vallási ellenzői viszont jóval többen vannak, hiszen olyan kérdésekben kételkedik, mint:

- a megváltást (ha nem létezik halál, nem lesz, akit fizikailag megváltanak; ha elménk másolható, feltölthető, akkor csak a test fog cserélődni),
- a lélek létezése (hiszen a lefagyasztott emberi holttestek újraélesztése mellett teszi le a voksát),
- eredendő bűn tagadása, emberi természet tagadása (az emberi létállapot a végessége miatt betegség, amit gyógyítani kell), stb.

A következő részben a 20. századi transzhumanizmus születésének techno-kulturális alapjait vizsgálom meg, hogy később rátérhessek a filozófiai transzhumanizmus vizsgálatára.

II. A transzhumanizmus története, forrásai

*„Lényed kétharmada isteni – ám
Emberi részed a földre kötöz.
Légy bár titkok tudós beavatottja,
Halál vár rád is, mint a bolondra.”*
– Gilgames eposz, X. tábla¹⁵

A transzhumanizmus történetével kapcsolatban az a szerencsés helyzet, hogy folyamatosan dokumentálva, és elérhetővé volt téve már a kezdetektől fogva. Ez egyben nehézség is a kutató számára, hiszen a rengeteg fogalmi csiszolódás, vita folyamatában, hatalmas „fogalmi zaj” közben vizsgálható.

Jellemzően amerikai jelenségként angolul elérhető az interneten az alábbi tájékoztató jellegű források:

- Van saját wikipedia¹⁶ oldaluk, 2015 óta, mely aktív, és kurrens információkat tartalmaz. Tájékoztódás szempontjából, ez a lap jó kiindulási pont lehet. (Tartalmazza a megjelent könyvek listáját a témában, a transzhumanista mozgalommal kapcsolatos személyeket, filozófiai problémákat), a Britannica Enciklopédia Transzhumanizmus szócikkénél¹⁷ nagyobb volumenű információval.
- Extrópiánus magazin¹⁸: 1988-1996 közt jelent meg, nyomtatva terjesztették, egyfajta szamizdatként. Max More, és a transzhumanizmust elhagyó Tom Bell szerkesztették.

¹³ Constitution of the Mormon Transhumanist Association. (2006) elfogadja a Transzhumanista Kiáltvány által megfogalmazottakat és kiegészíti azokat a saját egyháza tanaival.

¹⁴ Rael (2008) zseniokráciáról (geniocracy) szóló műve még a transzhumanista és a szingularitás gondolatainak mémesülése előtt jelent meg 1977-ben. De ezek a gondolatok még így is megférnek a technológiai fejlődésre alapozott jövőképpel. Rael a jövőben a zsenik és művészek gyülekezőjét hirdeti meg Genfben, hogy onnan mintegy sejtéként fejlődhessen ki egy ilyesfajta utópikus állam. Rael (2008) 107-110.pp.

¹⁵ Zászlós (2004) 59-60.pp.

¹⁶ https://hpluspedia.org/wiki/Main_Page [letöltés ideje: 2021.08.03]

¹⁷ Hays (2018)

¹⁸ Jellemző módon repozitóriumba van feltöltve, a főleg programozók által használt githubon, lásd: <https://github.com/Extropians/Extropy/> [letöltés ideje: 2021.08.03]

2002-2003 évfolyam¹⁹, „Extropy. Journal of Transhumanist Solution” néven már a neten lett terjesztve. Az archívum nem érhető el, vagy nincs fent minden korábbi anyag.

- Cryonics Magazine Archive²⁰: 1981- 2021 között megjelent, a krionikával foglalkozó archívum, az Alcor Alapítvány gondozásában. A korai számokban reklámok, technológiai hírek és a transzhumanizmus problémáin való gondolatok egyaránt helyet kaptak.

A témában meghatározó kötetek közül főleg két szerzőt forgattam a dolgozatom megírása során. A két szellemi alapító, More és Bolstrom munkáit. Max More és Natasha Vita-More által szerkesztett Transzhumanista olvasókönyvet²¹ és a Bostrom által online is elérhető Transzhumanist GYIK-ot²², és a Transzhumanista gondolatok történetét²³. Habár ezeken kívül az utóbbi időben megjelentek kritikai cikkek, monográfiák és tematikus kötetek is, azok vizsgálata túlmutat jelen dolgozat keretein.

Annak, aki magyar nyelven szeretne a transzhumanizmusról olvasni, sem kell elkeserednie, hiszen többen is foglalkoznak / foglalkoztak a témával. Laki Beáta, a transzhumanizmus bioetikai vonatkozásában írt szakdolgozatot.²⁴ Magyarul²⁵ több cikk, fordítás is megjelent a témában, a hangsúlyt ezen írások inkább a poszthumanizmus vizsgálatára fektették, habár érintik a transzhumanista technokrata-optimista elvek kritikáját is. Ün. jövőkutatók²⁶ is szoktak nyilatkozni a témában, az ő látómezőjükben mindig fontos szerepet kap a jelenség esetleges közeli gazdasági hatásai.²⁷ Illetve, létezik/létezett Magyar Transzhumanista Párt is.²⁸

II.1. Extrópiánusok, kriogenika, vitrifikáció

A **krio-konzerválás** egy olyan orvosi-kriogenikai (fagyasztási) eljárás, amely során lassan, nagyon hidegre fagyasztják le a növényi, állati vagy emberi sejteket, szerveket. Széndioxid, vagy folyékony nitrogénnel, akár az abszolút zérus pontig²⁹. Ilyen hőmérsékleten a sejtek, szövetek erodálódása megáll.

A **krionika** viszont egy olyan életmegőrző eljárás, mely megállítja a haldoklás folyamatát, fagypontra alatti hőmérséklet használatával, annak reményében, hogy a jó egészség vissza lesz állítva a jövő orvosi technológiájával.³⁰ Az Alcor Alapítvány nem garantálja a végső fázist, vagyis, hogy páciensei biztosan ki lesznek fagyasztva, és meg lesznek gyógyítva a jövőben, de azt igen, hogy a hivatalosan beállt halál időpontjában, ügyfeleiknél lesznek és

¹⁹ <https://web.archive.org/web/20131106011118/http://www.extropy.org/extropyonline.htm> , letöltés ideje: 2022.01.03.]

²⁰ Wolf (1981-2021)

²¹ More and Vita-More (2013)

²² Nick Bostrom (2003)

²³ Bostrom (2005)

²⁴ Az emberi fokozás orvosi-etikai dimenzióit, és az emberemesítés morális kérdéseit jól körüljárja Laki (2018)

²⁵ Horváth-Lovász-Nemes (2019) nagy lélegzetű műve a poszthumanizmus minden aspektusát kielemez; valamint a Helikon folyóirat egy teljes számot szentelt a poszthumanizmusnak (Földes Györgyi (2018))

²⁶ A “jövőkutató” szó eredetileg azokat a közgazdászokat, pénzügyi specialistákat jelenti, akik a közeli gazdasági jelenségekről hivatottak megnyilatkozni (számokat, trendeket vizsgálnak). Azonban az utóbbi időben a jövő technológiáiról, társadalmairól, a jövő emberéről bármilyen formában gondolkodó embereket is így nevezi a köznyelv. A jövőkutatás szép municiókkal rendelkezik a társadalomkutatásban is napjainkban.

²⁷ A témában tájékozódásul lásd Rab Árpád, Meskó Bertalan, Kánai András, Kömlödi Ferenc munkásságát.

²⁸ A Magyar Transzhumanista Párt weboldala: <https://transzhumanista.wordpress.com/> [letöltés ideje: 2022.01.03.]

²⁹ Pallardy (2017)

³⁰ Az Alcor Alapítvány saját, tájékoztató jellegű megfogalmazásában: What is Cryonics? Cryonics is the practice of preserving life by pausing the dying process using subfreezing temperatures with the intent of restoring good health with medical technology in the future. <https://www.alcor.org/what-is-cryonics/> [letöltés ideje: 2022.01.03.]

lefagyasztják, valamint megőrzik, tárolják az emberi testet, vagy agyat. Az agy tárolásának fontos technológiai előrelépést jelentett a **vitrifikáció**, egy olyan fagyasztási eljárás, mely során megóvjuk a szöveteket a jegesedéstől, azáltal, hogy ún. krio-protektánst (cryoprotectant), egyfajta kémiai keveréket adunk hozzá³¹.

Ha technológiai jelenség oldaláról közelítem meg a transzhumanizmust, akkor annak a modern története 1954-ben kezdődik, amikor először sikerült lefagyasztott emberi spermával megtermékenyíteni petesejtet. Peter Mazur 1963-ban demonstrálta először, hogy a sejten belüli fagyás elkerülhető, ha lassan történik a hűtés. 1966. április 22-én az első holttestet sikerült így megóvni, majd később eltemetni. Az első emberi testet, mely annak reményében, hogy majd felélesztik egyszer, 1967 januárjában fagyasztották le a CryoCare Company munkatársai.³² Az első személy neve sajnos nem maradt ránk, míg az utóbbi nem más volt, mint James Bedford, rákban elhunyt kaliforniai pszichológus. A LES (Life Extension Society) munkatársai fagyasztották le, és kalandos utat járt be, jelenleg az Alcor Alapítvány kriogenikai tárolójában pihen, teljes testtel egy Dewar³³ tárolóban.

II.2. Alcor Élethosszabító Alapítvány (Alcor), és a Kriogenikai Intézet (CI)

1962-ben kezdődik a krikonika története. Ekkor jelenteti meg magánkiadásban **Evan Cooper** (1926-1982/83)³⁴, Nathan During álnév alatt a *Halhatatlanság: fizikailag, tudományosan, most*³⁵ című könyvét. Még ugyanabban az évben megalapítja az Élethosszabító Társaságot (Life Extension Society, LES). Tőle származik a „lefagyasztani, várni, újraéleszteni” szlogen. Even amennyire lelkes volt, később annyira meghasonlott az „első krio-aktivista” szereptől. Alig 5 évvel később felhagy a halhatatlanság keresésével, és évtizedekkel később vitorlázás közben az Atlanti óceán nyeli el örökre 1982/83-ban.

Hagyományosan **Robert Ettinger** (1918-2011) matematikus-fizikus: *A Halhatatlanság Prospektusa*³⁶ című kiadványától szokták számolni a kriogenika megjelenését. Ettinger többek közt az 1976-ban Kriogenikai Intézet (Cryonics Institute³⁷) néven létrehozott alapítója és elnöke volt. Jelenleg lefagyasztva alussza álmát, összesen még 205 személy és 199 kisállat társaságában (2021-s adat)³⁸.

1972-ben a Göncölszékér rúdjának harmadik csillagáról (mely mindig látható az égen), lett elnevezve az Alcor Élethosszabító Alapítvány (röviden ALEF – Alcor Life Extension Association). Alapítói a **Chamberlain** házaspár, Fred, aki Pasadenában, a Voyager projekten dolgozó mérnök volt, 2012 óta van lefagyasztva, felesége Liz az intézmény vezetője még mindig. Első páciensük Fred édesapja volt. Saját weboldaluk szerint kb. 200 páciens van lefagyasztva és kb. 30 házikedvenc. A három nagy krikonikai intézményből kettő amerikai (Alcor és a CI), a harmadik pedig orosz (KrioRus), közvetlen kapcsolatot nem találtam az amerikai intézmények és közte (leszámítva, hogy ezt is futuristák alapították).

³¹ <https://www.alcor.org/library/new-cryopreservation-technology/> Accessed 9 August 2021. Valamint <https://www.alcor.org/library/introduction-to-cryonics/> Accessed 9 August 2021.

³² Bővebben az első kísérletekről lásd Perry (1991)

³³ A vákuum tartályok neve, a feltalálójukról elnevezve.

³⁴ Evan Cooper-ről megemlékeznek a „Cryonics” hírlevelében is. (Darwin(1983))

³⁵ During (1964)

³⁶ Ettinger (1965)

³⁷ Az adatokat a Cryonics weboldalán fellelhető történelmi számegegyenesről vettem. Lásd:

<https://www.cryonics.org/ci-landing/history-timeline/> [letöltés ideje: 2022.01.03.]

³⁸ <https://www.cryonics.org/ci-landing/member-statistics/> [letöltés ideje: 2022.01.03.]9.

II.3. Extrópiánusok, magazinok és újabb intézmények

Az Alcor és a CI munkatársai voltak főleg az úttörői és népszerűsítői a kionikának a '70-s és '80-s években, amikor Angliából megérkezett Max T. O'Connor (a későbbi Max More).

Max More³⁹ később az Alcor Alapítvány CEO-ja is lett, a jelenlegi transzhumanizmus filozófia, világnézet, mozgalom kidolgozása az ő és barátai nevéhez fűződik. Meglátásom szerint ő volt az, aki rendszerezte ezeket a gondolatokat, és aki nem fél kiállni a reflektorfényre sem, ha a transzhumanizmusról (extrópiánizmusról) kell beszélni.

Az extrópiánus szó eredetileg Tom Bell-től származik, aki T.O. Morrow néven publikált a transzhumanizmus berkein belül.⁴⁰ (Max More eredeti brit anyakönyvi neve sem ez volt. Láthatóan elterjedtek a mozgalom kezdeti résztvevői közt a szervereken futó becenevek, melyek jelentéssel, játékkal bírtak a transzhumanizmussal kapcsolatban.)

Később a 2000-s években már nem volt aktív a transzhumanista mozgalomban, jelenleg egy jogi open source projekt gazdája, kutatási területe az állam nélküli nemzet és a copyright-közjó viszonya.

A T.O. Morrow név az extrópiánus vitákban, szervereken folyó csevegésekben használt név. (Nem összetévesztendő a hasonló nevű DC képregény superhőssel. Tom Morrow alteregót használta.) Azért fontos, mert az extrópiánizmus, mint fogalom, eme név alatt fogalmazódott meg, Tom és Max agyában 1988-ban, ez volt az eredeti transzhumanizmus filozófiája.

Lényege: „egy élő- vagy szervezettel rendelkező rendszer határainak, úgymint az intelligencia, működési rend, életerő, energia, élet, tapasztalat és kapacitás, valamint az ösztöneinek a feljavítása.”⁴¹ Az extrópia, az entrópia fogalmával szemben jött létre, sokkal inkább egy metafora, semmint egy egyszerű fogalom. Max More saját szavaival élve, ez a transzhumanizmus filozófiája.

A jobb megértéshez érdemes szemügyre venni az Extrópia Magazin logóját is, amelyet Morrow alkotott. A kezdetben elmosódott betűk a szöveg végére határozott körvonalat kaptak, mintegy utalva a posztumán célokra.

A mozgalom tulajdonképpen ekkor született. More és Morrow 1988-ban létrehozták az Extropy nevű magazint, melyet saját bevallásuk szerint kézzel sokszorosítottak és kezdetben mintegy 50 példányban árultak. 1988 és 1996 közt 17 példányt élt meg, a megmentett példányok a GitHub-on megtalálhatóak. (Sajnos, nem minden részt sikerült archiválni, az évek során ezek egy része elveszett, csupán borítójuk maradt fent.)

Az extrópiánizmus tehát lényegében felcserélhető a transzhumanizmussal. Ehhez képest helyezték el magukat a filozófiai térben az őket követő gondolkodók.

Max More 1986-ban az Alcor (a név a Nagy-Medve nevű csillagkép egyik csillagára utal) nevű kriogenikai cég alkalmazottja volt, így az extrópiánizmus már eme korszaka alatt született meg. Az Extrópiánus Intézmény 1990-2006-ban működött, fő célja a libertárius transzhumanizmus vizsgálata lett volna, saját bevallása szerint ezt beteljesítette, ezért megszűnt.

³⁹ Saját weboldalán található önéletrajza: <https://www.maxmore.com/about/> [letöltés ideje: 2022.01.03.]

⁴⁰ Önéletrajzi adatok korábbi, archivált személyes oldala alapján: <https://web.archive.org/web/20011211044102/http://members.aol.com:80/TOMorrow/TOMpage.html> [letöltés ideje: 2022.01.03.], illetve a jelenlegi: <http://www.tomwbell.com/> [letöltés ideje: 2022.01.03.]

⁴¹ „the extent of a living or organizational system's intelligence, functional order, vitality, energy, life, experience, and capacity and drive for improvement.” (Bell and More (1988/1.,2-3.pp), illetve More (1998))

III. A transzhumanizmus, mint filozófia

„AZ AGGASTYÁN
Már megint
Úgy elmerültél álmokéidben,
Hogy a rádbízott marha kárba ment.
Hogy ébren légy, borsón fogsz térdepelni.

PLÁTÓ (visszalépve)
Még a borsón is szépet álmodom.”

(Madách Imre: Az ember tragédiája, Tizenkettedik Szín)⁴²

Jelen fejezetben erősen támaszkodni fogok More⁴³ és Bostrom⁴⁴ írásaira, hiszen főleg ők ketten alapozták meg a transzhumanista filozófiát, ők rendszerezték azt a legjobban. Természetesen, rajtuk kívül is számos mű született, ám ezek ismertetése meghaladják jelen munka határait. Pusztán a transzhumanizmus alapvetéseit és horizontját szeretném felfesteni. Majd, áttekinteni, hogy milyen előfutárai voltak az emberentúli eszményének, és hogyan lett ebből az eszményből a transzhumanizmus mai fogalma.

III.1. Előfutárok, és példaképek

Az előfutárok esetén látszólag könnyű dolgunk van, hiszen köztudott, hogy az emberiség mindig is szeretett volna örökké élni, és más isteni tulajdonságokra szert tenni. Ezekkel a motívumokkal találkozhatunk akár a magyar népmesékben, vagy a görög mítoszokban, a középkori alkímiában is. Egyenes vonalat azonban nem húzhatunk még a transzhumanizmus eszmeiségéhez.

Példaként⁴⁵, az ógörög Talosz mítosz szerint, Hephaisztosz, a kovács-isten azért, hogy megvédelmezze Krétát, a királynak három dolgot készített. Egy nyilat, mely mindig célba talál (követi a célját); fémből kopókat, melyek nem veszítik el a préda nyomát; és egy fém óriást, mely a sziget körül járőrözve, kövekkel süllyesztette el a kalózok hajóit, és a közelebb merészkedőket olya módon veszejtette el, hogy testét felhevítette, és ellenfelét magához ölelte (egy robot-frankenstein-szörny).

Könnyen bele tudjuk képzelni a mai technológiát a felsoroltakba. Gyilkos drón-rakéta, az Amazon cég harci robotkutyája, valamilyen GPS technológiával, és egy hatalmas kiborg. A mítosz ráadásul hemzseg a transzhumanista „kikacsintásoktól”: Talosznak a sarkán van egy „fáradtolaj” leengedő nyílás, amit megnyitva meghal. Médea életelixírt kotyvaszt. Thészeusz atyja örök életet kér az istenektől, de örök egészséget és ifjúságot elfelejt kérni.

Nem kell sokat bizonygatnunk, hogy a vágy az örök életre, az el nem múló ifjúság erejére, és a jobb kognitív képességekre, mondhatni egyetemes: örök és emberi.

Ehhez hasonlóan szokás a reneszánsz és felvilágosodás nagy gondolkodóit is idesorolni, de a transzhumanizmus szó csak jóval később, legelőször Julian Huxley, biológus (a sci-fi író nagybátyja) tollából íródott le a mai értelemben. Filozófiai fejtegetések itt még nem hangzottak el. És Huxley munkássága csak már a mozgalom kibontakozása során lett közkeletű.⁴⁶

⁴² Madách(1977)217.p

⁴³ More (2013)

⁴⁴ Bostrom(2003) és Bostrom(2005)

⁴⁵ Mayor (2018)

⁴⁶ „The human species can, if it wishes, transcend itself - not just sporadically, an individual here in one way, an individual there in another way, but in its entirety, as humanity. We need a name for this new belief. Perhaps

A reneszánsz gondolkodói közül Pico Della Mirandola keresztény képzete: Isten, mint kézműveshez hasonlóan az embernek is tökéletesítenie kell magát. A felvilágosodás gondolkodója, Condorcet eszméi inspirálták (az ember, mint összetett gép) a praktikus optimizmus elképzelést az ember azon képességéről, hogy képes legyőzni a határait. Ezeknek az eszméknek azonban várnia kellett, arra a nagy informatikai forradalomra, mely a világháború után újabb lendületet adott a tudományos optimizmusra.

Kis kitérőként, emlékezzünk, hogy egy esős napon Byron és Shelley, a két költő azon vitatkoztak, hogy hogyan létezhet mesterséges élet. Nem sokkal később Mary Shelley megírta híres novelláját, a Frankenstein. A képzeletbeli örült doktorhoz hasonlóan képzeltek a korban a híres tudóst, Babbage-t, aki egy hatalmas gőzmasinán dolgozott (a gőz volt az 1800-s évek atomenergiája, kvázi kriptovalutája). Tervei szerint egy ilyen gép az emberiséget segíthetné, hogy ne kelljen unalmas elméleti feladatokat végeznie. Ada Lovelace, Byron lánya volt a segítőtársa, és egy olyan gépet, és annak a programját dolgozták ki, melyet csak jó száz évvel voltunk képesek megépíteni – immár elektromos elven és nem gőzmeghajtással. Egészen az 1990-s évekig így hittük, amíg be nem bizonyosodott, hogy a gép megépíthető a kor technológiai szintjén is, azonban jelentős anyagi támogatók híján Babbage erre nem volt képes.⁴⁷ A példával arra próbáltam rávilágítani, hogy néha nagyon kalandosan történnek az egyszerűnek hitt dolgok, és a feltett kérdésekre nem mindig azt a választ kapjuk, amit reméljük.

1989-ben F.M. Esfandiary (FM-2030) használja a transzhumán kifejezést, mint egy átmeneti ember leírását a poszthumán előtt.⁴⁸ A transzhumanizmust, eszmei értelemben, még nem érti alatta. A transzhumanizmus szó mai értelmében, több vitát, fogalmi csiszolódást követve More és társai az 1990-s évek végére alkották meg. Egyszerre jelenti a felvilágosult cselekvőt, aki nem esik sem az ateizmus, sem a vallási hívő csapdájába. Jelenti az átmeneti embert, a poszthumán irányába, aki irányítja az evolúciót, kis lépéseket tesz, és fontosnak tartja a saját és más morfológiai szabadságát. Az elv az, hogy a technológiai fejlődés bekövetkezik mindenképpen és a változásból haladást kell kovácsolnunk, különben a technológia ejt foglyul minket.

Összességében a transzhumanizmus, mint mozgalom, és mint filozófia az 1960-s években már bontogatta szárnyait, azonban egységes arculatot az 1990-s évektől kapott, a kritikai poszthumanizmustól való explicit szétválását Ferrando (2013) cikkétől számítom⁴⁹.

III.2. A transzhumanizmus filozófiája

A transzhumanizmus talán erőltetettnek tűnik elsőre, mivel az ember mindig egyfajta változás-állapotban van. A változás, az örök változás a görög filozófia hajnala óta kísérti az európai kultúrkört. Mivel semmisenem örök, állandó, a folyókba nem tudunk kétszer ugyanúgy lépni⁵⁰, egyfajta teherként nyomja a nyugati ember vállát ez a fajta tudás. A transzhumanisták azonban igent mondanak a változásra. Az ő szemléletük szerint ez a transzhumán állapot, mely lépésről lépésre valósítja meg a poszthumán állapotot, a technológiai szingularitás után, azért más, azért

transhumanism will serve: man remaining man, but transcending himself, by realizing new possibilities of and for his human nature.” Huxley (1957, 76.pp)

⁴⁷ Hogan (2014, 1-3 pp)

⁴⁸ „Transhumans (trans) are a new kind of being crystallizing from the monumental breakthroughs of the late twentieth century...They are the earliest manifestations of new evolutionary beings.” (Esfandiary (1989,141.p.))

⁴⁹ Nem erős határvonal ez, ahogyan amerika felfedezése sem jelentette a középkor végét egyik napról a másikra. Viszont egy jó tájékozódási pont.

⁵⁰ Hérakleitosz gondolatait Athénba Kratülosz nevű tanítványa közvetítésével juthattak el. Lásd: Platón: Crat. 402A, idézve Graham (2021)

különleges, mivel az ember a tudomány, a technológia segítségével a saját maga okozta kiskorúságból kilépve tudja immár megvalósítani az evolúciós ugrásokat. Nem kell a természet szeszélyére bízni, és nem kell a távoli jövőbe vetni ezt a lehetőséget. A rádiós tevékenységéről is ismert Esfandiary ezért változtatta a nevét FM-2030-ra. 2030 ugyanis a tervezett szingularitási pont ideje. (Nem fog megtörténni 2005 előtt és meg kell, hogy történjen 2030-ig, mondja Vinge(1993))

A transzhumanizmus gyakran kap kritikát az egyházak felől is, és jogosan. Hiszen saját maga deklarálja, hogy a vallások helyébe óhajt lépni, a 18. századi felvilágosodás optimizmusával (és az USA-ban elterjedt modernkori humanista ateizmussal).

Morális terében viszont pont ezért ad helyet a humanizmusnak (az emberi, mint legfőbb érték), társadalomelméletében a nyitott társadalomnak (a technológiai javakhoz való egyenlő módon jutás miatt). A technológiai optimizmus a számukra ösztönzés, pozitív támogatás, és alkotó tevékenység, mely az emberiség javát kell, hogy szolgálja.

A transzhumanizmus tehát három „szuper” emberi értéket kerget: a szuper-élethosszt, a szuper-okosságot és a szuper-egészséget (vagy életminőséget). Ezek együttes megvalósulása szerintük a technikai szingularitási pont elérésekor jön létre, biológiai és informatikai eszközök segítségével.

IV. Összefoglalás és további kutatási lehetőségek

Derek Parfit a személyen elmélkedve azt írja, hogy az emberiség számára három fontos érték létezik: a tudomány, a művészet és a nem-vallásos morál. Ezt a morált már számtalanszor alapozták a vallásra, és nem volt kielégítő. Éppen ezért, mivel nem-vallási alapokat csak nem régen fedezte föl az emberiség, van mit csiszolnia rajta. Nem beszélve arról, hogy amennyiben az emberiség kihal, a fenti három erényt, nincs, aki művelje. Erkölcsi kötelességünk ezek szerint nem kihalnunk és a fentieket művelnünk.⁵¹

A transzhumanizmus az első kettővel azonnal egyetértene, ám a harmadikon talán nem ártana elgondolkozni, hiszen kvázi vallásként tételezi magát is – noha nem hagyományos értelemben véve.

Másfelől Popper látónoki módon arról ír, erős Platón kritikájában, hogy az egész nyugati gondolkodás annak a gondolat kísérletnek esett áldozatul, ahol egy kiábrándult földbirtokos arisztokrata nem tudott megküzdeni a változás eszméjével, a saját társadalma működésével. És az ebből levont következtetéseket egy másik jómódú filozófia megpróbálta a kategóriák és fogalmak világával összeegyeztetni, amiből megszületett a dualista világkép, az ideatan. Noha, Popper elképzelése kissé sarkít, azonban plasztikusan ábrázolja azt, hogy milyen nagy hangsúlyt fektetünk az eszmékre, mennyire úgy érezzük, hogy hatással vannak a mindennapjainkra, életünkre, elődeink és utódaink életére.⁵²

Dolgozatomban röviden vázoltam a transzhumanizmus mozgalmi és eszmei történetét, elismételtem a poszthumanizmustól való különbözőségeit és kerestem a pontokat, melyek további kutatásra érdemesek. Belátható, hogy a transzhumanizmussal a jövőben nem csupán a saját kérdései miatt érdemes foglalkozni (bioetikai kérdések, kiborg jogok, emberi kiterjesztés lehetőségei), hanem ezen kérdésekre adott válaszok okán is (emberi identitás, társadalmi hatások). Mégha a feltett kérdéseinkre kapott válaszok azonban sokszor nem olyanok, mint amilyenekre vágyunk.

⁵¹ Parfit (1987, 454.p.)

⁵² Popper egy homéroszi munkát lát el: visszatér Hérakleitosz és Parmenidész idejébe, mielőtt Platont kritizálná. A változás és az „egy” eszméje miképp befolyásolták a szintetizáló Platont, és szintézise miképp hatott ránk mintegy két és félezer éve immár. Amit Popper kifejejt, meglátásom szerint az a formálódó euklidészi matematika hatása a gondolkodásra, mely mindent egy okra akar visszavezetni, de ez az okfejtés messzire vezetni a tárgytól. Popper (2001, 40-42.pp.)

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Tanszék

What are the Gains Regarding Peer Involvement in Areas of Pharmacy English Education? Introductory Study of Pharmacy Student Demonstrator Activities

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Introduction: The benefits of peer teaching are well documented in reference to higher education. Previous studies conducted at the University of Pécs Medical School included intense focus on Hungarian medical students' English language competence development through peer involvement. [1][2].

Aim: The present pilot study aims to map innovative methodologies regarding peer teaching implementation into Pharmacy English language teaching using a qualitative, exploratory approach. Study participants include first-year pharmacist students enrolled in a foundational Pharmacy English language course. The peer demonstrator is a senior undergraduate in the English Pharmacy Program.

Material and Methods: Student feedback is collected and adjusted to each session providing flexibility while matching educational content. The survey questions focus on student motivation, knowledge and performance development.

Results: Since the study aims to evaluate the outcome of an ongoing course, expected preliminary results will be evaluated following the completion of the 12-week course.

Conclusions: Hopefully, the findings will provide meaningful, relevant and up-to-date information intended for higher institutional educators for course design options and to optimize demonstrator activities in language courses for the participating students and teachers' mutual benefit.

Keywords: demonstrator, language competence, methodology, peer teaching, Pharmacy English

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I. Introduction

Peer-assisted learning (PAL) programs are used throughout all levels and types of healthcare education (Olaussen et al., 2016) and a wide variety of expressions for similar forms of teaching is also used including peer-teaching, cooperative learning, peer-led training, or facilitated peer mentoring, to name only a few. These different forms of education are classified based on the participants' relationship, group size and the formality of education.

The respective participants are often referred to as Teaching Assistant students, and have been globally involved in many health related academic institutions, primarily in medical schools. The students enrol in the teaching assistant program and are assigned active roles in education through tutoring, preparation of supplementary teaching materials, or active participation in lectures (Bulte et al., 2007). The benefits of such peer-teaching programs is widely documented mainly in the medical field where peer-lead teaching seems to be a win-win situation. It has been proved to provide significant benefits for the students, the student tutors as well as the medical faculties or educational organizations. (Allikmets-Vink 2016) Recent studies have also been conducted among medical students at the University of Pécs Medical School with the exception that the peer-assisted methodology was specifically applied for language competence development purposes (Hild et al., 2021).

Academic pharmacy education in Canada (Leong et al., 2012) has also recognized the benefits of teaching assistant support regarded as 'near-peer' teaching in an attempt to find innovative ways to expand experiential educational rotations. The methodology originally designed for medical education program was adopted to allow pharmacy students to uniquely integrate pharmacy knowledge into pharmacy practice, in which junior students receive learning support from their senior peers. Another very recent study implemented peer-teaching methodology into pharmacy education and created a new model to reinforce student clinical knowledge and confidence regarding commonly prescribed medications (Tiffany et al., 2021).

The international FIP document (FIP Development Goals 2020) provides global guidelines to align pharmacy education to workforce needs highlighting advanced interpersonal communication and interprofessional cooperation skills as well as advanced decision making and coping strategies are included in the extended roles and competencies of the 21st century pharmacist professionals. Peer teaching methodology may effectively support interprofessional cooperation and communication skills development through linking pharmacist communication and language skills development. Innovative ways of language learning methodology may effectively improve interpersonal communication skills development.

This study aimed to map methodologies regarding peer teaching implementation into Pharmacy English education at the University of Pécs Medical School using a qualitative, exploratory approach focusing on professional English language and communication skills development.

II. Methods, participants and data collection

A Hungarian language feedback questionnaire was prepared and used to assess participant evaluation of the peer-directed learning activities. The peer demonstrator was a 3rd-year international student of the one-tier Pharmacy Master's Degree Program offered in English by the Faculty of Pharmacy, University of Pécs. Although the demonstrator student did complete a basic course in pharmacy Hungarian prior to the study, she is not considered a speaker of the Hungarian language, and her near native accent and fluency make her eligible to be regarded as a near-native English speaker for the course. A convenience sample of study participants included five 1st year and five 2nd year Hungarian nationality pharmacy students enrolled in the one-tier Doctor of Pharmacy Degree Program at the Faculty of Pharmacy, University of Pécs. The study was conducted within an elective foundational Pharmacy English language

course at the Department of Languages for Biomedical Purposes of the University of Pécs Medical School. Data were received from the printed questionnaires distributed and collected following each session on 3 occasions between 6 and 27 October 2021. Approximately one-third of each 90-minute session was devoted to the peer-directed demonstrator activity, which involved simulation of pharmacist-patient interactions regarding medication use, drug interactions and patient compliance in the three individual sessions. Each student took the opportunity to join the communicative activities. The full number of study participants was 10, yet 8 responses were submitted on each occasion due to student absences.

Qualitative evaluation of data from feedback results was used. No prior sample was adopted. The questionnaire was adjusted to each session to optimize sample size, create flexibility and match educational content. As the course evolved, the questions required more specific and detailed answers as well as numerical responses. The questionnaires consisted of 5 to 7 items and focused upon student motivation, both professional and general language competence development, and evaluation of the demonstrator activity. The majority were open-ended questions, but few also included selection of most appropriate answers, or answers based on 5-point Likert scale (selecting grades of consent on a scale between -2 and +2). All numerical data were calculated and textual information was analysed, thematically categorized and transferred into tabular and graphic display based on student activity preferences, factors for professional language development as well as improvement in communicative and professional skills competency.

All participants volunteered for the study and gave their informed consent to the use of the results for research purposes by the author of the present study. Due to the very nature of the survey, no ethical approval was necessary. Participant identities were not registered, only year of study and gender were stated in the questionnaires and confidentiality was guaranteed.

III. Results

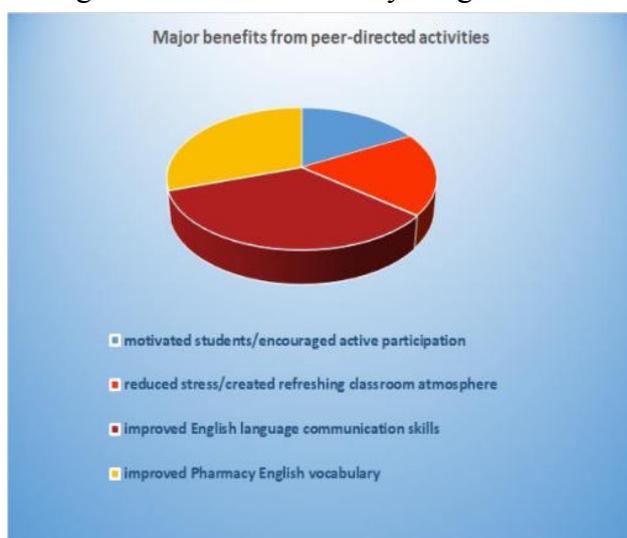
All participants agreed that the peer student's active participation in the classroom setting was an interesting and useful experience, and students would prefer to be involved in such activities more often. It was also a consistent finding that the demonstrator activity provided relevant professional knowledge, enriched the language session, made it more motivating, and created a uniquely friendly and supportive atmosphere where everybody felt at ease and encouraged to participate. Many students also recognized and appreciated the absence of the otherwise characteristic stress from making errors in a language class in the target language during these peer-directed communicational activities, since the demonstrator student was, as they put it, 'one of us'. Most respondents also welcomed the opportunity of an insight into a more experienced, senior student's views on the professional merit and the applicability of their pharmacy English language studies in their future profession.

Answers to one particular open question may be representative of the results of the study and its evaluation. The question reflected on the last session, which focused on communicative interactions through pharmacist-patient role-plays on the use and misuse of eye-drops, but also offered additional time and opportunity for a casual conversation where students interviewed the peer demonstrator about study related issues. The question asked the respondents 'what they liked most' in that particular class. The responses were the following: *"it was problem-oriented"*, *"the situational activities provided a more relaxed atmosphere but still enable us to learn through a guided activity, and to use and develop our language without being aware of it"*, *"I felt more relaxed to communicate with the demonstrator student"*, *"the topic was discussed in a flexible and relaxed manner"*, *"the communicational activity enhanced the acquisition of today's topic by providing real-life simulating environment"*, *"I gained more knowledge about the pharmacy profession, and my English language skills also developed"*, *"I*

got to know the demonstrator student a bit more and I received some useful insights and hot tips about study experiences abroad”.

After the first session with peer assistance, one feedback question identified potential disadvantages from peer-directed learning. No respondent was able to mention any drawbacks except one student, who said if a student happens to be tired or does not feel active or inclined to participate in the session, there is no possibility for such an option. This result finding most probably does not reflect resentment or criticism, since the other responses from the same study participant also mention the recognition of improved self-confidence during the peer-assisted session. Therefore, this seemingly critical remark may be interpreted as a compliment on the effectiveness of the demonstrator activity.

The study results identified four major benefits from the used peer-directed activities, as demonstrated in Figure 1. On the three occasions, a total number of 24 questionnaires were collected 18 of which (75%) commented that the activities improved students’ English language communication skills, and according to 16 feedback sheets (66.6%) the activities proved useful strategies to build Pharmacy English vocabulary. In 10 cases the respondents (41.6%)



specifically stated the recognition of reduced stress or refreshing classroom atmosphere due to peer student involvement, and in nine feedback sheets (37.5%) students claimed to have felt more motivated or encouraged for active participation in the peer-directed interactions.

An additional aim of the study was to map student preferences for studying Pharmacy English in a classroom setting, therefore the participants were requested to underline the three aspects that they consider most important and valuable in a Pharmacy English class. The relevant findings are illustrated in Figure 2. It is clear that

Figure 1. Produced by the study author based on the study results

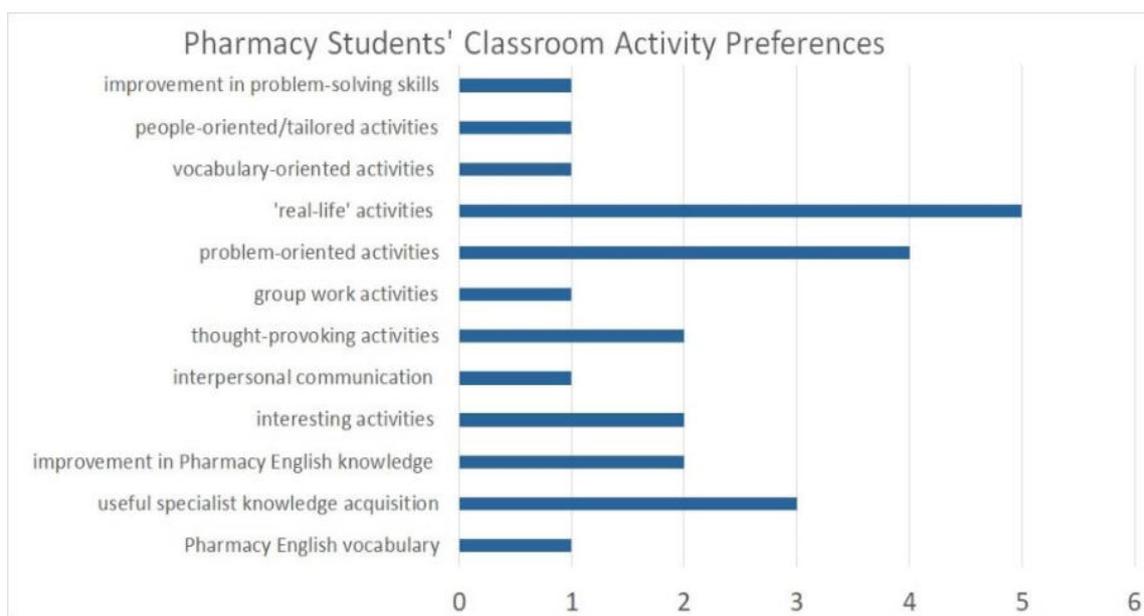


Figure 2. Produced by the study author based on the study results

students find it most important to support language practice by the use of practical, profession-related and real-life situations.

IV. Discussion

The study aimed to explore the benefits from peer-demonstrator involvement during a course of Pharmacy English language classes using a qualitative analysis based on feedbacks from a minor sample of undergraduate pharmacy student study participants. Peer-directed sessions included short education on the risks of noncompliance, medication misuse and drug interactions, but most time was devoted to activities involving active student participation through simulation of pharmacist-patient communication interactions in a community pharmacy. The international guidelines (FIP 2020) strongly recommend the development of advanced communication skills for pharmacy professionals, which confirms the usefulness and relevance of such activities. Other strong findings supporting the relevance of the study included the several remarks, which reflected student appreciation of the possibility of studying with a more experienced and more professional peer from their faculty.

The study results clearly show that pharmacy students highly appreciated the involvement of a senior peer pharmacy student in the Pharmacy English classes. The results also indicate 50% of the respondents would prefer more, or significantly more peer-directed classroom activities, which is aligned with other study findings where students welcomed and highly appreciated peer student involvement during the learning process (Ricarda-Slater 2018). As the students became more familiar with the peer student and the session activities, they tended to become more interactive and the feedbacks received more successful evaluations, although its validation is not confirmable due to the differences in the feedback questions and to the lack of comparability of numerical data.

Findings confirmed that pharmacy students prefer to be educated through practical and real-life situations, which may also support their professional studies. They also like to meet thought-provoking activities in language classes, which may be beneficial to develop problem-solving skills invaluable for today's pharmacist professionals. The peer demonstrator student's professional experience, remarkable English language fluency and communication skills, openness and flexibility also proved to be important factors for the success of the study. One finding reflected on the importance of student socialization issues, since both the Hungarian students and the international student found it an important opportunity to meet other nationality students in a relaxed and casual setting and exchange information, consistent with findings from other studies conducted among medical students at the University of Pécs Medical School (Hild et al., 2021).

V. Conclusion

Peer student's active participation was beneficial to reduce student anxiety, improve English fluency and self-confidence, and was indeed strong motivation to stimulate student involvement in classroom activities. By reducing the impact of stress, which is present during any form of study, the learning process may be supported and can lead to more effective study outcome. This may be relevant and an important item of information for future course designs.

Peer-directed language class interactions created an opportunity for 'real-life' communicational activities promoting the development of English language fluency and coping strategies in a simulated professional setting. The demonstrator environment genuinely impacted student motivation and confidence which may improve learning outcome.

The small sample size brings limitations to the implications and generalization of the study results, although it may not have a significant impact on the reliability due to the qualitative

nature of the analysis. Both genders were evenly represented. The possible changes in individual respondents' opinions were not differentiated throughout the 12-week course. One of the most important findings may be the recognition that students can and like to study from peer students and appreciate the opportunity to learn from each other. This finding may suggest long-term implications for any academic faculties and prove useful for course design purposes.

Acknowledgement

The author would like to express special thanks to the students for their flexible and enthusiastic participation in the study. I also wish to extend my gratitude to the demonstrator student, Nadica Karakamisheva, for her consistent work and meaningful professional insights. I am also indebted to my colleague, Dr Alexandra Csongor, Szántóné for calling my attention to this interesting research area and for her insightful and supportive review. I am also grateful to Dr András Fittler for his valuable remarks that contributed to the present study.

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Constants and Changes of Syrian Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Greek Orthodox between the Past and the Present

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Syria had taken a central stage all over the world in its individual artistic characteristics of ecclesiastical architecture from the North to the South. This study aims firstly to provide a clear picture of the external forms of ecclesiastical architecture and their symbolic meanings such as rectangular, centralized, and cruciform plans.

Secondly, to clarify the constants and variables in ecclesiastical architecture through an architectural and chronological comparison between two discernable groups of churches in different areas in Syria belonging to the Greek Orthodox denomination. Hence, the first group represents churches with a centralized plan: St. George church in Izraa and St. George church in Damascus. Whereas the second one displays a basilica plan: Qalb Loze church in Northwestern Syria and St. Andrew church in Latakia.

Regarding the results of this study, it can be stated that the connection with the authenticity of ancient ecclesiastical architecture is demonstrated more explicit in St. Andrew church in Latakia through the appearance of western towers, a projecting apse, and a gable roof. While the resemblance of St. George church in Damascus to St. George church in Izraa displays only with a centralized plan.

Keywords: ecclesiastical architecture, symbolism, centralized plan, basilica plan.

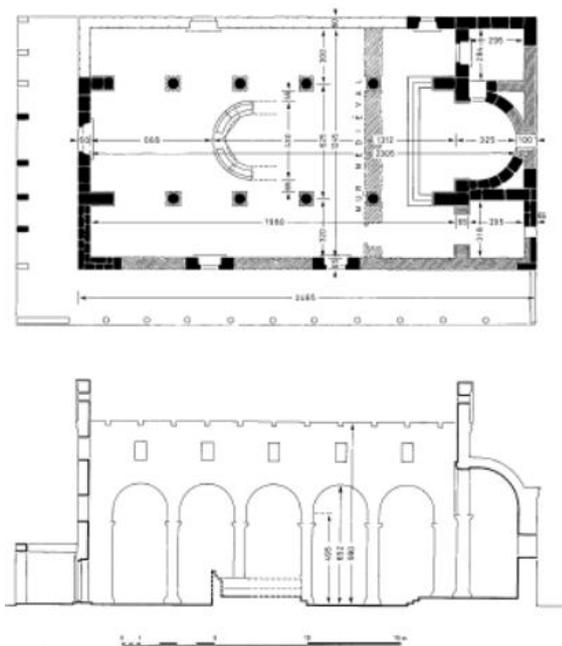
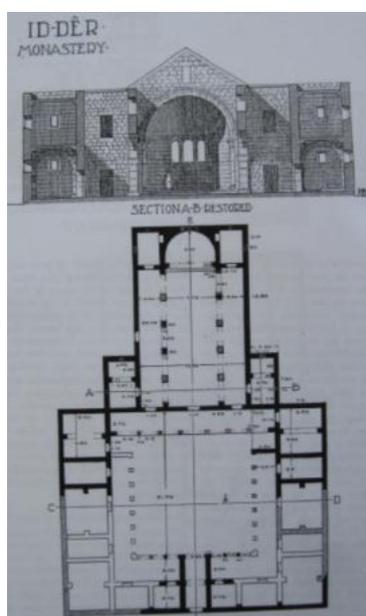
I. Introduction:

At the beginning of the fourth century, ecclesiastical architecture was clearly influenced by the Roman architecture. Due to the lack of financial resources in the early Christian period, Christian communities and so architects were compelled to adopt the available buildings, according to the new functions of the Christian faith. Accordingly, the Roman basilica was used as a Christian church.¹ Civil Basilica or ‘secular basilica’ buildings were found in considerable numbers dedicated to social, political, and commercial functions² in the Greco-Roman world.³ These basilicas were distinguished with various scales, simplicity, and significant impression accommodated a great number of people.

Of great note, the concept of Christian Basilica buildings has special approaches, unlike any rigid buildings, they were mainly divided in symbolical and functional approaches. Hence, ecclesiastical architecture took two main shapes: The rectangular basilica, and those with a vaulted centralized plan (square- cruciform- circular or polygonal forms) with different functions. Each form carried theological meaning due to the importance of symbolism and its concept in Christianity and its liturgical expressions. The basilica church contains different forms regarding liturgical celebration and functions like martyrrium (memorial), congregational church, and monastic church. Needless to say, that celebration of the liturgy was the major aim for erecting churches. However, at times liturgy changes led to architectural modifications.⁴

What are the functional and symbolic approaches of the main forms of the Christian Basilica?

I.1. Churches with rectangular plan:



¹ MuÔlaq M, *TÁrÐkh al-ÝAmÁra fÐ al-ÝÑÛr al-qadDma al-IghrÐq al-RÛman al-BÐzanÔiyn* (Beirut,2003), 122.

² Lowrie, W, *Monuments of the Early Church* (London, 2007),89.

³ MacDonald W. L, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1996), 14.

⁴ Mango,C, *Architecture Byzantine* (London, 1979), 8.

Figure 2: Plan and section of al-DĒr monastery (Butler, 1929, p.88).

Figure 1: Plan and section of KhrĀb Shams church. (TchaLenko, 1979, p.56)

Symbolic approach:

In the beginning, conventional Churches took a rectangular plan following the basilica type. The rectangle form indicates the ship perched on the ground toward the East, to the light. The Church is a vessel of salvation and rescuer, which transports believers from the deluge of sin to the East tranquility harbor, to the Kingdom of God, to the source of light through the sea of life safeguarding humanity.⁵

Functional approach:

The rectangular form is considered fundamental to all other forms of church buildings such as square, octagonal, and cruciform, which adopt other symbolic considerations.⁶ This form with a rectangular plan (oblong) with a gable roof was dedicated for ordinary worship,⁷ congregational churches, and later for monastic ones.⁸

I.2. Churches with centralized plan:

Symbolic approach:

The circle in Christianity symbolizes integrity, eternity, and infinity.⁹ It resembles Heaven on Earth, sending an invitation for every believer to enter, with divinity and eternal love, so, God is the beginning and the end by the integrality circle. Hence, the centralized form churches are linked to the Gospel and hallowed events, and venerated martyrs and saints.¹⁰ Moreover, centralized form churches show the journey of catechumens toward baptism, passing to be gathered towards the East.¹¹ Hence, the essential theological meanings like death and resurrection are present in the circle.¹²

Functional approach:

To begin with, it is said regarding the beginning of centralized form “The adaptation of central plan to temple architecture began in the second century when Hadrian had the Pantheon rebuilt after it had long been favored for imperial mausolea... It was especially popular for martyria, or churches built to memorialize key events in the biblical tradition and in the life of Christ, or to commemorate martyrs who had died for the faith”.¹³

Secondly, Christians got accustomed to using the centralized forms for their martyria, baptistries, and memorial shrines,¹⁴ built on the holy tomb or near to it,¹⁵ whether in the East or the West¹⁶ including diverse covering methods like timbered ceilings, vaults, domes supported with

⁵ KafĀ, R, *Waqfa ĪalĀ Īatabat bayt PllahD* (Lattakia, 1997), 38.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Grabar, A, *Christian Architecture, East & West*. Archaeology Institute of America. 1949. Vol. 2, No. 2. pp. 95-104, 96.

⁸ Milbur, R, *Early Christian Art and Architecture*. (1988), 123.

⁹ FayyĀĀ, *al-MaĪbad al-MassDĪD. MaĒbaĪat ĀDlf.* (lebanon, 2007), 18.

¹⁰ MacDonald. *Early Christian*, 20.

¹¹ FayyĀĀ, *al-MaĪbad*, 18.

¹² Hackett, S, *The Architecture of Liturgy: Liturgical Ordering in church design; The Australian experience in perspective* (Sydney, 2011), 57.

¹³ Doig, A, *Liturgy and Architecture from the Early Church to the Middle Ages*. (2008), 39.

¹⁴ Rustum, PĀ, *KanĒsat MadĒnat Allah ĒnĒĀkyā al-ĪUĪmĀ 34-634 A.D.* (Beirut, 1958), 411-412.

¹⁵ Milburn, *Early Christian Art*, 123.

¹⁶ Grabar, *Christian Architecture*, 97.

squinches, and pendentives.¹⁷ Centralized church form has been developed in several forms; square, circular, and polygonal.¹⁸

It is interesting to mention that the “centralized” plan appeared under Constantine and Theodosius I (379-95), which confirm the separation between memorial forms and congregational ones.¹⁹

Thereby, in early Christian architecture, the deep correlation between the symbolic approach and functional one (memorial shrines, baptistries) led to unification between the centralized and congregational and professional buildings. Furthermore, over the early Christian period, the architect was aware of respecting the tradition of the basilica, connected to the functional and fundamental of cult buildings.

Hereunder, there are two discerned clarified categories for the centralized plan:

- A completely circular shape such as (The Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and the Church of St. George Thessalonica).²⁰

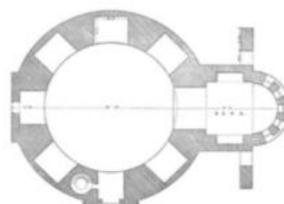
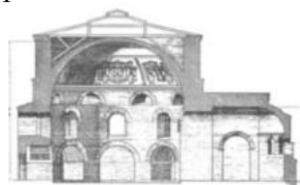
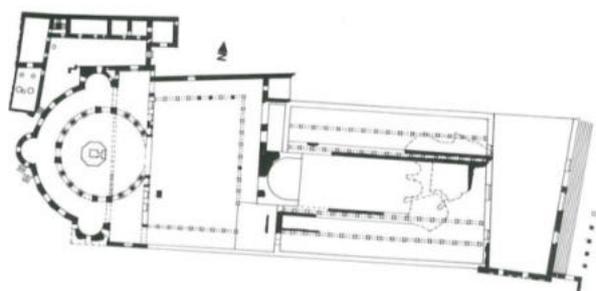


Figure 3: Plan of Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. (Krautheimer, 1992, p: 62). Figure 4: Plan and section of Rotunda St. George in Thessalonica. (Hoddinott, 1963, p.

- Octagonal plan (Church of St. George in Izraa – cathedral in Bostra –St. Vitale in Ravenna - Italy).²¹

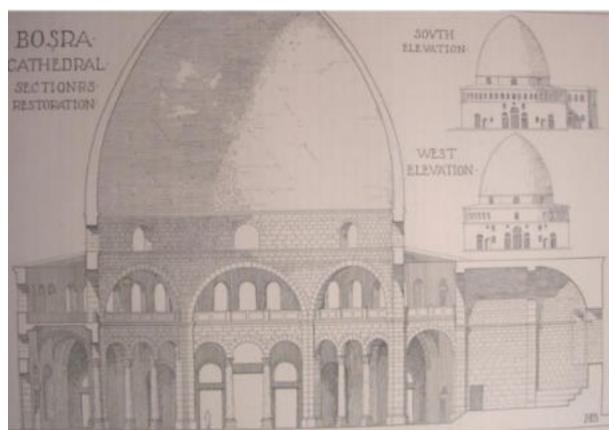
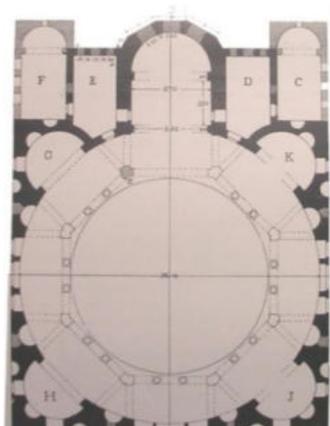


Figure 5: Plan, south and west facades, and section of Bosra cathedral. (Butler, 1929, pp.

¹⁷ Mango, *Architecture*, 7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Krautheimer, R, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (England, 1992).68.

²⁰ Na'Our, A, *BÁb Ýlm al-ÁthÁr al-MasDÍD wa Fann al-ÝamÁra* (Beirut, 2013), 12.

²¹ *Ibid.*

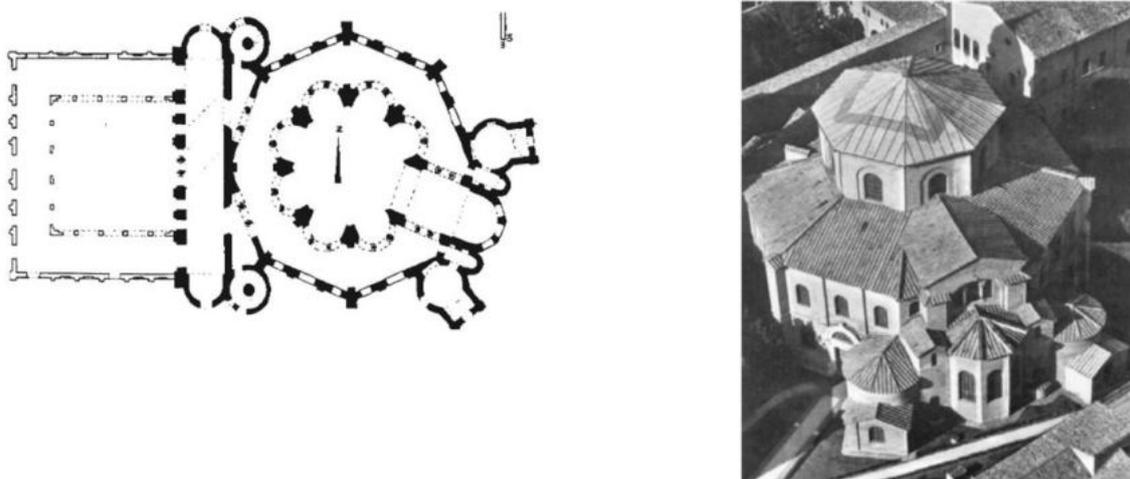


Figure 6: Plan and view of St. Vital. Ravenna (526-547). (Escrig, 2006, p. 48).

I.3 Churches with cruciform plan:

Symbolic approach:

Regarding the symbolic aspect, the cruciform was one of the important elements in Christianity, as, according to St. Paul “All the divinity arrangement is present in the word of Cross”.²² Thus, all the Cruciform plan churches point out a great depth of divinity, which is demonstrated substantially in the Christian church building world.²³

It symbolizes the divine providence; the whole world relegated symbolically to it, in the cross, the world is drawn from its four poles.²⁴

Functional approach:

Concerning architecture, it illustrates a kind of development of memorial shrines and martyr churches which took cruciform, or octagonal shapes. Hereunder, four types of cruciform plan types are identified:

- First type: It emerged in the fourth century, it has a cross shape, with arms of equal dimension, each arm constitutes a single hall covered with timbered gable roof. The centralized square which is resulted in the intersection of the single halls is roofed with a dome. Example: St. Babylas (381).²⁵

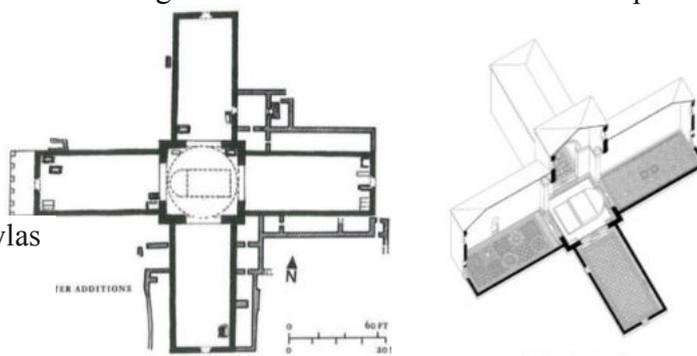


Figure 7: Plan of martyrion of St. Babylas in Antioch (Krautheimer, 1992, p. 76). Viewing reconstruction of St. Babylas (TchaLenko, 1979, p. 351)

²² KafÁ, *Waqfa ÝalÁ*, 18..

²³ NaÖÜr, *BÁb Ýlm al-ÁthÁr*, 6.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ ÞÁmÐn, *A.al-ÝAmÁra al-MasÐÍyya al-MubakkirÁ* (Alexandria, 2015), 44-45.

○Second type: The arms of the cross are different in size and length; the Western arm is longer and larger, the Eastern one has an apse. This type is covered entirely with an equal height roof (the four sides of cruciform and centralized square) or separated covering. Example: Church of St. John in Ephesus (fourth -fifth century).²⁶

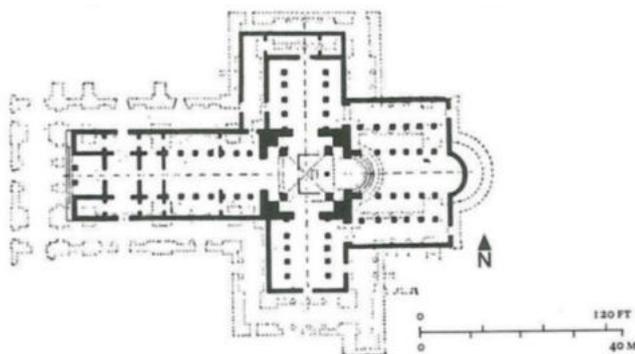


Figure 8: Plan of St. John built in 450 in Ephesus. (Krautheimer, 1992, p. 106)

○Third type: The center of the intersecting four arms takes an octagonal shape instead of the traditional square, characterized with octagonal shaped dome such as at St. Simon (541-565).²⁷

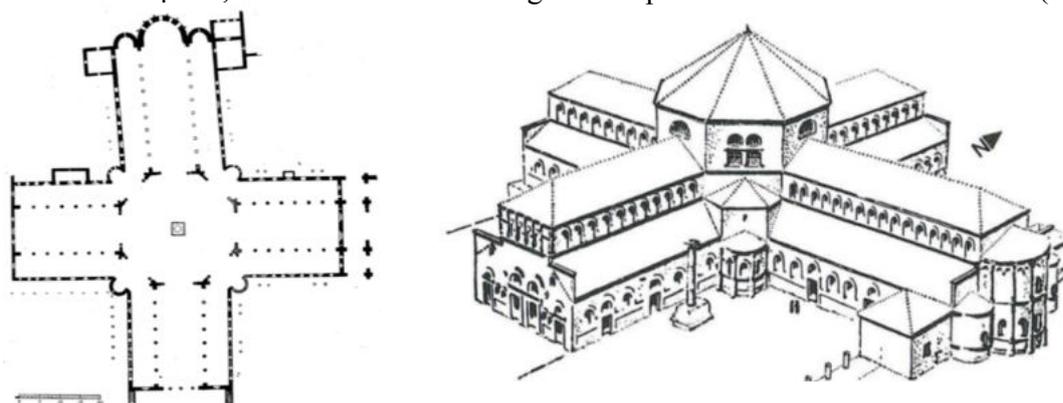


Figure 9: Plan of Saint Simeon Stylites. (Lassus, 1947., p. 130). Saint Simeon reconstruction (Krautheimer, 1992, p. 148).

○Fourth type: This type is characterized with an interior cruciform plan, and exterior square or rectangular plan “Cross in Square”. This type expanded widely in the Byzantine architecture. Example: Church of Apostles and Martyrs in Jerash.

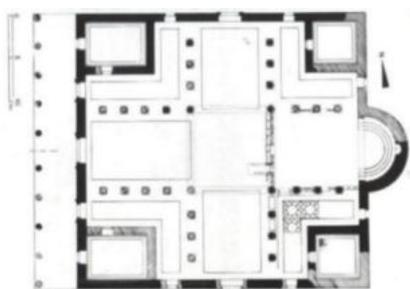


Figure 10: Plan of St. John the Baptist, St. George and St. Cosmas and Damian church in Jerash (Mango, 1979, p. 23)

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

II. Descriptive comparison:

II.1. Churches with centralized plans: St. George in Izraa and St. George in Damascus.

- St. George church in Izraa:

History and timing:

St. George church is located in the Northeast of Izraa in Daraa governorate. This church bears witness to a significant ecclesiastical architectural style. It is still intact to this day and ascribed to the Greek Orthodox denomination. The church possesses St. George's relics and was established in 515 by John "son of Diomedes, his own expense".²⁸

However, the ancient stone dome of St. George church was partially damaged in the wake of the campaign of Ibrahim Pasha in 1840.²⁹ Thereafter, this dome was totally demolished as a consequence of the earthquake in 1893.³⁰ Thence, the Russian Nicholas II contributed to rebuilding a wooden dome which was inaugurated in 1911 by the patriarch Gregory Haddad.³¹

General characteristics:

The scheme of St. George illustrates an external square embracing an internal octagon. There is a central octagon which is formed by eight angles piers with arches resting on them and is surmounted by a dome.³² Furthermore, the four niches (exedra) are positioned in the corners of the square.³³ The plan terminated with a prominent East apse showing three polygon sides and is pierced by a single window. It is essential to note as it is suggested that the outline of this church was impacted by early baptistries, which commonly form an octagon covered at the top with a dome.³⁴

Moreover, the plan shows two side chambers surrounding the altar. The southern one: prothesis has an entrance to the niche (bema), while the northern one: diaconicon opened to the apse.³⁵ Remarkably, a rectangular space is constituted by apse (bema).³⁶ The iconostasis appears distinctly in this Greek Orthodox church. The entrances are distributed in the North, South, and West sides. The Western entrance is composed of three openings, the middle one is the largest.

The dome's shape is pointed rather than hemispherical,³⁷ and it is pierced by rows of windows. Hence, the main source of illumination are these small and arched windows in the drum. Nevertheless, due to the inferiority of windows, the church is rather dim.

The surrounding aisles formed by the internal octagon are covered by slab basalt stones similar to the traditional method used in southern Syria.³⁸ To facilitate the transformation from octagonal to circular form, there are two rows of stones placed and distributed in the internal octagon: sixteen

²⁸ Kennedy, H, *The Early Development of Church Architecture in Syria and Jordan c. 300-c. 750.* (2016), 23.

²⁹ DGAM. Archive (Syria).

³⁰ DGAM. Archive (Syria).

³¹ DGAM. Archive. (Syria).

³² Simpson, F. M. *Simpson's History of Architectural Development: Early Christian, Byzantine and Romanesque architecture*, by C. Stewart. (2009), 62

³³ Kennedy, *The Early Development of*, 24-25.

³⁴ Milburn, *Early Christian Art*, 130.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 129.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Simpson, *Simpson's History of Architectural Development*, 62.

³⁸ Kennedy, *The Early Development of*, 24-25.

sides³⁹ then corbels forming thirty-two.⁴⁰ In this manner, the multi sides forms became closer to circular one. Whereas the roof of the apse is a half dome of concrete.⁴¹

Additionally, the ornaments of the Classical profile emerge in the western façade. There is also a single stone of lintel in the middle positioned under an arch that has inscriptions terminated on both sides with crosses and vines.⁴²

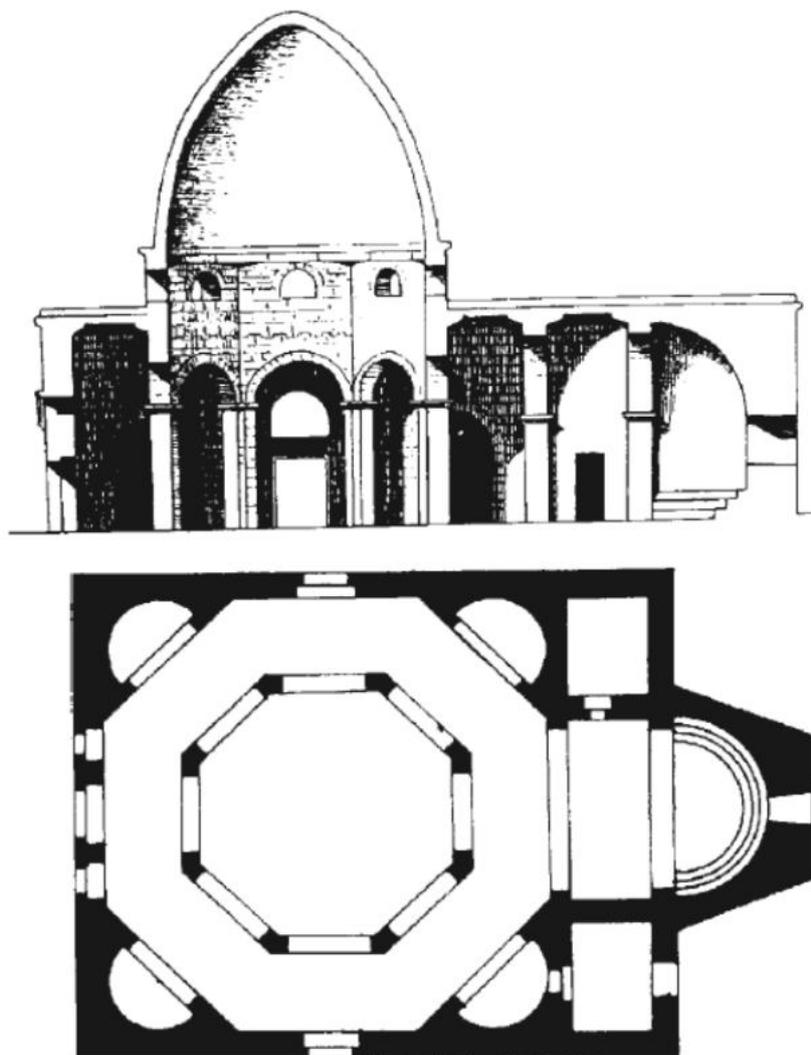


Figure 11: Centralized plan of St. George in Izraa and its section. (Escrig, 2006, p. 37)

It is interesting to note that there is a Greek epigraphy on the western entrance providing as follows: *“This has become a house of God is propitiated. A certain man, Christ-loving, the primate Ioannes, son of Diomedes, at his own expense, as a gift of God, made offering of (this) noble structure, placing herein the reverend relic of (the) holy martyr Georgios, the gloriously victorious, who appeared to him, Ioannes, and not in sleep, but manifestly, in (indication), year 410 (515*

³⁹ Simpson, *Simpson's History of Architectural Development*, 62.

⁴⁰ Milburn, *Early Christian Art*, 130.

⁴¹ Butler, H. C. *Early Churches in Syria, Fourth to Seventh Centuries*. (Amsterdam, 1929), 122.

⁴² *Ibid.*

A.D)”⁴³ However, it is said that the church was built over the foundation of a pagan temple⁴⁴ dedicated to the goddess “Theandrite”.⁴⁵

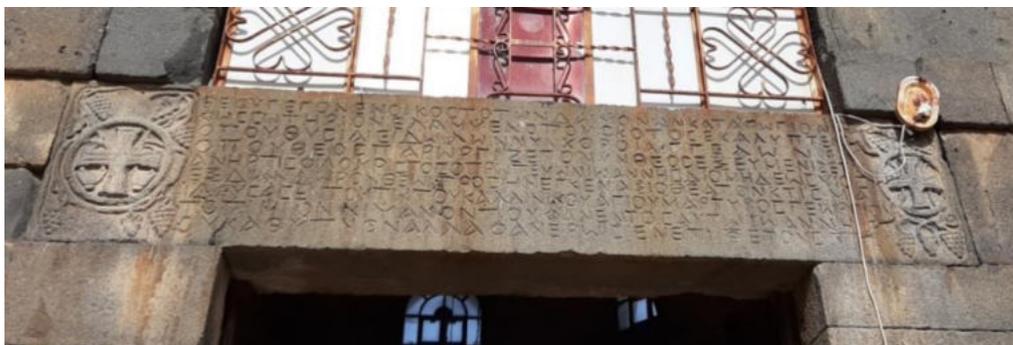


Figure 12: Greek inscription on the lintel of the western entrance where on both endings are crosses and vine. Photo by researcher in 2019.

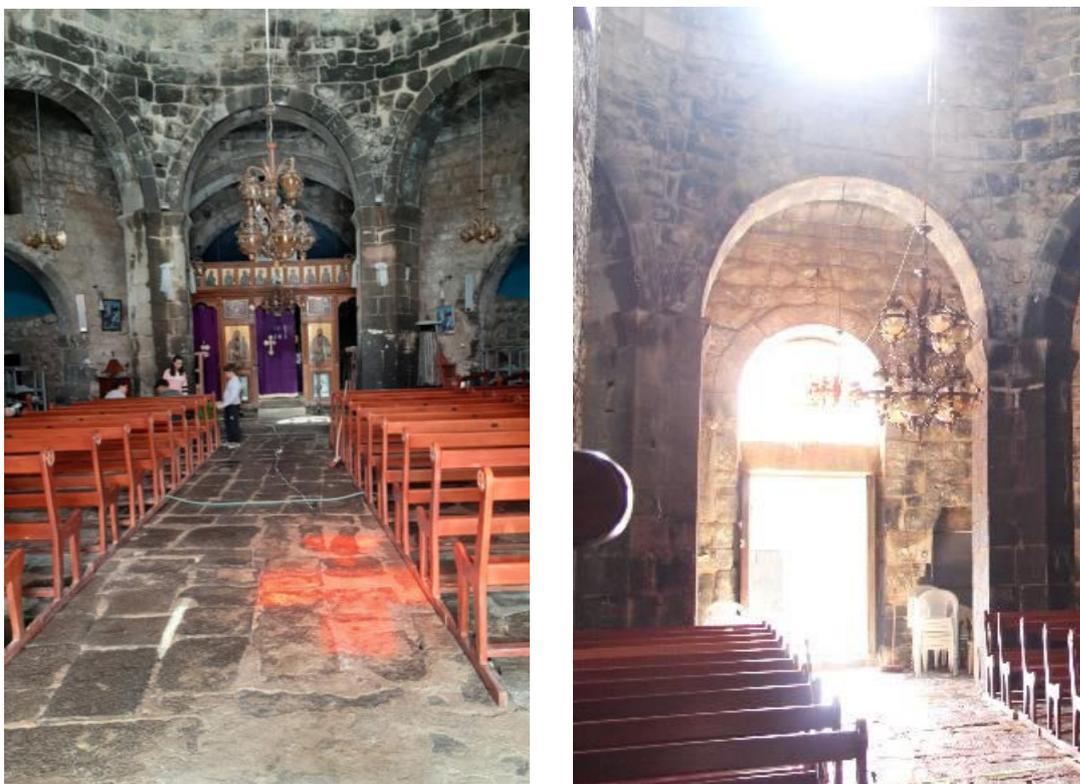


Figure 13: The right picture shows a stone arch surmounted the wooden iconostasis. The left picture illustrates an interior looking towards the West. Photo by researcher in 2019.

⁴³ Butler, *Early Churches in Syria*, 122-125.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁴⁵ DGAM. Archive. (Syria).

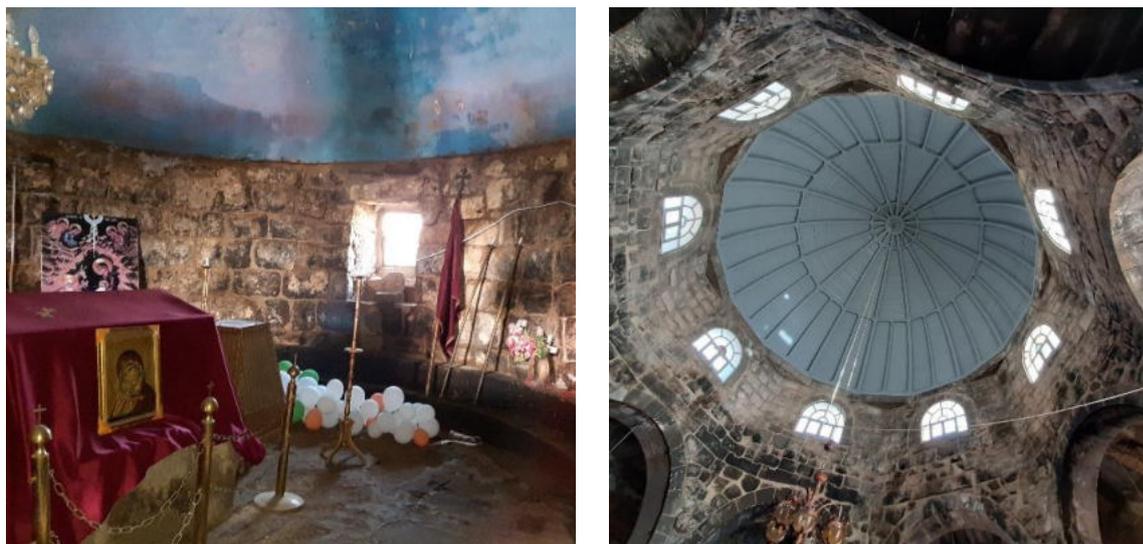


Figure 14: The right picture shows an altar. The left one shows a pointed dome of St. George church is pierced with windows. Photo by researcher in 2019.



Figure 15: The right picture illustrates exedra. The left picture shows the roof which is a corbelled stone slab of the south aisle. Photo by researcher in 2019.

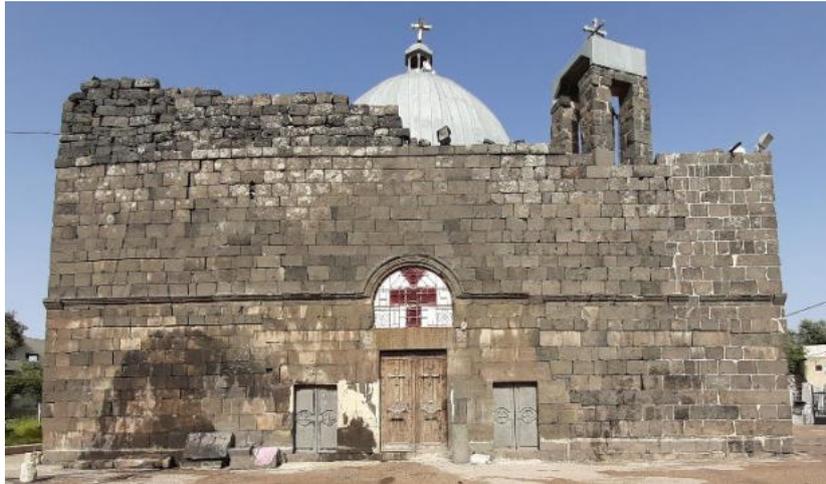


Figure 16: Western façade of the church. Photo by researcher in 2019.



Figure 17: Southern façade of the church. Photo by researcher in 2019.



Figure 18: The right picture shows viewing from Northwest. The left picture illustrates East façade. Photo by researcher in 2019

- St. George church in Damascus:

History and timing:

St. George church is situated in al-TijÁrah district in Damascus. According to the inscriptions, it was built in 1992 over the Patriarch Ignatius IV (HazÐm) (who was the Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church of Antioch and All the East from 1979 to 2012). In addition, George ÂÁhir participated in carrying out this church as a benefactor (donor).⁴⁶

Based on the field visit and the interviews with priests and members of Christian community, choosing church form lies in two main reasons:

- There was a necessity to establish a church for the accommodation of Christian congregation in order to practice the rituals in the district. Because of demographic distribution of the Antiochenes (Orthodox), whose population increased considerably in the twentieth century in al-TijÁrah district.
- Finding a plot of adequate size to build a church was a bit of a challenge, since there were not enough available lands in this inhabited area (in al-TijÁrah district).

Accordingly, the concept of erecting centralized plan church was implemented to adapt to the small plot. This led the architect (FarÐd ÝawaÁ) to innovate this design, taking into consideration

the famous St. George church in Izraa for its centralized plan, which represents an important reference for building a similar church.

General characteristics:

Despite opting for a centralized plan, the church tends obviously to show a distinctive postmodern style. The church is discerned with its complete circular nave ended by a protruding East apse and one South chamber (vestry, diaconicon). The altar rests on an elevated platform of three steps and displays a straight wall interior, as well as the exterior. While the columns disappeared from the nave.

The wooden iconostasis separates the altar from the nave, which was added subsequently. The church is covered by a polygon slope roof surmounted with a drum dome, which is pierced by rows of small arched windows. Moreover, the sloping roof has 12 tiny rows of windows, which extend to the walls. The church has also three elongated arched windows positioned between divisions of row.

The church has two doors: one in the West and another in the South (accessed by a few steps). The main entrance is the Western one preceded by a small portico including a table with candles. There are two overlapped cylinders representing the bell-tower located in the Northeast of the church as a complimentary to the modern style.

⁴⁶ al-ShÐhÁbÐ, Q, HÁjÐ ÀthnÁsyÛ, M. *ÐÁdyira wa KanÁÐis Dimashq wa RÐfihÁ* (Damascus, 2004), 106.

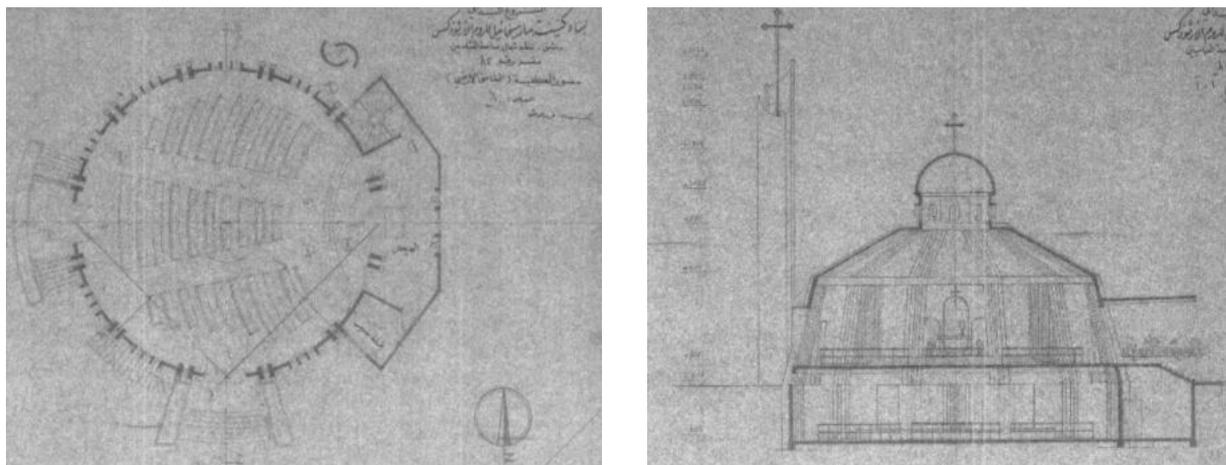


Figure 11: Plan of St. George in Damascus and its section. *Archive of architect office*

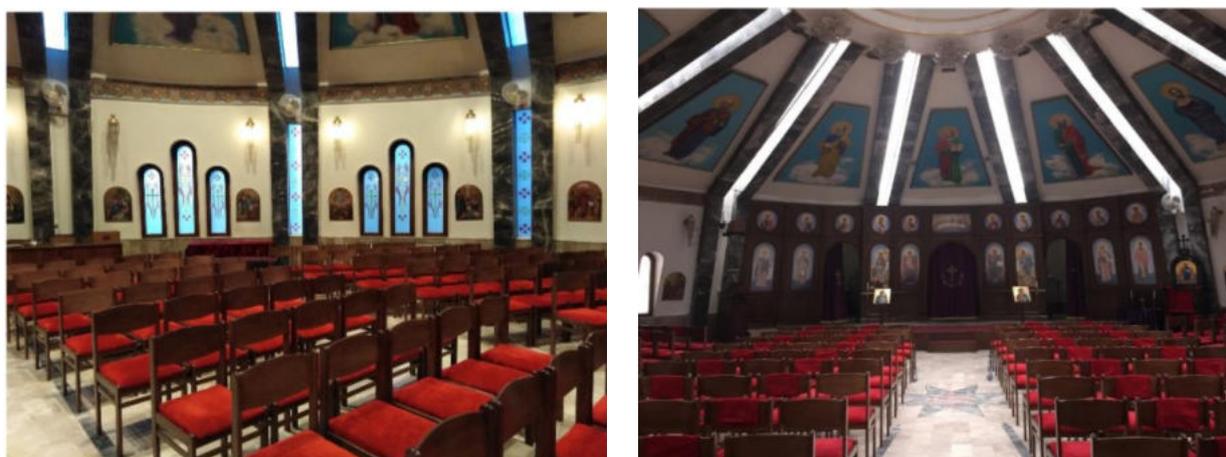


Figure 12: The left picture shows the interior from the south, with the three elongated windows. Looking to the east iconostasis. *Photo by researcher in 2019.*



Figure 13: The slope roof ending with a dome. *Photo by researcher in 2019.*

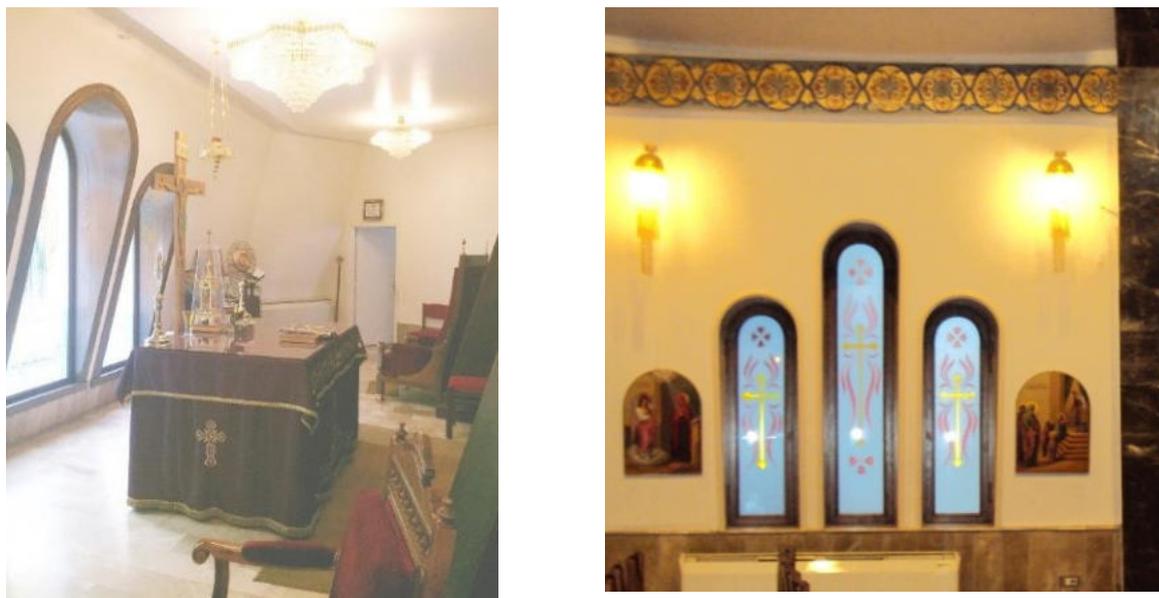


Figure 14: The right picture shows interior of the apse. The left picture illustrates the three elongated windows. Photo by researcher in 2019.



Figure 15: Exterior looking towards the West. Photo by researcher in 2019.

II.2. Basilica plans: Qalb Loze church in Idleb and St. Andrew church in Latakia.

- Qalb Loze church:

History and timing:

Qalb Loze church exemplifies one of the most splendid ancient churches located in ÍÁram city near Idleb governorate (to the Southeast of Qalb Loze village in Idleb city).⁴⁷ According to scholar Butler, it is suggested the church was built in 480.⁴⁸ It is assumed that the significance of

⁴⁷ QawÒara, F. *Qalb lawza durat al-KanÁDis al-SÛriyya* (Aleppo, 1995), 7.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 9.

this church was not only limited to being the main church in the village, but also for functioning as a shrine for pilgrims.⁴⁹

It is worth mentioning that the names of the archangels Michael and Gabriel were carved on the lintel of the door (the door was used by men), in addition, their engraving were found on the triumphal arch, which leads to believe that the church was devoted to them.⁵⁰

General characteristics:

The plan represents a nave divided by two rows of piers into two aisles.⁵¹ All in all, the ratio in this church is about 3:2.⁵²

The East side ends with a prominent apse with three windows. Two side chambers are located at both ends of aisles in the East:⁵³ the Northern one is a diaconicon, while the Southern is a prothesis (martyrion) where saint's relics are maintained. Each side chamber has two doors, one leads to the nave, and another opened to the apse, except the Southern chamber has another entrance to the outside.⁵⁴ Moreover, as it well-known, the bema was an important common element in the fourth century churches in Northern Syria,⁵⁵ Qlab Loze church had a bema of five steps in the middle of the nave.⁵⁶ Additionally, two side chambers surround the narthex beneath the Western towers including two openings: one to side aisle and another one opened to the narthex.⁵⁷

The illumination of this church would be one of the most excellent, particularly due to the fact that a total of nine windows are pierced on the sidewalls and eleven on the upper level. Besides three windows in the West and the East sides.⁵⁸ The windows in this church took a round-headed shape in small size,⁵⁹ and rectangular form.⁶⁰

The church has five entrances: two in the Northern and Southern walls, and one in the West.⁶¹ Whereas the doors were as well round-headed forms surmounted by straight lintel along with semicircular arch.⁶²

In terms of roofing: Flat slab roof was employed to cover two side aisles.⁶³ Whereas, a timber gable roof was used to cover the central nave,⁶⁴ and the apse is covered with a stone half dome. The western towers consist of three stories, the middle floor was roofed with wooden ceiling.⁶⁵

⁴⁹ al-BÛnÐ, ÝA, *Kanist Qalb Loze*. Vol.24. PP.307.

⁵⁰ Peña, I. *The Christian Art of Byzantine Syria* (Madrid, 1997), 145.

⁵¹ Butler, H. C. *Architecture and other arts* (New York, 1903), 221-222.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ al-BÛnÐ, ÝA, *Kanist Qalb Loze*. Vol.24. PP.225.

⁵⁶ Butler, *Early Churches in Syria*, 7.

⁵⁷ Butler, *Architecture and other*, 221-222.

⁵⁸ KwÁkbÐ, N. *TÁrÐkh al-ÝamÁra*, 44.

⁵⁹ Kennedy, *The Early Development of*, 13.

⁶⁰ Butler, *Architecture and other*, 222.

⁶¹ al-BÛnÐ, ÝA, *Kanist Qalb Loze*. Vol.24. PP.225.

⁶² Kennedy, *The Early Development of*, 13.

⁶³ Butler, *Architecture and other*, 221-222.

⁶⁴ Mango, *Architecture*, 80.

⁶⁵ Butler, *Early Churches in Syria*, 71-72.

As a confirmation for the idea of the Holy Trinity: This church shows a clear, profound connection to the meaning of number three (God, Son, and the Holy Spirit). For instance, there are three windows in the West and East, respectively, also, a nave with two aisles, and three broad arches. The Western towers consist of three floors. Moreover, the bound decoration is about three rows or layers.⁷¹

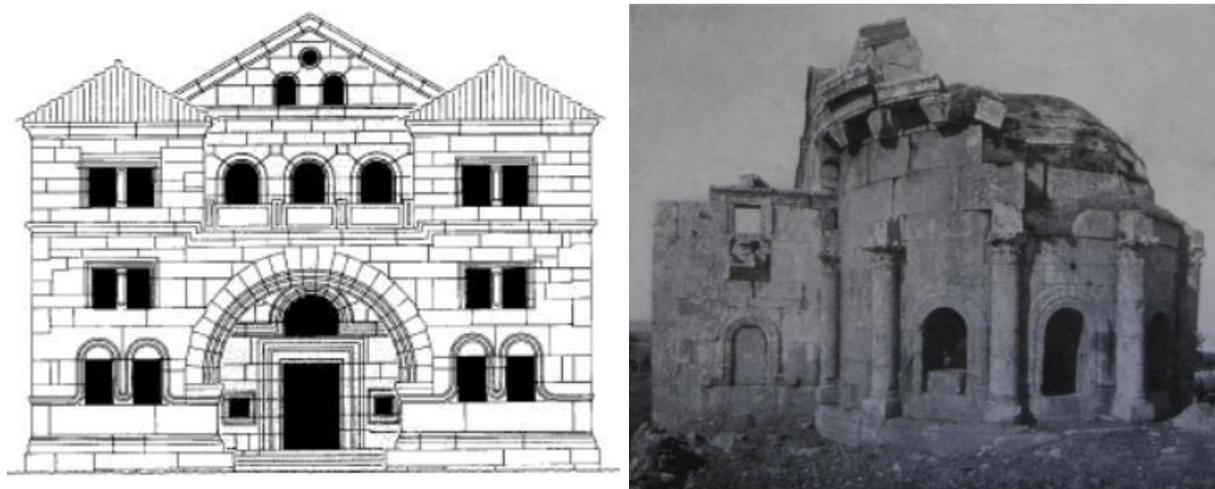


Figure 17: Reconstruction of the western facade (Peña, 1997, p. 144). Exterior shows the apse from the Southeast (Butler, 1903, p. 224).



Figure 18: Exterior from the Southwest (Butle, 1903, p. 223).

⁷¹ QawÒara, *Qalb lawza durat*, 30-33.

To sum up, there are two remarkable key points in this church:

- Qalb Loze basilica is one of the earliest examples exhibiting the employment of piers instead of using the columns as well as bear broad round arches separating the nave and the side-aisles.⁷² As a result of using piers, it led to increase in the width of arches to be as doubled. Hence, the advantages of using piers contributed to connecting the nave and the two side aisles providing an excellent view for believers. The nave was turned into a visually greater space.⁷³ Not to mention that the technique performance of using arches resting on piers is considered a significant accomplishment in ecclesiastical architecture.⁷⁴
- The second characteristic feature of this church is the symmetrical Western façade displaying a central loggia with two side towers.⁷⁵ These towers of three stories, acquire a staircase in order to reach the loggia⁷⁶ (nave roof and aisles).⁷⁷ Perhaps, the purpose of these towers was to invite the believers to pray, yet it became a tradition for Muslims. The objective of the loggia was for accommodating great numbers of believers in the church.⁷⁸

Many churches in the West consider it as a reference, making this church one of the most important examples in Syria and typical to imitate in the Western world.



Figure 19: Interior viewing East: central nave, piers and wide arches. (Mango, *Architecture Byzantine*, 1979, p. 80). This picture presents the western entrance of Qalb loze church (for men). (Peña, 1997, p. 88).

⁷² Kennedy, *The Early Development of*, 12.

⁷³ Peña, *The Christian Art of Byzantine*, 69.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Mango, *Architecture*, 80.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ al-BÛnĎ, ÝA, *Kanist Qalb Loze*. Vol.24. P,227.

⁷⁸ Mango, *Architecture*, 80.

- St. Andrew church:

History and timing:

St. Andrew church is situated in al-MashrÚÝ al-PAwal district in Latakia. The design of this church was intended to be similar to Qalb Loze, which was performed by GÁbÐ SÝÁdih:(who is an archeological experiment in Syria), besides the architect Mark Murqus: who was responsible to carry out and support the church planning. The construction process of the church lasted approximately six years and finished in 1982.

Furthermore, hereunder are the justifications for choosing this plan:

Firstly, according to the interview with the priest, IspÐrÐdÙn FayyÁÃ, there was a cave called St, Andrew in Latakia which was turned into a church dating back to the Days of Apostolic' Fathers. However, this church was purposefully destroyed in order to build a road in 1932. Thus, the name St. Andrew was chosen to indicate the old church (cave). Its plan was designed in accordance with the ancient church Qalb Loze.

Secondly, the main factor which played an essential role in rendering St. Andrew church in order to build it perfectly is a convenient land with an adequate size was available in Latakia over the period (1979-1986).

General characteristics:

To begin with, the church exhibits a great external structure, as it is built on a raised platform accessed with a few steps. The plan represents a rectangle plan including a nave and two aisles. Two rows of piers with three broad arches resting on them split the nave into three aisles: the middle is the widest.

The plan terminates with the altar on an elevated platform, and a projecting semicircular apse including three arched windows. The altar is separated from the nave by a wooden iconostasis and surmounted by a victory arch. Moreover, the roofing of the nave is a traditional gable roof, while the two aisles are roofed with flat slab roofs. Regarding the openings, there are four arched windows on the western façade, and the other four are distributed on the upper level as small rectangular forms. Besides, the openings are positioned in the North and South lower and upper levels. The church has three entrances, the Western one is the main and widest one preceded by a portico, which does not function as a narthex due to changes in the liturgy. In other words, catechumens and penitents disappeared. It is remarkable that externally the Western towers are



Figure 20: The right picture: viewing towards the West (nave, and two aisles). The left picture: interior looking towards North showing broad arches and piers. Taken by researcher in 2019.

positioned in the main façade. Noteworthy, there is a simple ribbon connecting the windows as in Qlab Loze church.



Figure 21: Interior showing the apse. Taken by IspDrDdÙn FayyÁÃ

Figure 22: Interior looking toward the East
Taken by researcher in 2019.

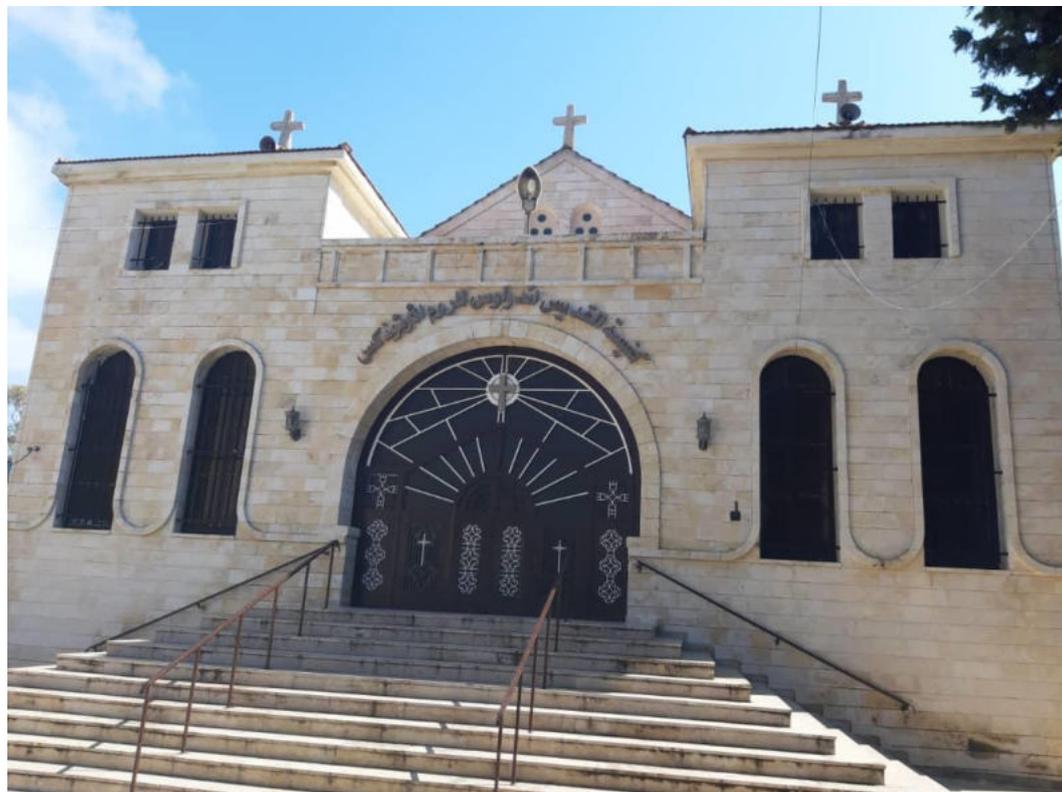


Figure 23: West façade of the church. Taken by researcher in 2019.



Figure 24: Viewing towards the North. Taken by researcher in 2019.



Figure 25: Exterior of the East façade. Taken by researcher in 2019.

III. Results:

Based on the comparison of the churches above, hereunder a summary of the essential points:

- ➡ Space: nave, altar.
- ➡ Openings and roofs.
- ➡ Decorative ornaments, façade.

Churches with centralized plans: St. George in Izraa and St. George in Damascus.

The architectural outline of St. George church in Damascus simultaneously represents a modern and peculiar type compared to the ancient St. George in Izraa church. Albeit St. George plan in Damascus was fundamentally designed to imitate St. George in Izraa, the influence of postmodern style predominates at the expense of the Orthodox tradition. This is clearly witnessed through:

The nave of the modern St. George church in Damascus is a circle devoid of using columns, while in St. George church Izraa church is an internal octagon with an external square. The scale of the nave seems approximately similar in both churches. Furthermore, the apse in St. George in Damascus shows internally and externally projecting linear end (straight wall), paradoxical to the altar. St. George in Izraa presents a semicircular apse internally and polygon externally.

Still, another noticeable point of St. George church in Damascus is the manner of using a polygon slope roof surmounted with a drum dome as well as inclined walls which have not been in St. George church in Izraa, also not been presented before throughout the previous centuries of historical churches.

In addition, the number of the windows in St. George church in Damascus is greater than the one in George church in Izraa. In St. George church in Damascus shows lucidly the three elongated windows with a modern touch. Nonetheless, it is assumed that there is a certain symbolic message behind opting of this specific number of windows: Three openings are distributed amongst the tiny rows, the middle is the widest, which is probably an indication of the Holy Trinity. As it is well-known, all the internal elements of the church are not only based on liturgical needs but also carry a certain symbolic meaning. Not to mention that the ancient church has three entrances, while the modern church has only two doors.

Furthermore, the adornments and decorations in St. George church in Damascus cease to exist. In addition, the main concept of designing relies on a contemporary style using modern materials and marble.

Ultimately, in St. George church in Damascus merely the centralized plan is adapted, similar to the ancient church St. George in Izraa, yet the general building technique maintained a modern style and avoided the imitation of ancient St. George church Izraa church.

As for the comparison of two basilica churches plans in Idlib and Latakia:

St. Andrew church in Latakia reflects a profound connection with the historical Qalb loze church showing admirable attention to even the smallest details. Therein is seen in the demonstration of all Syrian distinguished stylistic criteria of the ancient church:

The nave of St. Andrew church in Latakia is corresponding to the one in Qalb Loze. St. Andrew church in Latakia experienced equal dominated features of Qalb Loze include broad arches resting on piers resulting in a properly wide nave with the two aisles. By the same token, the apse is semicircular projecting, and is pierced with three windows.

Equally important, the modern church of St. Andrew presents parallel covering to Qalb Loze church such as a gable roof employed for the nave, slab flat roof for the aisles, and hemispherical dome for the apse. Despite using larger windows compared to Qalb Loze church, the form of these openings emphasizes to imitate the same type distributing in the upper and lower level of the church. On the other hand, St. Andrew church has three entrances, and the western one is the widest: north, south, and west, while Qalb Loze church had five doors: two in north, three south walls, and one in the west.

Moreover, the Western façade of St. Andrew church perfectly bestows expression conducive in understanding the correlation with Qalb Loze church: using two western towers. Most striking, a plain profiling adornments line connects the windows, which is somehow reminiscent of the detailing in Qalb Loze church, yet with a simpler approach.

As a matter of fact, Latakia has presented utter authenticity in St. Andrew church through imitating ancient church by all distinguished elements internally and externally in a simple manner.

It is worth mentioning that St. Andrew church is not the only one in Latakia replicating the design of ancient churches, but there are many other churches such as Saydit al-BshaÁra church

(built in 1962) belonging to the Greek Catholic denomination showing a recognizable similarity to the RÛyĭa and al-Mashbak churches (ancient) in northern Syria.

IV. Conclusions:

In the light of these two groups of comparison, the association of the modern church in the twentieth century corresponds significantly to take a similar pattern with the authentic ancient ecclesiastical architecture in Latakia than the ones in Damascus. The fundamental elements of historical Syrian ecclesiastical architecture such as western towers, a projecting apse, and a gable roof are manifest in St. Andrew church emphasizing to imitate the church of Qalb Loze. While the appearance of a centralized plan in St. George church in Damascus is merely the link with the ancient St. George church in Izraa.

Taking everything into account, based on the existing facts, these are justifications:

-Religious factor:

The Greek Orthodox denomination is significantly represented in Latakia. There are fifteen churches in Latakia: nine churches of the Greek Orthodox, one church Greek Catholic, two churches of the Maronite, one church of the Armenian, one church of Latin, and one church of the Evangelic.

Today, according to an interview of the researcher, the percentage of Christians in Latakia was approximately 8% in 2009. This declined to 5% in the wake of the Syrian crisis, despite the exodus and fled of Christians from Aleppo, Idleb, and Homs.⁷⁹

Hereunder, the number of Christian denominations in Latakia after the Syrian crises:⁸⁰

The Greek Orthodox denomination: 11600 families.

Latin denomination: 760 families, about 2000 Christian. It is worth mention this number includes the Chaldean, the Armenian Catholic, the Syriac Catholic as well.

The Armenian denomination: 450 families, 2000 Christian.

The Maronites denomination: 360 families, about 1080 Christian.

The Evangelical: around 270 families, 885 Christians.

The Syriac denomination: 130 families, nearly 450 Christian.

The Greek Catholic denomination: 30 families.

Thus, the Greek Orthodox comprised around 85% of all denominations. On the other hand, concerning Damascus, it is characterized by the richness and diversity of Christian denominations. It is considered one of the largest centers of gathering, including all Christian denominations such as (Greek Orthodox, Catholic, Syriacs, Chaldeans, Latin, and Maronites).

Damascus has about 14 churches belonging to the Greek Orthodox, five churches Latin, two churches of the Armenian Catholic, one Armenian orthodox, two churches of the Syriac Catholic and two churches of the Syriac Orthodox, seven churches of the Greek Catholic, one church of Protestant, one church of the Chaldean Catholic, and one church of the Evangelic, one church of the Maronite.

According to an interview of the researcher, this statistic in 1960 is very important because it gives us a clear idea about the population census for almost a century ago. It is useful to do a

⁷⁹ FayyĀĀ, I. (2019) Personal interview.

⁸⁰ Īasan, M. KhĒde BĒk, I (2019) Personal interview.

comparison with previous and subsequent statistics of the Christian population. The rest is from the field, SÁIÐhiyya, and GhÛta. Hence, the population in Damascus was: 188,000, and Christians: 21,000. Population census of Christians denominations in Damascus: ⁸¹

The Greek Catholic: 6530 Christian.
The Greek Orthodox: 6240 Christian.
The Syriac Catholic: 1070 Christian.
The Armenian Orthodox: 4420 Christian.
The Armenian Catholic: 770 Christian.
The Maronite: 670 Christian.
The Syriac Orthodox: 524 Christian.
The Protestant: 420 Christian.

-Other factors:

Damascus takes a central role in Syria, due to its historical importance, representative as capital. Hence, Damascus attracts all the significant capabilities of various fields including construction and particularly church buildings. This caused an openness to the western world. Most architects who completed their education abroad, tend to build a church in contemporary style. Thus, the western interventions became more influential and efficient in Damascus than in Latakia.

Furthermore, the personality and the culture of the architect as well as the community play a part in the way of perception of the actual concept of architectural tradition. Hence, it is probably that, authenticity can surely not only be achieved through imitating ancient architectural elements. But there are surely other ways to find after a thorough evaluation of important ancient architectural examples.

Equally important, in spite of Latakia is distinctiveness because of its location owing to one significant port for export and import, it still represents a conventional city, as well as its community, which keeps attention to boosting the tradition and linking roots with the past and legacy buildings, particularly in churches.

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Egyházzakadást követő csatlakozási folyamat motívumai a Hetednap Adventista Egyházban

Ósz-Farkas Ernő, *Evangelikus Hittudományi Egyetem*

2015 április 23-án a Keresztény Advent Közösség és a Hetednap Adventista Egyház hivatalban lévő vezetői aláírták a megbékélési dokumentumot, amely egy folyamat lezárását jelképezte. A megbékélés eredményeként, a negyven éve történt egyházzakadás után, több mint hétszáz fő döntött az adventista egyházhoz való csatlakozás mellett, ami egy ötezer főt számláló hazai kisegyház életében rendkívüli történésnek számít úgy lelki, szociológiai, mint vezetéstudományi szempontból. A nézeteltérések, konfliktusok, viták és szakadások állandó kísérőjelenségei a keresztény egyház történetének. A szakadások okainak nagy részét különböző kutatások feltárták, ugyanakkor kevés irodalma van a keresztény egyházakon belüli megbékélés, egyesülés folyamatának. A pozitív történetek elemzése új vezetői szempontokat adhat az egyházvezetésnek a megbékélés munkálásában. A kutatás arra keres válaszokat, hogy milyen mintázatok figyelhetők meg a csatlakozási folyamatban, illetve, hogy van-e összefüggés a szakadást, illetve a megbékélést kiváltó okok között. A kutatás módszertana a vonatkozó szakirodalom elemzését kombinálja a fókuszcsoporthoz alapozott kvalitatív analízissel, csoportinterjúk alkalmazásával. Hat különböző fókuszcsoporthoz folyt a kutatás: két országos régióban külön a csatlakozó tagság és lelkészek mellett, a fogadók és a csatlakozást elutasítók alkottak csoportokat. Eredmények: Az adatok elemzéséből a következő, csatlakozást elindító motívumok igazolhatók: csalódás a vezetésben (alapítóknál), helyreállított identitás iránti vágy, a múlt kezelésének hiányosságai, a változás Isteni beavatkozásként való átélése és különböző társadalmi okok hatásának megélése. Következtetés: A szakadás és a csatlakozási folyamat több ponton hasonló mintázatot mutat

Kulcsszavak: Egyházzakadás, megbékélés, csatlakozás, fókuszcsoport

I. Bevezetés

I.1. A téma indoklása

Doktori disszertációmban a vallási kultúraváltás motivációit és vezetői kihívásait vizsgálom két magyarországi kiségyház történetének példáján keresztül. A tanulmányban az eddigi kutatási részeredményekre alapozott összefüggések jelennek meg. Végleges következtetések és eredmények csak a kutatás befejezése után fogalmazhatók meg, amelyek részben eltérhetnek a publikációban szereplő megállapításoktól.

A nézeteltérések, konfliktusok, viták és szakadások állandó kísérőjelenségei a keresztény egyház történetének. A szakadások okainak nagy részét különböző kutatások feltárták (Bruce, 1990), ugyanakkor kevés irodalma van a keresztény egyházakon belüli megbékélés, egyesülés folyamatának. A rendszerváltás előtt több magyarországi, amúgy erős közösségi kohézióval rendelkező kiségyház volt kisebb-nagyobb szakadás elszenvedője. A kiségyházakat a Szabadegyházak Tanácsa tömörítette (továbbiakban: SZET). 1975-ben a Hetednap Adventista Egyház tagságának egyharmadát veszítette el. A protestálók később Keresztény Advent Közösség néven önálló egyházként jegyeztették be magukat. 2015 április 23-án a Keresztény Advent Közösség (továbbiakban: KERAK) és a Hetednap Adventista Egyház (továbbiakban HNA) hivatalban lévő vezetői aláírták a megbékélési dokumentumot, amely négyéves közeledési folyamat lezárását jelképezte.

A megbékélés eredményeként, több mint hétszáz fő döntött az adventista egyházhoz való csatlakozás mellett, ami egy ötezer főt számláló hazai kiségyház életében rendkívüli történésnek számít úgy lelki, szociológiai, mint vezetéstudományi szempontból.

A kutatás arra keres válaszokat, hogy milyen mintázatok figyelhetők meg a csatlakozási folyamatban, illetve, hogy van-e összefüggés a szakadást, illetve a megbékélést kiváltó okok között.

I.2. A kutatás módszertana

A kutatás módszertana a vonatkozó szakirodalom elemzését kombinálja a fókuszcsoporthoz alapozott kvalitatív analízissel, csoportinterjúk alkalmazásával.

A kutatás nem terjed ki az 1975-ös eseményekre, de a meglévő leírásokra, korábbi publikációkra alapozva próbálk egy összegzést adni, mert ennek ismerete nélkül nem érthető meg a 2015-ös csatlakozás folyamata. Negyven éven át a közeledés legnagyobb akadálya a múlt értelmezésének kibékíthetetlen ellentéte volt. Nem sikerült megegyezni abban, hogy mi is történt 1975-ben és kik a felelősök a történetekért. Minden egyesítési kísérlet kudarcba fulladt. A korabeli és az azt követő két évtizedben született publikációkban vannak történéseket és a szereplők átéléseit tartalmazó leírások. A csatlakozási folyamat kutatása során is megjelentek visszaemlékezések, amelyek szélesítik a látókört. Mindezeket lehet összegezni, véleményezni, de a teljes igazság ismerete nem feltétele a kölcsönös megbocsátásnak. A tanulmány nem akarja megoldani a negyven éves vita dilemmáit, csak elemezni a forrásokat, összehasonlítani a különféle átéléseket és ennek alapján levonni néhány konklúziót, annak tudatában, hogy a kutatóknak is meglehetnek a maga szűrői.

II. Szakirodalmi áttekintés

Az 1975-ös szakadás eseményeiről rengeteg nyílt levél, körlevél született, amit a későbbi írások csak részben dolgoztak fel. Az első publikált cikk a szakadásról a Lelkésztájékoztató című folyóiratban jelent meg 1976-ban, „Aki áll, vigyázzon, hogy el ne essék” címmel.

Az első könyv méretű publikáció, „Igazságot, igazságot kövess, hogy élhess...”, Egy lezáratlan fejezet az adventizmus XX. századi történelméből” címmel, 1995-ben jelent meg, amelyben a KERAK vezetői összegezték az eseményeket, azzal a céllal, hogy az akkor még mindig fennálló különállásra kellő indoklást adjanak a második generáció és az új megtérők számára. Ez az egyetlen könyv a szakadásról, amit angol nyelvre is lefordítottak (Vankó, Kovács, Egervári, Sonnleitner 1998). A szerkesztő azzal indokolja az angolt kiadást, hogy az 1975-ös magyar válság a nemzetközi HNA számára szolgáljon tanulsággul. Másik ok a nemzetközi egyházi egységek vezetőinek felelősségét alátámasztani, ugyanis két Divízió és a Generál Konferencia¹ vezetői is részt vettek a tárgyalásokban, ezzel, a szerkesztők véleménye szerint, a világegyház történelmének részévé tették magyarországi eseményeket. A könyv nagy részletességgel közli az 1975-1978 közötti dokumentumokat, de a 1979-1995 közötti történésekről is bemutatja az általuk fontosnak tartott leveleket és nyilatkozatokat. A könyv összegző, értelmező résszel, valamint állásfoglalásokat tartalmazó függelékkel zárul.

2003-ban jelenik meg az első olyan kutatás, amit a HNA könyv formátumban kiad. Rajki ELTE BTK egyetemen megvédett doktori disszertációjának egy fejezete foglalkozik az Egervári-üggyel.² Ez az első mű, amely megjelenésével megkérdőjelezi a KERAK monopóliumát az 1975-ös események értelmezésében.

Ennek jelentőségét jelzi a KERAK vezetés által nyomtatott füzetben 2003-ban kiadott nyílt levele, amelyben kritikusan reagál a könyv megállapításaira (Sonnleitner, Juhász, Vankó, Hegedűs, Czinkota, Egervári, Vígh, Soós). 2010-ben, a KERAK vezetése ismét megjelentet egy kis könyvet „Miért nem gyógyított meg az én népem leánya?” Egy 35 éve elrendezetlen ügy tényei és tanulságai”, amely 47 pontban foglalja össze az elmúlt 35 év különállás indoklásául szolgáló tényeit.

2012-ben jelenik meg az első önálló könyv a témában, nem egyházi kiadónál, amelyet nem a KERAK alapítók írnak. „Az Egervári-mozgalom: a Keresztény Advent Közösség kialakulása és vallásszabadsági küzdelmei a Kádár-korszak második felében” című könyvben Rajki 1975-1990 közötti eseményeket elemzi, felhasználva az Unió Irattárában, valamint a rendszerváltás után kutathatóvá vált Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok és a Magyar Országos Levéltárában fellelhető témához kapcsolódó dokumentumokat is.

¹ A Hetednapi Adventista Egyház 22 millió felnőtt, alámerítéssel megkeresztelt tagot számlál; a világ 212 országában szervezett egységekben működik. Szervezeti alapegysége a helyi gyülekezet, amelyek egy adott földrajzi régióban Egyházterület néven alkot szövetséget, melynek vezetése összehangolja a gyülekezetek működését, a lelkészek munkáltatója és biztosítja a források arányos leosztását. Egy országban vagy nagyobb régióban az egyházterületeket Uniónak nevezett szervezeti egység fogja össze, amely ellátja az egyház jogi képviselését, felelős az egységes szabályzók megalkotásáért, ellátja a belső működési rend felügyeletét és működteti az országos szociális, karitatív, oktatási és egyéb intézményeket. Világszerte 121 megszervezett Unió van. Az Uniók képviselői választják meg a világszervezet vezető testületét, mely a Generál Konferencia nevet viseli. A Generál Konferencia (továbbiakban GK) szintjén 13 kontinentális régiókat összefogó fiókszervezet van, amelyeket Divízióknak neveznek. 1975-ben a magyarországi HNA az Euró-Afrikai Divízióhoz tartozott, később a szakadás után (egyes vélemények szerint a szakadás miatt) átkerült a Transz-Európai Divízióhoz. <https://www.adventist.org/statistics/seventh-day-adventist-world-church-statistics-2020/> [letöltés ideje: 2021.12.01]

² Az „Egervári-ügy” kifejezést gyakran használták a HNA köreiből a szakadás első évtizedében, a protestálók vezetőjére utalva

Ugyanebben az évben jelent meg a KERAK részéről egy újabb kiadvány Holló szerkesztésében, ami szintén a rendszerváltás utáni levéltári kutatásokra épít. A Háttér című kiadvány, a KERAK fenntartásában működő Sola Scriptura Teológiai Főiskola egyes tanárainak tanulmányait tartalmazza az adventista egyház és az állambiztonság kapcsolatairól, valamint Vankó által írt fejezetet, a saját személyéről kikért titkosszolgálati jelentésekről. A könyv végén etikai és teológiai szempontok alapján összegzi és értelmezi a feldolgozott forrásokat, igazolva a KERAK különállás megalapozottságát.

2000-2015 év között a KERAK belső életének dokumentumai, nyilvánosan elhangzott beszédek hangfelvételei egy csatlakozó korábbi KERAK elnök, Stramszki István kutatásra rendelkezésre bocsátott magángyűjteményében található, melynek feldolgozása külön disszertációs téma lehetne.

Sokat segített Raafat Kamal, Transz-Európai Divízió elnökének 2011-ben belső használatra készített jelentése, amely feldolgozza a Generál Konferencia és Transz-Európai Divízió levéltárában, a KERAK-al kapcsolatos leveleket, határozatokat és egyéb dokumentumokat, valamint a nemzetközi egyház által kiadott folyóiratokban megjelent cikkeket.

A legújabb adventtörténeti tankönyve az Adventista Teológiai Főiskolának, néhány oldalt szentel a Magyar Unió történetének, melynek keretében röviden foglalkozik a szakadás hátterével is.

Összességében megállapítható, hogy a szakadás KERAK feldolgozása mellett viszonylag kevés publikáció jelent meg nem KERAK kötődésű szerzőktől, az is inkább 1990-ig követi az eseményeket. Körlevelekből, jelentésekből határozatokból és egyéb az Unió és magánszemélyek gyűjteményében rendelkezésre álló forrásokból 1990-2015 közötti történések is rekonstruálhatók.

A források másik pillérét alkotja a kutatásban résztvevő fókuszcsoporthoz vallomásai, amelyek érintőlegesen foglalkoznak a szakadás emlékeivel.

III. A szakadás okainak kritikai elemzése

A szakadás okainak megnevezése folyamatosan viták keretében állt a különállás negyven éve alatt. Mindkét tábor igyekezett kiemelni a másik félre elmarasztaló indítékokat. A visszaemlékezések, átélések, fókuszcsoporthoz vallomások és írott források kritikai elemzése több ok együttes jelenlétét valószínűsíti. A hangadók, egyházvezetők, szimpatizánsok és a tagság oldaláról nézve más-más indíték dominanciája valószínűsíthető.

III.1. Külső, társadalmi, szociológiai környezet hatása

A kommunizmus (Rákosi korszak) egyházellenes tevékenysége alapozta meg az egyházon belüli elégedetlenséget, ugyanakkor módszereinek változása (Kádár korszak második felében) teremtette meg a tiltakozás esélyét. A 70-es évek közepétől egyre jobban lazult a rendszer szorítása. 1975-ben a magyar állam aláírta a Helsinkii egyezményt, amelynek a VII-ik paragrafusa a vallásszabadságot szavatolja, ettől kezdve vigyázni kellett a látszatra. Ez a környezet adott esélyt következmények nélkül tiltakozni az egyházvezetés ellen és burkoltan a rendszer ellen is. A 1975-ben kirobbant ellenállás vezetői már tudták, hogy nem kell tartani a karhatalomtól. „Megjegyzendő még, hogy a Kádár-rendszernek égetően szüksége volt arra, hogy a Nyugat szemében jó kép alakuljon ki róla. Ezért – főleg az 1970-es évek végétől kezdve – óvatosabb eszközöket kezdett alkalmazni... Olykor magunk is meglepődve tapasztaltuk, ahogy, amikor kellő elszántsággal léptünk fel, sok területen meghátrált és engedett az államhatalom.” (Vankó, Kovács, Egervári, Sonnleitner 1998). A zaklatások jó része az engedély nélküli építkezések, házi gyülekezések, táboroztatások, illegális öregotthon alapítás miatti hivatali eljárások voltak, amit hitük miatti üldözésként értelmeztek és a nyugati sajtóval

fenyegették meg a hatóságokat, így ezek egy részét nem folytatták le. Egy esetben a Szabad Európa rádió is foglalkozott az ügyekkel, amikor az engedély nélkül átépített központi gyülekezetüket le akarták bontani a hatóságok (Rajki, 2012). A KERAK ideológiai vezetője egy hetilapnak adott interjúban is elismerte később, hogy nem tartottak az államhatalom intézkedéseitől, sőt ezt az állapotot már 1956 utáni időszakra is kiterjeszti (Sándor, 2009). A protestálás visszafogott hatósági kezelését megfigyelhették a metodista szakadás esetében is (Rajki, 2003). Az ellenzéki szerep vállalása rendkívül népszerű volt, a diktatúra ellen „egyházi köntösben” már lehetett, illetve csak így lehetett tiltakozni. Ezt a feltételezést alátámasztja, hogy tiltakozók tömegbázisát a fiatalok, az értelmiségiek és a tehetősek alkották. Más egyházakban végbemenő hasonló megmozdulások vezetői, mint például a metodistáknál Iványi, a rendszerváltáskor politikai szerepet vállalt, ami alátámasztja azt a vélekedést, hogy az egyházi tiltakozások nemcsak az egyházi vezetők, hanem azokon keresztül a rendszer ellen is szóltak (Rajki, 2003). Összegzésként elmondható, hogy a kommunizmus egyházellenes tevékenysége alapozta meg az elégedetlenséget, illetve módszereinek változása teremtette meg a tiltakozás esélyét.

III.2. A csalódás motívuma

A tagság jelentős részének megítélése szerint az egyház vezetői nemcsak kiszolgálták a rendszert, hanem eltanulták tőle a vezetési stílust, ami visszatetsző volt. Az egyházvezetés a törvényes működés biztosítását látta a pártállammal való együttműködésben. Minden lelkésznek kapcsolatot kellett ápolni a megyei egyházügyi titkárral, az egyházvezetőknek pedig az Állami Egyházügyi Hivatal (továbbiakban AEH) embereivel. Bár ezek ellen is tiltakoztak, de korábban a tiltakozók is ugyanezt tették. Egervári 1967-től kezdve a HNA vezető testületében benne volt. Előbb kerületvezető, majd osztálytitkár, egyházterületi titkár és végül egyházterületi elnöki pozícióban követi Szakács Józsefet, aki a szakadás idején az Unió elnöke. Lojális magatartására utal, hogy 1969-ben a SZET külügyi kapcsolatok vezetője, Palotay SZET elnök mellett, külföldre mehet tanulni. Palotay a jelentésében azt írja, hogy „lojális...a szocialista társadalmi rendszerünk melletti állásfoglalásban kiveszi a részét” (Rajki, 2012). A beépítettség nem tartozott a tolerált tevékenyégek közé, csak sejtették, nem volt rá bizonyíték. Nemcsak a rendszer kiszolgálása, hanem a rendszertől eltanult vezetési stílus is kifogásolt volt. A nyílt párbeszéd, meghallgatás, igényekre odafigyelő magatartás helyett, a tiltakozásokra adminisztratív, fegyelmi eszközökkel válaszoltak nemcsak a lelkészek, hanem az elégedetlenkedő gyülekezetek esetében is. „Az agresszív, frontális, a másik fél lejáratásával párosuló rendcsinálás az ellenkező hatást váltotta ki. Növekedett a tagság elkeseredése” (Rajki, 2012). A vezetés fő elfoglaltsága a kapcsolatok ápolása volt, a lelki élet sekélyes maradt, a megújulásra szomjazók tábora nőtt. Az egyháztagságban felgyűlt az elégedetlenség, ezért könnyűnek látszott élükre állni.

III.3. Az identitás válsága

A szakadásnak ideológiai alapot próbáltak adni annak szellemi vezetői. Különösen a Szabadegyházak Tanácsába tartozó többi kiségyházzal ápolta túl közeli kapcsolatban, az egyház identitásának feladását vélték felfedezni. Sőt, ezen a szinten is túlmentek, amikor hitvallási kérdéssé emelték a más egyházakkal való kapcsolatot: „a velük való pusztá barátkozás is Isten ellenségeivé tesz... Ez törvényszerűen Isten ellenségei oldalára sodor bennünket” (Vankó, Kovács, Egervári, Sonnleitner 1998). Az ökumenikus kérdést hitelvi szintre emelték, az Istenhez tartozás jelképévé vált. A HNA nemzetközi vezető testületének vannak irányelvei az ökumenikus kapcsolatokról, de ezek soha nem képezték a hitelvek részét (Beach, 1985).

III.4. A múlt kezelése

A Rákosi és Kádár rendszer elején két másik szakadás is volt az egyházban. A bezártság, a szabad működésétől megfosztott közösség a frusztrációit a vezetéssel vezette le, amelyik mindig adott aktuális okot az elégedetlenségre. Az elsőnél 400, a másodiknál 100 tagot veszített az egyház. Az ÁEH az egyházvezetést erősítette az elégedetlenség elfolytásában. Az eseményeket kiértékelni, a sérelmeket feldolgozni nem lehetett, a belső ellenzék megmaradt. 1975 főszereplői fiatalon végig nézték a tíz évvel korábban lezajlott szakadást, és a szakadás után maradt mérsékelt ellenzék oldalára álltak. Így érthető, hogy a harmadik, a legnagyobb, az első két szakadás mintázatát követte. A feldolgozatlan múlt megteremtette a maga gyümölcsét.

III.5. Hatalmi játszmák

A szakadáshoz vezető protestálások a következő évben esedékes tisztújítás előtt indultak el. A protestálások egyik vezéralakja, regionális vezető volt, esélyes az egyházelnöki tisztségre. A „honfoglalási-terv” meghirdetésével szerették volna „visszafoglalni az Uniót”. „Egy másik törekvésünk a ’honfoglalási program’ megvalósítása volt...Arra kell törekednünk, hogy mintegy ’visszafoglaljuk az Uniót’ – nem erővel, nem hatalommal, de az igaz elvek gyakorlati képviselésével és a hű emberek megerősítésével” (Vankó, Kovács, Egervári, Sonnleitner 1998). Magukat a többi hazai egyháznál is meglévő „belső ellenzékhez” hasonlítják. A válság előtt két tábort látnak, az egyiknél van a hatalom, a másik láthatatlan, de érzékelhető befolyású. „Két merőben ellentétes irányzat létezett tehát az Unión belül. Az egyik minden hatalom birtokosa, a másiknak semmi szava sem volt a közösséget érintő döntésekben, hanem csak csendben, a háttérben maradt” (Vankó, Kovács, Egervári, Sonnleitner 1998). Későbbi értelmezésben is úgy látják, hogy lett volna más alternatíva vezetni az egyházat, nemcsak ahogy az Egyháztanács gyakorolta. Mindez arra enged következtetni, hogy vezetői ambíciói voltak a tiltakozóknak. Ugyanakkor a SZET elnöke, titokban támogatta a protestálókat, mert ezzel gyengíteni szerette volna a regnáló elnök pozícióit, aki aspirált a SZET elnöki tisztségre. Az egyház nemzetközi vezetése is a háttérben szimpatizált a protestálókkal (Rajki, 2012).

III.6. Összegzés

Össességében megállapítható, hogy a kommunizmus tönkretette az egyház identitásához tartozó missziót és demokratikus képviselési vezetést szisztémáját. A megváltozott körülmények frusztrálták a tagságot. A vezetők a törvényes működés érdekében kompromisszumokat tettek a hatóságok fele, ami növelte az elégedetlenséget. Az egyházpolitikai törekvések, párosulva a tagság hiányérzetével és megújulási vágyával elindítottak egy tiltakozási hullámot. A kommunizmus által biztosított hatalmi háttérrel a hivatalos vezetés adminisztratív lépésekkel válaszolt, ami megpecsételte a szakadást. A KERAK szerint elkerülhető lett volna bátor vezetői magatartás esetén, a tagság lojális része szerint pedig akkor, ha lelki eszközökkel, a keretek között munkálják a megújulást. Az tény, hogy a szakadások csak veszteséget, fájdalmat, sérüléseket okoztak. Az okok megértése elengedhetetlen a 2015 csatlakozási folyamat értelmezéséhez.

IV. A csatlakozás motívumai

A csatlakozás motívumait a fókuszcsoportokra alapozott kvalitatív analízissel vizsgáltam. Hat különböző fókuszcsoportban folyt a kutatás. Két országos régióban (Dunamelléki és Tiszavidéki Egyházterület) a csatlakozó tagságból állt össze két csoport. A kiválasztás szempontjai között szerepelt olyan személyek meghívása, akik gyerekkorban már adventisták

voltak, a család érintett volt a szakadásban, tehát ők is, személyesen vagy szüleik, nagyszüleik révén átérték a szakadás eseményeit. A meghívottak többsége csak elmondásból és leírt anyagokból ismerte meg az 1975 év eseményeit. Azért kerültek kiválasztásra ebben az összetételben, mert ez tükrözi a csatlakozók háttérét. Mindössze a csatlakozók 5 %-a élte át a szakadást, 95% a KERAK-ban keresztkedett meg. A kiválasztásnál arra is figyeltem, hogy 40% Budapesti legyen, mivel innen indult a szakadás és azóta is a KERAK legerősebb bázisa maradt. 60% különböző vidéki körzetből kaptak meghívást. További szempont volt olyanok meghívása (40%), akik a Tanácsadó Bizottság, a KERAK vezető testületének, laikus tagjai voltak és belülről, a vezetői oldalról is látták a folyamatokat. Negyedik szempont volt a korosztályok és mindkét nem képviselője. Végül arra is figyelni kellett, hogy a legyen köztük gyülekezeti vezető (70%), és más tisztségviselő, de mindenképpen legyenek aktív gyülekezeti tagok (30%)

Ugyancsak a fent említett régiókban két másik fókuszcsoporthoz a csatlakozó lelkészek alkottak. Közülük három fő elnöki tiszte is betöltött a KERAK-ban, volt két korábbi osztályvezető és egy fő régióvezető is a csoportban. Minden lelkész meghívást kapott, ezért nem volt előre átgondolt szempont a kiválasztásnál. Mivel nincs női lelkész a csatlakozók között, egy lelkészfeleséget is bevontunk a kutatásba. Egy kivétellel, minden lelkész elfogadta a meghívást. Az ötödik csoport az Unióhoz tartozó, fogadó tagságot képviselte. Összetételét tekintve vegyes, lelkészi (33,3%) és laikus (66,6%) tagokból álló fókuszcsoporthoz volt. Fontos szempont volt, hogy legyenek köztük olyanok, akik átérték a szakadást. 50% esett ebbe a kategóriába. A csatlakozókkal ellentétben, a fogadó oldalon a tagság és a lelkészek nagyobb százalékban szereztek közvetlen tapasztalatot a szakadásról, ezért hangsúlyos a képviselőjük. Ez a háttér befolyásolhatja azt ahogyan viszonyulnak a csatlakozáshoz és ahogyan látják az érkezőket. A fókuszcsoporthoz lelkész tagjai közül egy fő vezetői tisztségben volt és a csatlakozás előtti tárgyalási folyamat részese volt. A vezetői látásra azért volt szükség, mert az előkészítés hároméves ideje alatt mélyebb betekintést kapott a csatlakozókban zajló folyamatokról. A második szempont a nemek és a korosztályok képviselője volt. 33,3% nő, a többi férfi. Egy fő képviselte a 20-as korosztályt, a többiek közép és idősebb korúak. Harmadik szempont volt, olyan személyek kiválasztása, akik közvetlen kapcsolatba voltak vezető, vagy befolyásos személyekkel, akik a szakadás idején fontos szerepet töltöttek be az egyház életében. A résztvevők között találunk két szakadás időszakában szolgáló unióelnök és egy egyházterületi elnök gyereket, ketten pedig olyan lelkészek gyermekei és unokái, akik a szakadás idején is szolgáltak. Mindez azért fontos, mert a fogadó tagság nagy része olyan családokból származik, akik átlélték a szakadást. A háttérüket tekintve is különbözőek voltak. Ketten a szakadás idején szomszédos országban éltek. Az ő látásuk azért is szükség volt, mert a rendszerváltás időszakában (1990-2000) megközelítően ugyanilyen számban érkeztek magyar adventisták a szomszédos országokból, olyan régiókból, amelyek a történelmi Magyarországhoz tartoztak a múltban. Ennek a rétegnek az integrációja sok közös vonást mutathat a mostani csatlakozókkal, ugyanis hasonló elzártságból jöttek, korábban nem sok kapcsolatot volt az anyaországgal, a kommunista diktatúra utazást korlátozó rendelkezései miatt. Negyedik szempont volt az egyházban betöltött szerepük, mivel ennek köze lehet a csatlakozók kezeléséhez. Négy lelkész, három presbiter és más gyülekezeti tisztségviselők alkották. A laikusok 37,5% vidéki körzetekből érkezett, 62,5% Budapest és annak régiójából.

Hatodik fókuszcsoporthoz a csatlakozást elutasító, KERAK-ban maradt személyekből állt. A lelkészi és vezetésben szolgáló személyek elutasították a meghívást. A nemek közötti arány és a régiók szerinti képviselő szempontjai viszont érvényesültek. A meghívást elfogadók között három magasan képzett értelmiségi is helyet foglalt.

Egy-egy fókuszcsoporthoz a beszélgetés egyenként 3-4 órát tartott. Az első öt csoportban ugyanazt a kérdés-sort használtam fel a beszélgetés generálására. Három kategóriába tartoztak a kérdések: mit értékelték, mi volt jó és mi motiválta őket elhagyni a KERAK-ot; milyen

kétélyek, aggodalmak, félelmek voltak bennük és mi az, amit itt nyertek a csatlakozás óta; miben változott a szerepük a csatlakozás óta, változott-e az értékrend, attitűd és az identitás Hangfelvétel, jegyzetek készültek, melynek része volt a beszélgetés egyes szakaszaiban tapasztalt hangulati változások és testbeszéd megfigyelése. Összesen 22 órányi hanganyag keletkezett, 150 oldalnyi átirat. A kutatás következő fázisa volt a szöveg elemzése és a motívumok megtalálása (ismétlődő gondolatok, bizonyos mintázatok jelenléte) és azok csoportosítása nagyobb kategóriákba.

Az adatok elemzéséből a következő, csatlakozást elindító motívumok igazolhatók:

IV.1. Csalódás

A kutatás a csatlakozás alapmotívumaként hozta ki a bizalmatlanságot és a csalódást. Szakadást követően kb. 30 évvel jelentek meg elsőként az alapítókkal szembeni csalódás jelei. A csalódás tárgya több területen is megmutatkozott a fókuszcsoportoknál. Egészségtelen tekintélytisztelet került az első helyre a negatív jelenségek említésénél. A személyi kultusz jelenlétét több csoportban is megfogalmazták. Bár idővel a nagy tanítók tekintélye erodálódott, a tekintélytisztelet mély nyomokat hagyott a követőkben, ami miatt nehéz volt őket otthagyni. A csalódás legnagyobb okát a félrevezetésben látták. Sokáig vakon megbíztak az alapítók információiban és látásában. A félrevezetés első területe az egységgel, az egyházzal kapcsolatos tanítás volt. A megkérdezettek között több ponton is visszatért az a gondolat, hogy csúsztatásokat véltek felfedezni az alapítók kijelentéseiben. A lelkészek ezt hamarabb felfedezték, de egyes laikus csoporttagok számára később vált nyilvánvalóvá. Csalódásra jutottak az identitás tartó pillérében is, mely szerint „mi különbek vagyunk”. Az egyház (Unió) hibáinak állandó feltárása hetente táplálta ezt az érzést. Csalódást jelentett felismerni, hogy a vezethetőség, fanatizálhatóság mögött manipulatív szándék volt. A fókuszcsoportok résztvevői nem látják egyformán, hogy ez a szándék kezdetektől tudatos volt-e, vagy „jósándékú” félrevezetés volt, ami lelepleződött. A látás kinyílásához nagyban hozzájárult, hogy a bezártságot, a vezetők által gondosan megszűrt és beállított információkat ütköztetni tudták az internet megjelenésével megjelenő egyéb forrásokkal. Publikált hírek, élő közvetítések lehetőséget adtak betekinteni az egyház életének több aspektusába és személyes benyomásokat is szerezni. A 75-ös események által érintett családok tagjai a fókuszcsoportból azt képviselték, hogy az identitásuk része volt a visszatérés gondolata. Az alapszabályuk kimondta, hogy az adventista világegyházhoz tartozónak vallják magukat és vissza akarnak térni. Ezért „nekünk állandó lelkiismeretfurdalásunk volt, hogy mit keresünk a KERAK-ban”. Ami kezdetben vágyakozás és célkitűzés volt, arról később kiderült, hogy az alapítók számára csak „kirakatpolitika”, mert soha nem akarták valójában az egységet. A később megtértekben a visszatérés vágya nem volt jelen. Ők nem adventista és többen nem egyházi környezetből érkeztek. Megtérésükkor, amikor „adventista egyházba” keresztelkedtek meg, nem derül ki azonnal, hogy van „még egy adventista egyház”. A visszatérés gondolata sokáig nem volt releváns számukra. Az egyik KERAK-ban megtért tag szerint, a „benszülötteknek (adventista háttérűeknek) a szervezet volt fontos, nekünk a megtérés”.

IV.2. Helyreállított identitás iránti vágy

A csatlakozás indoklásában első helyen említették az összetartozás elvi meggyőződésének szerepét. A kutatás szerint ez volt a második legfontosabb ok. Felismerték, hogy nincs biblikus indoklása a különállásnak. Ugyanazt a küldetést, nem lehet szétszakadva képviselni. Az adventista világegyházhoz tartozás a helyreállított identitás tapasztalatát adta számukra. Sokaknak semmilyen kapcsolatuk nem volt az adventista egyházzal. Hermetikusan elzárt helyzetből indult el a csatlakozás gondolata, „vakugrás volt, nehéz volt”. Az ismeretlenbe kellett ugrani, biztosítékok nélkül. Csak az mozdíthatta ki őket, amit a KERAK erősségének

neveztek. Megtanították őket a Biblia és az egyház kegyességi irodalmának szeretetére. Ezért, amikor előkerültek olyan írások, amelyek az egységről egyértelmű tanítást adtak, elgondolkoztatta őket és véleményük szerint döntésre készítette őket. Két személy alapos tanulmányt írt az egyházzal, ami segítette a gondolkozókat átértékelni azt, amit erről tanít a Biblia. Amikor az egyértelmű egyházegységről szóló idézetek értelmezéséről kérdezték a korábbi vezetőket, kitérő válaszokat kaptak. „Számomra ekkor kikristályosodott az alapító szándéka - soha nem akar csatlakozni az egyházhoz” (1. fókuszcsoporthoz hangzott el). Az írások alapján az is érthetővé vált egyesekben, hogy „Isten nem akarta, hogy szakadás legyen”. (1. fókuszcsoporthoz) A csatlakozás előtti három év a tárgyalások időszaka volt. Ez az időszak készítés volt egyeseknek utána nézni, mire is épült a meggyőződésük. Könyveket olvastak az advent mozgalom elindulásáról, az úttörők tapasztalatairól. Másoknak az segített, hogy végig járták az Unió által szervezett evangelizációs sorozatokat, ami átformálta az egyházzal alkotott képüket. Akik eljutottak a döntésre, azok általában írtak búcsúlevelet a saját gyülekezetüknek, vagy az ottmaradtaknak, ahol kifejtették döntésük elvi alapjait is. Ezek bizonyoságtételként hatottak másokra és segítettek a döntésben, csakúgy, mint akik a korábbi években már csatlakoztak. A tárgyalások ideje alatt többeket is meghívtak ezek közül és meghallgatták a tapasztalataikat, hogy milyen az élet az Unióban.

IV.3. A múlt kezelésének hiányosságai

Egyre nyilvánvalóbb lett a fókuszcsoporthoz többsége szerint, hogy a „hetvenötösök” nem tudják kezelni a traumákat. Akik nem élték át, azok csak az egyik oldalon mutatott bizonyítékok alapján ismerték a történeteket, amit sokáig kérdések nélkül elfogadtak. A fókuszcsoporthoz többgenerációs adventista tagjai közül néhányan a csatlakozást megelőző években kezdtek el érdeklődni azokról, akik szintén átélték a 75-ös eseményeket, de nem váltak ki. A másik oldal szempontjainak megértése megkérdőjelezte számukra a KERAK alapítók egyoldalú múltértelmezését, ami a szellemi vezetőkbe vetett bizalmat gyengítette. Ez a fajta kapcsolatkeresés nem volt jellemző a fókuszcsoporthoz résztvevő csatlakozó tagok egészére. Többségük nem kérdőjelezi meg a múltból kapott információkat, de elfogadhatatlannak tartja, hogy negyven év után is a múlt sérelmeinek emlegetése és felszínre tartása alkotta az identitásuk fő elemét. A múlt állandó emlegetése a második generációt egyre jobban nyomasztotta. Felismerték, hogy a KERAK soha nem akarta feldolgozni 75 sérelmeit, mindig ide tért vissza, mert ez alkotta az identitásának és létjogosultságának gerincét. A közeledés során, kapcsolatokat építettek a szakadás egyházban maradt túlélőivel, sokan megismerték a történet másik értelmezését.

IV.4. A változás Isteni beavatkozásként való átélése

A megszólalók egy része kiemelte, hogy a döntésüket nagyban befolyásolta az a felismerés, hogy a csatlakozás elindulását, folyamatát egyfajta csodának, Isten beavatkozásának tekintették. Nem lehetett véletlen, hogy egyszerre több mint hétszáz fő döntést hozott. Az előző nyolc nagyobb nemzetközi mediációval vezetett kudarcba fulladt rendezési próbálkozásokhoz képest nagy különbségként értékelték, hogy korábban a vezetők akarták vagy nem akarták eldönteni a kérdést. A Szentlélek munkájának tekintették azt a felismerést, hogy most egyénileg a csatlakozás mellett tudtak dönteni, negyven éven át az egyházzal szemben beléjük táplált félelmek és aggodalmak ellenére. Nem remélték, hogy Kánaánba lépnek, tudták, hogy az egyházban is vannak gondok, de akkor is csoda kellett ahhoz, hogy ezeket át tudják lépni. A bocsánatkérésre való hajlandóságot, szintén a Szentlélek munkájának tulajdonítják. Mind a nyolc előző forduló nagy kérdése volt, hogy elegendő-e a HNA által kifejezett, a múlt hibái miatti sajnálat és bocsánatkérés. Egyik alkalommal sem merült fel, hogy negyven év alatt keletkezett a KERAK oldalon is elég ok a bocsánatkérésre. Az egyik fókuszcsoporthoz résztvevője

nyílt levélben ezt megtette. „Felvételemkor bocsánatot kértem, a gondolatokért, amit ellenük vétettem”. A lelkészek közül is egy a lelkészek levelező fórumára feltett levélben kért bocsánatot. Ezeket a megnyilvánulásokat is a Szentlélek munkájának tulajdonítják. Azt is meg kell jegyezni, hogy ezek a példák nem tekinthetők általánosnak a csatlakozók között, de nem kell azt feltételeznünk, hogy ilyen gondolatok csak azokban születtek meg, akik nyílt levelet írtak.

IV.5. Külső, társadalmi okok hatása

A 2010-es egyházügyi törvény kihozta a KERAK-on belül a felszín alatti törésvonalakat. Tagságuk egy része bibliainak vélt politikai okokra hivatkozva visszautasította az egyházi státusz kérelmezését, a másik fele a működés további biztosítása miatt igényelte volna. Néhány szavazat-különbséggel az előbbiek kerekedtek felül, ami az intézményeik számára működési válságot okozott. Ez a helyzet elősegítette a KERAK és az HNA intézményei közötti megállapodást, az előbbiek befogadását, a működés anyagi forrásainak biztosítását. A csatlakozás számára széles ajtót nyitott ez a külső körülmények által kiváltott közeledés.

V. Következtetések

Ha egymás mellé tesszük a szakadás és a csatlakozás hasonló motívumait, a forrásokban jelentkező indokok súlyozása szerint, az alábbi táblázatban láthatjuk az eredményt:

1. táblázat: A szakadás és a csatlakozás okainak súlyozott megjelenítése

1975. Szakadás	2015. Csatlakozás
Külső okok	Csalódás
Csalódás	Identitás helyreállítása
Identitás válság	Múlt kezelése
Múlt kezelése	Isteni gondviselés
Hatalmi játszmák	Külső okok

Ha a súlyozást nem vesszük figyelembe és beillesztjük a kutatásban megjelenő összes motívumot, az alábbi összehasonlítást kapjuk:

2. táblázat: A szakadás és csatlakozás összes vizsgált motívuma súlyozás nélkül

1975. Szakadás	2015. Csatlakozás
Külső okok	Külső okok
Csalódás	Csalódás
Identitás válság	Identitás helyreállítása
Múlt kezelése	Múlt kezelése
Hatalmi játszmák	----
----	Isteni gondviselés

A második összehasonlító táblázatból kiderül, hogy a csatlakozási oszlopnál kimaradt a hatalmi játszmák motívuma. A jelenség azzal magyarázható, hogy a csatlakozás folyamatában a KERAK teljes lelkészi vezetése részt vett, ami azzal járt, hogy vezetői megbízatásukról lemondtak. Ki lehet jelenteni, hogy a csatlakozás akkor történhetett meg, amikor az alapítóknak már nem volt kellő befolyása a vezetők második generációjára. A vezetői ambíciók háttérbe szorítása megnyitotta az utat a megbékélés előtt.

Másik oldalon hiányzik az Isteni gondviselés szerepe. A szakadásnál mindkét fél a másikat tette felelőssé, nem Isten gondviselésének, hanem emberi hiányosságok sorozatának tulajdonították a történeteket.

Következtetésként az alábbiakat vonhatjuk le: a szakadás és a csatlakozás, bár egymással teljesen ellentétes folyamat, több ponton hasonló mintázatot mutat; ebből az következik, hogy szakadásra épített közösség, szakadással ér véget, mert a közösségi élet DNS-be (szervezeti kultúrájába) ez a mintázat kerül be; mások ellenében keletkezett közösségi kohézió nem ad stabil identitást. Ez a felismerés viszont elindította a közeledést, a megbékélést és a tagság jelentős részének a csatlakozását negyven év után.

A szervezeti vagy virtuális szétdaraboltság ma is jelen van a legtöbb egyházban, aminek kezelése vezetéstudományi feladat. A kutatás tanulságai szerint a kezelésében hangsúlyt kap az identitás fő pilléreinek tisztázása, ami közös platformot teremt; a múlt feldolgozása, nem az objektivitás alapján, hanem a megélés tapasztalatát elfogadva; bizalmi légkör helyreállítása, hiteles vezetés által; Isten jelenlétének hangsúlyozása; a külső okok kezelése, amelyeket előidézni nem lehet, de azok kedvező hatásait észre lehet venni és fel lehet használni.

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The ASWJ and the escalation of jihadism in Mozambique

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Abstract: Mozambique's northernmost region, Cabo Delgado is facing serious problems affecting the entire country. In 2021, three important events had occurred that would determine the near future in the region. The first occurred in late March 2021, when a violent jihadist organization, the Ansar al-Sunna Wa Jamma's (ASWJ) besieged the port city of Palma, which can be seen as the gateway to underground natural gas fields. The incident triggered a chain reaction as the French energy giant Total suspended its \$ 20 billion liquefied natural gas project indefinitely due to escalating violence in Mozambique in the region. And the third and most recent incident occurred in August 2021, when a Rwandan military unit of 1000 appeared in Cabo Delgado, including Mocimboa da Praia, recapturing its port city, which marked the beginning of a wave of ASWJ's violence in 2017. The paper outlines the path of the development of the ASWJ. In parallel, the Mozambican government's actions and efforts to resolve the crisis are being explained, such as the deployment of the private military companies (PMCs).

Keywords: Mozambique; ASWJ; Cabo Delgado; ISCAP; jihadism

I. Introduction

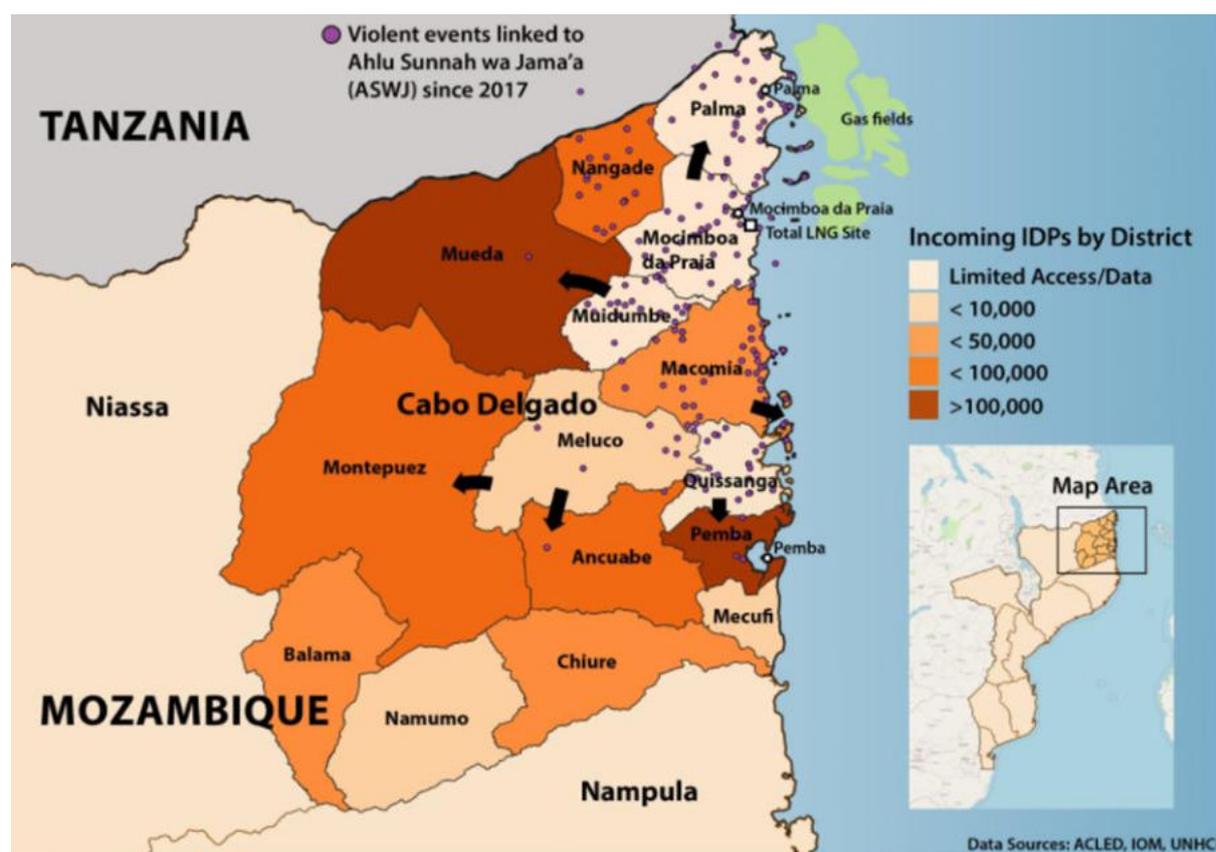


Figure 1: Location of Cabo Delgado, districts, gas fields and the ASWJ attacks
Source: Africa Center For Strategic Studies [2021]

Basically, secondary resources were available to write the paper. Analyzes, evaluations and interviews with international institutes and international experts were used, like International Crisis Group, Tony Blair Institute, Institute of Defense Analyses, which are given the backbone of the paper. A descriptive analysis with a chronological structure is required to answer the following question: is an intervention like Rwandan forces able to solve the instability in the region? As the Southern African Development Community's (SADC) forces are also stationed in the area and the latest news is that the number of units deployed will increase. In order to provide an informed answer to this, it is necessary to outline two interrelated factors. The first is to explore the social characteristics of Cabo Delgado, followed by a description of the state of the two sides, namely the jihadists and the government forces. Then, after describing the current situation, comes the second factor, that is, explaining development dynamics and strategic transformations and examining the reasons for this. These trends are essential to provide a complete, detailed answer to this question.

II. The process of escalation

In order to give a thorough answer to this, it is necessary to get to know Cabo Delgado, ethnically, religiously, sociologically. It is also important to examine the jihadist organization, outline its development trajectory, and interpret the Mozambican government's response to how

it has reacted to the wave of violence in the region. The focus will be on the actions of the last four years and the interactions given to them, but to understand them, it is important to describe the background.

II.1. Cabo Delgado

Mozambique is a state on the southeast coast of Africa that has been independent since 1975. The Christian majority country has 11 provinces and Cabo Delgado is one of them, which is bordered by the northernmost province of Mozambique. Tanzania borders in the north, Niassa in the west, Nampula in the south and the Indian Ocean in the east. The region is covered with dense forests and shrubs, providing excellent shelter for illegal organizations and smugglers. The islands belonging to it are sparsely populated or completely uninhabited. The region is often referred to in public discourse as Cabo Esquecido, the Forgotten Cape. The region played a key role in Mozambique's independence, as the legendary figures of this period came from here, and even more so the Frelimo party, which is now the ruling party, was born here. Nevertheless, Mozambique is one, if not the most neglected province. Here are the most backward health and education facilities. In 2015, only 0.3% of Cabo Delgado's population has a secondary education, the lowest percentage in the whole country. More than 35% of children between the ages of 5 and 25 do not go to school, and this is the biggest rate in Mozambique. Only 23% of the population is urbanized. It follows that most of the people work in agriculture. The province is the fourth worst in terms of poverty, which is worrying because about 53% of its population is under 18 years old. The 2017 census showed that the rate of illiteracy was 53% among 10-14 year olds, while it was lower at 34% among 15-29 year olds.

What were the events that contributed to these figures? The reasons can be traced back to the Civil War of 1977-1992 when the two opposing parties were Frelimo and Renamo, which had support from this area and ended in its defeat. Although Cabo Delgado is basically far from the capital Maputo, it was then that the region began to move politically away from Frelimo. Since then, there is a kind of north-south contrast in the development of the country. Due to the proximity of the capital, the southern areas benefited at a higher rate of economic growth than the northern ones, which began to become periphery. This gap has been exacerbated by natural disasters in recent years. In March and April 2019, Mozambique was hit by successive tropical cyclones, Idai and Kenneth, which swept through the central and northern provinces of the country, causing massive floods that also destroyed towns, villages and infrastructure in Cabo Delgado. Even before the advent of cyclones, it was reported that disaster-stricken regions were struggling with high levels of food insecurity. In the case of Cyclone Kenneth, the government failed to warn citizens of the impending danger, which also contributed to deepening citizens' distrust and frustration with the state.

But the most important factors that made Cabo Delgado unstable are to be found in religious and ethnic issues. The proportion of Muslims is about 17%, the vast majority of whom live in the northern region. Islam has been present in Mozambique since the seventh or eighth century, where the Sufi tradition flourished and spread mainly in the northern region of the country. During the colonial period, the Portuguese administration tried to suppress Islamic influence, seeing the Muslim population as a threat to colonial rule because Catholicism was seen as a defining feature of Portuguese culture and identity, and they increasingly sought to exclude them from assimilation. In northern Mozambique, on the other hand, Portugal has aligned itself with non-Muslim ethnic groups, deepening the long-standing ethnic-religious divide. Despite Portugal's efforts to curb the spread of Islam, the conversion to Islam has grown quickly. After the independence in 1974, the Frelimo ruling party tried to secularize society by banning religious teachings. However, over the past 20 years, the government has changed positions, granting visas and residence permits to foreign Muslim mission organizations. As a result,

students from northern Mozambique have been sent abroad to study at prestigious, albeit conservative, schools in Uganda, Somalia, Kenya, Sudan and Saudi Arabia. These relations have slowly changed the nature of Mozambique's Islamic communities.

In the coastal zone is the ethnic group Mwani, where the proportion of Muslims is almost 90% and they number more than 150,000 people. Their rival group is Makonde, which has more than 500,000 members. Although the latter is basically Islamic, with a proportion of over 80%, there is a significant religious, historical and economic divide between the two groups. Areas rich in mineral and forestry resources fell into the hands of the Makonde elite, taking advantage of the locals. In addition, abuses by international miners against local miners in the extraction of rubies and sapphires are common. After the 2014 elections, the Makonde business elite gained increasing economic influence, with which they began to build their social base. Furthermore, they were able to distribute land even on the Mwani-dominated coast, the latter's youth was dominated by frustration and despair. That is, the elite expelled the locals from the land, which was eventually allocated to the holders of the mining and hydrocarbon concession. Frustrated traders, miners, young people in despair have either emigrated or stayed and tried to make a living from illegal trade or voice their dissatisfaction.

Overall, the security crisis that erupted in 2017 was rooted in Cabo Delgado's poor economic situation and ethnic and religious tensions.

II.2. The birth of the ASWJ

As the map Figure I. illustrates, the ASWJ has been carrying out attacks in Cabo Delgado since 2017, but the organization is actually the end product of a process. The former was about ethnic marginalization, but religious tensions also lingered in the 2010s. Before we go any further, it is necessary to clarify the name of the group, as the group did not have an official, uniformly accepted name until the volume was written. Ansar al-Sunna, al-Shabaab (according to the latest sources, there is no connection with the al-Shabaab in Somalia) and Ahlu Sunna Wa-Jamo (ASWJ). For the sake of consistency and simplicity, the name ASWJ will occur in the following. As early as 10 years ago, there were reports from a group of Muslims in northern Mozambique of young people with shaved heads in their shoes entering the mosques with guns. The group's disrespect for the sanctity of local mosques is evidence of their view that other Islamic practices are illegal and their disinterest in coexisting or cooperating with the state and Islamic institutions. In the absence of an official announcement from the group, it is difficult to recognize its exact affiliation. Nevertheless, the group is clearly preoccupied with religious practice.

The question arises where they came from? Some of them are local people and they were recruited primarily with job promises and educational scholarships. There are indications that a few came from abroad, including Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya and the Democratic Republic of Congo. In addition to the local languages, they speak Kiswahili and Arabic. They profess a view of Islam that is rejected and condemned by the Islamic authorities in the region. We have to highlight the role of Aboud Rogo Mohammed, who was originally a Kenyan Islamic cleric who was shot in 2012 in Mombasa. Even after his death, his sermons on various media continued, which also spread in the East African region. He had many followers in Tanzania and northern Mozambique, for example, who have integrated into local trade, furthering Rogo's sermons. His highly political, radical teachings condemn the enrichment of the elite and corporations, which further harms the local population and is fraught with anti-state rhetoric. Given the economic and political situation in northern Mozambique, Rogo's sermons have become attractive to the aforementioned victim groups. In his speeches, he took advantage of the fact that young people are at a stage in their lives when they question or seek their identity. Try to convince them that they are superior and fit to create a better world. In addition, starting in

2014, Abdul Chacur, a well-known Tanzanian ideologue, taught young people to read the Qur'an. These teachings led to conflicts as they required young people to condemn hitherto Islamic teachings, clerics. But anti-state rhetoric alone is not enough to trigger a crisis, more and more ready-to-act people need.

II.2.1. The recruitment methods

When the group first appeared in Mocímboa da Praia before 2015, a confrontation erupted between its members and local religious leaders. Following this confrontation, the group was expelled from local mosques and began to meet in an unfinished building that was later converted into a mosque. In parallel to that, recruitment processes started, mostly among those who supported radical Islamic views. The following three methods were the most common during recruitment:

The first is through marriage and friendship. Men from Tanzania, Kenya or other countries who settled in Mocímboa da Praia were protected by local families because of their marital ties. Upon their arrival, they married local women and received land for the marriage as a dowry from the head of the family. Because of their economic and financial strength, they became the material base of these large families, and in return they received protection. Marriages also contributed to the radicalization of members of these families when they began attending places of worship in the group. Networks of friends have also facilitated political mobilization, as time spent with friends can increase the likelihood of participating in programs involving collective issues.

The second recruitment option is madrasas. Although they do not provide formal education, in a situation where the education system and public services in general are weak, especially in the most remote areas of Mocímboa da Praia, the poorest families turn to madrasas or Koran schools to feed and shelter their children. Moreover, in the case of the madrasas of the ASWJ group, a more militant than traditional Islamic form is spread in the country. In addition to studying the Qur'an and Rogo's videos, propaganda videos featuring the group's alleged military operations and how Muslims are being persecuted around the world have been shown. It is clear that these videos were used to educate and entice young people to jihad.

Finally, like other extremist groups, the ASWJ used social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp. These media were also used to disseminate information about the group's activities and communication. The purpose of distributing videos is to impact emotions, thereby increasing the success of recruitment. Most of these videos included messages in Kiswahili and Arabic to convey information to potential newcomers who speak these languages. The messages had clear jihadist content. With these recruitment methods, they were able to persuade the youth of northern Mozambique to begin to isolate themselves from the world in which they live and join the group. As a result, the ASWJ has evolved from a small group to a radical, armed group of at least 300 people, probably made up predominantly of Mwani youth who are historically Muslim and whose livelihood and identity are rooted in coastal resources and culture. As the ASWJ grows stronger, the same cannot be said of the security forces of the Mozambican government.

II.3. The government and the security forces of Mozambique

Before beginning of the actions and reactions after 2017 we have to outline the condition of the security forces and the government.

II.3.1. The FADM (Forças Armadas e Defesa de Moçambique)

The condition of the army has been steadily deteriorating since the end of the Civil War. As part of the 1992 agreement, half of the then 30,000-strong force was to be made up of the losing Renamo soldiers. On the other hand, the total number began to decline drastically, by 1995 it was only 12,000, and the proportion of Renamo soldiers was around 30%. The situation has not improved in the next twenty years, which can be traced back to two factors. One is the lack or failure of recruitment efforts, mostly by Renamo, who did not want to join a joint army. The second explanation is more authoritative, and here the Frelimo elite is the key. Armando Guebaza, during his presidency (2005-2015), tried to slow down the reform and investment of the army as much as possible, fearing that the rival side would recover. At the time, current president Filipe Nyusi was the defense minister when a government procurement scandal erupted in which state-backed companies pledged more than \$ 2 billion in questionable debt guaranteed by the state to finance the purchase of marine equipment. This further increased public distrust of the military.

II.3.2. The UIR (Unidade de Intervenção Rápida)

In addition to the FADM, there is also a police rapid reaction unit (UIR). This division is exacerbated by the fact that the former is under the control of the Ministry of Defense and the latter under the Ministry of the Interior, thus increasing the fragmentation of the security forces. In parallel with FADM, the development of UIR has taken the opposite path. It was better paid and equipped during Guebuza's presidency, unlike other units that were underfunded. With the outbreak of the crisis, it emerged as a major security body.

II.4. 2017, the beginning of a new wave of violence

From October 5, 2017, a new wave of violence began. Thirty armed men in masks raided police in Mocímboa da Praia, killing two assailants and three policemen. In the following months, gunmen set fire to the villages of Cabo Delgado, during which several civilians were killed or wounded. In the months following its first attack, the group carried out only two to three small-scale attacks, primarily against residents of Palma, Mocimboa da Praia and Macomia. From May 2018, the capacity of the ASWJ has increased to 6-7 attacks per month. By mid-2019, the second full year of the uprising, it had almost doubled, and the group launched an average of 16 attacks per month. Until 2019, the frequency of attacks by the group increased steadily, with few exceptions, which may indicate an increase in the number and resources of fighters.

Until 2018, the specific purpose of the organization was unknown. But in January, a video was released showing six Islamists dressed in civilian clothes, five of whom are waving AK-47 rifles. One commander spoke the official language of Mozambique, Portuguese, while referring to the Qur'anic verses in Arabic, stating that the group aims to overthrow the Mozambican government and replace it with a society that follows Sharia law.

There was initially no serious action by the Mozambican army against the attackers. According to local sources, some of the soldiers in the barracks in Mocimboa exchanged military uniforms for civilian clothes and mingled with the civilian population. The reinforcement arrived in Mocimboa late shortly after the insurgents voluntarily left the city. From the point of view of the government, a kind of dichotomy can be observed. The government media has identified the rebels as criminals, who aim to sabotage the construction of the infrastructure for natural gas extraction, which is why it is up to the police and then the court to solve the case. Meanwhile, the government has described the events in Mocímboa da Praia as isolated. Three mosques have been closed and the incarceration of suspects has begun. It has mobilized relative

well-equipped, armed troops in Cabo Delgado with extraordinary powers not required by the constitution, such as imprisoning suspects, especially journalists. By 2018, reports from the media and NGOs began to characterize growing instability in northern Mozambique. In line with its efforts to reduce the threat, the government has made it more difficult for journalists to act. In July 2018, the government for the first time imposed accreditation fees and requirements in Mozambique, making it impossible for journalists to appear. Security forces have further intensified local grievances with mass arrests and counterattacks. The government's crackdown on free press and the flow of information has plagued the region. In areas where the ASWJ struck down but the government's response fell short, locals opted for retaliation, which heightened the ASWJ's brutality.

At that time, Tanzania was the most active international player. It held raids on the border in the second half of 2017 and 2018, as it had previously occupied the citadel of Islamist militants in Kibiti. Some of those fleeing from there may have joined the ASWJ. Tanzania also persecuted them across the border with the consent of the Mozambican government. In early 2018, Mozambican media reported that 400 people had been detained in the north, 50 of whom were Tanzanian citizens.

II.5. The situation is getting worse (2019-2021)

2019 can be seen as an important station for both the government and the ASWJ. The latter had a change unfolding, the first sign of which appeared in the form of a photograph with six gunmen in front of a flag. The image began spreading on the encrypted Telegram platform in May 2018 with a message that the ASWJ had pledged allegiance to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the caliph of the Islamic State. For a long time, this was not accompanied by a response, so it was thought conceivable that only a portion of the group would receive allegiance. Finally, ISIS announced in April 2019 the launch of the Islamic State Central African Province (ISCAP) to facilitate the presence of ISIS-related elements in Central, Eastern and Southern Africa. The official recognition of the ASWJ as part of ISCAP occurred on June 4, 2019, when the Islamic State issued its first official statement committing an attack on Mozambique, which was soon followed by photographs of the booty of the attack. The ASWJ began to organize large-scale raids in rapid succession, notably in the district capitals. Of these first large-scale raids, on March 23, 2020, 100 insurgents briefly occupied parts of Mocimboa da Praia, the movement's birthplace. On May 29, 2020, more than 90 fighters blocked most roads to Macomia, 100 kilometers southwest of Mocimboa da Praia. They then occupied the city and then retreated to avoid a counterattack by security forces.

The situation in the Mozambican army has still not improved, and confidence in them has diminished, not only by the population but also by the government. However, by 2019, President Nyusi stalled as the national army could not provide a military solution to the conflict, but the situation in Cabo Delgado became more serious and action had to be taken. This problem is well outlined in the President's rhetoric, as he had previously called the rebels ordinary criminals and then defined the extremists in Cabo Delgado. The government has tried to disguise the humanitarian crisis, wanting to prevent the conflict from becoming international.

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) has put pressure on Nyusi, with the prospect of regional intervention. He most likely hesitated to accept this because he feared opening Cabo Delgado's illicit political economy to prying eyes.

Thus, Nyusi chose an intermediate solution in 2019, which meant private military companies (PMCs). The first of these was the Russian Wagner Group. About 200 mercenaries were deployed in attack helicopters. During the fighting with the insurgents, the majority of the sources put the number of mercenaries killed between 5 and 10, which led the group to retreat first and later to withdraw. The following PMC was the Dyck Advisory Group. This South-

African PMC is primarily responsible for providing the necessary air support. However, the intervention also began with losses for them, as they lost a helicopter and reconnaissance aircraft in the summer of 2020. However, it was able to provide useful air support as it prevented insurgents from invading strategic cities. In addition, the Mozambican government has imported the African-based global aerospace and technology company Paramount Group. The Paramount Group does not supply personnel or mercenaries to governments, but provides equipment and appropriate training.

In 2019, when Total entered the natural gas extraction project, it obliged the government to guarantee security on the edge of the Afungi Peninsula, otherwise the multibillion-dollar investment would be jeopardized. In the second half of 2020, the ASWJ crossed into Tanzania with about 300 people, rushing down security facilities, looting military equipment. And in December, security forces close to Afungi were attacked. Although the Dyck Group struck one of their bases near Mocímboa da Praia in February 2021, they launched a large-scale wave of raids. On March 24, 2021, gunmen of about 120 with machine guns and grenade launchers attacked the city of Palma, destroying government buildings, robbing the bank, ransacking arms depots, and forcing tens of thousands of people to flee.

As a result of the events of March, Total declared the situation as *vis maior*, suspending its \$ 20 billion liquefied natural gas project in Mozambique, which is a major setback for Mozambique as the date set for 2024 to begin extraction has become highly doubtful. Demonstrating the severity of the situation over the past four years, when insurgents took control of most of the five districts of Cabo Delgado in northeastern Mozambique, 3,100 people were killed and 820,000 fled by the end of summer 2021, more than the total population of the five districts.

Felipe Nyusi has thus come under increasing pressure from the international community. Mainly through SADC member states who want to deploy a joint force in the region, but Nyusi made hesitant statements on the matter, saying he would find it difficult to manage such a unit. In parallel, the opening to foreign forces took place in Rwanda, where he consulted with President Paul Kagame, and the focus was on the alleged deployment of Rwandan forces. Finally, in July 2021, Rwanda sent a 1,000-strong combat unit to clear the area of insurgents. Since the Rwandan genocide, the country has become one of the most politically stable states in the region. Paul Kagame feared that two ISCAP organizations, the ADF in Congo and the ASWJ in Mozambique, would surround Rwanda. There may also be a French interest in the background through the oil company Total, as he met Emmanuel Macron shortly before the meeting with Filipe Nyusi.

The biggest success came on August 8, 2021, when the Rwanda Defense Force (RDF) recaptured Mocímboa da Praia. After the Rwandan soldiers set foot in Mozambique, a SADC contingent also arrived. South African ships and planes arrived in Pemba near the war zone, followed by armored convoys with the first 1,500 South African soldiers, including special forces. Botswana contributed armored vehicles and 300 troops to the mission.

III. Results

In the course of the research, in outlining the events, a question arose in: why has the situation escalated from 2019 onwards? The development of the ASWJ must be mentioned here. If we look at the trends in their first years, the following were characteristic of it: The brutality of the ASWJ should be highlighted first. Their attacks involved beheading and arson, most notably when they hit it in villages. The second important factor is the acquisition of prey. The group used to target shops, homes, vehicles and homesteads to steal food. The gunmen killed the shopkeepers, fishermen and other civilians who resisted being captured to carry the goods. Targets should also be mentioned. In this respect, the ASWJ can be said to be relatively consistent. Government facilities such as hospitals, administrative sites and military bases were

on the list, and in the case of villages, contractors. In the case of the latter, it should be added that according to some reports, the members of the group knew exactly who they were looking for, which may be one of the reasons why villages as a whole were not accounted for in the majority of cases. The latter phenomenon suggests that they have a relatively well-functioning intelligence network in Cabo Delgado.

Although some of the attacks were carried out by assailants armed with firearms, most of the deaths were caused by machetes. Some say they are used because they are inexpensive and relatively easily accessible. Although Mozambique generally has significant stockpiles of weapons. The number of hidden weapons in Mozambique is estimated at between 24,000 and 81,000, a "legacy" of the civil war. This is complemented by illegal weapons that are believed to be trafficked throughout East Africa.

However, the increase in the frequency of attacks, which was already noticeable by 2019, is due to the increase in human and financial resources. The evolution of the frequency of attacks shows that the ASWJ is able to finance its operations, acquire weapons and offer economic incentives to recruiters, including financial support for their families and the establishment of new businesses. They are likely to be part of a chain of illegal activities in Cabo Delgado, such as the trade in timber, coal, ivory and rubber, involving Tanzania, the states of the Great Lakes, China and Vietnam. In addition, the group can receive domestic and foreign donations.

This increase meant an expansion of recruitment. The fighters have recruited members between the ages of 20 and 35 from the cities of Macomia, Palma and Nangade and are training and arming them using their regional and global connections. The group is believed to have training camps in northern Tanzania, the Kibiti district of Tanzania and the Great Lakes region. It has also been reported in the region that the recruits are being trained internally by former members of the Mozambican border and police. Internationally, the ASWJ is likely to lead young people to neighboring Tanzania, Kenya and Somalia for religious and military training.

As mentioned earlier, the government did not respond in time and did not have the strength to do so. The FADM's moral problems and lack of local knowledge and equipment proved decisive, while the UAR represented an elite force, but its visibility and local knowledge were not sufficient to take up the fight with the ASWJ effectively. Uncertainty was further fueled by President Nyusi by restricting the flow of information. There was growing pressure from the SADC and Total on the President of Mozambique, but he did not want to accept an intervention force for fear of leading and operating such a force. This is how he decided to host PMCs.

Comparing the situation in Cabo Delgado to a game of chess, it can be seen that the ASWJ has always been one step ahead of the steering forces. After all, the jihadist organization was constantly evolving and made the conflict internationalized sooner than the government, which saw the matter as the country's internal affairs. It is not known exactly to what extent ISIS directly contributed to strengthening its affiliate, but it is certain that from around 2019, the ASWJ has become even more dangerous. The arsenal of weapons for the fighters has expanded from the beginning. A significant portion of this is the armament of government security forces that have been looted during clashes and raids. At first, AK47 machine guns dominated, and over time, they also acquired minesweepers as well as government vehicles. On the mainland, fighters skillfully handled the coordination of simultaneous attacks in different districts and became significantly better in battlefield tactics. From 2019, the group used more advanced materials, expertise and resources to make homemade explosives. In March 2019, the ASWJ allegedly used a makeshift explosive device in Cabo Delgado that killed several soldiers. The group has so far been able to coordinate long-range attacks from multiple units, but their size and objectives were smaller in the beginning. By 2020, the ASWJ had already begun organizing large-scale raids in rapid succession, notably in the district capitals.

The group continues to carry out raid-like attacks in which civilians suffer the greatest loss, not to mention mutilations or beheadings. In these attacks, gunmen often explicitly instruct civilians

to leave their homes and never return. They kill those who are thought to resist the orders. Or they tell civilians that the real enemy is the state, not them. This provides a basis for building an effective intelligence system. According to security sources, the militants were built not only among the civilian population but also among security units. The group also involved those deserted from the Mozambican army. It is hypothesized that this may justify the theory of restoring control over areas historically controlled by Muslim sultanates along the Swahili coast. This historical claim would play into the narrative of the caliphate and the group's need for legitimacy. And that would further strengthen its relationship with the Islamic State. Compared to the East African region, Mozambique is one of the countries with the highest security risk. This is proved by the Global Terrorism Index in the figure below. This index ranges from 0 to 10 and shows the incidence of the impact of terrorism. A 0 means no terrorist activity, and as you approach 10, terrorism is the more prevalent.

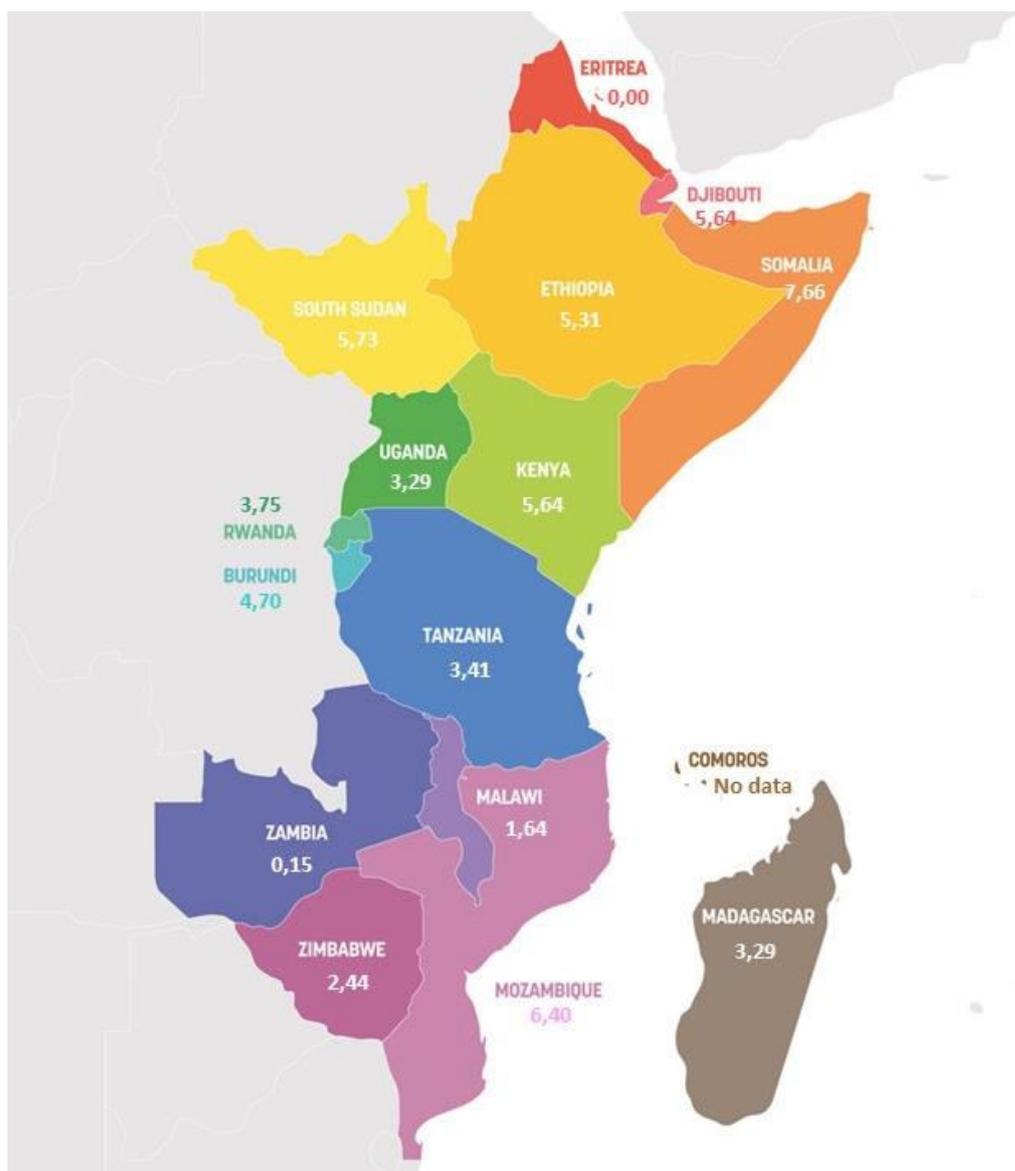


Figure 2: The Global Terrorism Index of the East-African States in 2020
 Source: VectorStock [2021]; Global Terrorism Index [2021]

IV. Conclusion

The answer to the introductory question is not simple: will soldiers sent by Rwanda and SADC member states be able to stabilize Cabo Delgado? In my opinion, it is possible in the short term, but almost certainly not in the long term.

Perhaps the most important thing for the Mozambican government now is for Total to come back and start producing natural gas, bringing significant revenue to the country. If that does not happen as soon as possible, President Nyusi could fall into a vicious circle. The necessary military reform and increasing the prosperity of Cabo Delgado will require extra financial resources that could be financed from revenues from natural gas extraction.

This is, of course, a simplified scenario. But it is certain that through the intervention forces, the Frelimo ruling party will not win over the Muslim youth in a hopeless situation, most of whom are from the Mwani ethnic group. And the success of short-term stability may not be enough for Total to return. From another point of view, it is questionable how long the SADC states would like to station their soldiers here, as this could consume a lot of money in the long run, which is no longer worth it for these states. The example of protracted intervention does not have to go far, as AMISOM units in Somalia are also provided by donor states. And stability is not currently expected in Somalia after the full withdrawal of AMISOM. The gravity of the situation is described by the news that the mandate of SADC forces has been extended for another 90 days and more troops are planned to be sent. Although Portugal, the EU and USA have training missions in the region, the African Union (AU) certainly takes serious steps. For so far, the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) has not dealt with Cabo Delgado, but if the crisis becomes transnational through the ISIS, it must be involved in crisis management.

The current goals are definitely to curb the continued growth of the ASWJ. But at the same time, the government needs to launch a long-term process, namely the catching-up of Cabo Delgado. This could be the Northern Integrated Development Agency, which was established by the government in March 2020, in order to coordinate humanitarian assistance and support economic growth and youth employment in the provinces of Cabo Delgado. As long as ASWJ has a significant support base in Cabo Delgado, recruitment will be ensured. Added to this is the relationship with ISIS, which could elevate the organization to the international arena, increasing the appearance of foreign jihadists.

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A maastrichti kritériumokon túl

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Magyarországnak nemzetgazdasági érdeke lenne az eurót bevezetni. A maastrichti kritériumok figyelmen kívül hagyták a reálgazdasági (munkaerő mobilitás, termelékenység), valamint a tőkeáramlási szempontokat (folyó fizetési mérleget, megtakarítási rátákat). Ebből következően a nominális kamatok mozgása és a divergencia (inflációs rátákban) együtt előidézte, hogy a kívül maradó országokban a reálkamat alacsonyabb szintre került, amely egy később bekövetkező adósságválság kialakulását (is) eredményezheti. Újabb kritériumok szükségesek, hogy a Covid19 válság, a gazdasági fejlettség, munkaerő piaci helyzet, üzleti és pénzügyi ciklusok szinkronizáltsága, versenyképesség, pénzügyi szektorra és anticiklikus üzleti politikára gyakorolt hatásokat is figyelembe vegyünk.

A kutatás eredményei saját szakirodalomra és adatbázisra épülnek. A tanulmány gondolatmenete a korábbi, Magyar Nemzeti Bank által közreadott (Maastricht 2.0) kritériumokra, valamint azok eredményeire és azokból kimaradt lehetséges kritériumokra építenek.

Érdeemes újragondolni a Maastrichti kritériumokat. A kívül maradás önálló monetáris politika feladásával és költségvetési transzferek jelentős elvesztésével jár. A szerző szilárd meggyőződése, hogy létezik magyar út arra, hogy teljesülnek a Maastrichti kritériumok és Magyarország teljesítse az euróövezeti csatlakozást.

Kulcsszavak: Magyarország, euró, Maastricht kritériumok, konvergencia, bevezetés

I. Bevezetés

A magyar gazdaság a gazdasági újraindítás után, újabb feladattal szembesülhet. Dinamikus növekedést kell elérni a közép-kelet európai régióban és azt a növekedési ütemet meg kell tartania a következő években. Két út előtt állunk. Első lehetséges gazdasági pálya a növekedés fokozása, és a maastrichti nominális konvergencia kritériumok teljesítése. Második esetben elhagyjuk a lebegő árfolyamot, teljesítjük az ERM- II rendszerhez való csatlakozás feltételeit, valamint valutánkat az euró árfolyamához rögzítjük. Elvileg lenne egy harmadik gazdaságpolitikai út is a déli országok csatlakozásának mintájára, de ezzel nem foglalkozok, mert a görög (déli) válságból levonható tanulságok nem jelentenek pozitív, követendő példát a gazdaságpolitika történetében. Ez nem járható út egy újabb válságkezelési helyzetben, egy világvilágjárvány utáni újraindult gazdaság számára.

II. Témakifejtés

Reálgazdasági konvergencia, ár- és bérkonvergencia módszertana használható vizsgálat tárgyaként, míg a módszertan másik oldala a Maastricht 2.0 újragondolt kritériumok felülvizsgálata és kiegészítése.

2021 harmadik negyedében redukálódott a világgazdaságból való helyreállítás, miközben a koronavírus-járvány negyedik hulláma és az új vírusváltozat megjelenése a helyreállást övező kockázatok újbóli emelkedését okozta. Az infláció számos ország esetében több évtizedes csúcsra emelkedett. Az Európai Unió teljesítménye a válság előtti szintet sem éri el. Kiemelkedő gazdasági teljesítményt Románia és Lengyelország ért el a régióban, felülmúlva ezzel a koronavírus válság előtti szintet. A régiós jegybankok szigorítás irányába mozdultak el. A magyar növekedés szerkezete a következőképpen alakul: a nemzetközi termelési láncok egyenetlenségei, a nyersanyag és energia árak nem kedveznek a gazdasági kilábalásnak, mert csökkentették a vállalkozások beruházásait, a tovább fokozódó belső kereslet csökkenti az externális tényezők hatásait. A háztartások fogyasztásának emelkedése folyamatos, aminek kedvez a 2022-es év minimálbér-emelése, és a lakossági jövedelmet biztosító állami rendelkezések. (MNB, 2021)

Az MNB Inflációs előrejelzéséből kiolvasható, hogy a külső tényezők miatt csökkenő export és az élénk kereslet hatásai miatt a nettó export semlegessé válik a GDP-re. A magánszektor hitelbővülése élénk maradt, köszönhetően a bankok bőséges hitelezési kapacitásainak, illetve a támogatott hitelkonstrukcióknak. A folyó fizetési mérleg egyenlege 2021-ben és 2022-es előrejelzés szerint három százalékos hiányt mutat(hat) a GDP arányában, az előrejelzési horizont végéig fokozatosan javul. A gazdaság külső finanszírozási képessége – a 2021-22-es időszakban átmeneti csökkenés várható – emelkedik és a horizont végére a GDP 1 százalékos eredményt mutat. A 2021-es költségvetési törvény módosítása és a 2022-es költségvetési törvény 2021-ben 7,5 százalékos, 2022-ben 5,9 százalékos GDP-arányos hiányt tervez. Az államadósság-ráta a 2020 év végi 80,1 százalékos értékéről az idei évben várhatóan 79,8 százalékra, majd az előrejelzési horizont végére 75 százalék közelébe mérséklődik. (MNB, 2021)

A forint a régiós devizákkal ellentétben nagyfokú gyengülést mutatott az euróval szemben. A hazai fizetőeszköz a november végi és a decemberi jegybanki lépésekre erősödéssel reagált. Az inflációt övező kockázatok továbbra is felfelé mutatnak. A Monetáris Tanács a decemberi Inflációs jelentés alap előrejelzése három alternatív forgatókönyvet adott a probléma megoldására. A tartósan magas külső inflációs környezetet feltételező alternatív forgatókönyv

szerint (1) az alap előrejelzésnél magasabb hazai inflációs és alacsonyabb növekedési pálya felé mutat. A globális ellátási zavarok gyorsabb oldódásával számoló forgatókönyv szerint (2) az alappályánál alacsonyabb inflációs és magasabb növekedési pálya járható be. A másodkörös hatások és az inflációs várakozások emelkedésének kockázatát bemutató forgatókönyv szerint (3) az alappályához képest magasabb inflációs és magasabb növekedési pályával hangolhatók össze. A kiemelt forgatókönyvek mellett a Monetáris Tanács további alternatív scenárióként a visszafogottabb külső keresletre, a vártnál szigorúbb külső monetáris politikai környezetre, emelkedő kockázatkerülésre, illetve a versenyképességi reformok megvalósulására fókuszál. (MNB, 2021)

1. táblázat: Makrogazdasági mutatók:

	2020	2021	2022 előrejelzés	2023 előrejelzés	2024 előrejelzés
Infláció éves átlag	3,3	5,1	4,7 – 5,1	2,8 - 3,2	2,5 – 3,5
Háztartások fogyasztási kiadása	-1,6	3,0 – 3,1	5,5 – 6,1	3,0 – 3,9	2,4 – 3,5
Export	-5,9	7,6 – 7,8	4,5 – 6,1	6,4 – 8,3	4,2 – 5,9
Import	-3,5	7,0 – 7,3	3,9 – 5,5	4,7 – 6,8	2,9 – 4,8
GDP	-4,7	6,3 – 6,5	4,0 – 5,0	3,5 – 4,5	3,0 – 4,0
Munkatermelékenység	-3,7	3,6 – 3,8	2,8 – 3,8	2,9 – 4,3	2,5 – 3,9
Folyó fizetési mérleg egyenlege	-1,6	(-3,0)- (-3,4)	(-2,5)- (- 3,4)	(-1,5)- (-2,4)	(-0,6)- (-1,5)
Külső finanszírozási képesség	0,4	(-0,7)- (-1,1)	(-0,2)- (- 1,1)	0,0-0,9	0,2-1,1
Munkanélküliségi ráta	4,1	4,0	3,5 – 3,7	3,1 – 3,7	2,8 – 3,8

Forrás, MNB Inflációs jelentés [2021]

A csatlakozás az euróövezethez az Európai Unióba lépéskor vállalt kötelezettség volt. A belépéshez szükséges feltételeket egyelőre Magyarország nem teljesíti.

A 2020-as Összesített Konvergencia Jelentés¹ szerint Magyarország két kritériumot (lásd. 2. táblázat) teljesít a szükséges négy gazdasági kritériumból: rendezett költségvetést és a hosszú távú kamatlábakra vonatkozó kritériumokat.² Magyarország nem teljesíti az árstabilitásra és az árfolyam rendszerre vonatkozó további kritériumokat és a magyar jogszabályi környezet nem összeegyeztethető a szerződéssel.³

2. táblázat: Maastricht kritériumok röviden:

Kritérium	Célérték	Magyarország, 2020	Forrás
Árstabilitás	<2,0%	3,3 % (infláció)	MNB
Kamat konvergencia	<3,9%	2,08 (2021. év végi előrejelzés:4,51 %) (5)	Eurostat
Rendezett költségvetés	<3%	(-7,3) - (-7,5) (2021. évi előrejelzés: -7,5)	MNB
Fenntartható államháztartás	<60%	80,1 % (2021. év végi előrejelzés:79,8%) (2) (3) (4)	MNB
Árfolyam stabilitás	2 év	Lebegő árfolyamrendszer	MNB

Forrás: Eurostat, MNB jelentés [2021]

- (1) ESA-egyenleg szerinti hiány
- (2) MNB Inflációs jelentés, szeptember
- (3) MNB Inflációs jelentés, szeptember, 5,9%-os cél hiánnyal számolna
- (4) a GDP-arányos bruttó államadósság 2021. év végére 79,6 százalékra csökken
- (5) A 10 éves állampapír átlagos hozama 2020. augusztus és 2020. szeptember között, MNB állampapírok referenciahozama

A forint a régiós devizáknál nagyobb mértékben, közel három százalékkal értékelődött le az euróval szemben. A régiós devizák a kamatdöntések, az inflációs adatok következtében jellemzően erősödtek, a folyamatosan erősödő kockázatkerülés a gyengülés irányába mutatott. Vállalati hitelkondíciók 2021 harmadik negyedévében a forint- és euró alapú hitelek átlagos kamatlába is jelentősen növekedett. (MNB, 2021.)

A monetáris politika fontos feladata és feladványa a stabil árszínvonal elérése és biztosítása, azaz az infláció irányítása. A monetáris politika ráhatását a mennyiségi pénzelméletből következtették ki a közgazdászok, vagyis a pénzmennyiség és az árszínvonal között egyenes arányosság áll fenn. Az elmélet korai változatai a XVI. századig nyúlnak vissza, amikor Amerikából Európába nemesfém áramlott, ezután figyelték meg az árak előző időszaknál gyorsabb növekedését. Ennek az elméletnek a modern változata az 1960-as években uralkodó monetarizmus volt, amelynek lényege, hogy az infláció mindig és mindenhol monetáris történés. A forgalomban lévő pénzmennyiség gyarapodása rövidtávon lehetséges, ami növekvő kibocsátást ér el, hosszú távon semleges a reálkibocsátásra, így állandó forgási sebességet feltételezve inflációt, áremelkedést idéz elő. A monetarista elmélet egyik fontos

¹a következő elnevezést kapta. Kérdések és válaszok néven szerepel: a tagállamok konvergencia jelentéseinek áttekintésében, amelyek az euró zónához csatlakozás mellett szólnak (Questions and answers: Convergence report reviews Member States' progress towards joining the euro area)

² the criteria relating to public finances and long-term interest rates.

³ Hungary does not fulfil the price stability and exchange rate criteria and legislation in Hungary is not fully compatible with the Treaty.

tézise, hogy a pénzforgási sebessége közel állandó, vagyis a gazdaság résztvevői a gazdaságban meglévő pénzt folyamatosan hasonló mértékben cserélik el árukra és szolgáltatásokra. A 60-as években ezt a felfogást számos, hosszabb időszoron vizsgált statisztikai elemzés is alátámasztotta, de a későbbiekben e reláció gyengült. (MNB, 2021.)

E tekintetben európai, de Európán kívüli tapasztalatokat is érdemes figyelembe venni. A dél-koreai jegybank, proaktív monetáris és hitelezési politika révén minden kritikus időszakban eredményesen terelte szilárd növekedési pályára a gazdaságot kezdve az állam megalakulásától a 2008–2009-es években bekövetkezett gazdasági és pénzügyi válságig. A koreai tapasztalatok, különösen a két legutóbbi válságból való gyors kilábalást lehetővé tévő módszerek magyar szemmel is tanulságosak lehetnek (Neszmélyi, 2019).

Az 1990-es években a jegybankok az inflációs célkövetés eszközt választották, vagyis az alapkamaton és az inflációs várakozások befolyásolásán keresztül érik el az árstabilitás elérését és szinten tartását. A jegybanki intézkedése a transzmissziós mechanizmuson keresztül érvényesítik befolyásukat a gazdaságra. Legelőször a pénzpiacok érzik meg a jegybank beavatkozását, a piaci kamatokon, az eszközárakon és az árfolyamon. A második szint az árupiac: a vállalatok és a fogyasztók érzik meg a pénzpiaci változását, ami átalakítja a termékek iránti aggregált keresletüket. A változó keresletre a vállalatok az előállított termékek mennyiségével, valamint áraik változtatásával válaszolnak, így a monetáris feltételek hatással vannak a kibocsátásra és az árakra is. A kommunikációnak és a rövid oldali kamatoknak kiemelt jelentősége van. A jegybankok az általuk kibocsátott pénzjelentős növekedésével igyekeztek támogatni a gazdaságok kilábalását. (MNB, 2021)

Fontos változást hozott a koronavírus-járvány és az arra adott hitelezési és gazdaságpolitikai reakció. 2020-ban a monetáris bázis emelkedése a stabil bankrendszer segítségével és a válság sújtotta országok költségvetési hiányainak redukciónak egyidejű növekedést is jelentettek. A jegybankok és a kereskedelmi bankok által kibocsátott magasabb pénzmenyiség a jelek szerint a fogyasztói árakra is nagyobb hatással van, mint korábban. A válság sújtotta országok költségvetési hiányainak emelkedése által a többlet likviditás jelentős része jutott el a fogyasztókhoz. (MNB, 2021)

Az inflációs várakozásokat az áremelkedési folyamatok alkotják. Az inflációs várakozások nagy befolyást gyakorolnak a bértárgyalásokra és az inflációs megugrások tartósságára. A jövőben teljesülő magas infláció miatt a gazdasági szereplők olyan magasabb nominális bért igyekeznek megkapni, amely reálértéke nem változik. A magasabb bér növeli a vállalatok költségét, amely végül az árak emelkedését idézi elő. Így ez a folyamat öngerjesztővé válik, kialakul az ún. ár- bér spirál. A magas inflációs várakozások kapcsán azzal a helyzettel szembesülünk, hogy emelkedik az egyes szereplők toleranciája, ennek kapcsán a vállalatok magasabb áremelést tudnak érvényesíteni. Az infláció annál tartósabb, minél inkább a jövőre vonatkozik a folyamat. Az inflációs várakozások elemzése ezért a gazdaságpolitika egyik kulcsfeladata. (MNB, 2021)

A koronavírus utáni gazdasági újraindulást követően a jegybankok inflációs célját meghaladó árnövekedés globális jelenségé vált. A gazdaság újraindulását követően a világpiacon energia- és nyersanyagárak, illetve a szállítási költségek emelkedése lépcsőzetesen, egyre szélesebb termékkörben volt fellelhető a fogyasztói árakban, historikusan magas, az elemzői várakozásokat is meghaladó inflációt hozva magával. (MNB, 2021)

Ha átvizsgáljuk az eredeti Maastrichti kritériumokat (lásd 3. táblázat), világosan látszik, hogy néhány dolog kimaradt. Magyarország a csatlakozási kritériumokat nem tudta teljesíteni, köszönhetően a válságoknak, az elszalasztott korai csatlakozás segített volna a problémáink megoldásában korábban, de sem a makrogazdasági mutatók, sem az intézményi rendszer nem illeszkedik a szerződéshez. A 2010-ben hivatalban lévő kormány

döntött úgy, hogy nem folytatja tovább a csatlakozási tárgyalásokat. A kormány és a jegybank nem tűzött még ki a céldátumot a bevezetésre. Megoldásként az MNB munkatársai két éve újragondolták a Maastrichti kritériumokat, és azt, hogyan lehet teljesíteni a kondíciókat.

3. táblázat: A módosított és kibővített kritériumrendszer módosított és (Maastricht 2.0) és annak jelenlegi teljesíthetősége:

Kritérium	Célérték	Magyarország (2018-2019)	A kritérium teljesíthetősége	Forrás
Nominális horgonyok				
Árstabilitás (1)	legfeljebb a három legalacsonyabb pozitív inflációs mutatóval rendelkező EU-tagállam súlyozatlan számtani átlaga + 1,5 százalékpont	3,3%	3,98%, Nem	Eurostat
Kamat konvergencia (2)	Legfeljebb a három legalacsonyabb pozitív inflációs mutatóval rendelkező EU-tagállam súlyozatlan számtani átlaga + 2,0 százalékpont	2,8%	2,6 % , Igen	Eurostat
Árfolyam stabilitás:	3-5 év (3)	Lebegő árfolyam-rendszer	Nem	MNB
II. Megfelelő fázis az euróövezethez történő felzárkózáshoz				
Reálgazdasági konvergencia(4) (egy főre jutó GDP) (PPP)	> 90%	66%	73% Nem	Eurostat
Bér konvergencia (4) (átlagbér (PPP))	>90 %	60%	N/A	Európai Bizottság
A pénzügyi szektor mélységének konvergenciája (4) (5)	>90 %	39%	N/A	Világbank, MNB
III. Szinkronizált üzleti és pénzügyi ciklusok Magyarország és az eurózóna között				
Szinkronizált üzleti ciklusok (6)	>0,7	> 0,7 körül	N/A	Eurostat
Szinkronizált pénzügyi ciklusok (7)	>0,7	> 0,7 körül	N/A	Világbank

Forrás: Saját kiegészítés MNB [2020]

Kritérium	Célérték	Magyarország (2018-2019)	A kritérium teljesíthetősége	Forrás
IV. Magyar versenyképesség a vállalatok, a munkaerő és a termékek körében				
A kis- és közép vállalkozások munkatermelékenysége aránya (8)	>50%	46%	N/A	KSH
Munkaerőpiac	Teljes foglalkoztatottság közeli állapot	3,7%	4,2%	KSH
Exportszerkezet, termékválaszték	Diverzifikáció, magas hozzáadott értékű termékek	62,5% (71,9%)	64,8 (64,8)	OECD
V. fejlett, stabil és kompetitív pénzügyi szektor				
MNB Bankrendszeri Versenyképességi Index (BVI) (9)	Versenyképes bankszektor	A bankrendszer versenyképességének fejlesztése szükséges	A bankrendszer versenyképességének fejlesztése szükséges	MNB
VI. Hatékony, kontraciklikus gazdaságpolitikai mozgástér				
Hosszú távú strukturális hiány	Az államadósságrátától függően legfeljebb 0%, 1% vagy 2%	>1%	N/A	IMF
GDP- arányos államadósság	<50% vagy megfelelő ütemben csökkenő	70,2%	80,1 %	MNB
Prudenciális politikák	Megfelelő eszköztár	Rendelkezésre áll	Rendelkezésre áll	MNB

Forrás: Saját kiegészítés MNB [2020]

- (1) Az éves alapú, harmonizált fogyasztói ár-index átlagos havi értéke az elmúlt 1 évben.
- (2) A 10 éves állampapír átlagos hozama az elmúlt 1 évben
- (3) Az országok a szándékolt csatlakozás előtti 3-5 évben nem értékelhetik le valutájuk euróhoz rögzített középárfolyamát és ennek a stabilitásnak „súlyos feszültségek” nélkül kell megvalósulnia. További feltétel a 3-5 éves ERM II tagság.
- (4) Az eurózóna átlagában.
- (5) A GDP-arányos hitelállomány.
- (6) A kibocsátási rés korrelációja az eurózónához képest.
- (7) A GDP-arányos hitelállomány korrelációja az eurózónához képes.
- (8) Egy főre jutó bruttó hozzáadott érték a KKV-körbe nem tartozó vállalkozások arányában.
- (9) Pénzügyi stabilitási mandátumnál fogva az MNB kifejlesztette önálló Bankrendszeri Versenyképességi Indexét (BVI). A mutató alapján a leginkább fejlesztésre szoruló területek a banki hitelhez való hozzáférés, a vállalati bizalom, valamint a lakossági hitelek átlagos THM felára.

Az első utat az együtemű bevezetés esetén tudjuk megvalósítani (lásd 4. táblázat). Az alábbi MNB-s forgatókönyv már egyszer elfogadásra került a Jegybankban, amelyben három lehetséges út és mód áll Magyarországon az euró bevezetésre Pócsik, (2020).

Mi az, ami kiolvasható a Magyar Nemzeti Bank forgatókönyveiből? Amennyiben az euróövezethez csatlakozni kívánó tagállam **az együtemű bevezetést** választja, abban az esetben az adott államban a bevezetés napján az euro bankjegyek és -érmék törvényes fizetőeszközzé válnak, és egyidejűleg a számlapénz is euróra válik át és ekkortól kezdve a számlapénzben való fizetésre csak az euró használatos. (MNB, 2006) Az együtemű bevezetést választó országok a 2004-ben csatlakozott tagállamok. A magyar hatóságok az együtemű bevezetés lehetőségét jelezték előre, azonban érdemi intézkedés ez ügyben nem volt. (MNB, 2006) **Kétütemű bevezetésnél** az átmeneti éra alatt a gazdasági szereplők az érintett tagállamokban akár a nemzeti pénznemet, akár az eurót használhatják számlapénzként, a nemzeti bankjegyek és érmék a törvényes fizetőeszközök az országban. Az euró számlapénzként való bevezetését nem követi a bankjegyek és érmék lecserélése, de a forgalomban lévő nemzeti pénz az euró azonnal váltópénzévé válik. Utolsó lépésként jelenik meg az euró, bankjegyek és -érmék cseréjeként. (MNB, 2006) 2002-ben csatlakozó országok a kétütemű bevezetést választották.

Az együtemű átállás fokozatos kivonási időszakkal csökkenti az együtemű bevezetés kockázatait, egy évet hagyva bizonyos jogi eszközök, az előállító rendszerek módosítására a pénzcserét követően. (MNB, 2006) Szlovénia ezt a bevezetési módot választotta. A később csatlakozóknak egyszerűbb a dolguk, hogy az euró már létező pénznem. (MNB, 2006) A véleményem továbbra is az, hogy az együtemű bevezetést választó országok döntöttek jól. Kevesebb költséggel jár az ez a mód. Nem kell többszörösen jogszabályi háttérrel módosítani, az intézményi rendszer is azonnal átáll, nem kell folyton újabb és újabb pénzügyi- számviteli-informatikai állami infrastrukturális rendszereket létrehozni. A lakosságnak nincs átmeneti időszaka, amikor a nemzeti valuta és az euró is forgalomban van. Nem kell kampányokat szervezni, és ezzel költségeket növelni a lakosság folyamatos informálására, kommunikációjára.

4. táblázat: Lehetséges euró bevezetési módok- bevezetési forgatókönyvek:

Együtemű bevezetés fokozatos kivonási időszakkal	Együtemű bevezetés	Kétütemű bevezetés
Euróvezeti csatlakozás előtti időszak Az átváltási kulcs (árfolyam) megállapítás Az euró bevezetési napjának jóváhagyása		
Euróvezeti csatlakozás előtti időszak (folytatódása) Kettős árjelzés megkezdhető Euró bankjegyek és - érmék előszállítása megkezdhető		
Az euró bevezetésének napja, az €- nap Az euró az ország pénznemévé válik (a derogáció visszavonása hatályba lép) Az átváltási kulcs (árfolyam) hatályba lépése		
Időben egybe esik	Időben egybe esik	Átmeneti időszak (Max. 3 évig) Államadósság átváltási lehetősége Egyéb, nemzeti pénznemben kibocsátott értékpapírok konvertálási lehetősége Pénzpiacok átállítási lehetősége Fizetési rendszerek átállítási lehetősége Bankszámlák konvertálási lehetősége Euró számlapénz használatának lehetőség Előszállítás
Az euró készpénz bevezetésének napja, a készpénzcseré napja Euró törvényes fizetőeszközzé válik Számlapénzként csak euró használható (számlák kötelező átváltása euróra, számlanyitás kizárólag euróban) Nemzeti pénznemre történő hivatkozás euróbeli hivatkozásként értelmezendő		
Fokozatos kivonási időszak (max. 1 évig) Jogi eszközök nemzeti pénznemre való hivatkozással is létrehozhatóak (euróra való hivatkozásként értelmezendők)	Kettős készpénz-forgalmazási időszak (max. 6 évig) Nemzeti készpénz továbbra is törvényes fizetőeszköz Nemzeti készpénz kötelező díjmentes váltása euróra a hitelintézeteknél	
Végső szakasz Összes célra csak euro használható		

Forrás: Saját szerkesztés MNB, Az euro bevezetéséhez kapcsolódó gyakorlati feladatok Magyarországon tanulmánya alapján [2006]

Amint a monetáris szuverenitáshoz való viszonyulás példája mutatja, még a homogén V4-csoportban is eltérő stratégiákat követtek: Szlovákia korai időpontban csatlakozott az euróövezetnek, a többi három ország ez idáig nem. A csatlakozás mellett üzleti, gazdasági indokok szólnak, s ezekkel monetáris-politikai indoklást szoktak ütköztetni, de tudott dolog, hogy a szuverenitás politikai aspektusai legalább annyira determinánsok. A bankunió ügye is szemlélteti: a gazdasági racionalitás ismerveiből nem vezethető le nyilvánvalóan, hogy pl. Románia, miért kíván csatlakozni, míg Magyarország miért nem – a választ a hatalmon levő politikai erők sajátos perspektívái adják meg. (Bod, 2019)

Egyértelmű, hogy ha Szlovénia, Szlovákia gazdasága jól járt az euró bevezetésével, akkor az Magyarországnak miért ne lenne előnyös. Magyarországon kívül, nem tagja az euróövezetnek Dánia, korábban csatlakozott az ERM-II rendszerhez, amivel valutáját az euróhoz kötötte. Továbbá élt a kívül maradás lehetőségével, amivel csak az Európai Unió alapító országai élhetnek. Svédország nem csatlakozott az ERM-II rendszerhez, de a bevezetés makrogazdasági feltételeit még válság sújtotta időszakban is teljesíti. Románia, Bulgária és Horvátország rendelkezik céldátummal, Horvátország 2020 júliusában csatlakozott az ERM-II árfolyamrendszerhez, és 2023-ban bevezetheti az eurót. Románia esetében a céldátum 2029, míg Bulgária, közel két évtizede rögzítette valutája árfolyamát, szintén 2020 nyarán csatlakozott az ERM-II rendszerhez, majd 2023-tól szeretne az eurózóna tagjává válni. Magyarországhoz hasonló kívül maradási politikát választott Csehország és Lengyelország, hasonló euroizáltsági fokkal rendelkezik mind három ország (Neszmélyi – Pócsik, 2021). Leginkább politikai akarat kérdése az euró bevezetés. Görögország példája lebeghetne előttünk, hogy miközben semmilyen Maastrichti feltételt nem teljesítettek, a politikusaik egyetértettek a bevezetéssel. Mára már Görögország az eurózóna része. Az is előfordulhat, hogy a térség kimaradó országai is kénytelenek lesznek eurót használni, vagyis számos elemzővel egyetérttek azzal a feltevéssel, hogy az euró bevezeti saját magát.

Megvizsgáltam, hogy mennyit ér a minimálbér a közép-kelet európai régióban. A táblázatból (5. táblázat) kiderül, hogy amelyik országban egy dolgozó a legtöbb eurót viszi haza, az a versenyképesebb.

5. táblázat: Átlagos bérterhek és a versenyképesség:

	Jogszabályban előírt minimálbér 2021. Január 1-én euróban, per hónap X	Minimum bér/ hónap Lekérdezés ideje: 2022. január. Az összegek adózás előtti pénzüsszegek.	Minimum bér/ óra Lekérdezés ideje: 2022. január. Az összegek adózás előtti pénzüsszegek.
Magyarország	2,64	167.400,00 Ft= € 462,37	HUF 963,00= € 2,66
Csehország	3,42	CZK 15.200,00= € 618,23	CZK 90,50= € 3,68
Lengyelország	3,64	PLN 2.800,00= € 612,60	PLN 18,30= € 4,00
Szlovákia	3,58	€623,00	€3.58
Szlovénia	5,92	€1.024,24	€ 4,79"; Nincs adat
Horvátország	3,26	HRK 4.250,00= € 565,18	Nincs adat
Románia	2,84	RO 2.300,00= € 464,97	RON 13,58= € 2,75
Bulgária	2,00	BGN 650,00=€ 332,34	BGN 3,92=€ 2,00

Forrás: Saját számítás [2022] 2019 adatai alapján

Megjegyzések: Érvényes az Európai Unió területén 2021. január 1-én. konverzió időpontja: 2022/01/04, Xe.com

III. Eredmények

Maastricht 2.0 alternatív megoldása az eurózónához való csatlakozásnak. A szerző javaslata az ERM-II árfolyamrendszerbe való belépés. A rendszerben való tartózkodás Magyarország esetében akár 3-5 év is lehet, a folyton gyengülő forintnak köszönhetően.

A költségvetési kritériumok a következőkkel teljesíthetőek: (1) ország specifikus tényezők figyelembevétele (2) adósságráta csökkentése (3) adósságráta ciklikus figyelése és egy sávban tartása, (4) az MNB szerint fontos lenne az üzleti ciklusok szinkronizációja, (5) hasonlóan reagáljon gazdasági sokkokra, mint a zóna országai.

Fontos reálgazdasági szempont lenne a termelékenység és versenyképesség összehangolása, a gazdasági konvergencia helyreállítása: minimális makro- és mikroprudenciális és szanálási eszköztárral. A megfontolásra érdemes újabb kritériumok a következők: (1) gazdasági fejlettség, (2) munkaerő piaci helyzet, (3) üzleti és pénzügyi ciklusok szinkronizáltsága, (4) versenyképesség, (5) pénzügyi szektorra, (6) anticiklikus üzleti politika követése.

IV. Összefoglalás

Az euró zóna Románia és Horvátország csatlakozásával még közelebb kerül hozzánk. Még több pénzügyi tranzakció kerül lebonyolításra Magyarország gravitációs zónájában, amely a legtöbb esetben immár euróban kerül lebonyolításra a több telephelyen működő multinacionális, kis-és középvállalkozások esetében. Ki kellene kerülni a közepes fejlettség csapdájából. Magasabb jövedelemi státuszt kellene elérni, ami magasabb fejlettségű országot feltételez, ami egyben versenyképesebb államot is jelent.

Meggyőződésem, hogy az Európai Unió országai mind benne vannak az eurózónában, használják is az eurót. Idő kérdése, hogy Magyarország melyik bevezetési utat és módot választja. Mindenesetre egy bizonyos, a forint folytonos leértékelésével a lakosság veszít, vagyis a szavazó állampolgárok pénze ér kevesebbet.

Támogatás: "Az Innovációs és Technológiai Minisztérium ÚNKP-20-3-II kódszámú Új Nemzeti Kiválóság Programjának a Nemzeti Kutatási, Fejlesztési és Innovációs Alapból finanszírozott szakmai támogatásával készült."

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A survey on Piecewise Linear Iterated Function Systems on the line

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In the 1970's, Mandelbrot realized that nature is full of complex, self-repeating patterns that he called fractals. Inspired by his ideas, mathematicians started to investigate the geometry of fractal sets. One way to generate a fractal is by iteration using a system of contracting functions. One of the simplest cases is the family of self-similar fractals, where each function used in the iteration is a similarity. However, for fractals of overlapping structure we have only partial results on the geometric properties, even in the case of self-similar systems.

The family of iterated function systems we investigated uses more complex functions. Each might change its slope over the domain. Thus the attractor of the system, the fractals we generate this way, has a richer structure. For instance, our systems might include non-injective functions. For such a system an overlapping structure is unavoidable.

In this paper we summarize our results on continuous piecewise linear iterated function systems. We show why these systems are interesting, showcasing the difference between them and other widely studied families of iterated function systems. We also give results on the dimension of the generated attractors, and investigate their typical behavior.

Keywords: fractal geometry, iterated function systems, dimension theory of fractals

I. Introduction

I.1. Basic notions

We call a finite set of strict contractions an *iterated function system* or just *IFS* for short. If all of the functions in a system are similarities then we say that the system is *self-similar*. That is, $\mathcal{F} = \{f_i\}_{i=1}^m$ is a self-similar IFS on the real line if

$$\forall x \in \mathbb{R}: f_i(x) = \rho_i x + t_i, \text{ where } \forall i \in \{1, \dots, m\}: |\rho_i| < 1, \rho_i \neq 0. \quad (1)$$

We say that $\Lambda \subset \mathbb{R}$ is the *attractor of the IFS* \mathcal{F} if Λ is a non-empty compact set satisfying

$$\Lambda = \bigcup_{i=1}^m f_i(\Lambda). \quad (2)$$

Since our functions are strict contractions, the attractor is always uniquely defined, see [4]. For the same reason there always exists an interval $I \subset \mathbb{R}$ with minimal length which is mapped into itself by all the functions of \mathcal{F} .

We use the shorthand notations $[m] := \{1, \dots, m\}$ and $f_{i_1, \dots, i_n} := f_{i_1} \circ \dots \circ f_{i_n}$. We write $\Sigma = [m]^{\mathbb{N}}$ for the symbolic space and Σ^* for the set of finite words. For any $\mathbf{i} \in \Sigma^*$ we call $I_{\mathbf{i}} := f_{\mathbf{i}}(I)$ a cylinder interval. For a fixed $n \in \mathbb{N}$ the cylinder intervals of level n , that is the intervals $I_{\mathbf{i}}$ for all $\mathbf{i} \in \Sigma^n$, form a natural cover over Λ .

The main focus of our investigation is the Hausdorff dimension of the attractor of an iterated function system.

Definition 1.1: Let $E \subset \mathbb{R}^d$ and $t \geq 0$. We define the *t-dimensional Hausdorff measure* of E as

$$\mathcal{H}^t(E) = \liminf_{\delta \rightarrow 0} \{ \sum_{i=1}^{\infty} |A_i|^t : E \subset \bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty} A_i, |A_i| \leq \delta \}. \quad (3)$$

The *Hausdorff dimension* of E is

$$\dim_{\mathcal{H}} E := \inf \{ t : \mathcal{H}^t(E) = 0 \} = \sup \{ t : \mathcal{H}^t(E) = \infty \}.$$

For basic properties of the Hausdorff measure and dimension, we direct the reader to [2].

If \mathcal{F} is a self-similar iterated function system, then it is really easy to give a natural upper bound on the Hausdorff dimension of its attractor Λ . Observe that by covering Λ with the cylinder intervals, the sum $\sum_{i=1}^{\infty} |A_i|^t$ in formula (3) coincides with

$$\sum_{\mathbf{i}: |\mathbf{i}|=n} |I_{\mathbf{i}}|^s = |I| \cdot \sum_{\mathbf{i}: |\mathbf{i}|=n} |\lambda_{\mathbf{i}}|^s = |I| \cdot \left(\sum_{i=1}^m |\lambda_i|^s \right)^n.$$

Thus the Hausdorff dimension of Λ is always bounded from above by the unique s that satisfies

$$\sum_{i=1}^m |\lambda_i|^s = 1. \quad (4)$$

This number s is often called the *similarity dimension* of Λ , and we will denote it with $\dim_s \Lambda$. Observe that for a self-similar IFS \mathcal{F} , we can obtain the similarity dimension of the attractor Λ with the help of the following function:

$$\Phi_{\mathcal{F}}(s) := \limsup_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \log \sum_{\mathbf{i}: |\mathbf{i}|=n} |I_{\mathbf{i}}|^s. \quad (5)$$

In particular, $\Phi_{\mathcal{F}}(\dim_s \Lambda) = 0$. We call $\Phi_{\mathcal{F}}(s)$ the *natural pressure function* of the IFS \mathcal{F} . Barreira showed in [1] that $\Phi_{\mathcal{F}}(s)$ is a strictly decreasing and continuous function for any iterated function system \mathcal{F} on the line. Further, he also showed that the unique zero of $\Phi_{\mathcal{F}}(s)$ is an upper bound for the Hausdorff dimension of Λ . For an IFS \mathcal{F} we call $s_{\mathcal{F}}$ the *natural*

dimension of Λ , if $\Phi_{\mathcal{F}}(s_{\mathcal{F}}) = 0$. This way we can generalize the notion of similarity dimension to attractors that are not self-similar.

As we already showed, covering Λ with the cylinder intervals can help us obtain bounds for the Hausdorff dimension. If the cylinder intervals of the system do not overlap too much, then this natural cover may give us more than just an upper bound.

Definition 1.2: The IFS \mathcal{F} satisfies the *Strong Separation Property (SSP)* if

$$f_i(\Lambda) \cap f_j(\Lambda) = \emptyset \text{ for all } i, j \in [m], i \neq j.$$

We say that \mathcal{F} satisfies the *Open Set Condition (OSC)* if there exists a bounded open set V such that for all $i, j \in \{1, \dots, m\}$

$$f_i(V) \subset V, \quad f_i(V) \cap f_j(V) = \emptyset \text{ for all } i \neq j.$$

It is a straightforward consequence of the definitions that the OSC implies the SSP. That is, the statement of the next theorem holds under both of these separation conditions.

Theorem 1.3: (Hutchinson [4]) Let $\mathcal{F} = \{f_i(x) = \lambda_{ix} + t_i\}_{i=1}^m$ be a self-similar IFS on the line with attractor Λ . If \mathcal{F} satisfies the OSC then

$$s := \dim_H \Lambda = \dim_S \Lambda.$$

Further,

$$0 < \mathcal{H}^s(\Lambda) < \infty.$$

The following example illustrates how these notions can help us calculate the Hausdorff dimension of a self-similar attractor.

Example 1.4: Consider the self-similar iterated function system

$$\mathcal{F} = \left\{ f_1(x) = \frac{1}{3}x, f_2(x) = \frac{1}{3}x + \frac{2}{3} \right\},$$

and write $\Lambda_{\mathcal{F}}$ for its attractor. This attractor Λ is a well-known self-similar set called the Cantor set (or middle 1/3-Cantor set). It is easy to check that for this system $I = [0, 1]$, and the first cylinders are $I_1 = \left[0, \frac{1}{3}\right]$ and $I_2 = \left[\frac{2}{3}, 1\right]$. It implies that \mathcal{F} satisfies the SSP. According to Theorem 1.3, $\dim_H \Lambda$ equals to the unique number s for which

$$\left(\frac{1}{3}\right)^s + \left(\frac{1}{3}\right)^s = 1. \tag{6}$$

That is $\dim_H \Lambda_{\mathcal{F}} = \frac{\log 2}{\log 3} \approx 0.630929$.

1.2. Piecewise linear systems

The main focus of our investigation was a generalization of self-similar systems, the family of piecewise linear iterated function systems. A function is called piecewise linear if it is linear over all elements of a certain finite partition of \mathbb{R} . In other words, f is piecewise linear if there exists a $\{J_1, \dots, J_l\}$ partition of \mathbb{R} such that f has constant slope over each J_i interval. Note that these slopes might be equal, hence self-similar systems are a subfamily of piecewise linear IFS. A *continuous piecewise linear iterated function system (CPLIFS)* is shown on Figure 1.5.

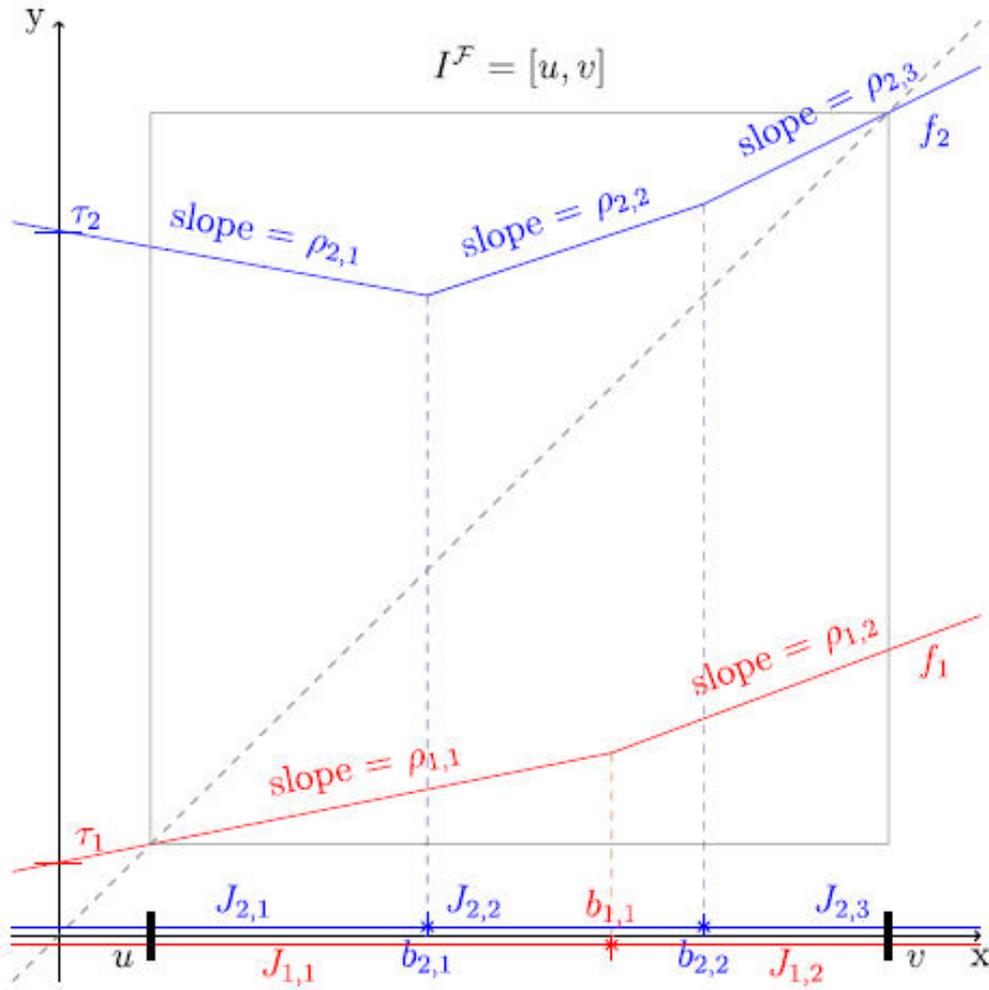


Figure 1.5. An example CPLIFS with all the related notations.

Let $\mathcal{F} = \{f_k\}_{k=1}^m$ be a CPLIFS. We write $l(k)$ for the number of points where the function f_k changes its slope. We always assume that $1 \leq k \leq m$: $l(k) < \infty$, and we call the vector $\mathbf{l} = (l(1), \dots, l(m))$ the *type* of \mathcal{F} . We denote the $l(k)$ many breaking points of f_k with $b_{k,1}, \dots, b_{k,l(k)}$, and we organize them into a vector $\mathbf{b}_k = (b_{k,1}, \dots, b_{k,l(k)})$. For each $k \in [m]$ we define $b_{k,0} := -\infty$ and $b_{k,l(k)+1} := \infty$, and we call the intervals $\{J_{k,j} := (b_{k,j-1}, b_{k,j}) : j \in [l(k) + 1]\}$ the *intervals of linearity* of f_k . For each $1 \leq k \leq m$ there are $l(k) + 1$ many of them, and f_k is linear above each $J_{k,j}$ interval. Observe that for any k the last and the first interval of linearity, namely $J_{k,1}$ and $J_{k,l(k)+1}$, are actually half-lines.

Fix $k \in [m]$ and $j \in [l(k)]$. The piecewise linear function f_k has $l(k) + 1$ intervals of linearity, hence it has $l(k) + 1$ many slopes denoted by $\rho_{k,1}, \dots, \rho_{k,l(k)+1}$. As the slope of f_k changes by definition at $b_{k,j}$, $\rho_{k,j} \neq \rho_{k,j+1}$ always holds. Note that for $i \in [l(k)]$: $|i - j| > 1$ we might have $\rho_{k,i} = \rho_{k,j}$. We write $\boldsymbol{\rho}_k = (\rho_{k,1}, \dots, \rho_{k,l(k)+1})$ for the vector of the slopes of f_k , and let

$$\rho_k := \max_{j \in [l(k)]} |\rho_{k,j}|, \quad \rho_{\max} := \max_{k \in [m]} \rho_k.$$

A linear function of the form $f(x) = \rho x + \tau$ is uniquely defined by the parameters ρ and τ . Similarly, writing $\tau_k = f_k(0)$, the parameters $\mathbf{b}_k, \rho_k, \tau_k$ uniquely determine the piecewise linear function f_k . Thus, the CPLIFS \mathcal{F} is uniquely determined by the parameters

$$\lambda := (\mathbf{b}, \boldsymbol{\rho}, \boldsymbol{\tau}) := ((\mathbf{b}_1, \dots, \mathbf{b}_m), (\boldsymbol{\rho}_1, \dots, \boldsymbol{\rho}_m), (\tau_1, \dots, \tau_m)).$$

To emphasize the dependence on the parameters we might write \mathcal{F}^λ instead of \mathcal{F} .

Example 1.6: Consider the CPLIFS

$$\mathcal{F} = \left\{ f_1(x) = \begin{cases} \frac{1}{3}x, & x \leq \frac{1}{2} \\ \frac{1}{9}x + \frac{1}{9}, & x > \frac{1}{2} \end{cases}, f_2(x) = \frac{1}{3}x + \frac{2}{3} \right\},$$

with attractor $\Lambda_{\mathcal{F}}$. The type of \mathcal{F} is $(1, 0)$. The graph of f_1 breaks at $\mathbf{b}_{1,1} = \frac{1}{2}$, and it has 2 different slopes: $\rho_{1,1} = \frac{1}{3}$ and $\rho_{1,2} = \frac{1}{9}$. On the other hand, f_2 is a similarity with constant slope $\rho_2 = \frac{1}{3}$. Just like in Example 1.4, \mathcal{F} satisfies the SSP. However, as one of the functions is not linear, we cannot apply Theorem 1.3 here. The Hausdorff dimension of the attractor $\Lambda_{\mathcal{F}}$ is the unique number s satisfying

$$\left(\frac{1}{3} \cdot \frac{1}{9}\right)^s + 2\left(\frac{1}{3}\right)^s - \left(\frac{1}{3}\right)^{2s} = 1. \tag{7}$$

It yields that $\dim_{\text{H}} \Lambda_{\mathcal{F}} = \frac{-\log 0.56984}{\log 3} \approx 0.511918$. Compared to formula (6), formula (7) is somewhat similar but more complicated. We will show in Subsection II.2.2. how this formula is obtained by associating a directed graph to \mathcal{F} .

II. Methods

In this section we give two methods one can use to determine the Hausdorff dimension of the attractor of a continuous piecewise linear iterated function system. First, we present the results of P. Raith and show how one can apply it to a certain family of CPLIFS. Then we introduce the notion of graph-directed iterated function systems to calculate the Hausdorff dimension of the attractor of a CPLIFS of overlapping structure.

II.1. Disjoint first cylinders

Definition 2.1: We say that an IFS $\mathcal{F} = \{f_k\}_{k=1}^m$ satisfies the *Interval Open Set Condition (IOSC)* if

$$\forall k, l \in [m], k \neq l: f_k(I) \cap f_l(I) = \emptyset,$$

where I is an interval that is being mapped to itself by all the mappings of \mathcal{F} .

As usual, we write Λ for the attractor of \mathcal{F} . By the definition of $I: \Lambda \subset I$. It follows that the interval open set condition is stricter than either the strong separation property or the open set condition (see Definition 1.2). The IOSC implies an interesting property: if \mathcal{F} satisfies the IOSC, and all the functions in \mathcal{F} are injective, then we can build a piecewise monotonous expansive mapping $T: [0,1] \rightarrow [0,1]$ using the inverses of the f_k functions. Namely, recall that $I_k = f_k(I)$ and define T as

$$\forall k \in [m]: T|_{I_k} = f_k^{-1}.$$

The mappings in \mathcal{F} are all strict contractions, therefore the derivative of T is bigger than 1 on its domain $\cup_{k \in [m]} I_k$ except finitely many points. Write W_0 for the set of points where the derivative of T is not defined. That is $W_0 = \cup_{k=1}^m \left(\{f_k(0), f_k(1)\} \cup_{j=1}^{l(k)} f_k(b_{k,j}) \right)$. We write W for the set of preimages of the elements of W_0 :

$$W := \left(\cup_{i=0}^{\infty} T^{-i}(W_0 \setminus \{0,1\}) \right) \setminus \{0,1\}.$$

Now let

$$R := \cap_{n=0}^{\infty} [0,1] \setminus T^{-n}(\cup_{k=1}^m [0,1] \setminus I_k).$$

The set R contains all the points whose orbit will never leave the union of the first cylinders as we iterate T . Observe that $R = \Lambda$, hence the results in [8] on the Hausdorff dimension of R apply to Λ as well.

Instead of $[0,1]$ we will work on a modification of this interval that we denote with $[0,1]_W$. In particular, following [8, p.41], we double all elements of W , and equip this new space with the metric that induces the order topology. We call this new complete metric space *Doubled points topology*. We write R_W for the closure of $R \setminus W$ in the doubled points topology. Let T_W be the unique, continuous extension of our expansive map T in this new metric space. Similarly, for a piecewise constant function ψ let ψ_W denote the unique continuous function for which $\psi_W(x) = \psi(x)$, $\forall x \in [0,1] \setminus (W \cup \{0,1\})$. We call ψ_W the completion of ψ .

Let (X, d) be a compact metric space, $G: X \rightarrow X$ be a continuous mapping and $g \in \mathcal{C}(X, \mathbb{R})$ be a continuous real valued function. The classical *topological pressure* is defined as

$$p(R, G, g) := \lim_{\varepsilon \rightarrow 0} \limsup_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \log \sup_E \sum_{x \in E} \exp \left(\sum_{j=0}^{n-1} g(G^j x) \right), \tag{8}$$

where the supremum is taken over all (n, ε) -separated subsets E of R . A set $E \subset R$ is (n, ε) -separated, if for every $x \neq y \in E$ there exists a $j \in \{0, 1, \dots, n-1\}$ such that $d(T^j x, T^j y) > \varepsilon$, where d is the metric on X which induces the order topology.

In the doubled points topology $\psi_s(x) = -s \log |T'(x)|$ has a continuous completion that we will denote by $\psi_{s,W}$. Thus the pressure function (8) is well defined for $X = R_W$, $G = T_W$, $g = \psi_{s,W}$, where the choice of $s \in \mathbb{R}$ is arbitrary. This is why we work on this new topological space.

According to [8, Lemma 3] the map

$$P_{\text{top}}(s) := p(R_W, T_W, \psi_{s,W}) \tag{9}$$

is continuous and strictly decreasing. Moreover, the unique zero of this map s_{top} coincides with the Hausdorff dimension of R_W . Since R and R_W only differs in countably many points $\dim_{\text{H}} R = \dim_{\text{H}} R_W$. We call the map $P_{\text{top}}(s)$ *topological pressure function*. As a consequence we obtain

Lemma 2.2: Let \mathcal{F} be a CPLIFS on the line that satisfies the IOSC and consists of only injective functions, and denote the attractor with Λ . Then

$$\dim_{\text{H}} \Lambda = s_{\text{top}},$$

where s_{top} is the unique zero of the topological pressure function defined in (9).

We proved in [6] that considering a CPLIFS that satisfies the IOSC there is a direct connection between the natural dimension of the attractor and the zero of the pressure function P_{top} .

Lemma 2.3: Let \mathcal{F} be a CPLIFS that satisfies the IOSC and consists of only injective functions. Let T be the expanding map associated to \mathcal{F} . Writing s_{top} for the root of the topological pressure function (9) and $s_{\mathcal{F}}$ for the natural dimension we have

$$s_{\text{top}} = s_{\mathcal{F}}.$$

This lemma implies that other well-known notions for the dimension of the attractor Λ are also equal to the natural dimension and hence to each other as well. Namely, if \mathcal{F} is an CPLIFS that satisfies the IOSC, and all the functions in \mathcal{F} are injective, then for its attractor Λ we have

$$\dim_{\text{H}}\Lambda = \dim_{\text{B}}\Lambda = \dim_{\text{P}}\Lambda = s_{\mathcal{F}},$$

where $\dim_{\text{B}}\Lambda$ and $\dim_{\text{P}}\Lambda$ are the box counting and packing dimensions of Λ , respectively. The definitions of these fractal dimensions and their basic properties can be found in [2].

II.2. Overlapping constructions

Unfortunately, in a typical CPLIFS not all the cylinders are disjoint. That is we cannot apply the results of the previous subsection in general. To deal with the overlapping cases we are going to use some theorems related to graph-directed iterated function systems.

II.2.1 Graph-directed self-similar IFS

Let $\mathcal{G} = \{\mathcal{V}, \mathcal{E}\}$ be a directed graph. We label the vertices of \mathcal{G} with the numbers $\{1, \dots, q\}$, where $q := |\mathcal{V}|$ is the total number of vertices in the graph. The graph \mathcal{G} is not necessarily simple; it may have loop or multiple edges.

For a directed edge $e = (i, j) \in \mathcal{E}$ we write $s(e) := i$ for the source and $t(e) := j$ for the target of e . We write $\mathcal{E}_{i,j}$ for the set of directed edges from vertex i to vertex j . Similarly, we write $\mathcal{E}_{i,j}^k$ for the set of length k directed paths from i to j . The set of all directed paths in the graph of length n is denoted by \mathcal{E}^n . We assume that \mathcal{G} is strongly connected. That is for every $i, j \in \mathcal{V}$ there is a directed path in \mathcal{G} from i to j .

A contracting similarity mapping $F_e: \mathbb{R} \rightarrow \mathbb{R}$ is given for all edges $e \in \mathcal{E}$. The contraction ratio of F_e is denoted by $r_e \in (-1, 1) \setminus \{0\}$. For a path $e = (e_1, \dots, e_n) \in \mathcal{E}^n$ in \mathcal{G} we use the shorthand notation $F_{e_1 \dots e_n} := F_{e_1} \circ \dots \circ F_{e_n}$. It follows from the proof of [5, Theorem 1.1] that there exists a unique family of non-empty compact sets $\Lambda_1, \dots, \Lambda_q$ labeled by the elements of \mathcal{V} , for which

$$\forall i \in [q]: \Lambda_i = \bigcup_{j=1}^q \bigcup_{e \in \mathcal{E}_{i,j}} F_e(\Lambda_j).$$

We call the sets $\{\Lambda_1, \dots, \Lambda_q\}$ *graph-directed sets*, and we say that

$$\Lambda := \bigcup_{i=1}^q \Lambda_i$$

is the attractor of the self-similar graph-directed iterated function system $\mathcal{F} = \{F_e\}_{e \in \mathcal{E}}$. We will often call these systems just *self-similar GDIFS*.

For every $s \geq 0$, we introduce the following $q \times q$ matrix

$$C^{(s)} = \left(c^{(s)}(i, j) \right)_{i,j=1}^q, \text{ where } c^{(s)}(i, j) = \begin{cases} 0, & \text{if } \mathcal{E}_{i,j} = \emptyset \\ \sum_{e \in \mathcal{E}_{i,j}} |r_e|^s, & \text{otherwise.} \end{cases}$$

We write $\rho(C^{(s)})$ for the spectral radius of $C^{(s)}$. Mauldin and Williams [5, Theorem 2] proved that the function $s \rightarrow \rho(C^{(s)})$ is strictly decreasing, continuous, greater than 1 at $s = 0$, and

less than 1 if s is large enough. It implies that there exists a unique α number for which $\varrho(C^{(\alpha)}) = 1$.

This α number is strongly related to the Hausdorff dimension of the attractor. Just like the similarity dimension for self-similar systems in section I.1, it is always an upper bound for $\dim_{\text{H}}\Lambda$ in the graph-directed case, according to the following theorem.

Theorem 2.4: Let $\mathcal{F} = \{F_e\}_{e \in \mathcal{E}}$ be a self-similar GDIFS as above. In particular, the graph \mathcal{G} is strongly connected and let Λ be the attractor.

- a) $\dim_{\text{H}}\Lambda \leq \alpha$.
- b) Let I_k be the convex hull of Λ_k for all $k \in \mathcal{V}$. If the intervals $\{I_k\}_{k=1}^q$ are pairwise disjoint, then $\dim_{\text{H}}\Lambda = \dim_{\text{B}}\Lambda = \alpha$. Moreover, $0 < \mathcal{H}^\alpha(\Lambda) < \infty$.

Both parts appeared in [5] apart from the box dimension part, which is from [3].

II.2.2 Regular CPLIFS

Definition 2.5: Let $\mathcal{F} = \{f_k\}_{k=1}^m$ be a CPLIFS with attractor Λ . We say that \mathcal{F} is *regular* if $\forall k \in [m], \forall j \in [l(k)]: \{b_{k,j}\} \cap \Lambda = \emptyset$.

In other words, in a regular system none of the functions change slope on the attractor. It means that for a big enough N none of the level N cylinders contain any breaking point.

Definition 2.6: Let $\mathcal{F} = \{f_k\}_{k=1}^m$ be a regular CPLIFS. Let $N \in \mathbb{N}$ be the smallest number for which

$$\forall \mathbf{i} \in \Sigma^N, \forall k \in [m], \forall j \in [l(k)]: b_{k,j} \notin I_{\mathbf{i}}$$

We call N the *order* of \mathcal{F} .

Now we associate a self-similar GDIFS for the regular CPLIFS \mathcal{F} of order N . Let $\mathcal{G} = \{\mathcal{V}, \mathcal{E}\}$ be the full graph of m^N vertices, and label each node with an element of Σ^N . For an edge $e = (\mathbf{i}, \mathbf{k}) \in \mathcal{E}$ we define the mapping

$$F_e := f_{\mathbf{i}}|_{I_{\mathbf{k}}}$$

We denote this graph-directed iterated function system with $\mathcal{F}_{\mathcal{G}}$. As explained in [7, subsection 4.2], for all $\mathbf{i}, \mathbf{k} \in \Sigma^N$: $f_{\mathbf{i}}|_{I_{\mathbf{k}}}$ is a similarity, hence $\mathcal{F}_{\mathcal{G}}$ is a self-similar GDIFS.

Write Λ for the attractor of \mathcal{F} and observe that

$$\forall \mathbf{i} \in \Sigma^N: \Lambda_{\mathbf{i}} := \Lambda \cap I_{\mathbf{i}}$$

are the graph-directed sets of $\mathcal{F}_{\mathcal{G}}$. It is obvious that \mathcal{F} and $\mathcal{F}_{\mathcal{G}}$ have the same attractor Λ . This is the reason why we call $\mathcal{F}_{\mathcal{G}}$ the *self-similar graph-directed iterated function system associated to \mathcal{F}* .

Example 1.6 revisited: Consider the CPLIFS

$$\mathcal{F} = \left\{ f_1(x) = \begin{cases} \frac{1}{3}x, & x \leq \frac{1}{2} \\ \frac{1}{9}x + \frac{1}{9}, & x > \frac{1}{2} \end{cases}, f_2(x) = \frac{1}{3}x + \frac{2}{3} \right\},$$

with attractor $\Lambda_{\mathcal{F}}$. The first cylinders of this IFS are $I_1 = [0, \frac{2}{9}]$ and $I_2 = [\frac{2}{3}, 1]$. Hence the only breaking point of the system $b_{1,1} = \frac{1}{2}$ is not contained in the first cylinders. It means that \mathcal{F} is a regular CPLIFS of order 1, so we can associate a self-similar GDIFS $\mathcal{F}_{\mathcal{G}}$ to it.

The matrix of $\mathcal{F}_{\mathcal{G}}$ is

$$C^{(s)} = \begin{pmatrix} (f'_1|_{I_1})^s & (f'_1|_{I_2})^s \\ (f'_2|_{I_1})^s & (f'_2|_{I_2})^s \end{pmatrix} = \begin{pmatrix} \left(\frac{1}{3}\right)^s & \left(\frac{1}{9}\right)^s \\ \left(\frac{1}{3}\right)^s & \left(\frac{1}{3}\right)^s \end{pmatrix}.$$

Since the cylinders of the self-similar GDIFS $\mathcal{F}_{\mathcal{G}}$ are pairwise disjoint, Theorem 2.4 applies, and an easy calculation shows that $(\mathcal{H}^s(\Lambda_1), \mathcal{H}^s(\Lambda_2))$ is an eigenvector of $C^{(s)}$ for the eigenvalue 1, where $s = \dim_{\text{H}}\Lambda$.

According to the Perron-Frobenius Theorem, if 1 is an eigenvalue of $C^{(s)}$ then it is the spectral radius, since the function $s \rightarrow \varrho(C^{(s)})$ is strictly decreasing in s . So we only need to calculate the s value for which 1 is an eigenvalue of $C^{(s)}$. Expanding the following determinant for 0 yields the formula we showed earlier in Section I.

$$\begin{vmatrix} \left(\frac{1}{3}\right)^s - 1 & \left(\frac{1}{9}\right)^s \\ \left(\frac{1}{3}\right)^s & \left(\frac{1}{3}\right)^s - 1 \end{vmatrix} = \left(\frac{1}{3}\right)^{2s} - 2\left(\frac{1}{3}\right)^s + 1 - \left(\frac{1}{3}\right)^s \left(\frac{1}{9}\right)^s = 0$$

By applying Theorem 2.4 we obtain that the solution of the above equation is the Hausdorff dimension of $\Lambda_{\mathcal{F}}$.

We also showed in [7, Lemma 5.1] that the natural dimension $s_{\mathcal{F}}$ is equal to the Hausdorff dimension in the regular case as well, the same way it does when the IOSC holds.

Note that in Example 1.6 the regularity of \mathcal{F} was not enough to calculate the dimension of the attractor, we also utilized that the SSP holds. To calculate the Hausdorff dimension of the attractor of a CPLIFS that has overlapping cylinders (e.g. not all of the functions are injective) we need to apply Theorem 3.3.

III. Main results

Although the methods we presented only apply to CPLIFS that are either regular or satisfy the IOSC, the natural dimension $s_{\mathcal{F}}$ is equal to the Hausdorff dimension of the attractor in most cases. To define more precisely what “most cases” mean, we use the following definition.

Definition 3.1: We fix an $m \geq 2$, a type $\mathbf{l} = (l(1), \dots, l(m))$ and a vector of contractions $\boldsymbol{\rho} = (\rho_1, \dots, \rho_m)$. Let $L := l(1) + \dots + l(m)$, and recall that every CPLIFS $\mathcal{F} = \{f_k\}_{k=1}^m$ of type \mathbf{l} is uniquely determined by a vector $(\mathbf{b}, \boldsymbol{\rho}, \boldsymbol{\tau}) = ((\mathbf{b}_1, \dots, \mathbf{b}_m), (\rho_1, \dots, \rho_m), (\tau_1, \dots, \tau_m))$. Let \mathfrak{B} be a property that makes sense for every CPLIFS. We consider the (exceptional) set

$$E_{\mathfrak{B}, \mathbf{l}}^{\boldsymbol{\rho}} := \{(\mathbf{b}, \boldsymbol{\tau}) : \mathcal{F}^{(\mathbf{b}, \boldsymbol{\rho}, \boldsymbol{\tau})} \text{ does not have property } \mathfrak{B}\}.$$

We say that *property \mathfrak{B} is Lebesgue-typical* if for all type \mathbf{l} and all $\boldsymbol{\rho}$ vector of contractions we have

$$\text{Leb}^{L+m}(E_{\mathfrak{B}, \mathbf{l}}^{\boldsymbol{\rho}}) = 0,$$

where Leb^{L+m} denotes the $L + m$ dimensional Lebesgue measure.

Definition 3.3: We say that the CPLIFS \mathcal{F} is *small* if both of the following two requirements hold:

- a) $\sum_{k=1}^m \rho_k < 1$,
- b) The second requirement depends on the injectivity of f_k :
 1. If f_k is injective, then we require that $\rho_k < \frac{1}{2}$,

2. If f_k is not injective, then we require that $\rho_k < \frac{1-\rho_{\max}}{2}$, which always holds if $\rho_{\max} < \frac{1}{3}$.

As the next theorem states, among small CPLIFS the natural dimension is equal to the Hausdorff dimension of the attractor typically, in the Lebesgue measure sense.

Theorem 3.4: (Main theorem of [7]) For a Lebesgue-typical small CPLIFS \mathcal{F} we have

$$\dim_{\text{H}}\Lambda = \dim_{\text{B}}\Lambda = s_{\mathcal{F}},$$

where Λ denotes the attractor of \mathcal{F} .

In fact an even stronger statement holds: the natural dimension is equal to both the Hausdorff and the box dimensions of the attractor of a packing dimension typical small CPLIFS. (For the definition of packing dimension typicality see [7]).

IV. Conclusion

In this paper we summarized our results on piecewise linear iterated function systems [6, 7], and we also presented some related notions and theorems. First we recalled the most basic notions of fractal geometry and explained how to calculate the Hausdorff dimension of self-similar sets. Then we showed how different is the case of piecewise linear fractals.

We gave two methods that can be used to calculate the dimension of the attractor of a CPLIFS under certain conditions. If the IOSC holds (Definition 2.1), then we applied the results of P. Raith by associating an expansive mapping to our IFS. In the overlapping case we associated a graph-directed iterated function system to our CPLIFS, and applied Theorem 2.4. We can always associate a GDIFS to a CPLIFS, but it may not be a self-similar one, and in that case Theorem 2.4 cannot be applied.

In the third section we showed that the unique zero of our pressure function, that we called the natural dimension of the attractor, is equal to the Hausdorff dimension Lebesgue-typically. It means that the set of parameters for which this statement doesn't hold has measure zero with respect to the appropriate dimensional Lebesgue measure.

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Flexible manufacturing processes to support the challenges of the automotive industry in the 21st century

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Almost all industries face external challenges, such as demand uncertainty, higher risk and increasing competitive intensity. A number of solutions are proposed in the literature to mitigate the effects of these externalities.

In order for the automotive industry to prepare for these challenges, we can see different methods, but the most powerful direction is resilience.

Adaptivity plays a huge role during this period, as car factories have to react very quickly and flexibly/ resiliently to the situation in order to remain on the market. In the face of continuous influences, while maintaining the old systems, they must constantly adapt to new situations, trends,

Current processes in the automotive industry are not prepared and equipped to adapt to rapidly changing situations. The study discusses the derivability, conception and need for "flexibility" in automotive industry.

Keywords: Resilience, Flexibility, Supply chain, Lead time, Automotive Industry

I. Introduction

Slowly leaving the economic crisis behind and then grappling with the technologies of the electric trend, the automotive industry once again faced major challenges with the emergence of pandemic COVID-19 and, in parallel with the huge shortage of semiconductors in our already rapidly changing world. All these, together with quality problems, recalls, stricter environmental laws, regulations, Brexit, new technologies, electric vehicles, labour shortages, and many other factors are hampering the automotive industry.

How can any flexibility still be maintained in the supply chain under such factors? The current circumstances present several challenges for all automotive operators, from manufacturing companies to logistics to sub-suppliers at the end of the chain.

Adaptivity plays a huge role during this period, as car factories must react very quickly and resiliently to the situation to remain on the market.

In the face of continuous external influences, they must adapt to the new post-pandemic situation while maintaining the old systems. During the research, we examine this resilient adaptation and its origin.

This turbulent business environment requires the entire supply chain to respond promptly to changing customer needs. Consequently, the flexibility of supply chains has become one of the most important features in the process.

The current procedures do not yet reach the appropriate level of flexibility, so our aim is to develop an agile process to help automotive operators respond rapidly to current market challenges.

In addition to the general definition of flexibility, we would also like to explore the flexibility that best applies to the automotive industry in this article.

II. Literature review

In recent years, the development of *resilience* and the creation of internal harmony and the achievement of a coherent state have become more and more pronounced. In this article, we will look at where it comes from, what resilience means and why it is important for the automotive industry.

Flexibility as a strategic success factor is seen as a mandatory capability for companies in the current turbulent corporate environment. Not only industries, but also science have picked up this trend for some time and are exploring flexibility, as well as its types and descriptive systems.

Flexibility is the ability of a system (company or network) to independently proactively or reactively manage externally or internally induced changes in order to achieve previous goals (Zitzmann, I.). Independent adaptation and modification of the target system to a future or already occurring change is also a possible response to resilience. The resources needed and available to manage changes in processes, systems, and structures are called flexibility potentials.

Resilience has become a much-used scientific term of the early 21st century, almost a fashion word, a kind of panacea seemingly capable of describing and explaining the functioning of all systems, remedying existing theoretical and practical problems.

Resilience is also one of the terms that does not have an exact Hungarian equivalent (Székely I.), and this also refers to the absence or deficiency of the concept. Previously, it was mostly translated as "resilience", in the sense of tolerance to harmful influences and changes of natural and human origin, and in this context it was mostly spread in a positive sense.

Flexibility assumes that the service provider can meet unforeseen, prompt needs as soon as possible (Gelei, A.). Compliance with this quality requirement may, where appropriate, be a

condition for the successful completion of the client on the market. In other respects, the client also expects the partner of the service provider to have sufficient flexibility in terms of innovation.

Flexibility is multidimensional, since a company can be very flexible in some respects, but at the same time inflexible in another. It is therefore wrong simply to talk about a 'flexible system'. In this case, flexibility means adaptation capacity. Capacity and not ability because capacity better reflects the multidimensional dimensionality of flexibility.

Basically, there are two dimensions of flexibility: temporal and intentional. In the literature on flexibility, two other dimensions of flexibility appear: interval and focus. The temporal dimension shows how long it takes for the body to respond. The possible operating space (interval) shows what a company can change if it is foreseeable, or what it can change if an unforeseen change occurs. The third dimension is the intention, which shows whether the company is pro-active or reactive. Finally, the focus, which shows whether flexibility is directed within the company or also acts towards relationships with partners.

Just as resilience today bears multiple meanings and connotations in various discursive contexts, the term has multiple origins as well. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, "resilience" comes from the post-classical Latin *resilientia* for the fact of avoiding. It also comes from the classical Latin *resilient-*, *resiliens*, present participle of *resilire*. This Latin verb (*re-* + *salire* "to leap") has multiple definitions: (i) to leap or spring back, (ii) to rebound, (iii) to recoil, and (iv) to shrink from.

Originally, the Latin word "flexible" was used to describe traits such as flexible, adaptive and flexible. Similar explanations can be found in the current dictionary entries. Adaptability from these physical object characteristics is an essential feature of the description of socio-technical systems such as institutions or supply chains. For example, in *Supply chain Flexibilität zur Bewältigung von Unsicherheiten* Schneeweiß interprets flexibility as "the ability of the system to adapt to change". When analyzing commonly used definitions, Singer identifies a total of four attributes attributed to this property:

1. Flexibility is a skill.
2. Flexibility is used to manage change.
3. Flexibility means the existence of room for manoeuvre.
4. Flexibility means a sense of purpose.

The definition of the term formulated by Pibernik also includes these aspects: "*Flexibility is the ability of an open, dynamic, socio-technical system to adapt to relevant system or environmental changes with existing (flexibility) potential.*" This definition applies to this work. Pibernik originally talks about how a system can respond to change. As this indicates purely reactive behaviour, the definition has been amended accordingly and adaptability to changes has been integrated. This takes into account the fact that flexibility is used proactively and reactively. Various authors also emphasize that changes can be opportunities and risks as well. Again, this shows that flexibility is the right concept to address the uncertainties exposed to the supply chain.

Longstaff et al. (2010) consider the definition developed by the multidisciplinary research association Resilience Alliance¹⁰ to be relevant: "*resilience is the image of a system to grasp disturbing influences, undergo changes, while maintaining its essential functions, structure, identity and feedback mechanisms*".

In resilience research, therefore, it is common to distinguish between the two types of resilience: return to a definable static starting point and relation to the states of variable, adaptive, learning systems.

One of the most important recognitions of resilience theory is that the functioning of our current world is no longer characterized by balance, but by constant variability, and this variability is

not only bearable to them, but also necessary for their survival. We are seeing this constant change in all walks of life, but we are now focusing on the car industry. The automotive industry is also facing a number of challenges year after year, as we can see changes and developments in the electronics industry at an unbelievable speed, such as mobile phones or computers, so is the car industry shaping up to meet environmental, economic and global challenges. Of course, mills grind much more slowly here, but the automotive industry is one of the largest and most influential industries, moving a lot of other sectors, deliveries and making millions of people livelihoods.

Quality problems, recalls, stricter environmental laws, regulations, Brexit, rising oil prices, new technologies, electric vehicles, labour market transformation, labour shortages, constant competition, new players in the market, COVID-19, semiconductor and other shortages of raw materials and the list is still very long, which affects and controls the operation of the automotive industry. In addition to these challenges, it is very difficult for automotive manufacturing companies to retain their role in the market and keep competing with their competitors. In order to remain competitive, it is essential that they are able to respond quickly to challenges and changes.

In order to be able to respond resiliently, they really need to have flexibility to operate the company, the supply chain:

- Flexible supply chain
- Flexible supplier base
- Flexible response to environmental impacts
- Flexible production plan
- Flexible response to technological change
- Flexible response to customer needs

As the current example shows, the COVID-19 outbreak has proven that the automotive industry is not or is not flexible enough. There are no alternative suppliers, the production of automotive beadwork is inflexible, there are no alternative plans B or C. But as an example, we can also mention the production of electric motors in the automotive industry. Companies and suppliers were not prepared for this change at all. Reshaping new technologies, new competences, workforce. It took the automotive industry several years to get on this path at all. In the last 5 years, there have been many changes in the automotive industry, to which the industry has not been able to react flexibly enough, which is essential in the future for automotive manufacturing companies to maintain their stable position in the market. They have less and less time to respond to customer needs and world trends.

III. Conclusion

As mentioned earlier, the automotive industry needs to put much more emphasis on their flexibility in order to maintain their position in competition and in the market. At the same time, their responsiveness to future changes so that they can respond to them as quickly and agilely as possible. To do this, it is necessary to examine the processes of the company, focusing on certain elements and participants of the supply chain.

We are in the early stages of developing this method, but based on our findings we can conclude that increasing resilience is essential to stay competitive.

This is the new mentality method that we need to incorporate into strategic management. The needs of modern society will not change in the coming years and will only be more difficult to compete with.

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The practice of the foreseeability clause

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My research topic is the liability for damages caused by non-performance of an obligation, non-contractual liability for damages, and the foreseeability clause. I wrote my thesis about the liability for the damages caused by defective performance. The foreseeability clause is not only important in the field of the civil law, but also in the field of the labor law, and the economic law (legal liability of the executive officers).

The role of the foreseeability in the contract law is dual: a) base of the liability which means that the party who is breaching the contract can be held liable for damages he could foresee, and b) the amount of damages for the loss caused by non-performance in the obligee's property, including lost income, is such sum as the obligee is able to verify that the loss, as the potential consequence of non-performance, was foreseeable at the time of the conclusion of the contract.

The foreseeability clause can also be applied in the field of tort law.

The foreseeability clause also applied in the UN Convention on Contracts for the International Sale of Goods (CISG; Vienna Convention).

In my presentation, and in my publication, I would like to demonstrate some interesting case-law about the foreseeability clause from the Anglo-Saxon law (e.g.: *Hadley v Baxendale*, *Victoria Laundry v Newman Industries*, *The Heron II* etc.)

Keywords: foreseeability, liability, contract law, tort law,

I. Introduction

The foreseeability clause does not only important in the field of the civil law, but also in the field of the labor law, and the economic law (legal liability of the executive officers).

The role of the foreseeability is dual: a) base of the liability which means that the party who is breaching the contract can be held liable for damages he could foresee, and b) the amount of damages for the loss caused by non-performance in the obligee's property, including lost income, is such sum as the obligee is able to verify that the loss, as the potential consequence of non-performance, was foreseeable at the time of the conclusion of the contract. The court shall put itself in the position of that party at that earlier time and imagine what he/she could have foreseen with regard to the other party's position in the event of full performance. Since the calculation of loss in value is based on the court's later hypothesis in this regard, foreseeability and not causation ordinarily marks the effective limit of liability for breach of contract.

It seems to be a constant problem throughout the history of law how and when it is reasonable to limit the amount of damages in case of breach. The general principle of full compensation originates in the main purpose of private law, restoring the violated financial situation. At the same time in business relations, it often happens that damages occurred as consequences of breach of the contract highly exceed the contractual interest of the party and generate indirect damages independent from the violator's influence. This is considered to be the starting point of the dilemma about restricting the damages available for compensation.

The principle of the full compensation is a well-known legal institution in most modern countries, in most modern legal systems. But some legal system also knows the so-called punitive damages, which not only takes into consideration the occurred damages, but also that how dangerous the unlawful conduct is to society.

I'd like to mention that the function of Restitution, regulated under the Section 2:52 of the Act V of 2013 on the New Hungarian Civil Code (hereinafter referred to as: New Civil Code), is as follows: The restitution is the compensation for violation rights relating to personality.

In practice, most problems are caused by the determination and the compensation of the loss of profit and the loss of indirect damage in case of the liability for damages caused by non-performance of an obligation. During examining the causal relationship, one of the most important question is that how much of the consequential damages shall be compensated. In Anglo-Saxon legal systems the foreseeability is a well-known legal institution in order to limit the liability for contractual and non-contractual damages.

II. International Cases

II.1. France

The first thought of the foreseeability clause has come from Charles Dumoulin, in 1564. In his case the customer bought a beer barrel, but he was keeping wine in that barrel. The wine flown out, so he claims the price of the wine from the seller. But Dumoulin said that he can only claim the price of as much beer as much wine he lost because the seller couldn't (and shouldn't) count on the fact that the customer will keep wine in the beer barrel instead of beer.

Based on Pothier: *Traité des obligations*, in France according the paragraph 1150 and 1151 of the Code Civil after a breach of contract the debtor only has to compensate the creditor for foreseeable damage, i. e. damage foreseen or to be foreseen at the conclusion of the contract,

except, the debtor intentionally caused the breach. The debtor is liable for damage which is the immediate and direct consequence of the violation of the agreement, even in case of intentional breach of the contract.

II.2. England

II.2.1. Hadley vs Baxendale

„After his crank shaft broke, Hadley’s corn mill operation ceased until the shaft could be replaced. Hadley had to send the shaft to engineering company, Joyce and Co., so that they could use it as a model to make a new one. Hadley and Pickford and Co., a shipping company owned and operated by Baxendale, entered into a contract where if Hadley deliver the shaft to Pickford and Co before noon the next day, Baxendale would have the shaft delivered to Joyce and Co. the following day. As agreed, Hadley delivered the shaft to Pickford and Co. before noon and paid the shipping services. Unfortunately the shipping was delayed as a result of Pickford’s negligence, and the shaft was delivered several days after the agreed upon date. As a result of Pickford’s breach, Hadley’s mill remained closed until the new shaft was delivered. In response Hadley filed a claim against Baxendale seeking damages. In the claim for damages, Hadley included the lost profits his business suffered as a result of Pickford and Co.’s breach.” Judge Anderson created the so called contemplation rule:

„Where two parties have made a contract which one of them has broken, the damages which the other party ought to receive in respect of such breach of contract should be such as may fairly and reasonably be considered either arising naturally, i.e., according to the usual course of things, from such breach of contract itself, or such as may reasonably be supposed to have been in the contemplation of both parties, at the time they made the contract, as the probable result of the breach of it.”

II.2.2. Victoria Laundry vs Newman Industries

Victoria Laundry Ltd (the plaintiff) ordered a large boiler from Newman Industries Ltd (the defendant) in contemplation of some lucrative dyeing contracts. The defendant were aware of the nature of the plaintiff’s business, and that it was intended for the boiler to be put to use as soon as possible. The delivery of the boiler was delayed by five months and so the plaintiff claimed for breach of contract.

In this case, judge Asquith LJ created the rule of reasonable foreseeability.

He stated that

a) „In cases of breach of contract the aggrieved party is only entitled to recover such part of the loss actually resulting as was at the time of the contract reasonably foreseeable as liable to result from the breach,”

and

b) „What was at that time reasonably so foreseeable depends on the knowledge then possessed by the parties or, at all events, by the party who later commits the breach.’ and ‘But to this knowledge, which a contract breaker is assumed to possess whether he actually possesses it or not [under the first rule] there may have to be added in a particular case knowledge which he actually possesses of special circumstances outside the ‘ordinary course of things’ of such a kind that a breach in those special circumstances would be liable to cause more loss. Such a case attracts the operation of the ‘second rule’ so as to make additional loss recoverable’.”

II.2.3. The Parana-case

In the Parana-case the defendant had taken for shipment cargoes of sugar and hemp from Ilo Ilo to London. The original length of time for the journey was between sixty-five and seventy days, but owing to the defective condition of the ship, the journey lasted for 127 days. Much of

the sugar had leaked out of the boat during the journey, and the hemp had declined in price. The plaintiff held the hemp for some time after The Parana arrived in London and then sold it for a loss of about £289. The registrar and merchants, following standard business practice, allowed the owner to recover for the full value of the sugar but not for the losses associated with the sale of the hemp. The judge of the Admiralty Division restored the award for the hemp, and that determination was reversed on appeal. For the delay in the shipment of the hemp, the proper award was the interest on the principal sum (represented by the value of the hemp) for the period of the delay.

Mellish, L.J., argued that the losses suffered by the plaintiff here were in essence speculative because the circumstances of the contract were not known by the carrier. He stated that "In order that damages may be recovered, we must come to two conclusions-first, that it was reasonably certain that the goods would not be sold until they did arrive; and, secondly, that it was reasonably certain that they would be sold immediately after they arrived, and that that was known to the carrier at the time when the bills of lading were signed. According to Mellish nothing constrained the owner of the hemp from selling the goods while at sea if he thought that the price was beneficial for him. The delay, therefore, did not require him to miss a favorable market if one was available. The decision not to sell the hemp immediately upon arrival was not mandated by the breach but was an independent decision based on the owner's estimation of the future movement of the market, which he happened to misread. The losses were not awarded because it was too speculative and uncertain to calculate when the hemp would have been sold. The decision is dependent on the structure of the market in question. In the Parana-case London market for hemp was a running market where the goods could be disposed of at the time of their arrival. The present price in effect contains the best collective estimation of the future price for the goods. The price of hemp could well go down, but it could also go up. The possibility of loss was, of course, reasonably foreseeable but so, too, was the equal and opposite possibility for gain.

II.2.4. The Heron II-case

By charterparty of 15th October, 1960 the respondents chartered the Appellant's Vessel, Heron II, to proceed to Constanza, there to load a cargo of 3,000 tons of sugar; and to carry it to Basrah, or, in the charterer's option, to Jeddah. The vessel left Constanza on 1st November. The option was not exercised and the vessel arrived at Basrah on 2nd December. The Umpire has found that a reasonably accurate prediction of the length of the voyage "was twenty days". But the vessel had in breach of contract made deviations which caused a delay of nine days.

It was the intention of the Respondents to sell the sugar " promptly after " arrival at Basrah and after inspection by merchants ". The appellant did not know this but he knew there was a market for sugar at Basrah. The sugar was in fact sold at Basrah in lots between 12th and 22nd December but shortly before that time the market price had fallen partly by reason of the arrival of another cargo of sugar. It was found by the Umpire that if there had not been this delay of nine days the sugar would have fetched £32 10s. Od. per ton. The actual price realised was only £31 2s. 9d. per ton. The Respondents claimed that they are entitled to recover the difference as damage for breach of contract. The appellant admitted that he is liable to pay interest for nine days on the value of the sugar and certain minor expenses but denied that fall in market value can be considered in assessing damages.

In Lord Reid's opinion the question in this case was whether a plaintiff can recover as damages for breach of contract a loss of a kind which the defendant, when he made the contract, ought

to have realised was not unlikely to result from a breach of contract causing delay in delivery. He used the words "not unlikely" as denoting a degree of probability considerably less than an even chance but nevertheless not very unusual and easily foreseeable. Lord Reid also made a distinction between tort and contractual damages: „... it is not enough that in fact the plaintiff's loss was directly caused by the defendant's breach of contract. It clearly was so caused in both. The crucial question is whether, on the information available to the defendant when the contract was made, he should, or the reasonable man in his position would, have realised that such loss was sufficiently likely to result from the breach of contract to make it proper to hold that the loss flowed naturally from the breach or that loss of that kind should have been within his contemplation.

The modern rule in tort is quite different and it imposes a much wider liability. The defendant will be liable for any type of damage which is reasonably foreseeable as liable to happen even in the most unusual case, unless the risk is so small that a reasonable man would in the whole circumstances feel justified in neglecting it. And there is good reason for the difference. In contract, if one party wishes to protect himself against a risk which to the other party would appear unusual, he can direct the other party's attention to it before the contract is made, and I need not stop to consider in what circumstances the other party will then be held to have accepted responsibility in that event. But in tort there is no opportunity for the injured party to protect himself in that way, and the tortfeasor cannot reasonably complain if he has to pay for some very unusual but nevertheless foreseeable damage which results from his wrongdoing." As it can be seen it was established in this case that the test for remoteness is narrower than it is in tort. In contract, the defendant must ought to have realized that the loss was "not unlikely" to result from the breach of contract. The judgement held that the loss of profit was recoverable as damages for breach of the contract of carriage by difference involving delay because, on the knowledge accessible to the shipowner when the contract was concluded because the sale of the sugar in Basrah market on the ship's arrival was something of which there was such probability that it should be regarded by the court as arising in the usual course of things and as being within the contemplation of the parties at the time of the conclusion of the contract.

II.2.5. The Achilleas-case

By a time charter dated 22 January 2003, the defendant, Transfield Shipping Inc chartered a vessel from Mercator Shipping Inc at a daily rate of US\$13,500 for a period of five to seven months. By an addendum dated 12 September 2003, the vessel was chartered for a further five to seven months at a daily rate of US\$16,750 with the latest date for redelivery set at 2 May 2004. On 20 April 2004, the defendant gave notice of redelivery between 30 April and 2 May 2004. The defendant fixed a new four-to-six-month charter with a third party which, due to prevailing market conditions, was at a daily rate of US\$39,500.

The latest date for delivery to the third-party charterer was 8 May 2004. Less than two weeks before 2 May 2004, the plaintiff sub-chartered the vessel. Due to delays outside of the control of the plaintiff, the vessel was not redelivered until 11 May 2004. By that time, charter market rates had fallen, and the defendant agreed with the third party charterer to reduce the daily rate in the new charter to US\$31,500 in return for the third party charterer agreeing to extend the cancellation date to 11 May 2004.

The plaintiff claimed from the defendant the US\$8,000 per day difference between the daily rate it originally agreed with the third-party charterer and the amended daily rate it agreed due to the late redelivery of the vessel. The sum claimed totaled US\$1,364,584.37. The plaintiff submitted that the claim should be limited to the difference between the market rate and the charter rate for the nine-day period during which Mercator could not use the vessel. The alternative sum totaled US\$158,301.17.

At first instance, arbitrary tribunal and then the Court of Appeal awarded the full claim. But the House of Lords allowed the appeal and restricted Mercator in its recovery to the difference between the market rate and the charter rate for the period during which it was prevented from using the vessel by the delay in its redelivery.

According to Lord Hoffmann the case “raises a fundamental point of principle in the law of contractual damages: is the rule that a party may recover losses which were foreseeable (“not unlikely”) an external rule of law, imposed upon the parties to every contract in default of express provision to the contrary, or is it a prima facie assumption about what the parties may be taken to have intended, no doubt applicable in the great majority of cases but capable of rebuttal in cases in which the context, surrounding circumstances or general understanding in the relevant market shows that a party would not reasonably have been regarded as assuming responsibility for such losses?”

He added: “If, therefore, one considers what these parties, contracting against the background of market expectations found by the arbitrators, would reasonably have considered the extent of the liability they were undertaking, I think it is clear that they would have considered losses arising from the loss of the following fixture a type or kind of loss for which the charterer was not assuming responsibility. Such a risk would be completely unquantifiable, because although the parties would regard it as likely that the owners would at some time during the currency of the charter enter into a forward fixture, they would have no idea when that would be done or what its length or other terms would be.

If it was clear to the owners that the last voyage was bound to overrun and put the following fixture at risk, it was open to them to refuse to undertake it. What this shows is that the purpose of the provision for timely redelivery in the charterparty is to enable the ship to be at the full disposal of the owner from the redelivery date. If the charterer's orders will defeat this right, the owner may reject them. If the orders are accepted and the last voyage overruns, the owner is entitled to be paid for the overrun at the market rate. All this will be known to both parties. It does not require any knowledge of the owner's arrangements for the next charter. That is regarded by the market as being, as the saying goes, *res inter alios acta*.”

He also stated that “the owners say that the parties are entirely at liberty to insert an express term excluding consequential loss if they want to do so. Some standard forms of charter do. I suppose it can be said of many disputes over interpretation, especially over implied terms, that the parties could have used express words or at any rate expressed themselves more clearly than they have done. But, as I have indicated, the implication of a term as a matter of construction of the contract as a whole in its commercial context and the implication of the limits of damages liability seem to me to involve the application of essentially the same techniques of interpretation. In both cases, the court is engaged in construing the agreement to reflect the liabilities which the parties may reasonably be expected to have assumed and paid for. It cannot decline this task on the ground that the parties could have spared it the trouble by using clearer language. In my opinion, the findings of the arbitrators and the commercial background to the agreement are sufficient to make it clear that the charterer cannot reasonably be regarded as having assumed the risk of the owner's loss of profit on the following charter.”

In Lord Hope's opinion “in this case it was within the parties' contemplation that an injury which would arise generally from late delivery would be loss of use at the market rate, as compared with the charter rate, during the relevant period. This something that everybody who

deals in the market knows about and can be expected to take into account. But the charterers could not be expected to know how, if - as was not unlikely - there was a subsequent fixture, the owners would deal with any new charterers.

This was something over which they had no control and, at the time of entering into the contract, was completely unpredictable. Nothing was known at that time about the terms on which any subsequent fixture might be entered into - how short or long the period would be, for example, or what was to happen should the previous charter overrun and the owner be unable to meet the new commencement date. It is true that neither party had any control over the state of the market. But in the ordinary course of things rates in the market will fluctuate. So it can be presumed that the party in breach has assumed responsibility for any loss caused by delay which can be measured by comparing the charter rate with the market rate during that period. There can be no such presumption where the loss claimed is not the product of the market itself, which can be contemplated, but results from arrangements entered into between the owners and the new charterers, which cannot.”

Lord Rodger said that “in present case, I am satisfied that, when they entered into the addendum in September 2003, neither party would reasonably have contemplated that an overrun of nine days would "in the ordinary course of things" cause the owners the kind of loss for which they claim damages. That loss was not the "ordinary consequence" of a breach of that kind. It occurred in this case only because of the extremely volatile market conditions which produced both the owners' initial (particularly lucrative) transaction, with a third party, and the subsequent pressure on the owners to accept a lower rate for that fixture. Back in September 2003, this loss could not have been reasonably foreseen as being likely to arise out of the delay in question. It was, accordingly, too remote to give rise to a claim for damages for breach of contract.”

III. Foreseeability in tort law

III.1. Donoghue v Stevenson-case

The first well-known case shaped the law of tort and the doctrine of negligence in particular. In this case on August 26, 1928, Mrs Donoghue’s friend bought a ginger-beer for her from a Café in Paisley. She consumed about half of the bottle, which was made of dark opaque glass, when the remainder of the contents was poured into a tumbler. At this point, the decomposed remains of a snail floated out causing her alleged shock and severe gastro-enteritis.

Mrs Donoghue was not able to claim through breach of warranty of a contract: she was not party to any contract. Therefore, she issued proceedings against Stevenson, the manufacture. The question before the House of Lords was whether if the manufacturer owed Mrs Donoghue a duty of care in the absence of contractual relations in spite to established case law. Donoghue was a test case to determine if she had a cause of action, not if she was owed compensation for any damages suffered. The law of negligence at the time was very narrow and was applied only if there was some established contractual relationship between the parties. An earlier case it was held that without contract, a manufacturer did not have duty of care to a consumer when putting a product on the market except if the manufacturer knew that the product was dangerous because of a defect, and it was hidden from the consumer, or the product was dangerous in itself and failed to warn the consumer of this circumstance.

In this case Lord Atkin developed the so-called “neighbour-principle” regarding to care of duty. According to him “the rule that you are to love your neighbour becomes in law, you must not injure your neighbour; and the lawyer's question, Who is my neighbour? receives a restricted reply. You must take reasonable care to avoid acts or omissions which you can reasonably foresee would be likely to injure your neighbour. Who, then, in law is my neighbour? The answer seems to be persons who are so closely and directly affected by my act that I ought reasonably to have them in contemplation as being so affected when I am directing my mind to

the acts or omissions which are called in question.” Regarding to foreseeability he determined that “in the present case the respondent, when he manufactured his ginger-beer, had directly in contemplation that it would be consumed by members of the public. Can it be said that he could not be expected as a reasonable man to foresee that if he conducted his process of manufacture carelessly, he might injure those whom he expected and desired to consume his ginger-beer? The possibility of injury so arising seems to me in no sense so remote as to excuse him from foreseeing it.” The House of Lords eventually ruled in favor of Mrs Donaghue.

III.2. The Wagon Mound-case

In this case the appellants were charterers of a ship taking in bunkering oil in Sydney harbour. Due to the carelessness of the appellant's workmen a large amount of this oil was spilt into the harbour and was carried beneath the respondent's wharf where their servants were using oxyacetylene welding equipment. Some cotton waste was floating on a piece of debris in the oil under the wharf and it was set on fire by molten metal falling from the wharf above. This, in turn set fire to the oil floating on the water and the fire caused damage to the wharf itself. The trial judge found that the appellant did not know and could not reasonably be expected to know that the furnace oil was capable of being set on fire when spread on water. Some damage, however, to the wharf was reasonably foreseeable and in fact occurred: the oil had congealed on the respondent's slipway and interfered with its use.

The question in this case was whether the fire that destroyed the appellant's wharf was a foreseeable consequence of the respondent's negligence. The court held that injury to appellant's property, though a direct result of the respondent's negligence, was an unforeseeable consequence and liability does not attach.

III.3. Case of Wells v Sainsbury & Hannigan Ltd.

Wells and a co-worker named Carey were both employed in the appellant's factory. Carey was handling a compressed air hose which was used for cleaning the body surfaces of motor vehicles. He walked round the front of a truck which he was cleaning to a place where Wells and some other employees were talking. It was not exactly clear what precisely happened then, but a few seconds later the air hose came close to Wells and a stream of air under a pressure of approximately 80 or 90 lbs per square inch passed up Wells's rectum and into his intestines, causing him severe injuries. He claimed damages against the appellant as being vicariously liable for the negligence of his servant, Carey.

The principal argument before the Court of Appeal was that Carey could not reasonably be expected to have foreseen as a consequence of his negligent act the injury which Wells actually suffered. The Court of Appeal eventually held that the defendant was liable for the full extent of the injuries suffered by Wells and ruled in favor of him.

On the basis that the co-worker should reasonably have foreseen that a stream of air under pressure could injure many of the soft parts of Wells's body if the hose was pointed towards him at close quarters, therefore the Court of Appeal held the employer liable. The judgment stated: “The fact that it [the stream of air] entered his rectum and did this particular injury is irrelevant. It just happened that the hose was pointed in that direction. It was merely one of several possible injuries all of the same class or kind. The essential factor in determining liability is whether the damage is of such a kind as the reasonable man should have foreseen. We think it was.”

III.4. Case of Smith v. Leech Brain Co. Ltd.

In this case, due to a breach of statutory provision by his employers, an employee was struck on the lip by a piece of molten metal. The burn so caused was the promoting agent of cancer from which he died three years later. If the accident had not occurred, he might never have

developed cancer but the lip had a pre-malignant condition and cancer could have been caused by a large number of promoting agencies, including sunlight, heat and cold, a scratch and trauma. As a result, it was very probable that at some stage in his life he would have developed cancer. His widow sued his employers.

If the foreseeability-principle is applied, the defendant escapes liability, but if the “thin skull”-principle is applied, the defendant is liable unless he can rely on the limitation on it set by another case. In Smith's Case Lord Parker avoided this conflict by limiting the “foreseeability” principle to cases of remoteness between the defendant's conduct and the immediate effect on the plaintiff, thus excluding from it cases where the remoteness is between the immediate effect on the plaintiff for which the defendant is liable and some ultimate effect on the plaintiff.

In this case Lord Parker stated that “the test is not whether these employers could reasonably have foreseen that a burn would cause cancer and that [the victim] would die. The question is whether these employers could reasonably foresee the type of injury he suffered, namely, the burn. What, in the particular case, is the amount of damage which he suffers as a result of that burn, depends upon the characteristics and constitution of the victim.”

IV. Breach of contract under CISG

Article 25 of the Convention states that a breach of contract committed by one of the parties is fundamental if it results in such detriment to the other party as substantially to deprive him of what he is entitled to expect under the contract, unless the party in breach did not foresee and a reasonable person of the same kind in the same circumstances would not have foreseen such a result. The breach of contract under the Convention is categorized into two categories: the fundamental breach and the non-fundamental breach. The different categories of breach entitle the aggrieved party to different remedies: the fundamental breach gives the right to avoid the contract, to require the substitution of the goods or to claim damages; and the non-fundamental breach gives the right to require specific performance, for example by the repair of or price reduction of the goods, or to claim damages. The Convention focuses on the consequences of a breach rather than on its origin. The starting point is a failure to perform any of obligations under the contract or the Convention. This failure to perform may consist of late performance, lack of conformity of the goods, of a breach of duties of information or duties of care, etc. The Convention uses one single formula to describe the violation of contractual obligations. The only additional element used to qualify the breach of contract relates to its severity: if the breach is ‘fundamental’, the aggrieved party may choose from a larger palette of remedies than if the breach is a ‘simple’ one.

The origins of fundamental breach have at times been attributed to English law. The phrase has indeed been employed in English law. Fundamental breach emerged in the 1950s as a judicial device for controlling exclusion and related clauses, the idea being that no words of exclusion or limitation of liability would be effective to protect from liability one who committed a fundamental breach of contract. The determination of fundamental breach for this purpose was never very precise and, as a device for the control of exclusion clauses, fundamental breach was abandoned at the end of the 1970s, after legislation had been introduced to deal with the excesses presented by clauses that were drawn in immoderately wide terms.

Article 25 of the Convention measures the fundamentality of a breach by reference to the effect on the creditor. The breach is significant if the creditor does not get substantially what he or she could have expected under the contract. The German delegation in Vienna had pressed the subjective interest of the creditor as determinative factor and not the objective extent of the resulting (or threatened) damage. The ad hoc working group and later the plenum followed the view of the German delegation. Thus, it is not the objective weight of the breach of contract, and not the extent of the damage, that determines whether a breach is fundamental, preferably

the significance for the creditor is the main deliberation. Of course, the creditor must suffer a disadvantage. The creditor does not need to prove how much damage occurred or will occur because of the breach, although this could be achieved by for example, the creditor's purchases and the agreed purchase price.

A fundamental breach requires that one party has committed a breach of contract. Breach of any obligation under the contract can suffice—provided the other requirements for a fundamental breach are present—irrespective of whether the duty was specifically contracted for between the parties or if, instead, it followed from the provisions of the CISG. Even the breach of a collateral duty can give rise to a fundamental breach. For example, where a manufacturer had a duty to reserve goods with a particular trademark exclusively for the buyer, and the manufacturer displayed the trademarked goods at a fair for sale (continuing to do so even after a warning by the buyer), the manufacturer was found to have committed a fundamental breach.

To rank as fundamental, a breach must be of a certain weight and nature. The aggrieved party must have suffered such disadvantage as to substantially deprive it of what it was entitled to expect according to the contract. The breach must therefore nullify or essentially depreciate the aggrieved party's justified contract expectations. What expectations are justified depends on the specific contract and the risk allocation envisaged by the contract provisions, on customary usages, and on the provisions of the Convention. For example, buyers cannot normally expect that delivered goods will comply with regulations and official standards in the buyer's country. So, the delivery of mussels with a cadmium content exceeding recommended levels in the buyer's country has not been regarded as a fundamental breach (or, indeed, as a breach at all) since the buyer could not have expected that the seller would meet those standards and since the consumption of the mussels in small portions as such did not endanger a consumer's health. However; the court in that case stated three exceptions from the rule that the seller need not know and observe the standards in the buyer's country if the standards in both countries are identical; if, before or at the conclusion of the contract, the buyer informed the seller about these standards, or if due to special circumstances the seller knew or should have known about those standards because, for example, it particularly specialized in exports to the buyer's country or has a branch office there.

In another case the court found that the failure to perform of the seller was not a fundamental breach (only serious), so it could not lead to a declaration of avoidance of the contract. In that case a Ukrainian (plaintiff) and an Italian company (defendant) concluded a purchase agreement in 2002 whereby the plaintiff was to buy a machinery manufactured by a German firm but overhauled and sold by the defendant. Soon after the conclusion of the contract divergences concerning its performance arose between the parties: delivery, installation and operation of the machinery turned to be very problematic. The plaintiff complained about the delayed delivery and installation of the machinery, its non-compliance with the technical and quality standards agreed by the parties as well as its running defects. The plaintiff declared the agreement avoided for fundamental breach of the seller, thus it claimed reimbursement of the purchase price and compensation for damages due to the seller's failure to comply with the agreed obligations, also considering that it did not provide any technical assistance. The court stated that a breach of contract occurred since at least for one year the buyer could not rely on the performance it was entitled to. However, the court held that this breach was not fundamental, so it delivered the aforementioned judgement.

A German buyer had ordered clothes for the autumn season from an Italian seller. The delivery was supposed to occur in several part-deliveries between July to September. The seller failed to meet the deadline for the first delivery and only offered the last delivery on 10 November. The buyer refused to accept the late deliveries. The court found that the buyer specifically wanted fashion for the autumn season which the Italian seller knew. The seller should have

known that the buyer would not have entered the contract if she or he knew at the time of contract formation that the clothes would only arrive near the end of the autumn season. The court, therefore, found a fundamental breach and a valid declaration of avoidance.

IV.1. Damages under the CISG

The Articles 74-77 of the Convention deals with the rules of damages. These articles states that damages for breach of contract by one party consist of a sum equal to the loss, including loss of profit, suffered by the other party as a consequence of the breach. Such damages may not exceed the loss which the party in breach foresaw or ought to have foreseen at the time of the conclusion of the contract, in the light of the facts and matters of which he then knew or ought to have known, as a possible consequence of the breach of contract.

If the contract is avoided and if, in a reasonable manner and within a reasonable time after avoidance, the buyer has bought goods in replacement or the seller has resold the goods, the party claiming damages may recover the difference between the contract price and the price in the substitute transaction as well as any further damages recoverable under article 74.

If the contract is avoided and there is a current price for the goods, the party claiming damages may, if he has not made a purchase or resale under article 75, recover the difference between the price fixed by the contract and the current price at the time of avoidance as well as any further damages recoverable under article 74. If, however, the party claiming damages has avoided the contract after taking over the goods, the current price at the time of such taking over shall be applied instead of the current price at the time of avoidance. (2) For the purposes of the preceding paragraph, the current price is the price prevailing at the place where delivery of the goods should have been made or, if there is no current price at that place, the price at such other place as serves as a reasonable substitute, making due allowance for differences in the cost of transporting the goods.

Only material damage which can be calculated in monetary terms has to be compensated in money. Damages for emotional harm and damages for pain and suffering are not recoverable under the Convention.

The basis of total reparation applies: all damage caused by the breach must be compensated. A limitation of the damages which can be compensated through limiting causal theories like the German principle that only damages which can be “adequately” linked to a breach of duty are not applicable under the CISG and are not necessary. Limitations of the damages which will be compensated under the Convention are achieved through the requirement of foreseeability. The requirement of foreseeability limits damages to those which are in general to be expected at the time of the conclusion of the contract or which could at the time of the conclusion of the contract be foreseen by the debtor. The basis of total reparation means that the creditor’s economic situation after the breach of contract must be compared with the situation the creditor would have been in if the breach would have not occurred. Usually positive developments for the creditor, caused by the breach of contract, must be considered, for example, saved expenses for the erection of a conveyer belt which the seller has not delivered. However, the subtraction of economic advantages should only be allowed if it is consistent with the aim and object of the duty to recompense for the breach.

Most civil law jurisdictions request that, to be able to claim damages, the other party must have been at fault. The CISG follows another approach, so it does not require fault on behalf of the party in breach. The injured party can claim all sorts of damages suffered because of the breach if the loss was foreseeable as a potential result of the breach. The provision aims at putting the injured party in as good a position as if the party in breach had properly performed the contract. The calculation of damages available in case of breach raises many questions, such as what kind of loss should be compensated or where the limits of foreseeability of the loss are. The

Convention provides for special rules for the calculation of damages where the contract has been avoided and a cover purchase has been undertaken or where a cover purchase has not been undertaken but a current market price exists. There is a duty to reduce damages. No damages shall be paid if the debtor is exempt from liability due to an obstruction which lies beyond its control.

The breaching party is liable for the losses which he foresaw, and the losses which is ought to be foreseen or could reasonably have foreseen. The Convention does not expressly exclude the cases of intentional, reckless, or grossly negligence non-performance from the application of foreseeability rule. The foreseeability principle under the Convention does not allow compensation for the losses which are unforeseeable even the non-performance is due to willful misconduct or gross negligence. The legal policy behind Article 74 is to allow the parties to calculate the risks and potential liability of the particular contract, to protect themselves from the unforeseeable risk of losses caused by a breach. It also can encourage prior disclosure during the contract negotiation.

The Article 74 provides both subjective and objective standards for the foreseeability test. These standards connect to the knowledge of the party in breach. The subjective foreseeability depends on the actual knowledge of the party in breach, the objective is what that person ought to have had.

Regarding the Article 74 in one case the court held that „loss of profit is always foreseeable in the case of failure to take delivery of the goods.” Stated that “if the conclusion of contracts of the same type as the contract in question is a part of the daily business of the party claiming damages, the assessment of damages is to be made according to Art. 75 CISG, if any sale after the avoidance of the contract was meant to be a covering transaction, which in the case at hand had not been proved by the buyer. The Court observed, though, that Art. 76 CISG does not exclude the assessment of damages according to Art. 74 CISG, which entitles the seller to claim the difference between the costs of manufacturing and the contract price, provided that this difference does not exceed the loss which the party in breach foresaw or ought to have foreseen.”

Regarding the so-called consequential damages, the court held that if the party’s (in breach) standard terms exclude the compensability of the consequential damages the injured party “was entitled to recover the expenses it had incurred in repairing the goods, but not the other losses it had suffered in its relationship with its customer as a consequence of the seller’s non-performance”.

A Polish court of appeal (in a case where a Poland seller and a Danish buyer concluded a contract to sale of pellets but the Polish seller were made the goods of forbidden substances) held that costs related to contract negotiations would have been incurred even without any non-conformity of the goods, thus they could not be treated as losses on the basis of Article 74 of the Convention and it was not possible for the seller to foresee the costs incurred by the buyer during negotiations. However, the Court decided that the costs of transport and unloading the goods shall be reimbursed because it was reasonably foreseeable by the seller. The court of appeal also stated that the costs regarding the storage of the pellets were foreseeable, thus reimbursable but the insurance fee of the warehouses (where the buyer kept the pellets) was not foreseeable by the seller, thus shall not be reimbursed.

A Finnish court of appeal stated that “in determining damages the starting point is the economic position where the aggrieved party would have been if the contract had been performed correctly. Hence, the Court stated that the amount of damages can be higher than the face value of the contract. According to the Court, the seller knew that the buyer would incorporate the powder into its own products that would be sold onwards to the buyer’s customers. As damages, the buyer claimed compensation it gave to its own customers for pulling the tainted products

from the market, expenses resulting from buying back the tainted products from its customers, expenses resulting from destroying the tainted goods and related inventory write-downs, and expenses relating to examining the issue including wages, travel expenses, freight costs, chemical analysis costs, and destruction costs. The court determined that each of the items claimed by the buyer is recoverable under Article 74 CISG.”

Conclusions

As it can be seen the foreseeability clause or doctrine of foreseeability can help us to determine whether the party is liable for the breach and if is, what kind and what amount of damages should have foreseen by the party who breach the contract. In the tort law the question, the essential factor in determining liability is whether the damage is of such a kind as the reasonable man should have foreseen. As for the Convention it can be properly used to decide legal disputes arose from cross-border sales of goods. The Convention shall be applied between parties whose places of business are in contracting states and it also shall be used if the rule of international private law provides so. The Convention shall not be used if the parties' places of business is in the same country nor when the goods bought for personal, family or household use. Regarding the breach of contract, the first and most important question is whether the breach of contract was fundamental or not. If the breach was non-fundamental then the injured party entitled to require specific performance if the breach was fundamental then the aggrieved party is entitled to avoid the contract, to require the substitution of the goods or to claim damages. The injured party can only claim damages what was reasonably foreseeable (or should have foreseen) by the party who later breach the contract as the possible consequence of the breach. The injured party has the duty to mitigate the damages.

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The Discourse of Posthumanism and Material Agency in *No Country for Old Men*

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The discourse of *No Country for Old Men*, written in 2005 by Cormac McCarthy, is shaped by the Christian conceptual framework, just as by the postmodern notions of ecological materialism, seeking answers to both moral and ethical questions and metaphysical concerns about determinism, fate, chance, cause and effect, and the connection of mental qualities to material entities. The communicative design of the novel includes the exploration of human values, morals, good and evil forces in terms of the Christian worldview contrasting material obsession and possession. Moreover, explicit manifestations of the posthuman philosophy are revealed throughout the narrative, and verbally abusive gender relations—as a result of posthuman alienation—are also discussed in the study.

Keywords: posthumanism; material agency; ecological materialism; literary ecocriticism; determinism; Christian worldview; gender relations

I. Introduction

No Country for Old Men, written in 2005 by Cormac McCarthy, is a western thriller about the moral, social, and ecological degradation in the actual and symbolic landscape of the American southwest. The novel examines the material relations and interactions between the environment and human beings, applying the emergence of the posthuman condition as the aftermath of the inhuman Second World War and the immoral Vietnam War, mid-twentieth-century conflicts the United States was involved in. While material ecocriticism and ecological postmodernism support the idea of the reciprocal interplay between the human and environmental agents in the barren, isolated, and eerie desert on the borderland of the United States and Mexico, the theory of posthumanism reinforces the dynamism of destructive powers in humankind, the erosion of moral values, as well as of reason, humanism, and anthropocentrism—the core concepts of the European Enlightenment—, and it replaces them with fate, chance, chaos, and the absence of morality. Thus, the novel's perspective switches from an anthropocentric view of the Southwestern geography, landscape, people, animals, and phenomena to an ecocentric one and positions all environmental entities on the same level. From such a viewpoint, agency shifts from the human to the non-human components of the ecosystem. All elements of the ecosystem, not only the human ones, are active and endowed with agency.

The posthumanist turn in cultural theory occurred in the 1960s and 1970s after postmodernism deconstructed the epistemological and ontological notions of humanism, which significantly impacted the perception of the human. The concept of “posthumanism,” arising in the 1980s and 1990s, entails the discussion of the trends of critical, cultural, and philosophical posthumanism and new materialism, which re-conceptualize the human in post-humanist, post-anthropocentric and post-dualistic ways (Braidotti 439). These approaches dismantle the hierarchical, anthropocentric conceptualization of the human (Braidotti 439). Moreover, posthumanism denies the absolute agency of human beings, highlighting the ontological hybridity of the human and relational traits between the human and the non-human that are also relevant in the context of literary ecocriticism.

In this novel, the identity of the characters (Sheriff Ed Tom Bell, Anton Chigurh, Llewelyn Moss, Carson Wells, and Carla Jane) is shaped by their relations to the environment and the web of material possessions (drugs, guns, and money) they have created. The interconnection of human personality types through material relations generates human moral dilemmas and posthuman existential crises. Material relations and changing positions on human ethics reorganize, or rather polarize social, economic, and legal structures, cultural patterns, and human behavior, and undermine traditional human morality. Material elements have the potential to create new relations among various environmental phenomena and entire narratives through the chain of relationships between human and non-human agencies. In this sense, matter has agency and is “creative” (Oppermann 28). Verbal interaction among the characters is the manifestation of the posthuman turn and material obsession contrasting human morals and values advertised by the Christian worldview.

The discourse of *No Country for Old Men* is shaped by the Christian conceptual framework, just as by the postmodern notions of ecological materialism, seeking answers to both moral and ethical questions and metaphysical concerns about determinism, fate, chance, cause and effect, and the connection of mental qualities to material entities. The communicative design of the novel includes the exploration of human values, morals, good and evil forces in terms of the Christian worldview contrasting material obsession and possession. Moreover, explicit manifestations of the posthuman philosophy are revealed

throughout the narrative, and verbally abusive gender relations, as a result of posthuman alienation, are also discussed in the study.

II.1. Christian worldview and ecological materialism

The Terrell County sheriff, Ed Tom Bell, refers to the phenomenon of financial and drug-related problems with the Biblical figure of Mammon, who is one of the tempting demons, enticing people with the promise of material wealth. Besides warfare's physical and mental destruction, the prince of Hell, descending from evil and symbolizing greed, is the other source of posthuman sins. In the new materialist sense, both drugs and money have an intrinsically evil and corrupting character that connects individuals in the community by creating an all-embracing web of material dependence that thoroughly transforms cultural, social, and personal behavior. The belief in God is replaced by the ostensive promises of Mammon to lead and possess those who have been fuelled by anger, bleakness, and disillusion from humanity. For Sheriff Bell, the underworld prince is identical with the antagonist in the novel, Anton Chigurh, and his kind, representing mystery men like ghosts, always hiding yet being present everywhere, surpassing law enforcement control and taking people with them to the dark side through false promises. As the old sheriff predicts it, material possession will give power to those on the top of (drug) business, referring to wealth that will accumulate in some businessmen's hands to control the ones who had given them financial sources. This new type of enslavement is not people's collective decision, but progress carried out by politics, corruption, and criminalization of both people and the borderland environment. According to Bell, the operation of evil starts with minor changes in social behavior, like "*overlook[ing] bad manners*" and with the breakdown of business ethics on behalf of well-dressed and wealthy businessmen proficient in marketing and consumer needs, and it "*reaches into ever strata*" (304) of society regardless of borders.

Sheriff Bell's ruminations about the emergence of the unprecedented magnitude of crime in the world are examples of the humanist vision. He interprets his experiences with violent crime in the context of the Christian worldview and attributes the web of hate, greed, or violence for its own sake to metaphysical and transcendental phenomena: the growing force of evil in the world.

I think if you were Satan and you were settin around tryin to think up somethin that would just bring the human race to its knees what you would probably come up with is narcotics. (218)

[...]

We're bein bought with our own money. And it aint just the drugs.[...] There's always been narcotics. But people dont just up and decide to dope theirselves for no reason. By the millions. (303)

The older man holds that post-Second World War politics, the Vietnam War, and its psychological aftermath entailing substance abuse, drug, and gun trafficking, money-mongering have caused the decline of American society. In addition, Bell relates to human and non-human relations from a moral and religious angle, explaining the workings of the world from his own human point of view.

In Sheriff Bell's opinion, the eyes that are the windows to the soul have various visions, and "there is another view of the world ... and other eyes to see it" (4), differing from his own system of values. The eye metaphor gives an insight into a person's character and values, shaped by cultural and historical affairs, creating new perspectives about the world in the wrong way. The reason for Bell not wanting to see into the eyes of the evil is not that he is older and closer to retirement or death but because he would "*put his soul at hazard*" (4), risking his only life and one soul along with his human and personal values. Facing evil does

not mean the loss of his life that is closely connected to his profession as a sheriff (requiring courage and constant peace of the soul, being always ready to face a reckoning with his deeds), but belonging to the vile, feeding on human fear—perceived “*in a heartbeat*” (4) immediately. On the other hand, in Bell’s Christian worldview, if he lost his soul, he would meet the vilest criminals in hell, and he wants to avoid being damned eternally with their kind.

Bell’s dreams about his father riding a horse in a cold dark night carrying fire are an allegory of the dead shoving the path for the living. The first dream about meeting him in town, getting money from him, and losing it refers to the lost heritage of being a cowboy as his father was and choosing to be a sheriff on the path of his grandfather, another symbolic American profession. Moreover, the loss of material things can mean finding the true meaning of life for Bell, which is humanity, community, and moral justice. The second dream is more complex in its symbolism. Riding the horse on the ridges of mountains at night “*back in older times*” (309) expresses the belonging to nature as the descendants of pilgrims and the hardships of environmental forces that first settlers faced. Besides historical memories, retrospection refers to the future perspectives in the old past. As Ed Tom Bell’s father was twenty years younger than the present Bell, the man wrapped in a blanket with his head down (309) might be his father but also can be Bell himself—both of them going the path alone in the dark, trying to carry the fire of hope, truth, and humanity in the surrounding darkness of materiality. The man on horseback

was carryin fire in a horn the way people used to do and I could see the horn from the light inside of it. About the color of the moon. And in the dream I knew that he was goin on ahead and that he was fixin to make afire somewhere out there in all that dark and all that cold and I knew that whenever I got there he would be there. (309)

The novel’s final passage reminds the reader of an old and uncivilized way of life that had been dark but built on hope. Ed Tom Bell, who faces old age and slowly gets closer to death (as the next phase in his life after retirement), is trying to gain meaning by recalling historical relations to the environment and one another. The horn with the faint light inside helped people to light a fire at a new campsite day by day—as a result of a nomadic way of life—, implying the progress of the journey and the expansion of the frontier. Furthermore, the man with the lit horn is either the caretaking father figure who shows Bell the way to the afterlife or the symbol of the silent God who gathers his people with the aid of the small flame.

II.2. Manifestations of the posthuman philosophy

Restlessness and seeking danger as a hunter menaces Llewelyn Moss’s life constantly. The Vietnam War veteran anticipates death as expressed in his inner monologue and refers to himself as a “trespasser among the dead” (27) but not one of them yet—still living and escaping with the money, existing in the here and now dimension. The loud heartbeat signals that Moss is unlike Chigurh, he does not commit murder for the things he wants to possess, yet his intentions are unclear. Moss is aware that he was careless when his inner voice and curiosity forced him to return to the desert to carry water to the one living Mexican drug dealer. However, he must confess that he was “[t]oo dumb to live” (29), taking too much of something that did not belong to him. Moss had become a part of the crime at the very moment when he caught a glimpse of the shot-up cars—being a passive actor but an active spectator. The feeling of being in a jar (29) means that Moss is closed into a situation from where there is no way out. Running out of breath while escaping is controversial with his motivation to be put out of misery with the help of money. However, his obsession with material possession without courage is not enough to avoid the web of corruption and crime and to leave behind his former “aimless” life.

Beside Anton Chigurh's posthuman philosophical stance, the antagonist's antisociality is revealed in ordinary situations, for people with such behavioral disorders are incapable of everyday social interaction and, therefore, violate social norms. In the Sheffield filling station, the proprietor shows manners and attention trying to engage in small talk with Chigurh, as with an ordinary customer. However, Chigurh takes the proprietor's inquiry as nosy and offensive. He responds rudely: "what business is it of yours where I'm from, friendo?" (52). Although getting petrol and paying at the counter would typically last for a couple of minutes, Chigurh extends the interaction with an obscure and threatening dialogue. Chigurh denies the dimension of the present time, saying, "Now is not a time" and telling the man, "You dont know what you're talking about, do you?" (54), confusing him to strengthen his intellectually superior position over the man. He also attempts to humiliate the proprietor with intimate questions regarding his bedtime and his succession of the house behind the store via marriage. Chigurh's goal is to convince the man that engaging in conversation and connecting with strangers might have consequences. Chigurh tries to persuade him, among all of his victims, that luck and specific encounters determine every segment of life, and relations established among human and non-human agents of the environment determine one's fate. Even Chigurh's unwanted connection with the proprietor is based on deception because he withholds what is at stake to call for heads or tails, probably because Chigurh takes a person's life not more valuable than an object, a coin.

During fourteen years of service in the Vietnam War, Carson Well's inhuman operation is revealed by Chigurh, who is pressing him to confess his sins and gain dignity before being murdered. On the surface, Wells shows that he is the only one capable of confronting Chigurh, trying to buy him with money—"the wrong currency" (173). Wells is a coward swindler; meeting Chigurh, he is asked: "If you dont respect me what must you think of yourself?" and Wells responds cynically: "You think I'm afraid to die? ... Just do it" (177). Wells is a man who cannot and does not want to face his authentic self and weakness, and negates his deepest fears believing that the power and authority he possessed as a member of the military, just as his cruel shrewdness, will save him from death. At the moment of being shot in the face, "[Wells] closed his eyes and he turned his head, and he raised one hand to fend away what could not be fended away" (178). Well's defensive position uncovered his intimidation and petty vanity, incapable of facing what he had done in his life. It also displays his admission of being a vulnerable and mortal entity in the cycle of nature.

The interactions among the characters carry verbal and non-verbal cultural references through interpersonal experiences. The commissioner's words to Wells, "Good hunting, as we used to say. Once upon a time. In the long ago" (142), allude to their common action in the past during the Vietnam War. As it turns out, Wells was involved in a homicide, looking at "The faces of men as they died on their knees before him. The body of a child dead in a roadside ravine in another country" (178) are implications to the presence or continuance of the Vietnam heritage through the posthuman character induced by governmental permission for the free killing of the "savage communist Vietnamese," letting human aggression and villainy loose on the defenseless. Another cultural marker is the difference of manners and cultural perceptions resulting from the age gap, thus different cultural codes between Sheriff Bell and Llewelyn Moss's young wife, Carla Jane. Upon visiting the woman in Odessa, Bell takes off his hat to show respect for females. Still, Carla Jane misunderstands it because, for her, an officer coming personally and taking off his hat means the expression of a person's death. For the second encounter, the woman stood at the door waiting with no expression—already knowing the words the Sheriff was about to say but desperately hoping for something better—and when the Sheriff took off his hat, "she leaned against the doorjamb and turned her face away" (246-247) as a sign of understanding what the taken off hat meant in that context.

Chigurh's encounter with Carla Jane is a conversational interaction on a metaphysical level. Chigurh's persuasive language skill about deterministic philosophy supports the idea that choices and decisions lead people to their fate settled at the beginning of their lives. "There's a reason for everything" (256)—says Chigurh deconstructing the concepts of common sense and logic to support his presence in Carla Jane's room as a consequence of Moss's theft of the money earlier. Moss had put the woman's life at stake and betrayed her when he refused to give the money back to the hitman. Although Moss is out of the picture by this point in the narrative, Chigurh always keeps his word, even if it takes an innocent woman's life. Chigurh refers to himself as a nonbeliever who "model[s] himself after God" (256), which controversially facilitates his villainous activity. In line with Carla Jane's grandmother's caution, Chigurh tells the young woman that her life was set forth when she married Moss, and it was over as soon as Chigurh was involved in their lives indirectly. Therefore, the determinism of a person's life is evolved by choices and decisions—creating the illusion of free will—that outline a relational web among unfamiliar people. Still, the time, place, and way of death are variable. These random relations and the certainty of fate define a specific order in chaos. Death is inseparable from life, but its actuation depends on the order of consequences.

Nevertheless, people seem to negate their own death and struggle with it at the moment when they are at the end of their lives (257). When Carla Jane insists that killing her is neither Moss's nor God's decision but Chigurh's own, the man takes a coin to decide, showing her that he does not settle justice. Although Chigurh claims, "I had no say in the matter. Every moment in your life is a turning and every one a choosing" (259), his presence in the house is a statement on his behalf. Giving a chance to luck is just a fake attempt for the justification of fate because a "person's path through the world seldom changes and even more seldom will it change abruptly. And the shape of [Carla Jane's] path was visible from the beginning" (259). Coming to the end of the long persuasive argument, Chigurh concludes that his way of life does not allow making an exception with Carla Jane because he would become vulnerable (259). He sees everyone equal as God does when people account for their lives in front of Him. The coin toss brings bad luck, and determination over the woman's life is justified through her choices. Overall, Chigurh's belief in determination through material and personal relations, fate, reason, chance, and luck prove the imperfect order of chaos existing in the world.

II.3 Verbally abusive gender relations as a result of posthuman material connections

Moss displays little respect for his young wife, Carla Jane, through his indifferent and oftentimes rude expressions toward the woman. He likes to feel his importance as a man, and on the occasion of an argument, he asks the wife, "What if I was to not come back? Is them your last words?" (24), manipulating the woman emotionally. The young wife, Carla Jane, is seen as the embodiment of Moss's physical desire kept in their trailer home with cheap entertainment: watching TV, drinking coke, and smoking cigarettes. Their relationship is imbalanced and consistently one-sided. Carla Jane cares and worries about Moss, who secures her life with material things, but the man resists all affection for her. Moss does not know his wife and says to her like a father, "You're free white and twenty-one, so I reckon you can do whatever you want" (50), but Carla Jane is nineteen years old and she is dependent on her husband financially and emotionally. Moss reckons her in chauvinistic terms giving her the illusion of mobility but actually, he orders her to move to her mother's house in Odessa. He later tells her to leave the house because staying there is dangerous confusing Carly Jane's sense of safety. Although Moss wants to relocate the woman for her own safety, he does not provide the facilities (taking her to the bus stop by a truck, giving her money for the ticket) for

the journey. He is also dishonest to his wife purportedly to prevent her from trouble but shows carelessness and irresponsibility toward the young woman. They go into separate ways in trouble, and Moss leaves his young wife in doubt if he will return and not harm anyone. Temporary material and financial security blind his eyes, not seeing that his positive feelings about money are false pretense. When Carla Jane shows no interest in talking to her outlaw husband, Moss reprimands her for not saying, “Hello darlin, how are you? Are you all right, Llewelyn?” (180), but actually, Moss himself never says if he would have feelings for the woman. The woman relates to the money as a “false god” (182) to chase, but the only reality is the world of money for Moss.

Carla Jane’s identity has been shaped by traditional gender roles, entailing a subordinate relationship. The young woman’s romanticized low-standard teenage dream about meeting the man of her life at Wal-Mart (her current workplace), who will set her out of her jail as an aimless dreamer, is based on false images about a heroic man who saves the woman from hardships and secures her life with material well-being and everlasting love. Leaving school to make money for the family at sixteen is a generous gesture towards her relatives. Still, it has brought Carla Jane to her fate: meeting and marrying the oppressive and mentally unstable Llewelyn Moss (probably suffers from post-traumatic stress disorder) at a young age. She blindly trusts her husband, who has controversially given her freedom through the bond of marriage.

Additionally, the young woman is responsible and affectionate for her grandmother, who raised her and now dying from cancer. Still, she confesses that it has always been hard to live with her, which could have been enough reason to leave her for Moss. Carla Jane steadily denies the charges against her tough, smart, and beloved Llewelyn, and she rejects the fact that he would be in great trouble without the chance to get out of that to defend her husband and keep up the illusions about the fearless man. She also refuses the assumption that they would have marriage problems replying paradoxically to the Sheriff, “We dont have problems. When we have problems we fix em” (127). Carla Jane also opposes the Sheriff’s claim that the woman might not know Moss yet because the intrinsic feature of money usually changes people (128). The only problem she admits is “to know that if you have got somethin that means the world to you it's all that more likely it'll get took away” (134) meaning that she is aware that people tend to lose what they love the most, and for her, it is her husband.

The marriage between Carla Jane and Moss is further challenged when the man takes up a teenage female hitchhiker—who resembles Carla Jane’s young version—with his newly purchased pickup. It is clear that it was not the wife’s person Moss married three years ago, but the image of a naïve and helpless teenage girl who attracted him and needed a “real man” to control and set boundaries for her. Moss treats the fifteen-year-old girl as a father asking when she ate last (212) and telling her that hitchhiking is dangerous (211), in a similar manner as he usually treats Carla Jane. He asks the girl to drive his new car while taking a nap but orders her not to go over the speed limit, threatening to leave her behind. Moss is attractive to teenage girls because he gives the impression of a mysterious bad guy who knows what he does. Actually, he is just going with the flow, taking chances and ending up becoming an insignificant criminal.

The encounter of Moss and the redhead hitchhiker girl evokes deterministic philosophy, metaphysical, ontological, and existential thoughts in the man. Moss acknowledges that there is no starting over in life because everything said and done before relates to the present situation and has consequences for the future. He regards the journey on the road as a permanent change of location not to be found but he holds that the best way would be “just to show up there” (226) without the limits of the physical environment saving the hardships and obstacles that come in their way. Nevertheless, the things that happen are not by chance or fortune as the girl thinks about their meeting, but all relations in life are self-

organizing dynamism as the chaos theory claims. Organic material—including the human body—is determined to cease with time, and McCarthy’s characters seem to accept it, yet trying to go against the law of existence.

III. Conclusion

The characters’ values, ideologies, beliefs, or philosophies in *No Country for Old Men* determine how they perceive the environment and create their own stories about it, thereby they represent an anthropocentric viewpoint. However, environmental entities, that include various materials, also bear with agency that has the potential to create relations and narratives through those connections, and it makes them equivalent to human beings reinforcing the ecocentric perspective. The integrity of human and non-human environmental agencies are manifest in the emergence of the philosophical posthuman, as physical materials (money, drugs, guns) and their features shape the interaction among people and it affects human behavior, individual and social identity, values, morals, and worldviews.

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Adaptation strategies of international students at the beginning of the pandemic using social media

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This study shows the results of a survey related to international students of the University of Pécs. These students play a key role, they become highly skilled experts by completing their studies, and they are also a major financial source for the hosting cities. Approximately 1,420 students participated in a diploma mobility program at University of Pécs in the academic year 2018/2019. They have to adapt to many changes in the host country, in the academic environment and in their everyday lives. Miller and Madianou (2011) pointed out that different cultures prefer different communication channels and build media use strategies to navigate in the host country and overcome new difficulties.

The outbreak of the pandemic 2020 has changed the lives of international students; Hungary introduced restrictions to reduce social contacts. The international students were left alone in their first wave of the pandemic, away from home, without proper support and information.

I examine what specific difficulties students were affected by, and what role the use of social media played in overcoming these difficulties.

Results: The results of my online survey with 220 students show that international students of the University of Pécs were left alone at the beginning of the pandemic and did not receive adequate information about the situation in the host country mostly due to lack of common language skills and inadequate communication channels used by the university.

Conclusions: In the future, it is important for the universities to know the communication habits of the students, so that a real dialogue can develop and it is possible to avoid parallel societies between Hungarian higher education institutions and their international students.

Keywords: International students, internationalization, social media usage, pandemic

I. Introduction

This paper presents the results of a case study based on an online research with international students at the University of Pécs. This research, the broader context of which is provided by the internationalization of Hungarian higher education, was conducted with students after the first wave of the pandemic. Internationalization is a very popular and frequently used concept for higher education institutions, and although there are many approaches to this concept (Kovács et al. 2014: 1-3), it is often the approach that focuses on student mobility. In the constant competition between higher education institutions, the degree of internationalization is a cardinal issue, the most visible “measure” of it is the number of international students. As the aim of the universities is to be able to present as many international students as possible, their foreign students are counted in different ways, and as a result, students who are otherwise native Hungarian-speaking students, even those with Hungarian citizenship, may also will be counted to the international students. (Árvai 2019)

International students play a key role in the life of a higher education institution in several ways. On the one hand, by completing their studies, they can enter the labor market of a host country as a highly qualified workforce; the report of the Tempus Public Foundation on the *Career Tracking of Foreign Students Graduated in Hungary in 2020* (Tempus Közalapítvány 2020: 5-6) also shows that slightly more than half of the interviewed graduated between 2012 and 2019 considered their Hungarian degree more valuable than their home country’s, and slightly less than half lived in Hungary at the time of the research. On the other hand, these students are also a major source of income for the cities hosting the universities, and it must not be forgotten that they add color to the culture of their host country.

Approximately 4,700 international students studied at the University of Pécs in the 2018/2019 academic year, of which 1,420 participated in a diploma mobility program. (Árvai 2019) The situation of these students is special because they have to adapt to many changes in the host country after leaving their home. Not only within the academic environment, but also at the level of everyday life, and in many areas, they face new challenges that may still face obstacles in the initial period, such as homesickness, language barriers, administrative problems, racism, or cultural differences.

The epidemic caused by the coronavirus in early 2020 has brought significant changes to the lives of all of us, as most people have never found themselves in a similar crisis that has affected all areas of life. Although we all experienced difficulties, there were still groups who had to experience the consequences of the pandemic even more. This group includes those living far away from their country of origin worldwide, including international students.

Due to the slowdown of the spread of the epidemic, Hungary, like other affected countries in the world, closed its borders and imposed additional restrictions (curfew, shopping time windows, home office, etc.) in order to reduce social contacts. In the first half of March 2020, attendance at Hungarian universities was abolished, libraries were closed, colleges were emptied in a matter of seconds, and the lives of international students changed radically overnight. In such an unprecedented crisis, students were left alone in the first wave of the pandemic, away from home and family, without adequate support and information.

Although communication technology permeates all levels of our daily lives, its importance has intensified during the pandemic due to the various benefits of social distance (switching to online education, home office). This technology includes any application, platform, medium of social media, all of which play a significant role in increasing and improving the number of human interactions and accessing the latest news and information. Information technology allows unlimited information to be easily disseminated and shared with a single click, especially through social media. (Hashim et al. 2020)

With the help of a research based on an online questionnaire, I was looking for the answer to how the international students of the University of Pécs experienced the initial period of the pandemic in a specific, small-town environment. This required answering the following questions:

- What specific difficulties did you face, especially for a group of foreign students?
- What role has the use of social media played, helped, or hindered them in overcoming these difficulties?

II. Topic discussion

II.1. Difficulties

In the recent centuries, a number of devastating epidemics such as plague, Spanish flu, Ebola and influenza have shaped patterns of urbanization, trade and technology use. In 2021, a year after the outbreak of the new coronavirus (COVID-19), it has become clear to all of us that the current crisis, with its many consequences, will last for years in all areas defining our lives for a long time to come.

Although the pandemic has brought significant changes in the lives of all of us, certain groups have faced more difficult challenges. Due to their special situation, international students have been addressed by many disciplines before the spread of COVID-19. These students need to be able to adapt to the changes brought about by mobility away from home, not only in academia but also in everyday life.

The situation of international students in the pandemic has been studied in various researches (Chirikov-Soria 2020; Firang 2020; Chen et al. 2020) that have focused on identifying the main problem affecting them. As a result of the closure of the country's borders, (1) *mobility was abolished or significantly restricted*, and as a result (2) there were *difficulties in the administration* in terms of visa administration and entry into or exit from the countries. The fact that the offices and consulates worked part-time, with fewer clerks, often only by phone or online, also contributed to the administrative problems. With the closure of dormitories, *housing* (3) also became more difficult. In the 2020 report of the Tempus Public Foundation, almost half of the international students interviewed in Hungary received financial support from their families during their university years, and a good fifth of them worked to finance their studies in Hungary. International students – mostly PhD students – who held various jobs at the university prior to the epidemic lost their jobs in many cases. (4) *Unemployment and financial insecurity* have also indirectly hit students, as parents who often support students from their countries of origin have also lost their jobs. Uncertainty was further exacerbated (5) by a *lack of proper communication*, both between governments and universities and between universities and students. The (6) *online education* introduced as a result of the lockdown has also proved problematic, the system was not ready for such a rapid transition. Closeness, loneliness, or even lockdown with others proved to be the cause of various (7) *mental problems*, exacerbated (8) by the *uncertainty* that developed as a result of fear of the next waves and closures.

II.2. Methods of solving difficulties – use of social media

Individuals who move away from their homes for a shorter or longer period of time may face difficulties in their everyday lives, such as various psychological problems and frustrations caused by cultural differences like language or religion. Communication technologies can provide a solution to overcome these difficulties. In this case, we need to think not only of the mass media, “official” sites and sources of information, but also of the platforms,

applications, media that are so common to use, so deeply embedded in everyday life that we forget about them.

Bonini's (2011) study of media usage patterns of migrants from the Philippines concluded that the media is able to provide "temporary accommodation" for those who leave their country for some reason. The media has the potential to help us create the framework in which we feel safe, in which we can act as if we were "at home", and in this framework, the individual who leaves their home can also experience a sense of belonging. In Bonini's (2011) metaphor, media serves as a portable toolkit, a modular background that represents our home and can be used while traveling to take a picture of ourselves and pretend we have never left our home. In his study, Bonini also notes that there is a characteristic tool for this kind of occupation and expropriation of space, namely the smartphone. Tribes of urban flâneur, metropolitan nomads, and teenagers are constantly using cell phones to redraw borders. (Ito 2006) Although current smartphones combine an extremely large number of functions, it is not advisable to limit this process to a single device.

However, the year 2020 has not only brought about serious changes in the lives of travellers. An epidemic sweeping the globe, whether it hit people at home or far away, in a new, temporary home, has significantly transformed most areas of everyday life. As a result of government epidemiological measures, a large proportion of people have remained within the walls of a secure home, with a remarkable reduction in personal social contact. In places where jobs have made this possible, home office, and in educational institutions online education has been introduced. However, this did not only mean that the family members living in the same household spent most of their time with each other due to the stricter and sometimes looser prohibitions of lockdown. Many people are left alone, including singles, students, working abroad, and families have split up in which one of the parents works abroad or their child is studying in a country different than their country of origin. Even relying on our everyday experiences, we know that the media has become a sort of safe haven for many of us during this period. In this times, social media became especially important due to the evolution of the pandemic, lockdown, unemployment and frustration because of the isolation from family members. Although Daniel Miller in *Tales from Facebook* (2010) notes that the distinction between online and offline in the age of platforms based on extensive social networks is completely pointless, but as a result of the pandemic, we migrated from offline to online, relocating our contacts, offices, classrooms to the digital space. The measures related to the epidemic posed new challenges to most of society. We started to use media and platforms that we had not encountered before, contacts that were left offline earlier, due to the nature of the contacts or the density of encounters became online. In this time of hardship and frustration, individuals living away from home need to stay in touch even more.

Yet how is this secure and supportive environment created in which the individual can feel at home? The views expressed in Bausinger's (1984) study reappeared in English media research a few years later, in the writings of the representatives of domestication theory, Roger Silverstone and David Morley (Weber 2005). Many of their findings echo familiar from Bausinger's text: the emphasis that television is not an isolated medium but one of many interconnected information and communication technologies and the use of any medium should be considered in the context of other household practices. The examination of the spatial arrangement of households also plays an important role, as does the ritual nature of media usage, i.e. the temporality. (Sziártó 2015)

Although it's getting in in our more mediatized society, this may seem obvious, and Morley and Silverstone's thoughts become even more pronounced when examining social networks.

Martin and Rizvi (2014) also refer to Bausinger's (1984) ideas of that the media determine the routine of everyday life, help to create order, and media usage is part of the agenda. These findings are already noted by the authors in terms of micro-level transnational media relations

that sustain the daily lives of international students during their stay overseas. (Martin-Rizvi 2014)

This study points out that new technologies are transforming the perception of space and relationships. Through the media use of international students, the media show that they are close to home as they stay in touch with their family, friends, use their mother tongue, read news, follow influencers or watch series from their home country. On the other hand, the use of media always takes place “locally”, at the university, in the dormitory, in the apartment, in different parts of the city, in entertainment venues, near the sights of the city, in shopping malls. While away from their country of origin, they take their portable devices with them as the “backstage of home,” creating a novel locality. However, the existence of tools is not enough for this locality, this place is also articulated through relationships with others. What follows from this transnational “hybridization of physical and digital experiences?” (Lee, 2010: 267) As small pieces of the “home” materialize through laptops and smartphones in the wider geographical and experiential space of “out here” (host country), they contribute to the creation of “here”, for example, making video calls while shopping with their parents or friends as they were there and spent time together.

However, creating a home is not always so easy, it can run into obstacles. Access to technology may be limited, sometimes familiar media may not be available outside the country of origin, and students may need to find a different solution, the use of some media being pushed into the background, and others being expanded with new features. Until that happens, students often struggle with serious frustration that they feel completely cut off, abandoned, until they are able to reconnect with the world and home. (Martin-Rizvi 2014)

When international students connect to their home, there is a tendency to start using cultural practices that have not been done before, but are specific to their sending culture and remind them of their home (e.g., religion, music... etc.).

The activities of international students to create a home are not only articulated through the use of media. In countries where one nationality is present in large numbers, these groups occupy urban spaces, like Chinatown, Little Italy, mosques and shops in various cities. There are various restaurants, shisha bars and spice shops in Pécs too, which try to give the impression with their atmosphere and decoration that visitors or residents of the city are away from home Pécs.

While, from the perspective of international students, it is possible to infiltrate space through the media, for those who have remained at home in its digitized form, the home itself can be seen as the “last vehicle” according to Virilio (1991) comfort, safety, and stability can happily go hand in hand with the ability for an individual to fly elsewhere immediately or bring items of “elsewhere” into the home. (Silverstone-Haddon 1996)

III. Results

III.1. Methods

In my research, I was looking for the answer how the international students of the University of Pécs experienced the first wave of the coronavirus epidemic in March 2020, more precisely what problems they faced and how they were able to overcome the difficulties of everyday life in a small town like Pécs.

In May 2021, an online survey was conducted by asking 220 international students from the University of Pécs. The average age of the respondents was ~ 24 years, the majority (57%) were women and had been in Hungary for an average of two years, and ~ 80% had their own apartment. Nearly half of the students (45%) studied BA/BSc programs, one third (33%) completed their master's degree, 22% completed their doctoral studies, and the respondents

were from all faculties of the University of Pécs (Faculty of Medicine, Faculty of Economics, Faculty of Health, Faculty of Engineering and Information Technology, Faculty of Science, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Faculty of Law, Faculty of Pharmacy, Faculty of Arts).

The first part of the questionnaire focused on problems affecting international students and the second half focused on strategies to address these problems, with a particular focus on media usage.

III.2. Research results - everyday difficulties of the international students of the University of Pécs in the first wave of the pandemic

Based on the answers to the online questionnaire, I identified seven main difficulties affecting international students: *emotional lability*, *mental problems* (64.3%), *online education* (53.8%), *traveling home to the sending country and return to Hungary* (49.3%), *administration* (27.1%), *financial insecurity* (26.7%), *unemployment* (14%), *racism* (6.8%) and, to a lesser extent, the problem of maintaining a *healthy lifestyle* because of the restrictions.

The prominent place of emotional insecurity and mental problems did not show any surprising results, the first wave of the epidemic caused great concern not only globally but also in Hungary, and the number of suicides increased significantly worldwide and in Hungary too.¹ International students have often reported that their everyday routine has changed fundamentally as a result of online education:

The duration was so long that my / people's mental health could not take it and the now annoying part was that the days were the same and the same every day and, for me i spent so much more money in the pandemic because i used to order a-lot because of the unfixed sleeping schedule and shops sometimes close before i have time to buy groceries so i had to order food now of the time. And the last point is my physical health was ruined because the only sport I could do is running and as I mentioned before I did not have the time to do it sometimes because of the curfew.

The introduction of online education and the lack of communication between the university and the students played a decisive role in the development of this uncertainty. Students' studies became unpredictable in that they did not receive adequate information about starting the semester, returning to in-person education, taking exams, and crossing the border.

The main problem with the pandemic and the school is the constant uncertainty. In Norway, Slovakia and other countries they informed students already in the start of the semester that everything would be online, so that the students had something to follow. The way pecs and Hungary makes decisions in the last possible weeks makes it extremely hard for students to plan and have any sense of security and accomplishment. We have to change both reading plans, exams and travels due to constant changes. This adds huge amounts of stress and insecurity to us, worsening our mental health.

It should also be borne in mind that international students come to the University of Pécs from the farthest reaches of the world, which means that many students who returned to their

¹ Nagyot ugrott az öngyilkosságok száma Magyarországon
<https://24.hu/belfold/2021/09/13/ongyilkosság-statisztika-pszichiatria-koronavirus/>

country of origin at the beginning of the pandemic could not attend online education due to their completely different time zones.

In terms of administration, it is not just students from outside the EU who have encountered difficulties in entering. As most countries have closed their borders, the return of many students has become uncertain. On the other hand, although it later became possible to travel for study purposes, the processing of possible visas and residence permits did not work smoothly either, the main reasons for which were the inadequate English language skills of the office workers and the students' lack of Hungarian language skills.

It is a very hard experience to be in a pandemic, in a foreign country where you don't speak the language.

The delayed covid news from the university, the increase in bureaucracy (since email and telephone answers do not work in Pecs), and the difficulty of finding English-speaking people to solve academic and official problems are the main problems that we as students are facing during the pandemic.

During the epidemic, hate speech and racism also intensified, especially among Asian students, and many students felt that they were discriminated against because of their origins:

Hate my faculty and the dean, our professors are racist and discriminative. Never felt this bad in my life, I regret choosing University of Pecs for my bachelors.

Many Chinese students have been harmed because of the alleged origin of the coronavirus, but they were not the only group to be discriminated against. In Hungary, coronavirus infection was first detected in case of Iranian students returning from abroad, so this group was soon targeted. The case of these students provoked extremely strong temptations, the students were expelled from the country and a hostile attitude towards foreigners became apparent.² In order to remedy the grievances suffered by foreigners, the University of Pécs issued a communication paper on the stigmatization of international students in three languages (Hungarian, English and German).

III.3. Solutions

The students' answers to the questionnaire show that the use of social media has played a significant role in solving the problems just described. Although music (57%) is the primary way to divert thoughts about lockdowns, more than half of students (55%) turned to social media. The proportion of students who chose cooking (50.7%), sports (43.9%), games (28.1%) and hiking (22.1%) was also significant. However, the aspect that a notable part of these activities (music, cooking videos, fitness videos, video games) can all be done online should not be overlooked.

² *Iráni diákok - Fontos, hogy az egyetemek és a hallgatók is betartsák az előírásokat!*

<https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/irani-diakok-fontos-hogy-az-egyetemek-es-hallgatok-betartsak-az-eloirasokat>
Kiutasítottak két iráni egyetemistát, akik megszegték a karantént és agresszíven viselkedtek az ápolókkal
<https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/kiutasitottak-ket-irani-egyetemistat-akik-megszegték-karantent-es-agressziven-viselkedtek-az>

Considering that 80% of respondents stated that the time spent on social media platforms increased during the lockdown, it can be reasonably assumed that social media plays a prominent role in solving the problems.

If we look at the media preferred by students, *YouTube* (85.1%), *Instagram* (81.4%), *WhatsApp* (75.5%), *Facebook* (62.8%), *MS Teams* (63.8%), *Messenger* (45.7%), it appears that the chat application, which is very popular in Hungary, Messenger can only be ranked sixth on a popularity list.³ In 2016, Sleeman et al. research on the media use of international students to examine the functions that students give the social media. Sleeman concluded that the use of social media among international students can serve three different functions: (1) to *connect*, (2) to *isolate*, and (3) to *create a hybrid space* supported by group-specific media usage strategies. It forms a bridge, both with those left at home and with the residents of the host country. May isolate a group, especially in cases where the population of a given country of origin is larger in the host country. In such cases, incoming students often do not seek contact with residents of the host country, whether for security or comfort reasons, but rather turn to members of their own community, older students, and more experienced members of the group for help. However, it is also possible that with the help of the media, different hybrid spaces are created in which traditional cultural practices, customs usage habits, and religious practices are reinterpreted.

Which function determines students' media usage depends on students' communication networks. Seo et al. (2016) classifies networks defined by international students into three types: (1) *monocultural*, (2) *bicultural*, and (3) *multicultural relationships*.

If we compare students' preferences and assume, based on the theory of Miller and Madianou (2011), that students from the same country have the same or at least similar media usage strategies, and compare this with Hungarian preferences, we can conclude that students, may have preferred their multicultural networks during the lockdown, and had little contact with both Hungarian students and the university. The reasons for this can also be found in the fact that we do not have adequate information about the communication network of international students and their media usage preferences, which shortcomings were expressed by the students during the completion of the questionnaire:

The delayed covid news from the university, the increase in bureaucracy (since email and telephone answers do not work in Pecs), and the difficulty of finding English-speaking people to solve academic and official problems are the main problems that we as students is facing during the pandemic.

IV. Conclusions

The pandemic has brought challenges for all of us that we have never faced before. Governments, health professionals and various institutions have had to take measures in a crisis situation overnight, the decision on which, in the absence of prior experience and information, has often proved extremely difficult. Although the epidemic has become almost part of our daily lives over the past year and a half, the initial period was experienced in many ways by different groups in society. People living away from home and their families were increasingly exposed to the difficulties caused by the new situation and were left alone to solve problems. In this situation, the priority of universities is to reduce students' feelings of insecurity and to provide adequate information and support. The responses to the questionnaire revealed that although students have specific communication networks and

³ *Media usage in Hungary*

https://www.statista.com/topics/6592/social-media-usage-in-hungary/#dossierSummary_chapter1

strategies, there is little overlap between these and the university's channels. In order to develop effective communication between higher education institutions and students in similar situations in the future, universities need to pay more attention to the media usage of their students.

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Nagyot ugrott az öngyilkosságok száma Magyarországon

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Impact of COVID-19 on bullwhip effect research

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The COVID-19 pandemic's impact on economic situation raised the interest of bullwhip effect researchers. Due to the uncertainty and restrictions in place that were resulted by the epidemic outbreak the supply chain performance significantly decreased. Unpredictable circumstances, downtimes, supply issues and staff absences made the planning extremely difficult. The missing perspective on mid- and long-term also impacted the processes. The focus shifted from the potential performance improvement to the daily operation.

The frequency of the presence of the bullwhip effect increased. This is due to the strong connection between the reasons of the phenomenon and the effects of COVID-19. The economic and market environment formed by the regulations on the virus creates ideal environment for the bullwhip effect. Beside the impacts of the virus the missing historical information further complicates the recovery of processes on multiple level of the supply chain. Although daily operation's maintenance is crucial, operational performance also need to be kept in focus. Without keeping the centre of attention at efficiency, the recovery period can take longer.

This article aims to match the reasons of the bullwhip effect occurrence and the impacts of the provisions and restrictions due to COVID-19. The combination of the two shows the strong connection between the occurrence of the phenomenon and the impact of the inconsistent restrictions. As a result, the understanding of the performance decrease can be deeper, and analyzation of bullwhip effect causes can support supply chains in the recovery. It shows lessons learned of COVID-19 from the BWE perspective. As the situation is unprecedented, the lessons learned are aiming to support future supply chain resiliency.

Keywords: COVID-19, bullwhip effect, supply chain performance

I. Introduction

The impact of COVID-19 pandemic on the economic situation raised the interest of bullwhip effect researchers. Based on Dimensions database 1471 article has been published on bullwhip effect topic in 2020 and 2021 Q1. Out of these articles 188 is considering the COVID-19 in the analysis. It means 12,7% of the articles. In the joint research the highest number of articles are published by Dmitry Ivanov (Berlin School of Economics and Law, research focus: supply chain resilience, 12 articles) and Alexandre Dolgui (IMT Atlantique, France, supply chain engineering, 6 articles). Ivanov's articles are mainly considering the survivability of supply chain, impact on performance, changing trends due to the changed economic situation. This shows the relevance of the bullwhip effect regarding the COVID-19 research. Due to the epidemic situation new direction of research appeared.

Bullwhip effect is highly sensitive to uncertainty and unpredictability. Forecasting is one of the influencing factors in regards the phenomenon (Bhattacharya & Bandyopadhyay, 2010). The estimations were highly impacted by the outbreak of the virus. Several unexpected changes have happened. Restrictions due to the health risks upset the usual way of working. Unpredictability occurred on all levels of the supply chain. The restrictions took place shifted relative to each other at different locations. This impacted the supply networks as well. Applied regulations differed at the different levels of the supply chain. It further complicated to initiate chain level strategic decisions. Localization was necessary due to the circumstances.

The supply chain operation needed to face multiple different impact of the restrictions at the same time. As COVID-19 resulted in economic situation not seen before, companies needed to manage the challenges without any historical information. Beside the history future also meant difficulty. Regulations and restrictions took place without any exact timelines. Rules changed dynamically. Mid- and long-term planning needed to consider multiple potential outcomes. The supply chain related impacts of the epidemic outbreak and the reasons behind the bullwhip effect phenomenon are strongly connected to each other. Following the literature review this article aims to show this connection of the virus and the phenomenon.

II. Bullwhip effect and the COVID-19

In the following literature review bullwhip effect phenomenon will be presented focusing on the reasons of the phenomenon. Beside the introduction of the bullwhip effect this part is also focusing on the COVID-19. The second part presents the supply chain related impacts of the epidemic outbreak and the restrictions related to that.

II.1. Methodology

The paper will be organized as follows. First the literature review will take place. It starts with the introduction of the bullwhip effect phenomenon. This part is focusing on the causes and the consequences of it. It is followed by the summary of the COVID-19 pandemic from supply chain perspective.

Based on the results of the literature review the authors are comparing the bullwhip effect phenomenon's reasons and the COVID-19 impacts. This comparative analysis is showing how the restrictions made due to the pandemic supported the occurrence of the bullwhip effect phenomenon.

II.2. Bullwhip effect

Bullwhip effect (BWE) has a strong academic and business interest due to the potential malfunctions that it can cause in the supply chain. The main understanding of the phenomenon is common but still among different research groups interpretation varies highly. The

phenomenon was first researched by J.W. Forrester (MIT Sloan School of Management), it is also known as the forrester effect (Forrester, 1961). The bullwhip effect term was defined in Lee, Padmanabhan and Wang (1997). BWE was recognized based on the analysis of Procter and Gamble, customer demand fluctuation of the diapers was not explaining the level of variability. The phenomenon was also present at other sectors and companies. (Lee et al., 1997b) The authors describe the bullwhip effect as the following: *“the phenomenon where orders to the supplier tend to have larger variance than sales to the buyer (i.e., demand distortion), and the distortion propagates upstream in an amplified form (i.e., variance amplification).”* (Lee et al., 1997a, p546) BWE can also be described by the huge difference between customer demand and the produced quantities. *“The effect by which slow moving consumer demand creates large swings in production for the suppliers at the other end of the supply chain.”* (Wang & Disney, 2016, p691) From financial perspective the bullwhip effect becomes crucial once the fluctuation of production leads to a higher cost than the inventory holding (Wang & Disney, 2016). The competitive environment and the structure of the supply chain are also influencing the occurrence of the phenomenon (Xuluo, 2021).

II.2.1. Reasons of the bullwhip effect

The main causes behind the phenomenon have been listed by Lee et al, (1997a) as below:

- *Demand signal processing*: focus is on the retailer’s level of the supply chain but applicable on the full chain. Supplier cannot track properly the retailer's signals; the true demand pattern is not getting through the chain.
- *Rationing game*: products with limited supply order can exceed the real needs to secure availability. The issue typically starts from the manufacturer, but it can occur in all levels of the chain.
- *Order batching*: can be caused by periodic review processes and the cost of the orders. Rules and strategies can differ in the chain that can lead to bullwhip effect.
- *Price variation*: promotional plans are not in line with the supply capabilities, and free return policy can worsen it.

The mentioned main areas have been complemented by the lead time parameter (Geary et al., 2006). This is due to the change in the lifestyle of the customers and the supply chain operations. Longer, international chains lead to an increase in lead time. The mentioned reason groups can be further broken down to sub-elements (Geary et al, 2006; Potter & Disney, 2006; Bhattacharya and Bandyopadhyay, 2011).

- *Demand signal processing*:
 - inaccurate forecast,
 - misunderstanding of the market information
 - the applied forecasting strategy
 - handling of stock out
 - lack of learning
- *Rationing game*:
 - number of echelons
 - lack of transparency and control
 - local versus global approaches
 - lack of synchronization
 - fear of shortage
- *Order batching*:
 - applied lot size
 - ordering timelines
 - lack of harmonization of replenishment strategies

- limited capacity.
- *Price variation:*
 - planned and unplanned promotions
 - fluctuation of material price
 - fluctuation of finished good's price
 - changes of other costs
- *Lead time*
 - impacting forecasting strategy
 - delay in information flow

II.2.2. Impacts of the bullwhip effect and reduction options

The bullwhip effect can result in opposite outcomes, both overstock and stock out can be the outcome. These results are decreasing the supply chain performance and have direct or indirect financial impacts. For example, cost impact can be realized due to lost sales opportunities or via increased warehousing costs. This impact can increase through the chain due to the multiplication effect. This leads to serious consequences on chain level, mainly striking the manufacturing level. Beside the cost information is also impacted. It gets distorted due to the bullwhip effect (Szegedi, 2012). The phenomenon results in uncertainty in planning. The expenses also appear due to production and transportation capacity utilization (Disney et al., 2007).

As today's supply chains are rather complex networks than simple streamlined chains, the co-operations became much harder. An ideal chain could be characterised by information transparency, coordinated processes and common strategy, having these circumstances realised, the bullwhip effect would less likely happen. However, the above characteristics are not likely to happen in the real-life circumstances in the foreseeable future.

For better forecasting processes and accuracy information sharing is needed. This would not be the final solution just a first step. Highest peaks can be avoided on long term. Beside the information flow lead time should also be considered. Analysis of the bottlenecks from this perspective can highlight critical processes. This can support in having better control, more manageable processes, and lower uncertainty. Once the first steps through information sharing and analysis of the bottlenecks is done further synchronisation approached can also be initiated. It can cover both batch sizes and processes (Towill et al., 2007)

Although, transparency and information sharing seem to be supportive in decreasing the impact of the bullwhip effect, it has been investigated in various research, that it does not always works (Haines et al, 2017). Even if the phenomenon may occur increased level of transparency and information is still important. It is easier to realize the bullwhip effect this way and it is also supporting the resolution of the problem.

II.3. COVID-19

“COVID-19 is an infectious disease caused by a newly discovered coronavirus.” (WHO, 2020) In 2019 December the first case has been identified in China. 11th March 2020 the disease become pandemic declared by the WHO. The virus has disastrous impact on health, huge number of people lost their lives. Society and economy are also heavily impacted all around the world (WHO, 2020). The impact of the pandemic is also global considering the supply chains. 94% of the businesses experienced disturbances due to COVID-19. This includes the Fortune 1000 list (Fortune, 2020). The pandemic started from China, quickly impacting the Chinese economy. The impact has not stopped there due to the important role of the county in the worldwide supply chains. It led to the most critical disruption appeared in the recent decades, challenging supply chains globally (Govidan et al, 2020).

To control the pandemic situation preventive actions have been announced in the countries to limit the spread of the disease and to keep it under control. The supply chains have been influenced by these policies either in supply, demand, or logistics. It can be defined as long-term disruption and high uncertainty (Grida et. al, 2020). There are characteristics that define the threat for supply chains due to epidemic outbreaks. These includes the mentioned disruption with unexpected scale, the propagation of the disruptions in the chain and the disruption in the infrastructure (logistics, supply, demand) (Govidan et. al, 2020).

The unprecedented situation shows the need for analysis of supply chain resilience in theory and in practice. The situation tested the flexibility and reactivity of the supply chains. Global, lean structured supply chains highly tend to suffer from the impact of the restrictions. (Ivanov & Dolgui, 2020)

The pandemic situation is relevant from the bullwhip effect research perspective due to the long-term disruption that could not be estimated. The health risk ended in closed manufacturing locations, delays in material flow and delivery of finished goods, decreasing number of operators (Ivanov, 2020).

Asian countries needed to pause their plants, that resulted in delay of materials and finished goods. Availability of products (raw material as well as finished goods) in the supply chain reduced and became unpredictable. Beside the production side also customer's behaviour was impacted. The demand of some products such as antiseptic materials or medical supplies had unprecedented increased, along with much of the non-perishable goods (panic stocking). Tourism and mobility sectors have experienced the most severe decline in their economic performance, due to the travel restrictions issued in order to decelerate the spread of the illness (Ivanov, 2020; Jomthanachai et al. 2021). As mentioned, some products (mainly medical and protective items) get highly in focus. The availability issues mainly concerned the western countries with high dependency on the global supply chain. To support the supply reorganizational actions needed to take place, workforce have been mobilized and underused facilities needed to get new roles (Shokrani et al, 2020).

From the supply chain perspective, the difficulty was justified by the unpredictable and unplannable further steps both on production and customer decisions. As several reasons behind the bullwhip effect is due to the uncertain market situation the probability of occurrence of it has increased. At the same time the level of competition to keep the desired role on the market has not decreased. The circumstances made it fiercer. (Xuluo, 2021) Disruption impacted both national and international level the networks. Adjusting to the new demand and needs meant major difficulty (Jomthanachai et al., 2021).

Sarkis et al. (2020) defined significant weaknesses of the supply chain:

- Upstream chains due to limited transparency have difficulty in finding the bottlenecks.
- Global structure aggravates the impact of events shocking the supply chains.
- Limited knowledge on downstream demand and missing stress tests.

Some proposals are also formulated. Transparency and engagement need to be increased, local and global chains need to be handled in a different way, agile approaches need to be considered and deeper usage of the digital tools to manage buyer-supplier relationship (Sarkis et al, 2020). These can support on long-term setting up more resilient supply chains.

III. Results

Bullwhip effect is impacted by diverse decisions made in the supply chain This is impacted by the social, health, regulatory and economic environment. In general supply chain planning is based on trends and expectations based on them. This is frequently modified by changes of the

market. Considering the continuously changing environment trends still supported the operational planning.

COVID-19 led to a new situation, one of the most difficult challenges has been the lack of mid- and long-term view. The trends based on the past years became unreliable and useless. The new lifestyle and the regulations lead to significant change in the market requirements, customer needs. This environment is ideal for the occurrence of the bullwhip effect.

Table 1 connects the bullwhip effect reasons and the COVID-19 impacts with each other. As the environment generated by the pandemic situation could be described mainly by uncertainty and unpredictability, it provides ideal conditions for the occurrence of the bullwhip effect.

Table 1.: BWE reasons and COVID-19 impacts

BWE reason group	BWE reason	COVID impacts
signal demand processing	inaccurate forecast	due to dynamically changing needs
	forecasting strategy	cannot adapt quick enough; no strategy for disruption
	handling stockout	more frequent occurrence, products with previously stable demand are now impacted
	lack of learning	no historical information to rely on
	misunderstanding of the market	unpredictable and rapid change of regulations
rationing game	number of echelons	increased complexity
	lack of transparency	multiple countries, different regulations, different exemptions
	lack of control	difficulty in planning due to the continuously changing regulations
	fear of shortage	missing products, cancelled productions are increasing the need to fulfil demand
order batching	lot size	production capacity limitations, problematic raw material supply
	replenishment policy	
	capacity limitations	difficulty both on production and delivery side
	ordering timelines	lead times are extended and unpredictable
price variation	fluctuation of ordering price	supply issues of raw materials and semi-finished goods
	fluctuation of the finished goods prices	production issues, skewing demand
	changes of other costs	increasing cost due to the limited capacity
	planned and unplanned promotions	less chance to serve the extra requirements

Source: Authors' edition

Demand signal processing reason group is focusing on forecasting that is based on trends and estimations. The trends that were typical earlier and were used as the basis of planning changed completely due to the change in the people's lifestyle (quarantine, mobility restrictions), therefore understanding and predicting the demand became much more complicated. Market

requirements are dynamically changing led by the economic and political changes announced. The level of the predictability is low at all levels of the supply chain. Missing closing dates of regulations and unknown next steps further complicate the adaptation of the forecast.

Rationing game reason group's focus is transparent operation of the supply chain. It became even more important than earlier. Need for control and harmonization became higher due to the high level of uncertainty. Global level decisions and control faced difficulties due to the various rules applied, local approaches needed to be subordinated to central decisions. Due to the delays in production, missing materials and capacity limitations fear of shortage get more into focus. The fulfilment of orders became more difficult, but the competition has not decreased.

Harmonization and global thinking are not only relevant regarding the forecasting but also the replenishment and inventory policies. Different local order batching approaches easily lead to harmful impact on the supply chain level considering the circumstances. Considering the extraordinary circumstances, it became difficult to keep inventory and replenishment policies and usual ordering timelines. Due to the disruption of logistics operation lead times increased or became unpredictable, capacity limitations appeared both upstream and downstream of supply chains. Keeping the inventory at the desired levels became more difficult.

Considering the market situation unplanned fluctuation of the price can deepen the problems, increase the degree of oscillation of the bullwhip effect. Several costs related to the supply chain operations increased due to the virus indirectly (availability of drivers, operators, restrictions on borders, restrictions on sales locations, availability of containers, etc.). The change in market needs also had an impact on the price level. The pandemic situation led to preference changes on the demand side and added some products to the most needed products' list. Due to increased need for home office demand for laptops, office chairs, webcams, monitors, etc. expanded. Some daily products as toilet rolls, yeast, flour, sanitizer products also faced increase due to the panic stocking. Beside these micro mobility, sport and indoor entertainment also get in focus. Demand for boardgames, books, bicycles, scooter etc. also increased.

IV. Conclusion

The COVID-19 pandemic generated an economic environment full of unpredictable regulations and restrictions. Due to the changes people modified their lifestyle to adopt to the circumstances. This led to a shift of the market needs compared to the 2019's general consumption characteristics. Due to the missing preparation and long-term perspective operational processes needed to be adopted in all levels of the supply chains. This affected the forecasting drastically.

Various restrictions applied in the different countries increased the operational complexity. Due to the typically high number of supply chain echelons the cooperation and control of the common operation become more difficult. Replenishment and inventory control also faced difficulties due to the capacity limitations on multiple levels of the supply chain.

At the end the impact of the pandemic also affected the price level. Missing materials and human resource, production and delivery capacity issues increased the costs in general. Potential promotions needed to face availability issues and delivery delays. Considering this to gain better position on the market became more difficult. The operation of the market and the main requirements did not change by the pandemic, due to the circumstances the competition become fiercer.

As consequences of COVID-19 forecasting, replenishment, transparent operation and price changes impacted the market. These all created an excellent environment for the bullwhip effect phenomenon.

Several case studies have been published on bullwhip effect in COVID-19 situation. These studies provide very useful basis for future cases. It builds up historical data for potential future

crisis. At the same time, it is worth to record the lessons learned during the pandemic situation. Globalized supply chains have very limited level of reacting to disruptions; they lack an appropriate flexibility due to their huge complexity. Regionalization approaches may support higher flexibility. It is worth to check the trade-off between cost and flexibility. COVID-19 is a very special situation; it is not likely to happen in the same way again. But other changes can still lead to crisis in the supply chain. We need to find out the best practices of handling the pandemic situation and use them on long term crisis management.

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Objectives and directions – phases and changes of the Hungarian housing system

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In my presentation, I intend to present and evaluate Hungarian housing policy through the socialist era. The analysis is based on my own data collection that deals with the housing policy, housing distribution, construction, renovation, and other housing policy aspects of the entire socialist and post-regime change period examining the legislative measures. The methodological framework of the presentation is a data collection in which I examine measures and legislation that address the above-mentioned aspects of housing policy.

The socialist housing system was characterized by a dual market [1]. The so-called free market structure where the construction and sale of dwellings took place largely without credit, and the state-controlled sector where credit and subsidies played an important role. The weight and role of the state-controlled sphere and the quasi-market sphere have been constantly changing. Private housing construction was relying on private asset throughout the socialism; however, the range of beneficiaries and the modalities of action have changed and broadened. Private housing expanded even more in the years before the change of regime, due to the state's withdrawal from the housing market while individual subsidies continued to exist. The socialist party tried to define housing construction as an explicit goal. As an implicit goal, it tried to reduce the housing shortage, to reduce emigration caused by economic mechanisms.

Following the change of regime, the previous model of the housing sector collapsed. The period between 1990 and 2000 is typically the period in which the previous structures have ceased to exist, but unified concepts and comprehensive programs have not yet been born. As a result, housing policy objectives after the change of regime were strongly characterized by “superficial” treatment of problems. Despite of the privatization of housing and the significant increase in ownership, downward mobility and the affordability index of housing deteriorated [2].

With the database, as well as with an extensive analysis of the literature, in the presentation the evaluation and in-process evaluation of measures can also be displayed.

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Keywords: housing policy, socialist era, housing market

I. Introduction

The development of the Hungarian socialist system meant a radical change of economic and social direction during which most areas of life has changed. The transformation included the economic sphere and the agricultural sector, but the changes also brought about social processes for which the state party was not prepared, and in some cases had to solve problems in the process.

After the socialist takeover the focus of the developments was on economic developments, which development's share have risen sharply (Pető-Szakács 1985). In addition to economic orientation, the other important area to be transformed was the agricultural sector¹. The main objective in the development of agriculture was the establishment of producer cooperatives. However, restructuring has been accompanied by a lack of efficiency and modernization improvements. In consequence of the changes at the beginning of the system significant live labor was freed up and flowed into the cities through political pressure and violent transformation in the agricultural sector.

With the conversion, the system generated many social changes. With the transformation of the system, many social issues have been generated, such as the flow of people into cities. The influx and the crowdedness of cities can reflect both under-urbanization and over-urbanization (Konrád-Szelényi 1971). In the latter case, the population in cities increases. Population growth is outpacing industrial growth. As a result, there is a labor shortage. Infrastructure is also deficient, as unemployment means that there is no solvent demand for expansion. In the case of under-urbanization – which appears in the case of Eastern European countries (Konrád-Szelényi 1971) – the population of cities also increases. The number of urban workplaces are growing rapidly. The number of urban housing units cannot keep pace with the increase in the employment growth. In addition, the rate of industrialisation is outstripping the rate of growth in infrastructure development.

The influx into cities and the housing shortage have generated serious social issues. After 1956, the regime thematized housing shortages as part of its consolidation policy (Kőszeghy 2007). Opportunities for owner-occupied housing under public sector control (e.g. licensing, subsidies) expanded. This possibility can be interpreted based on the model of the Eastern European housing system according to which the role of private housing construction and market forms is equally controlled by the state. On the other hand, due to its volume, urban housing construction is the responsibility of the state (Hegedüs-Tosics 1993). The kind of totalitarian approach was characterized by the development of the system, through which comprehensive economic and social transformations were carried out, which deprived the country's endowments. Economic development was one of the undisputed planning focal points of socialism, through which the system contradicted its own ideology with several measures affecting housing policy.

In this paper, I intend to highlight the important processes and evaluate the Hungarian housing policies that took place throughout the socialist system.

I.1. The structure of the Hungarian socialist system

In this chapter I will describe the general characteristics and structure of the Hungarian socialist system. The system can be classified according to several aspects (e.g. Illés 1993), but the main focal points and objectives are presented below. The first major phase of the system lasted from 1950 until 1956. During this period, the focus of development policy is shifting to industrial

¹The first five-year plan highlights the “*socialist transformation of agriculture*”. For more details see – later chapters

development, which includes the loss of function in rural areas. With this loss of function, the allocation of resources also tends to become disorganized. Resources are point-based, and development is aimed at a minimum levelling of the settlement network. The allocation of development resources at this stage was concentrated on the Budapest and the socialist industrial cities (Szabó 2019). Due to the economic restructuring, high proportion of labor was freed up, which flowed to the places where work (industrial production) has been placed. There was a general housing shortage in these areas². In the case of rural areas, resources have been scattered and unpredictable. This has reinforced the perception that development is the result of the benevolence of the system. As regards the agricultural sector, when the system was established it defined the development directions to which it also connected areas. In the case of rural development, the strong dependence established by the system and the gift nature of the developments can be seen (Illés 1993) – „*City X received a hospital, City Y received a school*” (Szelényi-Konrád 1971).

The second phase dates from the 1956 revolution until the beginning of the 1970s or a more precise date in 1968, until the introduction of the new economic mechanism. Consolidation under the Kádár regime placed greater emphasis on raising living standards, resulting in the “development and upgrading of non-productive infrastructure” (Csanádi et al. 2010) and the further development of rural industrial centers. In addition to development, the rate of public housing construction also increased significantly during this period. The 15-year housing plan adopted in 1960 aimed to build 1 million dwellings. With the plan, the state party aimed to “*substantially eliminate the housing deficit within 15 years*” (1.002/1960. (I. 10.).

The third phase lasted until 1980. This phase marks the relative consolidation of the system. The state's objectives included improving infrastructure and further raising the living standards of the population. An instrument linked to the latter objective was the authorization of a “second economy” in rural areas. The second economy was the possibility of carrying out a legal or tolerated economic activity outside the cooperative system. The second economy together with the freer sale of land further raised the standard of living (according to Decision 1001/1968. (I. 5.)). Researches show that the redistribution of resources is based on a gesture of power and competition (Vági 1982).

The fourth and final phase before the change of regime is the decade of the 1980s. This was a time when the political direction changed, due to the exhaustion of resources (Illés 199, Koós-Virág 2010). There was a decline in development, most notably in public housing constructions. In rural areas, this did not mean major changes, as private construction had been the general practice, but restrictions were relaxed during this period.

An important tool of the socialist system was the control of economic sectors. In the framework of control, plans were drawn up which set out target tasks for a given period. The targets were broken down by sectors and areas (e.g. production and investment plans, agriculture, housing, transport, trade in goods, etc.). The main sections and types were the three-year plans the five-year plans and the 15-year housing plan of 1960.

I.2. Methodology

In my paper, I explore the social impact of the Hungarian housing system. The methodological framework of the research is a data collection in which I examine measures and legislation that addresses housing policy. I reviewed the digitized regulations and laws published in “*Magyar Közlöny*” Hungarian Gazette from 1949 to the change of regime.

² Several examples of the housing shortage can be cited, including the fact that in 1957 the state party implemented measures in the framework of which the office premises and the air security premises were converted into dwellings (Decree 48/1957 (VIII. 13.) and 2 / 1961 (Decree IV. 23).

The limitations of the methodology should also be mentioned. The regulations do not indicate potential problems and obstacles to implementation. In this article I have chosen to analyze the measures for reasons of limitations of volume. During the research, I collected multiple types of measures, such as legislation, laws, regulations, rulings decrees and rescripts. During data collection, I identified relevant keywords, which were as follows.

- 1) Allocation
- 2) Apartment
- 3) Brick
- 4) Building
- 5) Buying
- 6) City
- 7) Construction
- 8) District
- 9) House
- 10) Lease
- 11) Panel
- 12) Real estate
- 13) Rent
- 14) Rental
- 15) Residential property
- 16) Settlement
- 17) Site
- 18) Village
- 19) Zone

In the course of the research, I gathered a total of 390 legislative documents in the socialism. After the change of regime, I gathered a total of 280 legislative documents. All together, I collected six hundred and seventy legislative documents. The legislative documents are relevant to the examined aspects of housing policy and can be connected to one of three key aspects. The three aspects, the three most important areas of housing policy developments, namely support for new housing construction, distribution mechanisms and rural – urban dichotomy. The first aspect was housing and also private housing construction. The aim of the system was to ensure access to housing and to solve the housing shortage. Public housing was not sufficient to solve the housing shortage. Private housing was therefore given a significant role. According to socialist ideology, housing is not a market commodity. Nevertheless, support for owner-occupied housing was a feature throughout the whole system. It is clear from the measures from the 3 and 5-year plans that private house building was an important pillar in the fight against the housing shortage. The second aspect is the distribution mechanisms. Housing distribution was the main focus of the regime. Besides solving the housing shortage public housing was an important subsidy instrument. It was also often linked to compensation. The rural-urban conflict is one of the much studied areas of the socialist era. The lack of rural housing policy concepts and the devaluation of rural areas have all led to important social problems such as emigration and depopulation of areas.

II. Results

I would like to present the results along three aspects. Due to the character constraints, I present in the analysis the social effects of the housing policy of the socialist era.

II.1. Support for new housing construction

I argue that there was a high degree of control over housing policy measures. However, there are a number of regulations that have supported private forms of housing within a controlled framework from the very beginning of the socialist era. Housing, or more generally the solution to the housing shortage, was a much discussed problem of the socialist system. For the state party, which focused on economic development, housing construction was not a profitable investment in the short term. Due to the slow pace of technological development and the involvement of labor, housing construction did not grow as fast as other sectors of the economy (Szelényi 1998). Housing construction was always a political issue during the socialist era. Yet, as far as private (owner-occupied) housing construction is concerned, it has been present and supported from the very beginning. It is discernible, that the system has been promoting housing construction by delimiting and then expanding beneficiary groups since the early 1950s. Thus, in addition to the strict demarcation of centralized development, support for individual housing was present since the 1950s.

One of the explicit ideological aim of the system was to satisfy the housing needs of the working class. Also to increase and encourage the construction of housing, i.e. to solve the housing shortage. The range of beneficiaries and the forms of support have been constantly expanding throughout the system. Available forms of grants and discounts included the following.

- Site allowance³ introduced in 1951
- Group housing discount introduced in 1954
- Housing discounts for members of producer cooperatives introduced in 1954
- House tax exemption introduced in 1950
- Discounts for social groups (eg. newlywed) introduced in 1953

In addition to various forms of private housing subsidies, the level of public investment showed a changing tendency. Act IV of 1954 on the Budget fixes the housing construction expenditure as follows:

*“3. §. 28,325 million forints, representing 60% of the expenditure laid down in § 1 of the Act [total expenditure of 47,925,721,000 forints], shall be used for the further development of the national economy in accordance with the breakdown on which the Act is based, primarily for the stimulation of agricultural production, investments in the light and food industries, the expansion of municipal facilities, in particular **the construction of new housing, the extension of water, gas and electricity networks, and the improvement of services in municipal facilities.**”*

The description prescribes the development of quite a number of areas. The three important aspects that – in line with the literature – were the development focus of the system can be identified. These three areas are *the development or construction of infrastructure, the construction of housing, and the development and preservation of the existing housing stock*. However, as early as 1957, the state party began to sell land that had previously been given for perpetual use. This is done, among others, by Decree 35/1957. (VI. 21.):

³ If the applicant meets the conditions of the application, he / she does not have to pay for the use of the site or plot. Under measure 155/1951. VIII: 14: *“(2) The condition for release for free use is that the employee is employed by a plant (company, institution, office, “the plant”) whose free release has been authorized by the Minister for Finance in agreement with the Minister for the Interior and the Minister for Supervision. and that the release for free perpetual use is proposed by the responsible manager of the plant in agreement with the trade union committee.”*

*“Those who have received a housing allowance for the construction of a family dwelling (condominium) and have received the dwelling not for their own property but for free perpetual use **may purchase the dwelling** in accordance with the terms of this Decree.”*

The decree details the technical conditions of the purchase. It is important that the applicants can also buy the house as their own property. In addition to the system's ambivalent feelings about private property and its unnecessary according to the ideology, the socialist party provided an opportunity for private property to emerge at an early stage.

The solution of the housing shortage has become an important political matter for the state party. Solutions to the problem were public housing construction and also private housing. The speed of housing construction accelerated after the Kádár consolidation and increased significantly with the implementation of the housing factory (prefabricated, „panel”) technology. With regard to the construction and selling lands, the second five-year plan (1961-1965) provides a clear statement that the state must not only build houses, but that some of it must be implemented within the framework of private construction. From 1968 with the second economy new forms of the processes had opened up. It can be said that the purchase of housing was a serious step contrary to ideology. The early authorization of self-sustaining housing constructions and purchases can also be linked to the distribution mechanisms of the system. It can be observed that the development of industrial centers are important goals to which the labor market also responds. This response led to territorial restructuring to which the socialist state party could not always respond in time. The system is constantly trying to correct the housing shortage with distributional aspects, i.e. public housing construction and allocations, and the creation of a quasi-market sphere (with the second economy) where the individual (and / or combined with credit) form of housing is realized (Hegedüs-Tosics 1994). The grants fit into a model “designed” to solve the housing shortage with the explicit help of the population. With the forms of private housing, the state party had a dual purpose: on the one hand, the distribution of dwellings and plots of land was largely not limited to the inner areas of cities. At the early stages the workflow into the cities was a serious problem, against which the authorities actively tried to do. One such step was the allocation of housing which was done by the state party. They exercised absolute control over the territorial aspects. Thus, when allocating plots of land, aspects such as the reduction of urban congestion or overpopulation and the creation of agglomeration areas on the outskirts of cities that reduce the level of commuting could be enforced. On the other hand, control of the construction industry was also an important organizing principle. Subsidies and their forms have greatly contributed to giving the party state a significant say in housing construction at the individual level (this contribution is also reflected in the fact that the range of beneficiaries was defined).

Support for new housing continued in the mature era of socialism, during the Kádár consolidation period. The focus of development was on rural industrial estates, for the establishment of which the state party provided financial support. Provision of housing and building new houses are related to this financial support. In addition to the industrial development of rural areas, the state party also planned housing developments, i.e. it also aims to provide labor. The support of the expert workforce also appears in the decree supporting the amount of housing loans for teachers, where the amount of the loan that can be applied for by teachers is increased (see more in Decree 12/1976 (VI. 10.) PM-OM-KM). This support also points to the housing shortage and the different levels of development of the areas. Where there is no existing industrial development, not only the factory but also the infrastructure has to be planned and moved there. In this connection, it should be noted that the fourth five-year plan deals in detail with raising the standard of living of the population, including the construction of 400,000 dwellings (from 180 to 200,000 public funds) and the improvement of dwellings (water and sewerage network development, Act II of 1970). The Act was included in the 15-

year housing plan, which set out the number of dwellings to be built in the years 1960 to 1975: (1.002/1960. (I. 10.):

“The long-term housing program should be implemented in the following timetable:

250 000 dwellings in 1961-1965

350 000 dwellings in 1966-1970

400 000 dwellings to be built in 1971-1975.

2. Around 60% of the 1 million homes – mainly in the capital, industrial towns and other working-class settlements – will have to be built by the state.”

The proportions show that the system relied on private housing construction. In the mature stages of the socialist system, support for public housing construction continued. The second economy improved the standards of living, which contributed to private construction. The caps on personal housing loans were regularly reviewed and raised (for more details see Decree 11/1979. (VII. 21.) PM-ÉVM). At the same time, the number of dwellings to be built by the state has been steadily increasing even after the 15-year housing plan (Decree 1004/1979. (III. 7.):

“By 1980, approximately 440-450 thousand new homes will have been built. Accordingly, between 1980 and 1990, 750-760 thousand new dwellings will have to be built.”

Since the consolidation after the 1956 revolution, solving the housing shortage has been an important political goal of the socialist state party. In the system of socialist private housing construction, it can be seen that the framework of private housing construction was already available in the initial stages of the system. The consolidation, the 15-year housing plan as well as the new economic mechanism helped to spread private housing. The measures show that the system not only allowed and supported, but also planned new public housing constructions.

II.2. Distribution mechanisms

Ideology has been an important organizing principle of housing policy throughout the socialist era. In many cases, the ideology contradicted real practices but it emerged as a guiding principle in the background of all development concepts. During the distribution of the newly built dwellings, the guiding principle was to help the working class to eliminate the shortage of dwellings, and to satisfy the housing needs of those working in concentrated industrial areas.

The most important aspect of the distribution was subsidized housing. The extent of the subsidies was decided by the socialist party and often contradicted their ideology. Another important aspect of housing distribution was the fixing of the maintenance costs of housing. State benefits were extended to maintenance, since housing – at least according to the ideology – could not be a commodity. For this reason, it was the task of the socialist party state to solve the housing shortage, which meant the building and distributing of dwellings. In addition to the distribution of the existing housing stock, the rate of public housing construction has also increased significantly. However, mechanisms can be observed in the distribution channels throughout the system that point to inconsistencies in ideological and practical aspects. I summarize the results of Iván Szelényi's research in the table below (see more: Szelényi 1998 [1978] and Szelényi 1990)

1. table: Distribution mechanisms

	Market economy	State socialism
Positively privileged	Owners	party officials, educated
Negatively privileged	Unowned	Manual workers
Mechanism that creates inequalities	Market	Bureaucratic distribution

Corrective mechanism	Bureaucratic distribution	Market
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Based on: Szelényi 1998 [1978] – own editing

Four major financiers are also identified: the state, the bank, the corporation, and the individual “sector”. After Szelényi (going back to Weber), separates positively and negatively privileged groups. The mechanism that creates inequalities, according to Szelényi, is the administrative division, as a result of which party officials and educated were placed in the opposite position in terms of housing with the working class. In the “rule of the working class”, it was the workers who were in a less favorable housing situation. For those who could not have subsidized housing the quasi market was supposed to compensate for this inequality. In the absence of subsidy, housing had to be built on its own (here you can think of construction form of “kaláka” – teaming up to work collectively). The lack of subsidized housing nearly one million employees commuted in the 1970s, and 30% of the village population also commuted (Valuch 2015).

The mechanisms of the distribution system are anchored by the system with strong regulatory controls (Decision 1.029/1956. (IV. 19):

“1. Two-thirds of all housing built with public funds should be allocated to production workers and technicians directly managing production. The remaining housing shall be distributed among the other eligible recipients.”

The ideological objectives are nuanced by practical principles, such as Decree 86/1952 (IX. 27.):

“1. The executive committee of the competent municipal (city, city district) council shall have the right to decide over the vacant or vacant at any address dwelling.

2. The right of disposal of the executive committee shall not extend to the official housing and other housing which is under the exclusive disposal of another authority or body by virtue of law.”

The exercise of these authorities highlights the ways in which the system can allocate public housing to its own people. According to Decree 1.074/1957 (VIII. 29.), the housing distribution system was characterised by central control. In the allocation process, the county levels (and the capital) were required to prepare an allocation plan for newly built housing⁴. *“The executive committees of the relevant councils agree and approve the annual housing allocation plan”* (Decree 1.074/1957 (VIII. 29.). Here as well, there is a lack of decentralization of the distribution system, i.e. the control of the state party. Szelényi and Konrád also pointed out these contradictions.

In the case of housing distribution, the mature phase of the socialist era (from the 1960s onwards) the framework of the subsidies had more nuanced principles (Decree (1/1974. (1. 9.):

“The executive committee of the metropolitan council may allocate up to 3 %, the executive committee of the county and county town councils up to 2 % of the new council dwellings and council dwellings for sale to the metropolitan council each year for central tasks”

In the communication of the distribution, the social policy aspect appears in several places, i.e. the solution of the housing problems of the working class and disadvantaged groups or households. The measures carefully include aspects that favor in terms of distribution for those in difficulty. Nevertheless, the system also ensures the possibility of distribution to its own beneficiaries. This framework for housing distribution subsidies has not changed significantly throughout the regime.

II.3. Rural – urban dichotomy

⁴ The term “newly built” is important, as newly built dwellings had the highest comfort rating, i.e. they were the highest value dwellings.

The socialist state party has been “developing” the countryside since the 1950s. This meant that the settlements were first deliberately neglected (as Iván Illés and Pál Beluszky put it) and then provided with more or less improvements (Illés 1993, Beluszky 1993). In this paper, I argue that rural housing policy has been implemented in a broad sense, as part of the rural development “concepts”. Direct rural housing policies were rare in the socialist period. Based on the measures, rural development has been linked to the role of the settlement and the goal of raising the living standards. The first development strategy for rural settlements was introduced in the first five-year plan in 1949. The first five-year plan is a good example of summarizing the improvements and then the lack of practical implementation. The law generally summarizes what its purpose was with the countryside (Act XXV of 1949):

*„37. §. In the five-year planning period, machine stations, state farms and producer cooperatives will not only increase the yield of our agriculture, but will also **radically transform the village society**, revolutionize the socialist reorganization of agriculture, ensure the laying of the foundations of socialism in agriculture and thus the rise and close alliance of the working peasantry, its connection with the working class.”*

The transformation was truly radical and comprehensive. The transformation of the rural society was started with economic developments. The need for the development of industry (and industrial centers) can be stated as the main goal of the state party. However, the unintended consequence of the process was that the importance of the agricultural sector decreased due to one-sided developments. The first five-year plan envisaged the construction of 90,000⁵ homes. In addition to housing, an important part of the plan is the development of infrastructure and basic services. However, the appropriations do not make any form of distinction between village and village, settlement and settlement, i.e. they do not make it a matter of discussion that in some settlements additional basic services are not available. In the case of developing housing policy the system differentiated the settlements from 1951. A decree divided the settlements into classes. The classification meant that settlements could access development funds from the start of the regime (3.611-59/1951. (VI. 29.):

“Class I includes cities and municipalities of great importance for the economy as a whole; Class II includes cities and municipalities of major importance not included in Class I; Class III includes other cities and municipalities.”

Non-significant settlements have not received development funds. Difficult access to resources is further complicated by the hierarchical relationship between the settlements. Gábor Vági's studies show that the redistribution of resources is based on a gesture of power (Vági 1982, 1991). In competition, the larger units (county, county center, district centers) have significant advantages. In the absence of state-subsidized housing the explicit objective of the regime is to encourage private or semi-private construction of housing. Membership of a producer cooperative received more discounts. It was often through these channels that the socialist state party implemented its rural housing policy. This can also be seen in the availability of reduced-rate housing loans for members of the producer cooperatives (1/1967. (V. 12.) MÉM PM ÉVM):

“Permanent employees (hereinafter referred to as “employees”) of the producer cooperatives (hereinafter referred to as “cooperatives”) may build a number of condominiums and family houses on preferential terms each year in order to improve their housing conditions. To this end, employees may be granted a subsidised building loans.

(2) The amount that may be used for the preferential construction loan shall be provided 60% from the general housing loan action of the National Savings Bank (hereinafter referred to as “OTP”) and 40% from corporate sources.”

⁵ This appropriation was altered by Act II of 1951 to 220,000 total dwellings to be built

Opportunities were therefore open to members of the cooperative to build their own housing on the sites allocated to cooperative members, or to obtain a subsidized housing loan. The system's housing policy served a dual purpose. Firstly, it was designed to promote housing opportunities for people living in rural areas. Almost without exception, this aid has been in support of private house building. Public housing was built in priority economic areas. Secondly, the housing policy measures were linked to producer cooperatives.

With the need to integrate rural developments into a unified structure, the OTK (*“Országos Településhálózat-fejlesztési Konceptió”* or National Settlement Network Development Concept) was completed in 1971. The OTK meant the guidelines for national settlement development. The aim of the developments is to reduce the differences in the living conditions of the settlements with different roles. At the same time, the experience of the previous development directions (or shortcomings in comprehensive national developments) shows that the developments are developed through the filter of the economy and assigned to the settlements. This line of thought is not broken by the OTK either. The goal emerges that the *“division, the role, nature of the developments and size of the units should correspond to the territorial location of the production forces”* (1007/1971. (III. 16.)). The *“National Settlement Network Development Framework”* was completed in 1963. It was studied for seven years before it was adopted in 1971 (Kőszegfalvi 2009). Regarding the development directions of the OTK, it can be said that those settlements were more likely to receive resources, which have occupied some important position.

Even after the OTK, it can be highlighted that the perception of the countryside has not changed significantly under the system. The 1981 Finance Act, like the system as a whole, leaves the countryside to its own (Act III of 1981):

“The improvement of basic services in small settlements primarily requires organisational skills, local initiatives and the development of self-activity, but the development of internal democracy in settlements can also make a major contribution.”

III. Summary

This article aims to present and evaluate the housing policy of the socialist era. In the case of housing policy, I have presented the results of my own data collection along three dimensions. I have defined the three aspects according to the directions of housing policy development. These aspects are the support for new housing construction, the distribution mechanisms and the rural-urban dichotomy.

As the system was being established, economic restructuring caused a significant population movement. Populations migrated from many, mainly rural, areas to industrial centers. This movement also had a significant territorial impact. Urban areas were characterized by under-urbanization (Konrád-Szelényi 1971). In the process, the rate of industrialization has exceeded the rate of infrastructure development. Housing construction has not kept up with the growth in the labor market. A peculiar paradoxical phenomenon occurs whereby the more people flow into the city, the more housing is being built. In turn, the more people move into the city, the less the housing stock can absorb the demand. The housing shortage at the beginning of the system led to serious social problems. After the 1956 revolution, the regime made housing shortages an important political objective as part of its consolidation policy (Kőszeghy 2007). One way of achieving this was through private housing construction. The framework for private housing construction was already in place before the Kádár era. The regulations show that various types of housing subsidies were available from the early 1950s. The range of benefits and beneficiaries has steadily expanded and broadened. The plan periods that coordinate the national economy also reflect how much of the housing built should be privately constructed. *“Around 60% of the 1 million homes – mainly in the capital, industrial towns and other*

working-class settlements – will have to be built by the state” (1.002/1960. (I. 10.). Another instrument was the construction and distribution of public housing. Mass public construction of housing was an important element of the consolidation policy (Kőszeghy 2007). However, housing construction was most often linked to economically important areas. In the case of using the housing factory technology (prefabricated, „panel”), construction also meant an investment in infrastructure (Csizmady 2003). Due to economic distribution, many cities and towns have been left out of the subsidized housing. Typically, these areas were rural villages. In rural areas, private housing construction was quickly associated with producer cooperatives. Rural housing policy, based on the experience of the data collection, was mainly reflected in the housing subsidies granted to producer cooperatives and their members. There was no overall concept of rural housing policy. In both the 1951 and the 1971 OTK, settlements were separated according to their economic importance and role. The goal emerges that the “*division, the role, nature of the developments and size of the units should correspond to the territorial location of the production forces*” (1007/1971. (III. 16.). In the case of rural areas, the disadvantages of the lack of public housing construction and distribution are clearly visible. Private housing construction has been forced into a system where – according to ideology – housing is not a market commodity.

Due to space restrictions, this article cannot cover housing policy after the change of regime. Nevertheless, it can be noted that the housing policy of the socialist era generated significant housing issues. These issues had to be addressed by the regime change. Several aspects of housing policy in the socialist era have been examined. These aspects show that the regime promoted private housing from its very establishment. Via the distribution mechanisms, the system has been able to provide subsidized housing to party officials. In the case of the countryside, it has neglected development through its functions.

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Criminal Cooperation in the European Union: legal framework and considerations regarding the protection of fundamental rights¹

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The policy of judicial cooperation in criminal matters between the Member States of the European Union has been in development since 1992 when the Maastricht Treaty first established the third pillar called Justice and Home Affairs. During almost three decades, the judicial cooperation (hereinafter: criminal cooperation) of Member States has greatly evolved resulting in its development in different areas of cooperation. These areas include among others establishing union agencies aiding criminal cooperation in an EU-wide manner, harmonisation of both substantive and procedural criminal laws of Member States and the protection of financial interests of the EU. The aim of this article is to provide a comprehensive overview of one of the major components of the above-mentioned policy, the so-called operative cooperation taking place between Member States in criminal matters. Thus, the research concerns European legal instruments such as the European Arrest Warrant and the European Investigation Order underpinning the criminal cooperation of the competent law enforcement and judicial authorities of Member States.

The operative cooperation is based on the principle of mutual recognition, and it is greatly influenced by the protection of fundamental rights. Besides providing an overview of the legal framework, the article also explains to what extent the case-law of the Court of Justice of the European Union (hereinafter: CJEU) formulates the manner, in which criminal cooperation takes place in the EU by consistently setting out standards for the protection of fundamental rights. To this end, various cases concerning operational tools of criminal cooperation before the CJEU are analysed in the article.

In the recent years, the CJEU has shown great interest in the protection of fundamental rights in the context of criminal cooperation of Member States. By setting out new standards of protection, the status of the individual in the EU has been strengthened. On the other hand, such case-law may compromise the principle of mutual recognition so the CJEU must act carefully when setting out these standards in order to avoid hampering the efficiency of criminal cooperation.

In the article, it is shown that the CJEU aspires in its judgements to best protect the fundamental rights of individuals involved in criminal procedures while holding up the efficiency of criminal cooperation as well. In doing so, the CJEU does not only apply the Charter of Fundamental Rights, but it also takes inspiration from the case-law of the European Court of Human Rights thus contributing to the creation of a common European area where fundamental rights are protected by equally high standards in every Member State.

Keywords: European criminal law, operative cooperation, principle of mutual recognition, principle of mutual trust, fundamental rights

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I. Introduction

The policy of judicial cooperation in criminal matters between Member States (hereinafter: MS) of the European Union (hereinafter: EU) emerged as a need to address security risks carried with the closer cooperation to be established among MSs after the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty. EU citizenship, established by the Maastricht Treaty guarantees the right to free movement to EU citizens, while the Schengen Cooperation has abolished border controls at the internal borders of MSs. In this EU area of free movement, offenders enjoy the same freedoms as any other EU citizen. As a consequence of abusing the opportunity of free and uncontrolled movement, transnationality increasingly appeared in crime in the 1990s.² In this area, organized crime poses a higher risk due to multiple perpetrators involved, the high degree of organization and integration of the criminal organization into the legal economy.³ This trend is indicated by the fact that Europol's first annual report from 1999 already discussed organized crime groups, including those from outside the EU and those that are "indigenous" to the EU, meaning that they are formed in the MSs.⁴ The growing threat posed by organized crime was also indicated by the fact that in 2002, following a methodological change, Europol began to focus specifically on criminal organizations in its analysis, instead of focusing on areas of crime.⁵ As a result, Europol has issued independent annual reports on organized crime since 2004, in which it described criminal organizations operating within the area of free movement and, for the first time, provided a comprehensive overview of transnational crime in the EU.⁶ It is also noteworthy that European organized crime is constantly evolving and adapting to new challenges. In the last decade, networking has first become dominant in the practice of criminal organizations, and new trends have emerged in the new decade as well, notably the rise of cybercrime.⁷ These trends are forcing legislators and law enforcement authorities to develop new legal institutions and law enforcement techniques to fight organized crime in the EU.

In this article, I describe the main legal instruments of operative cooperation, namely the European Arrest Warrant, the Joint Investigation Team, the European Investigation Order and the freezing and confiscation orders, which form the basis for cooperation between law enforcement and criminal justice authorities of the MSs. To provide a comprehensive analysis, I will first briefly introduce the system of operative cooperation in the EU. Then I will present the selected legal instruments and describe their role and the typical cases of their application in criminal cooperation. Finally, I will explain how the case law of the Court of Justice (hereinafter: CJEU or the Court) influences the system of operative cooperation.

II. The development of the so-called system of operative cooperation in criminal matters between Member States

Over the course of 30 years, the policy of judicial cooperation in criminal matters between the MSs has developed in several directions, all of which serve the fight against organized crime in various ways. These branches of the policy can in principle be deduced from the legal bases provided in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. As the focus of the policy has shifted to promoting criminal cooperation between MSs in various ways due to

² Mitsilegas, V. – Monar, J. – Rees, W.: *The European Union and Internal Security. Guardian of the People?* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2003. pp. 28-30.

³ SOCTA: *Serious and Organised Crime Assessment, Crime in the age of technology*, Europol, The Hague, 2017. p. 13.

⁴ Europol Annual report 1999. pp. 11-19.

⁵ Europol Annual report 2002. p. 8.

⁶ Europol: *European Union Organised Crime Report 2004*. pp. 8-9.

⁷ SOCTA: *Serious and Organised Crime Threat Assessment*, Europol, The Hague, 2013. pp. 37-38.; SOCTA: *Serious and Organised Crime Threat Assessment*, Europol, The Hague, 2017. p. 14.; SOCTA: *Serious and Organised Crime Threat Assessment*, Europol, The Hague, 2021. pp. 98-99.

transnational crime, I present the system of operative cooperation specifically in line with crime trends in the EU.

In the EU area of free movement, it is a major challenge that the free movement of persons is not accompanied by a single area of criminal justice. Instead, there are 27 criminal judicial systems, existing on a territorial basis.⁸ In such an area, the perpetrator can easily leave the territory of the MS where they committed the crime, thus avoiding its jurisdiction, which, in the absence of cooperation, would hamper the efficiency of the criminal proceedings to be conducted against them.⁹ There are even cases in which someone commits crimes in more than one MS. In such cases, the coordination of criminal proceedings in the MSs, the establishment of agreements on jurisdiction and cooperation in gathering evidence are particularly important, as evidence may be located in several MSs. However, due to the strict territoriality of criminal law, law enforcement authorities do not generally have the possibility to carry out procedural steps in the territory of another MS. As a result, in the absence of criminal cooperation between MSs, evidence of those crimes would not be available to law enforcement authorities.¹⁰ The recovery of assets located abroad can also be a problem for the authorities of the MSs, as the authorities responsible for this specific task cannot act in the territory of another Member State.¹¹

The former phenomena in European crime can be summarized as transnationality. In response to these challenges, the Council began developing a system of criminal cooperation based on the principle of mutual recognition in the 2000s, originating from the proposal made by the European Council in the Tampere conclusions, and based on the legal basis provided by the Treaty of Amsterdam.¹² During this period, the Council created the legal instruments of the European Arrest Warrant and the Joint Investigation Team. The former serves the presence of an accused person in criminal proceedings, while the latter allows the authorities of the MSs to carry out investigative measures in the territory of other MSs. Subsequently, the Treaty of Lisbon brought forward great improvements in the policy, integrating the principle of mutual recognition into primary EU law.¹³ For the purpose of obtaining evidence and recovering property abroad, the Council and the European Parliament have established the European Investigation Order and adopted Regulation 2018/1805, which expands the application of the principle of mutual recognition to the freezing and confiscation orders in criminal proceedings. The so-called operative part of EU criminal law mainly consists of the above-mentioned legal instruments which effectively aid the cooperation of competent authorities of MSs in individual cases.

⁸ Mitsilegas, V.: *EU Criminal Law After Lisbon: Rights, Trust and the Transformation of Justice in Europe*. Hart, Oxford 2018. p. 125.

⁹ In 2018, 17,471 European Arrest Warrants were issued in the European Union. This also shows how often an offender leaves the MS where the offense was committed. See: Wahl, T.: *Statistics on Use of EAW in 2018*. <https://eucrim.eu/news/statistics-use-eaw-2018/> [22.12.2021.]

¹⁰ The frequency of such situations is indicated by the fact that Europol assisted the law enforcement authorities of MSs in 10,487 criminal proceedings in 2009 and 13,000 in 2010. See: Block, L.: *Joint Investigation Teams: The Panacea for Fighting Organised Crime?* European Consortium for Political Research Annual Conference 2011. 2.; In addition, the law enforcement authorities of MSs exchanged 1.2 million messages via Europol's SIENA encrypted messaging application in 2019, and used the Europol Information System search engine 5.3 million times and carried out 251 action days in that year. See: *Europol in brief 2019*. pp. 4. 7. 10.

¹¹ The difficulty inherent in asset-recovery is particularly illustrated by a study published by Europol in 2016, which found that the competent authorities of MSs could recover only 1.1% of criminal assets. See: Wahl, T.: *Regulation on Freezing and Confiscation Orders*. <https://eucrim.eu/news/regulation-freezing-and-confiscation-orders/> [22.12.2021.]

¹² Treaty of Amsterdam 1997. Art. K.3

¹³ Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union Art. 82.(1)a)

III. The tools of operative cooperation

The selected legal instruments are based on the principle of mutual recognition with the exception of the JIT. Furthermore, their scope, without exception, consists of criminal proceedings with a transnational element in substantive or procedural terms.¹⁴ Although their material scope and role in criminal proceedings are fundamentally different, there are overlaps between them. Thus, it can be stated that they are issued in fundamentally different cases so as to address the different challenges of transnationality in crime. Therefore, these instruments are not interchangeable in criminal cooperation. However, when there is an overlap in their roles in criminal proceedings, there seems to be competition between each legal instrument as to which of them should be used by the issuing authority to achieve the underlying objective in the cooperation. In the following points, I will not only define the legal instruments, but I will also take account of their role in criminal proceedings (in other words, their purpose in the criminal cooperation between MSs), their typical scope of application and, finally, the impact of the case law of the CJEU where relevant.

III.1 The European Arrest Warrant

Framework Decision 2002/584/JHA, establishing a European Arrest Warrant (hereinafter: EAW) defines the EAW as a judicial decision issued by a judicial authority to arrest and surrender a person who is a suspect or an accused in a criminal proceeding or against whom a custodial sentence or a detention order was issued which is executable.¹⁵ The legal instrument was intended to replace the previous extradition procedure based on traditional mutual legal assistance in criminal matters. Based on the principle of mutual recognition, it has set up an independent extradition procedure in EU law. To this end, it has created a quasi-automatic, rapid procedure for the recognition and execution of the European Arrest Warrant.¹⁶ In particular, the Framework Decision lays down the obligation to recognize and enforce an EAW, provided that it is issued in the appropriate form.¹⁷ It also lays down the rules for its issuance, recognition and enforcement, by which the Framework Decision creates uniform rules regarding the application of the legal instrument in all MSs. For reasons of efficiency, the Framework Decision reduces the grounds for refusing the execution of an arrest warrant and removes the double criminality requirement for certain offenses.¹⁸ In addition, a standardized form should be used for the issuance of the EAW, provided in the Framework Decision. This guarantees that all issued EAWs have the same content and format.¹⁹ It should also be emphasized that the Framework Decision establishes direct communication between the issuing and the executing authorities by allowing the issuing authority to send the arrest warrant directly to the executing authority.²⁰ Finally, the Framework Decision sets a deadline for the execution of the EAW.²¹

The above rules have become common since the EAW was established and consequently became the standard mechanism for enforcing the principle of mutual recognition (mandatory

¹⁴ Transnationality in crime can be found in two fundamentally different ways: transnationality in substantive terms means that crimes are committed in the territory of more than one MS, while in procedural terms it only means that legal assistance from foreign authorities is needed, while the former criterium is lacking.

¹⁵ Council Framework Decision 2002/584/JHA on the European arrest warrant and the surrender procedures between Member States (hereinafter: 2002/584/JHA) Art. 1(1)

¹⁶ Mitsilegas, V.: EU Criminal Law. Hart Publishing, Oxford 2009. p. 121.

¹⁷ 2002/584/JHA Art. 1(2)

¹⁸ 2002/584/JHA Arts. 2(2), 3-4

¹⁹ 2002/584/JHA Art. 8; Due to the content of the form, the executing authority has little opportunity to ask further questions from the issuing authority. See: Mitsilegas, V.: *Mutual recognition, mutual trust and fundamental rights after Lisbon*. in: Mitsilegas, V. – Bergström, M. – Konstantinides, T. (eds.): Handbook on EU criminal law. Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham 2016. p. 151.

²⁰ 2002/584/JHA Arts. 9-10

²¹ 2002/584/JHA Art. 23

execution, short deadlines, forms, reduced grounds for refusal, etc.) in the criminal cooperation of MSs. In the following points, I will only refer to these rules instead of explaining them, because the other legal instruments are regulated quite similar to the EAW in this regard.

The purpose of the EAW in criminal proceedings is to ensure the presence of the accused or the convicted person in the criminal proceedings as well as in the post-trial phase of executing sentences. Therefore, its material scope spreads over criminal proceedings to the post-trial phase as well. However, its application is logically excluded as long as there is no suspect in the criminal proceedings. In other words, the EAW can only be issued if the perpetrator has already been identified.²² The application of the EAW is also excluded if the offense underlying the criminal proceedings is not punishable with a custodial sentence or detention order with a maximum of at least 12 months. In case of a custodial sentence to be executed, the EAW is not applicable if the length of imprisonment imposed does not reach 4 months.²³ Contrary to the legal instruments explained below, it is not possible to determine which offenses can be considered typical of the EAW, as it is applicable for most offenses and the perpetrators can leave the MS of perpetration for a wide variety of reasons – that being said, it is worth noting that the EAW was originally created for the purpose to fight serious and organized crime in the EU.²⁴

III.2 The Joint Investigation Team

Although the JIT is not based on the principle of mutual recognition, its role in criminal proceedings and its place in the EU system of judicial cooperation in criminal matters make it one of the legal instruments for criminal cooperation. A JIT is a group that may be set up by the competent authorities of several Member States to conduct joint investigations in one or more Member States. The legal instrument should be used in cases where, in the course of a criminal investigation, a Member State has to carry out a complex and costly investigation involving another MS or when several MSs are investigating criminal offenses whose circumstances require coordinated action by the MSs concerned.²⁵

The added value of the JIT is that it replaces the traditional channels of mutual legal assistance through cooperation between the law enforcement authorities of each Member State. This allows for the direct collection and exchange of information and evidence in criminal proceedings.²⁶ Evidence obtained in the framework of a JIT may be used without restriction in criminal proceedings brought against the offenses covered by the agreement. This is stipulated in the Framework Decision. It is also guaranteed that seconded members may be present on behalf of the competent authorities of another MS when carrying out procedural measures.²⁷ The latter increases the trust of the law enforcement authorities in procedural actions carried

²² In criminal law, the issuance of an EAW is appropriate if there is a well-founded suspicion against someone that they committed the offence. See: Farkas, Á.– Róth, E.: *A büntetőeljárás* (Fourth edition). Wolters Kluwer, Budapest 2018. p. 96.; This can be deduced, among other things, from the fact that the personal data of the perpetrator must be provided in the form for issuing the EAW. See: Commission Notice: Handbook on how to issue and execute a European arrest warrant (2017/C 335/01) 20.

²³ 2002/584/JHA Art. 2(1)

²⁴ Herke, Cs. – Mohay, Á – Blagojević, A.: *The legal characteristics of the European Arrest Warrant, its implementation in Hungary, and its future implementation in Croatia*. In: Drinóczi, T. – Takács, T. (eds.): *Cross-border and EU legal issues: Hungary-Croatia*. University of Pécs Faculty of Law / Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek, Faculty of Law, Pécs / Osijek 2011. p. 58.

²⁵ 2002/465/JHA Art. 1(1)

²⁶ Rijken, C.: *Joint Investigation Teams: Principles, Practice, and Problems - Lessons Learnt from the First Efforts to Establish a JIT*. *Utrecht Law Review*. 2006. Vol. 2. no. 2. p. 103.; Jávorszki, T.: *Joint Investigation Teams as a Specific Form of Mutual Assistance*. *Studia Iuridica Auctoritate Universitatis Pécs Publicata*. 2013. p. 47.

²⁷ 2002/465/IB Art. 1. points 5. 10.

out in another MS, while also simplifying the communication between them.²⁸ Based on the above, the JIT primarily facilitates the coordination of parallel criminal proceedings in several MSs at the same time.

In conclusion, the main role of the JIT is to achieve a more effective coordination of parallel investigations in the criminal cooperation of MSs. Typical, but not exclusive, cases of the instrument's application are when criminal organizations commit closely related offenses in several Member States, as these crimes meet the criteria that justify the establishment of an investigation team. These include the complexity and sophistication of the criminal organization and criminal activity, the large number and complexity of investigative measures to be carried out in the MSs concerned, and the degree of interdependence between the MSs concerned in parallel investigations.²⁹

III.3 The European Investigation Order

The Directive establishing a European Investigation Order (hereinafter: EIO) defines the EIO as a judicial decision issued or validated by a judicial authority of a MS to carry out a specific investigative act for the purpose of gathering evidence abroad or obtaining evidence which is in the possession of the competent authorities of another MS.³⁰

Those entitled to issue an EIO are determined by the Directive itself. According to the Directive, an EIO may be issued by a judge, a court, an investigating judge or a public prosecutor. However due to the special scope of the legal instrument, other law enforcement authorities may issue an order, provided that they act as an investigative authority in the criminal proceeding. The latter, on the other hand, can only initiate such investigative measures through the EIO, which they may order in their own jurisdiction during criminal proceedings as well, and even in this case, the EIO needs to be validated by one of the former authorities.³¹

The purpose of the Directive is to extend the scope of the principle of mutual recognition to the investigative phase of criminal proceedings, including all measures for the purpose of gathering evidence.³² Therefore, the material scope of the EIO is horizontal in nature. Consequently, any procedural act for the purpose of obtaining evidence may be ordered, provided that it is in accordance with the law of the issuing and executing Member States.³³

In addition to expressly setting out the obligation of mutual recognition of EIOs, the Directive uses a number of regulatory solutions which are common in enforcing the principle of mutual recognition. It also contains rules governing the various relations between the issuing and executing MSs.³⁴

Ultimately, the purpose of the EIO in criminal proceedings is to gather evidence across borders, but it also provides for precautionary measures in addition to its main purpose.³⁵ Based on the data of the case law research conducted in the prosecutor's offices and courts of the Southern Transdanubia region in Hungary and the advisory opinions of the Network of Legal Advisers

²⁸ Block, L.: *EU joint investigation teams: Political ambitions and police practices* in: Hufnagel, S. – Bronit, S. – Harfield, C. (eds.): *Cross-Border Law Enforcement. Regional Law Enforcement Cooperation – European, Australian and Asia-Pacific Perspectives*. Routledge, London 2011. p. 89.

²⁹ JITs Network: *Joint Investigation Teams. Practical Guide*. 2017. https://www.eurojust.europa.eu/sites/default/files/assets/joint_investigation_teams_practical_guide_2021_en.pdf 14. [22.12.2021.]

³⁰ Directive 2014/41/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 3 April 2014 regarding the European Investigation Order in criminal matters (hereinafter: 2014/41/EU) Art. 1(1)

³¹ 2014/41/EU Art. 2(c)

³² Törő, A.: *Gondolatok az európai nyomozási határozat szabályozásáról és gyakorlati alkalmazásáról*. Ügyészégi Szemle. 2017. Vol. 2. no. 4. p. 7.

³³ 2014/41/EU Art. 3.; Ibid. 11.

³⁴ See: 2014/41/EU Arts. 13. 15. 16. 17. 18.

³⁵ 2014/41/EU Art. 32.

on European law (of the Curia of Hungary), it can be stated that the EIO – at least in the practice of the Hungarian authorities – is typically issued for the hearing or remote hearing of a witness or accused person detained abroad, or the temporary transfer of persons detained abroad.³⁶

III.4 The Freezing and Confiscation Orders

The mutual recognition of freezing and confiscation orders is stipulated by Regulation 2018/1805. It applies the standard regulatory techniques known from the EAW Framework Decision and the EIO Directive to enforce the principle of mutual recognition.³⁷ Furthermore, it defines the concept of issuing authority in the manner applied in the EIO directive. Thus a decision ordering freezing or confiscation of property may be issued by a court or prosecutor or by another competent authority, provided in the latter case that the decision is validated by the former authorities.³⁸ On this basis, it can be said that, although not expressly set out in the regulation, freezing and confiscation orders are also judicial decisions.

The regulation covers two types of decision: a freezing order on the one hand and a confiscation order on the other. The former provides for the seizure of property subject to confiscation and is intended to prevent the destruction, conversion or any other act on the property concerned which would compromise the confiscation of the seized property. The latter is the act of asset recovery, during which the perpetrators ideally lose the property they have acquired through crime.³⁹

The orders have a purpose different from the instruments described above and may be considered to be the widest in terms of their scope, as they can be applied at the initial stage of the investigation and even after the termination of the criminal proceedings.⁴⁰ Besides the JIT, they have the strongest connection to the fight against organized crime. Their aim is to recover the proceeds of crime, which is a key priority in law enforcement even in general, yet it has even greater priority in the fight against organized crime, as criminal organizations are profit oriented formations.⁴¹ Therefore, effective asset recovery is a key preventive tool when it comes to organised crime.⁴² However, in contrast to the well-defined purpose of criminal proceedings, typical cases of their application cannot yet be identified, given that barely a year has passed since the entry into force of the Regulation. As a result, the practice of the instruments has not yet crystallized, and the various EU agencies working in the field of judicial cooperation have yet to issue a summary of the case law. It should be noted, however, that Eurojust emphasized in its note on the orders that the Regulation does not impose a limitation on their scope.⁴³ In other words, they can be issued on the basis of any offense, provided that the proceeds of crime need to be recovered from abroad.

³⁶ See: Szijártó, I.: Az európai nyomozási határozat helye a büntető igazságügyi együttműködés uniós rendszerében – esetjogi elemzés. *Külügyi Műhely*. 2021. Vol. 3. no. 2. pp. 28-55.; This is also indicated by the fact that the Network of Legal Advisers on European law issued 23 opinions (~ 43%) out of 54 advisory opinions the EIO that concerned hearings by ways of telecommunications and temporary transfer. (The opinions issued by the Network were made available to the author of the article by the National Courts Office (OBH) in response to a research request.)

³⁷ See: Regulation (EU) 2018/1805 of the European Parliament and of the Council the mutual recognition of freezing orders and confiscation orders (hereinafter: 2018/1805/EU) Arts. 3. 8. 9. 17.

³⁸ 2018/1805/EU Art. 2 point 8

³⁹ 2018/1805/EU Art. 2 points 1-2

⁴⁰ 2018/1805/EU Preamble (13)

⁴¹ Council Framework Decision 2008/841/JHA of 24 October 2008 on the fight against organised crime, Art. 1 point 1

⁴² Nagy, R. – Vári, V.: Új irányok a vagyonvisszaszerzésben. *Belügyi Szemle*. 2021. Vol. 69. no. 4. 582.

⁴³ Eurojust Note on Regulation (EU) 2018/1805 of the European Parliament and of the Council the mutual recognition of freezing orders and confiscation orders https://www.eurojust.europa.eu/sites/default/files/2021-01/note_regulation_mutual_recognition_freezing_confiscation_orders_hu.pdf 2. [22.12.2021.]

IV. The principles of mutual recognition and mutual trust

Analysing the relationship between the principle of mutual recognition and the protection of fundamental rights is crucial because the system of operative cooperation between MSs is based on the former, which greatly affects the latter. The principle serves as the primary tool for enhancing judicial cooperation in criminal matters, in contrast to many other EU policies, where harmonization through secondary EU sources is a well-established tool. The reason why MSs opt to apply the principle instead of thorough harmonisation is that criminal law is traditionally one of the cornerstones of state sovereignty: it provides a source of legitimacy for state power in that the state protects its citizens from becoming victims of crime or, if they become victims, it prosecutes and punishes perpetrators, thereby increasing general and special prevention in crime. Moreover, criminal law does not only serve as a deterrent and punishment for offenders, but also determines the relationship between the state and its citizens (e.g., it establishes a legal framework for the lawful application of coercive powers of the state in criminal proceedings). It follows that the development and modification of the rules of criminal law must be encompassed by social consensus which seems to be less on an EU level than in MSs.⁴⁴ Thus, it is not surprising that MSs refrain from the excessive harmonization of criminal law (and, in essence, from increasing the EU's powers to adopt legislation on criminal law).

The application of the principle of mutual recognition in criminal cooperation allows for enhanced cooperation without achieving greater harmonization. In accordance with the principle, MSs recognize and enforce judgments and other judicial decisions of another MS without subjecting them to a substantive examination. Consequently, the increasing application of the principle of mutual recognition creates an automatic procedure for the recognition and enforcement of more and more types of judgments and other judicial decisions, delivered in the criminal justice systems of other MSs.⁴⁵

As a result, there has been a significant simplification of the MSs' criminal cooperation, which is a fundamental objective of this policy, driven by the principle of mutual recognition, which lends extraterritoriality to the criminal laws of MSs which otherwise are heavily bound by their jurisdictions. In other words, thanks to the principle, the territorial scope of a MS's criminal law extends to all other MSs as well, which can have serious consequences for the individual.⁴⁶ Indeed, in the context of any judicial decision which is the 'subject' to mutual recognition, there is a possibility that EU citizens may become the subject of a criminal justice system existing in the Union without necessarily having direct contact with it, e.g. by entering the territory of that Member State. And if a judicial decision of another MS's criminal justice system affects a person, the procedural rights granted in the MS of residence may be infringed, as a judicial decision affecting the person will not be based on the same procedural laws and guarantees as provided in their own MS.

This particularly inherent danger of mutual recognition can be addressed through the principle of mutual trust, which has been developed by the CJEU. Based on the principle of mutual trust, MSs assume that each of them applies EU law properly, and in particular that all MSs respect

⁴⁴ Farkas, Á.: Az Európai Bíróság és a kölcsönös elismerés elvének hatása az európai büntetőjog fejlődésére. Miskolci Jogi Szemle 2011. Vol. 6. Special Ed. p. 64.; Mitsilegas, V. – Monar, J. – Rees, W.: The European Union and Internal Security. Guardian of the People? Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2003. pp. 8-9.

⁴⁵ Mitsilegas, V.: EU Criminal Law After Lisbon: Rights, Trust and the Transformation of Justice in Europe. Hart, Oxford 2018. 127.

⁴⁶ Bárd, P.: *A kölcsönös bizalom elvével szembeni alkotmányos aggályok az európai elfogatóparancs példáján keresztül*. in: Virág, Gy. (ed.): Kriminológiai tanulmányok 45. OKRI, Budapest 2008. p. 190.; Spreeuw, M.: Do as I say, not as I do. The application of mutual recognition and mutual trust. Croatian Yearbook of European Law and Policy 2012. Vol. 8. no. 1. p. 513.; Mitsilegas, V.: The Limits of Mutual Trust in Europe's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice: From Automatic Inter-State Cooperation to the Slow Emergence of the Individual. Yearbook of European Law. 2012. Vol. 31. no. 1. p. 322.

and protect fundamental rights.⁴⁷ The principle contributes to resolving the conflict between the aims of the protection of fundamental rights and the efficiency of criminal cooperation.

V. The Court's case law

The CJEU's case law regarding the application of the principle of mutual recognition in the policy of judicial cooperation in criminal matters increasingly affects the application of the legal instruments described above. As such, it is worth elaborating in this article.

MSs, and even the CJEU, have long favoured effective cooperation over the protection of fundamental rights. The case law of the Court on this policy is largely based on the EAW Framework Decision. In one of the first cases, *Advocaten voor de Wereld*, the Court stated that the lack of the requirement of double criminality for certain offenses did not infringe the principle of legality, as it had to be examined in accordance with the law of the issuing MS.⁴⁸ Thus, in the case of a specific offense which is punishable with a sufficiently serious sentence, the execution of the EAW is mandatory even if the underlying act is not a criminal offense in the executing MS.

In 2013, the Court focused on the effectiveness of cooperation in two other cases. In the *Radu case*, it examined the compatibility of the EAW with the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights and concluded that the execution of the EAW could not be refused on the grounds of protection of fundamental rights.⁴⁹ In the *Melloni case*, it stated that the EAW Framework Decision took precedence over the legal systems of the MSs. Ultimately, the Court stated that, due to the primacy and effectiveness of EU law, it was not possible to apply higher standards for the protection of fundamental rights than those laid down in the Charter of Fundamental Rights.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, for the first time in 2016, the Court set out higher standards for the protection of fundamental rights in the *Aranyosi and Caldaru joined cases*. In summary, in the cases referred for a preliminary ruling, both defendants would have been at risk of being subjected to inhuman treatment due to the prison conditions in Hungary and Romania, if they were handed over to the issuing MSs by the executing MS. As a solution to this, the Court has developed the *Aranyosi test*, a two-step assessment process to be carried out by the authority executing the EAW. If, as a result of the test, the executing authority concludes that there is an *in concreto*

⁴⁷ Mitsilegas, V.: Autonomous concepts, diversity management and mutual trust in Europe's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice. *Common Market Law Review*. 2020. Vol. 57. no. 1. p. 63.

⁴⁸ Mitsilegas, V.: *Mutual recognition, mutual trust and fundamental rights after Lisbon*. in: Mitsilegas, V. – Bergström, M. – Konstadinides, T. (eds.): *Handbook on EU criminal law*. Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham 2016. p. 155.; C-303/05. *Advocaten voor de Wereld* (EU:C:2007:261) para. 53.; The Belgian referring court has asked the Court whether the non-duality requirement (for certain offenses) in the context of the European Arrest Warrant is compatible with the principle of the lawfulness of criminal law. The question arose because the principle of legality includes the principles of *nullum crimen* and *nulla poena*, which may be infringed in the executing Member State by failing to apply the principle of double criminality. See: C-303/05. *Advocaten voor de Wereld*, para. 16. point 2.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 156.; Mr Radu, who was sought by an EAW, argued that his fundamental rights had not been infringed when he was not questioned by the issuing judicial authorities before the EAW was issued. He argued that the actions of the issuing authority were in breach of his rights to an effective remedy and to a fair trial. However, the Court concluded that it was not possible to refuse to execution of the EAW on the grounds of protection of fundamental rights, as this would jeopardize the objectives of the criminal cooperation. See: C-396/11. *Radu* (EU:C:2013:39) paras. 26. 40.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 157.; In this case, a question was raised by a Spanish court concerning the framework decision amending the EAW Framework Decision. The 2009 amendment to the EAW Framework Decision specified the cases in which the execution of an EAW issued for the purpose of enforcing a sentence could be made conditional on a retrial. This gives convicts the right to a retrial in certain cases. However, the amending Framework Decision defined this right of the sentenced person more narrowly than is required by the provisions of the Spanish Constitution. The Court found that the rules of the amending Framework Decision were in line with the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. As such, they must take precedence to the Spanish Constitution. See: C-399/11. *Melloni* (EU:C:2013:107) para. 1. judgment 2)

risk of a violation of the fundamental rights of the person sought by the arrest warrant, it may temporarily suspend the execution of the EAW.⁵¹

Until the *Aranyosi and Căldăraru joined cases*, criminal cooperation between Member States was based on the principle of mutual trust, the unquestionable content of which was that Member States respect and protect fundamental rights, including in criminal cooperation. However, in these joined cases, the Court recognized the need to allow more discretion for the protection of fundamental rights in the criminal cooperation. Therefore, in certain cases (especially where there is an *in abstracto* possibility of infringement of the fundamental rights of the requested person) it may be necessary to examine, contrary to the principle of mutual trust, whether the issuing MS actually upholds the fundamental rights of those person sought by the EAW in the underlying criminal proceedings.

VI. Conclusions

In conclusion, several EU legal instruments are available to the law enforcement and judicial authorities of the MSs to carry out criminal cooperation in criminal proceedings characterized by transnationality, but the choice of the applicable legal instrument in a given case requires special and individual consideration. The competent authorities must take account of the objectives of the criminal cooperation and even the typical cases of application of the legal instruments as described above. Without this, it is not possible to determine which legal institution is the most expedient to issue. Not to mention that the improperly chosen legal institution may frustrate the purpose of the procedural act.

Another important task of the competent authorities (most importantly the courts) is to closely monitor the case law of the CJEU which nowadays heavily influences the operation of the system of criminal cooperation in its case law with an objective to provide a higher protection of fundamental rights. Clearly set out standards of protection (like the *Aranyosi test*, the autonomous concept of the judicial authority, the standards imported from the case law of the European Court of Human Rights and procedural standards applicable in the phase of investigation) should be monitored and applied in individual cases now and in the future which will result in the strengthened position of the suspect and the accused in the criminal procedure.

⁵¹ Sorensen, H.: Mutual Trust – Blind Trust or General Trust with Exceptions? The CJEU Hears Key Cases on the European Arrest Warrant. *Pécs Journal of International and European Law* 2016. Vol. 3. no. 1. p. 56.; Martufi, A. – Gigengack, D.: Exploring mutual trust through the lens of an executing judicial authority. The practice of the Court of Amsterdam in EAW proceedings. *New Journal of European Criminal Law*, 2020. Vol. 11. no. 3. p. 290.; Aizpurua, E. – Rogan, M.: Understanding new actors in European Arrest Warrant cases concerning detention conditions: The role, powers and functions of prison inspection and monitoring bodies. *New Journal of European Criminal Law* 2020. Vol. 11. no. 1. p. 206.

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G. E. Moore *Egy Külső Világ Bizonyítása* (Proof of an External World) című előadásában Immanuel Kant „bizonyítékának” vizsgálata és benne észlelet fogalomelemzési problémák feltárása

Tóth Rita Zsófia, *PTE-BTK, Filozófia Doktori Iskola*

Absztrakt:

George Edward Moore a 20. század elejének egyik jelentős filozófusa. Bertrand Russell, Ludwig Wittgenstein és Gottlob Fregevel együtt az analitikus filozófia egyik megalapítójának tekinthető. Moore a metafizika, az ismeretelmélet, az etika és a filozófiai módszertan területén dolgozott. A filozófiai módszertana az analitikus filozofálás egyik alap metodikája lett. A tanulmányomban Moore a *Proof of an External World* című előadásában észlelt problémákat tárom fel, amelyek leginkább fogalomelemzési és fordítási eredetűek. Az értelemzéseim és érveléseim mentén Kant „bizonyítékáról” mond ítéletet, amely analitikus érvelésnek nem a módszertani hiányosságából, sem a módszertan jellegéből eredendően, hanem konkrétan a fogalmak értelmezése és azok kontextusainak félreértéseiből ered.

Annak ellenére, hogy hibás az értelmezés és világosan feltárhatók a félreértések, a metodika önmagában egészséges és erős alapokon nyugszik. A metodika kapcsán mondható, hogy a forma és szerkezet kontra az alkalmazás jellege közötti különbségek (és eltérések) egyértelművé teszik azt, hogy a moore-i analitika miért volt oly erős hatással a saját korában alakuló analitikus tradíció számára, miközben annak az alkalmazása az elért eredmények sikerességétől vagy sikertelenségétől teljesen független maradt.

Kulcsszavak: Moore; *Külvilág Bizonyítása*; Kant; *Tiszta Ész Kritikája*; analitikus filozófia; fogalomelemzés

Tézis:

George Edward Moore a 20. század elejének egyik jelentős filozófusa. Bertrand Russell, Ludwig Wittgenstein és Gottlob Fregevel együtt az analitikus filozófia egyik megalapítójának tekinthetjük. Cambridge egyetemen tanított Bertrand Russell és Ludwig Wittgenstein mellett. Ezt a korszakot a cambridge-i filozófia „aranykorának” nevezik. Moore a metafizika, az ismeretelmélet, az etika és a filozófiai módszertan területén dolgozott. Pályafutása során megfogalmazta a commonsense (a józan ész) realista ismeretelméletének három változatát.

A külvilág bizonyítása című tanulmányban Moore a kanti filozófiával foglalkozik. Pontosabban az *első kritikából* kiemelt idézetekre építve megkísérli a külvilág bizonyítását. A tanulmány értelmezése során felfedeztem különbségeket a moore-i és a kanti fogalomhasználatban. Meg kellett bizonyosodnom arról, hogy ezek a különbségek, amelyekről későbbiekben úgy érvelek, hogy ezek Moore érveléseiben félreértésekhez vezetnek, nem a moore-i tanulmánykötet magyar fordítására vonatkoznak¹. Ezért összehasonlítottam az eredeti angol Moore tanulmányt először a magyar fordításával, majd a kanti (angol nyelvű és Moore által használt) idézeteket az első kritika magyar nyelvű változatával. Meg kellett állapítanom azt is, hogy Moore eredeti szövegében használt kanti idézetek angol fordításának a kötetbéli magyar fordítása megegyezik-e az Atlantisz kiadás magyar fordításával. Kiderült, hogy már ezen a ponton megállapíthatók a pontatlanságok és eltérések. Nem meglepő, mert a magyar nyelvű Moore gyűjtemény (kötet) 1981-es kiadású, míg az Atlantisz féle *Első kritika* 2018-as kiadású.

¹ Moore, G. E.: *A józan ész védelmében és más tanulmányok*. Magyar Helikon. 1981.

A tanulmányomban a következő forrásokat használtam: George Edward Moore eredeti angol nyelvű tanulmánya *Proof of an External World*² és annak a magyar fordítása, Immanuel Kant *A tiszta ész kritikája*³, valamint Boros János: *Immanuel Kant* könyve.⁴

Moore ebben a tanulmányban arra törekszik, hogy bebizonyítsa a „külvilág” létezését, ami, véleményem szerint, nem azért nem sikerül, amiért Moore ezt a tanulmánya végén feltételezi,⁵ hanem azért, mert a kiinduló pontként használt kanti szövegrészeket félreérti és egyes fogalmakat másképp használja és alkalmazza, mint ahogyan azokat Kant. Alábbiakban felvázolom Moore érvelését és azokban kiemelem a félreértéseket:

G. E. Moore a *Proof of External World* előadását Immanuel Kantból idézve kezdi. Kant *A tiszta ész kritikája* második kiadásának az előszavában ezt mondja:

[...] mégiscsak a filozófia [...] botránja, hogy a rajtunk kívül lévő dolgok létezését pusztán hívés alapján kell feltételeznünk [...] és ha valakinek úgy tetszik, hogy kételkedjék benne, nem szegezhetünk szembe vele elégséges bizonyítékokat.⁶

A fenti rész Kemp Smith általi angol fordítása szerint, amelyből Moore dolgozik:

It still remains a scandal to philosophy [...] that the existence of things outside of us [...] must be accepted merely on faith, and that, if anyone thinks good to doubt their existence, we are unable to counter his doubts by any satisfactory proof.⁷

Miközben az idézet több fordítását megvizsgáltam, egy lényeges problémát fedeztem fel. A kanti német szövegben a *genugtuend* szó fordításai számomra nem egyértelműek, és azokban a formákban nem kielégítőek az érintett szövegrész megértéséhez. A *genugtuend* szó jelentése a német Duden szótár alapján: követelményeknek vagy hasonlóknak megfelelő.⁸ Ennek a szónak nincs pontos megfelelője sem angolban, sem a magyar nyelvben. A szó jelentése a legjobban úgy írható le, hogy „az elvárásoknak megfelelő.”

A kanti idézet értelmezésében perdöntő meghatározni, hogy az angol és a magyar fordításokban milyen szavak kerültek be a szövegbe a német *genugtuend* helyett, mert a magyar fordításban⁹ „elégséges,” Moore által használt angol fordításban¹⁰ „satisfactory” (kielégítő) szerepel.

A *genugtuend* szó fordításaiban felmerülő kérdések a következők. A magyar fordításban az „elégséges” szóval találkozunk (Atlantisz 46. oldal), amely alapján nem tudjuk meghatározni, hogy az „elégséges” szó mire kell, hogy hivatkozzon, vagyis minek kell, hogy megfeleljen. Az angol fordításban szereplő „satisfactory” (kielégítő) szóval az a probléma merül fel, hogy

² Moore, G. E.: *Proof of an External World*. Proceedings of the British Academy 25 (1939), 273-300. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

³ Kant, I.: *A Tiszta Ész Kritikája*. Atlantisz. Budapest. 2018

⁴ Boros, J.: *Immanuel Kant*. MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont. Filozófiai Intézet. Budapest. 2018

⁵ Ibid. Moore (1939): But now I am perfectly well aware that, in spite of all that I have said, many philosophers will still feel that I have not given any satisfactory proof of the point in question. And I want briefly, in conclusion, to say something as to why this dissatisfaction with my proofs should be felt. (utolsó oldal)

⁶ Kant, I.: [...] so bleibt es immer ein Skandal der Philosophie [...], das Dasein der Dinge außer uns [...] bloß auf Glauben annehmen zu müssen, und wenn es jemand einfüllt es zu bezweifeln, ihm keinen genugtuenden Beweis entgegenstellen zu können. B XL. *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. Meiner. Hamburg. 2019. (Magyar ford.) *A tiszta ész kritikája*. Atlantisz. Budapest. 2018. 45. o.

⁷ Kant, I.: Critique of pure reason. B XL. (angol ford.) Smith, K., Palgrave Macmillan. Egyesült Királyság. 2007.

⁸ Duden.de: genugtuend = Forderungen, u. Ä. entsprechend

⁹ Ibid.: Atlantisz. Budapest. 2018.

¹⁰ Ibid.: Palgrave Macmillan. EK. 2007.

ennek a használata egy olyan háttér ismeretet szükségeltet, amely alapján megállapíthatók lennének kritériumok, amelyeket kielégít valami. Így nem derül ki a kontextusból, hogy mik a kielégítő kritériumok. Minek alapján lesz valami kielégítő?

Ezért mondhatom, hogy mindkét fordítás homályos. A Kant által használt szó helyes értelmezésével (és további finomításokkal) a mondat magyarul így hangzana: [...] továbbra is a filozófia botránya [...], hogy a rajtunk kívül álló dolgok létezését [...] el kell fogadni pusztán hit (meggyőződés) alapján, és ha bárki kételkedik benne, akkor nem tudjuk az elvárásoknak megfelelő bizonyítékkal ellensúlyozni a kétségeit.

Kant első kritikájának a szerkezete nagyban a saját kora jogtudományi írásainak a felépítésére hasonlít. Ezért a fogalom használatában is feltételezhetők a jogi nyelvezet sajátosságai és ennek tükrében kell értelmezni a „követelménynek megfelelő” német kifejezést.

Miért szükséges ez az elemzés?

Ha nem tudjuk pontosan meghatározni a szó jelentését, akkor nem tudjuk megállapítani, hogy milyen jellegű bizonyítékról lehet szó. Ezt egy példával szeretném szemléltetni. Egy zenész az előző napi hangversenyéről a következőt mondja.

- (Moore felfogásához hasonlóan): „A tegnapi esti koncert kielégítő volt.”
- (A magyar fordítás értelmezése alapján): „A tegnapi esti koncert elégséges volt”.
- (A kanti felfogáshoz hasonlóan): „A tegnapi esti koncert az elvárásoknak megfelelt.”

Moore által használt angol fordításban a szó „kielégítő”-ként való értelmezése előfeltételez bizonyos kritériumok ismeretét. Feltételezhetem, hogy – Moore filozófiáját ismerve – ezek a *józan ész* alapján lekövetkeztethetők. Ebből eredően a következő kérdések merülnek fel: Kinek a szemszögéből közelítsük meg azt, hogy a koncert „kielégítő” volt? A közönség szempontjából, a zenekar, a szólista, a karmester vagy a zenekritikus szempontjából? Milyen jelleggel mondható kielégítőnek a koncert? Minőségi, gazdasági, szociálpolitikai, zenetudományi, történeti, és hasonlóképpen?

A magyar fordításban is felmerülnek hasonló jellegű kérdések. Hogyan lehet „elégséges” a koncert? Ebben a példában egyáltalán nem tudjuk megállapítani, hogy mire vonatkozzon az „elégséges” jelleg, ha csak nem egy verseny, vagy vizsga az előadás, amit pontozni, értékelni kell. Ha nem így, akkor hogyan közelítsük meg a kijelentést? Kvalitatív vagy kvantitatív módon?

A szó jelentésének kanti használatával válik a kijelentés egyértelművé a három közül. Mégpedig úgy, hogy akinek akármilyen elvárása is volt, azoknak a koncert olyan értelemmel megfelelt, oly módon, hogy ezeket ne kelljen részletezni.

A kanti megfogalmazás jóval szerényebb, mint amilyenek Moore értelmezi. Moore szavaiban ugyanis észlelhető egyfajta cinizmus, amikor azt mondja, hogy „természetesen, ha igaza van abban, hogy azt gondolja, hogy kielégítő bizonyítékot adott, akkor az általa leírt helyzet véget ért, amint a bizonyítéka (publikálva) megjelent. Amint ez megtörtént, bárki, aki elolvasta,

kielégítő bizonyítékot tudott nyújtani azáltal, hogy egyszerűen megismételte azt, amit Kant adott, és a filozófia „botránya” végleg megszűnt.”¹¹

A moore-i előadás, ahol ez az idézet szerepel nem a kanti idézet elemzése, hanem ez az idézet csak bevezetésként szolgál a tanulmányhoz. Innen indulva a tanulmányában megkísérli a külső világ bizonyítását, mert szerinte „egyáltalán nem biztos, hogy Kant bizonyítéka kielégítő.”¹²

Moore fejtegetéseit következőképpen tudjuk összefoglalni:

(1.) Amennyiben elfogadjuk a kanti bizonyítékot, amelyet a *Kritika* második kiadásában ad, akkor legalább egy kielégítő bizonyítékunk lenne. Akkor felmerül az a kérdés, hogy:

a) Milyen jellegű a kanti bizonyíték?

b) Ezen kívül nem lehetséges-e azonos vagy más jellegű bizonyíték?

(2.) Amennyiben nem fogadjuk el a kanti bizonyítékot, lehetséges-e bármilyen más bizonyíték.

Moore számára a következő „kérdés megvitatása” a fontos, hogy „milyen jellegű bizonyíték adható a ’rajtunk kívül álló dolgok létezésére,’ egyáltalán, ha lehetséges,”¹³ attól függetlenül, hogy Kant állításai érvényesek, van nem.

A tanulmánya elején az 1. számú bekezdésben szerepel a következő idézet: „[...] mégiscsak a filozófia [...], hogy a rajtunk kívül lévő dolgok létezését pusztán hívés alapján kell feltételeznünk [...], és ha valakinek úgy tetszik, hogy kételkedjék benne, nem szegezhetünk szembe vele elégséges bizonyítékokat.”¹⁴

A fenti idézetre a 2. számú bekezdésben rögtön azt az értelmezést hozza, hogy nem „rajtunk kívüli dolgok létezéséről,” hanem „a rajtunk kívüli dolgok létezéséről” lehet szó. A különbség csupán egy felesleges névelő hozzáadásának tűnhet, de ez a névelő az angol szövegben „a dolgok” értelmezésén jelentősen változtat, hogy miközben dolgok meghatározhatatlanok, a dolgok már meghatározhatók.¹⁵

¹¹ Moore, G. E.: Of course, if he is right in thinking that he has given a satisfactory proof, the state of things which he describes came to an end as soon as his proof was published. As soon as that happened, anyone who read it was able to give satisfactory proof by simply repeating that which Kant had given, and the „scandal” to philosophy had been removed once for all. *Proof of an External World*. Proceedings of the British Academy 25, 273-300. Oxford University Press. Oxford. 1939. 276. o.

¹² Ibid.: But I think it is by no means certain that Kant’s proof is satisfactory.

¹³ Ibid.: [...] to discuss the question what sort of proof, of any, can be given of „the existence of things outside of us.

¹⁴ Kant, I.: [...] so bleibt es immer ein Skandal der Philosophie [...], das Dasein der Dinge außer uns [...] bloß auf *Glauben* annehmen zu müssen, und wenn es jemand einfüllt es zu bezweifeln, ihm keinen genügtuenden Beweis entgegenstellen zu können. *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. B XL. Meiner. Hamburg. 2019. Moore, G. E.: It still remains a scandal to philosophy [...] that the existence of things outside of us [...] must be accepted merely *on faith*, and that, if anyone thinks good to doubt their existence, we are unable to counter his doubts by any satisfactory proof. (B XXXIX, ford. Kemp Smith). A moore-i hivatkozás helye hibás. Az eredeti szövegben az idézett hely B XL lábjegyzetben és nem B XXXIX-ben található.

¹⁵ Ibid. Moore (1939): Kant thought it a matter of some importance to give a proof of “the existence of things outside of us” or perhaps rather [...] of “the existence of *the* things outside of us.” (2. o.)

Itt a tanulmánynak azt a részét emelem ki, amely megelőzi Moore által felhozott négy ellenpéldát és azok általi érveléseit. Moore szerint „koránt sem biztos, hogy Kant bizonyítéka kielégítő. Szerinte(m) koránt sem bizonyos, hogy sikerült neki egyszer s mindenkorra felszámolni a dolgoknak azt az állapotát, amelyet a filozófia botrányának tekintett.”¹⁶ Moore az érvelését így kezdi:

[...] szerintem az a kérdés, vajon lehetséges-e a szóban forgó problémára *bármilyen* kielégítő bizonyítékot szolgáltatni, még mindig megvitátást érdemel.

De mi a szóban forgó probléma? Szerintem el kell ismernünk, hogy a „rajtunk kívül álló dolgok” kifejezés igen különös kifejezés, amelynek az értelme kétségtelenül nem tökéletesen világos.¹⁷

Moore kiemel egy kanti szófordulatot, amelynek értelemezése további félreértésekről tanúskodik: „rajtunk kívüli (vagy kívül álló) dolgok” – (things outside of us).

Először ezt a szófordulatot filozófiatörténeti kontextusban említi. Ennek a szófordulatnak három változatát hozza fel példának azzal az állítással, hogy mindegyik ugyanazt jelenthette a filozófiatörténetben. (Idézem:)

Kevésbé különösnek hangzott volna, ha a „rajtunk kívül álló dolgok” helyett a „külső dolgok” kifejezéssel élek, s akkor a kifejezés jelentése is világosabban látszott volna: és szerintem a „külső dolgok” kifejezés értelmét még világosabbá tehetjük, ha megmagyarázzuk, hogy filozófusok rendszeresen használták ezt a kifejezést, mint az „értelmünkön kívül álló dolgok” kifejezés rövid formáját. Tény, hogy volt egy hosszú ideig tartó filozófiai tradíció, amelynek megfelelően e három kifejezést: „külső dolgok”, „rajtunk kívül álló dolgok” és „értelmünkön kívül álló dolgok” kifejezéseket, mint egyértelműeket használták, s mindegyiket olyképpen alkalmazták, mintha semmiféle magyarázatra nem szorulnának.¹⁸

Az érvelését azzal zárja le Moore, hogy „e használat eredetét nem ismerem. De már Descartes-nál felbukkan: s mivel úgy használja e kifejezéseket, mint amelyek nem szorulnak magyarázatra, ezért feltehetően már előtte is használták őket ugyanilyen értelemben.”¹⁹ Nos, feltételezések és általánosításokkal homályosítva ezek közül a szófordulatok közül az „elménken kívüli dolgok” kifejezést nem tartja teljesen egyértelműnek. „De szerintem” mondja Moore „még az „elménken kívül álló dolgok” kifejezésről is azt kell mondanunk, hogy távolról sem teljesen világos; és ha valóban világossá akarom tenni, mit értek a „rajtunk kívül álló

¹⁶ Ibid.: But I think it is by no means certain that Kant’s proof is satisfactory. I think it is by no means certain that he did succeed in removing once for all the state of affairs which he considered to be a scandal to philosophy. (u. o.)

¹⁷ Ibid.: And I think, therefore, that the question whether it is possible to give *any* satisfactory proof of the point in question still deserves discussion. But what is the point in question? I think it must be owned that the expression “things outside of us” is rather an odd expression, and an expression the meaning of which is certainly not perfectly clear. (u. o.)

¹⁸ Ibid.: It would have sounded less odd if, instead of “things outside of us” I had said “external things,” and perhaps also the meaning of this expression would have seemed to be clearer: and I think we make the meaning of “external things” clearer still if we explain that this phrase has been regularly used by philosophers as short for “things external *to our minds*. The fact is that there has been a long philosophical tradition, in accordance with which the three expressions “external things,” “things external *to us*,” and “things external *to our minds*” have been used as equivalent to one another, and have, each of them, been used as if they needed no explanation. (3. o.)

¹⁹ Ibid.: The origin of this usage I do not know. It occurs already in Descartes: and since he uses the expression as if they needed no explanation, they had presumably been used with the same meaning before. (u. o.)

dolgok létének bizonyítékán,” ezt nem tehetem meg azzal, hogy csupán azt mondom: a „rajtunk kívül álló” kifejezésen azt értem, hogy „elménken kívül álló.”²⁰

Azért, hogy az értelemzését világossá tegye, Moore a következő kanti idézetet kezdi elemezni, amelyben „rajtunk kívüli” szófordulat szerepel. Kant a tiszta ész kritikájában azt mondja, hogy „mivel azonban az a kifejezés, hogy *rajtunk kívül*, elkerülhetetlenül kétértelmű, amennyiben hol olyasmit jelent, ami *magában való dologként* tőlünk elkülönítetten létezik, hol pedig olyasvalamit, ami pusztán a külső *jelenséghez* tartozik, ezért annak érdekében, hogy e fogalmat az utóbbi jelentésben – melyben a külső szemléletünk realitására vonatkozó pszichológiai kérdés tulajdonképpen értendő – minden bizonytalanságtól megtisztítsuk, az *empirikusan külső tárgyakat* úgy kívánjuk megkülönböztetni azoktól, amelyeket transzcendentális értelemben mondhatnánk külsőknek, hogy explicit módon *a térben fellelhető* dolognak nevezzük őket.”²¹

A „rajtunk kívül” kifejezés Kant szerint elkerülhetetlenül kétértelműséget hordoz magában. Egyszer a kifejezés vonatkozhat a *magában való dologra*, amely tőlünk függetlenül létezik. Másodszor vonatkozhat a *külső jelenségekre*, amelyek a szemléletünkhöz tartoznak. Az utóbbi esetben további bizonytalanság merül fel. Ez a bizonytalanság egy pszichológiai kérdéshez vezet, amelyet szükséges tisztázni. Ha a külső szemléletünk valós és ha a külső jelenség a szemléletünkhöz tartozik, az hogyan lehet rajtunk kívüli. Hogy a bizonytalanságot megszüntessük, az *empirikusan külső tárgyakat* „dolgoknak” nevezi Kant, *amelyekkel térben találkozhatunk*, azaz az „empirikusan külső tárgy” a „dolog, amellyel térben találkozhatunk.” Ezzel szembe helyezi a transzcendentális tárgyat.

Moore érvelésében két hibát találunk. Az első hiba az, hogy a „rajtunk kívüli” kifejezést alkalmazva az empirikus tárgyat külsőnek nevezi, miközben Kant „empirikusan külső tárgy” és a „transzcendentális tárgy” között tesz különbséget. A második hiba abban található, amikor az „amivel térben találkozhatunk” kifejezést egyenrangúnak minősíti a „térben bemutatott” (képzelt, vagy megjelenített) kifejezéssel. Ebből eredően a „*vorstellen*” szónak a „bemutat (*to present*)” jelentését használja. Érdekes megfigyelni, hogy az idézetében a német szót eredeti formájában beleteszi a szövegbe: „in this preceding sentence he says that an “empirical object” is called *external*, if it is presented (*vorgestellt*) in space.” Ami innen folytatódik olyan érvelés, ami arra a téves feltételezésre épül, hogy Moore szerint Kant téved abban, hogy a két szófordulat, a „térben bemutatkoznak a dolgok” és a „térben találkozhatunk dolgokkal,” ugyanazt jelenti. Kant világosan tesz különbséget a kettő között. További problémák a következők:

Moore által az A373-ból idézett szavak és szófordulatok közül az egyik hibás. Kant sehol nem használ „rajtunk kívüli dolgok” kifejezést. Az idézet szövegrészben minden kanti érvelés „rajtunk kívül” szó fordulatra vonatkozik. A „dolog” sehol nem szerepel benne. Moore viszont így idézi Kantot, ami Smith féle angol fordításban viszont helyesen szerepel és nem úgy, ahogy Moore idéz:

The other phrase which Kant uses as if it were equivalent to “things which are to be met with in space” is used by him in the sentence immediately preceding that previously

²⁰ Ibid.: But even the expression “things external to our minds” seems to me to be far from perfectly clear: and if I am to make really clear what I mean by “proof of existence of thongs outside of us”, I cannot do it by merely saying that by “outside if us” I mean “external to our minds.” (4. o.)

²¹ Ibid. Kant (1787): A373.

quoted in which he declares that the expression “things outside of us” “carries with it an unavoidable ambiguity” (A373). (A hibás idézet aláhúzva, T. R. Z.)²²

Mind ezekhez az érvelésekhez szükséges lenne hozzá tenni Kantnak a mondatát, hogy „[de] nem is róla van szó, hanem az empirikus tárgyról, melyet akkor nevezünk *külsőnek*, ha a térben, s akkor *belsőnek*, ha csupán időviszonyban jelenítjük meg; a tér és az idő viszont egyaránt csak *bennünk* található.”²³ Moore figyelmen kívül hagyja a kanti transzcendentális idealizmusnak (transzcendentális esztétikájának) ezt a lényegi tételét. Innentől kezdve mindenütt, amikor a *tárgyakról* kellene beszéljünk, a *dologra*, *dolgokra* hivatkozik. Vagyis Moore a *tárgy* fogalmát felcseréli a *dolog* fogalmával. Így az összes felhozott példája és érvelése a fenti félreértésre van építve. Valójában minden, amit a példáiban *dolognak* nevez, transzcendentális idealizmusban vagy *tárgynak*, vagy *jelenségnek* nevezhető, és nem *dolognak*.

A tanulmányban felhozott példái elsősorban realista megközelítések, de mindig megjelenik a Descartes óta létező felfogás, ami szerint nem csak észlelünk, hanem ítélünk is. Az észleléshez társul az intellektuális (értelmi) cselekvés. Lónyai Mária, a Moore kötet fordítója, a függelékben következőképpen érvel:

A külvilág bizonyítása valójában csak akkor teljes értékű bizonyítás, ha a köznapi jelentések realista elemzését fogadjuk el. Moore tökéletesen tudatában volt ennek a problémának. Ez a magyarázata annak, hogy hajlamos volt egyidejűleg fenntartani két, egymással összeegyeztethetetlen nézetet is, melyek közül az egyik a tárgyak közvetlen észlelését elfogadja, miközben a másik ugyanezt elutasítja.²⁴

Moore számára nem a bizonyítás, hanem az arra való törekvés a fontosabb. Nem az eredmény, hanem a metódus, a módszertan. Nem a vég, hanem a cselekvés, a folyamat a cél. Ezen az úton haladva – a hibás érvelési és a sikertelen bizonyítási kísérlete ellenére – a metodikái a 20. századi analitikus filozófiának erős alapot biztosíthattak.

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²² A másik kifejezést, amelyet Kant úgy használ, mintha az ekvivalens lenne a „dolggal, amelyekkel a térben találkozni kell”, az előző mondat előtti idézett mondatban használja, amelyben kijelenti, hogy a „rajtunk kívüli dolgok” kifejezés „egy elkerülhetetlen kétértelműséget hordoz magával.” (ford. T.R.Z.)

²³ Ibid.

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Preparations of an excursion to Pécs on the IVth World Scout Jamboree (1933). An analysis based on the resources of the Janus Pannonius Museum of Pécs

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Approximately 25,000 Scouts attended the 1933 World Scout Jamboree in Gödöllő. The high number of participants shows that this Jamboree was of great importance for the international scout community, but they were not the only one who benefited from it. The event also encouraged the construction of diplomatic relations between Hungary and the participants' home countries. Although the camp took place at Gödöllő, the foreign Scouts visited various sites in the countryside as well. Thus, a delegation of 500 Scouts stayed in Pécs between 7 and 8 August 1933. A local organising committee was set up to enable the visitors - including English, French, Polish and American Scouts mainly - to get to know the sights of the city in as much detail as possible. A group of documents relating to the organisational work, the preparations and the detailed programme can be found in the archives of the Janus Pannonius Museum in Pécs. Drawing on these resources, the study explores the different aspects of the Hungarian Jamboree related to Pécs and gives a detailed description of the excursion's preparations.

Results: The research revealed that the Hungarian Scout Association had appointed a leader to coordinate the organisation of the rural trips. Under his influence, a committee was also set up in Pécs, whose members were drawn from the local middle classes. Part of the organisation and costs - in the midst of the global economic crisis - were borne by local people, so the committee received financial and other support from a number of civic groups. The research also revealed the exact itinerary of the scout delegation and the list of local attractions they visited, as well as the fact that around 500 foreign visitors came to the city as part of the Jamboree excursion.

Conclusions: The impact of the 1933 Jamboree on the rural areas of Hungary, including the question of the travels of foreign scout delegations, is a little known and unexplored area in the history literature. By interpreting the documents and records held in the museum, it is possible to understand in detail the organisational process of the event. The research based on the collection of the Janus Pannonius Museum contributes to the exploration of the rural aspects of the IVth World Scout Jamboree.

Keywords: *Jamboree, Scouting, tourism, Pécs.*

I. Introduction

The archives of the Janus Pannonius Museum's Department of the Modern and Twentieth-century Collections [*Új és Legújabbkori Gyűjteményi Osztály*, in the footnotes referred to as “JPM ŰLGYO”] includes the records of the Tourism Agency of Pécs [*Idegenforgalmi Hivatal*, in the footnotes referred to as “IH”]. These resources give us the opportunity to gain an insight into the cultural and touristic activities of the inter-war period in Pécs. In addition to the annual *Pécsi Űnnepi Hét* [Pécs Festival Week] and the organisation of the *Filléres Gyors* [Penny Express] railway lines, the collection of documents also includes a detailed account of how the 1933 Hungarian World Scout Jamboree affected Pécs, with approximately 100 pages. During the IVth World Scout Jamboree on 7-8 August, a foreign delegation of 500 Scouts visited Pécs and its surroundings, which was preceded by thorough organisational work. Drawing on the source base of the Janus Pannonius Museum supplemented by press sources, this study presents the regional aspects of the Hungarian Jamboree and provides a detailed account of the preparations for the foreign Scouts' excursion to Pécs.

II. Hungarian Scouting and the Jamboree

Throughout the XXth century numerous youth movements emerged all around the world.¹ Launched in 1907, Scouting stands out among them for its vast popularity and its rapid international expansion. According to its founder, Robert Baden-Powell, the aim of the movement is to provide its members with an education for healthy lifestyle and active citizenship.² The spread of scouting was facilitated by the fact that in each state the detailed educational programme could be tailored to the local interests. In Hungary, public, ecclesiastical and state interests have shaped the formation of scouting. Scouting in Hungary was institutionalised by the establishment of the Hungarian Scout Association (MCSSZ) in 1912. It operated uninterruptedly until 1948, when it was banned. It has been re-established after the regime change, and it provides an institutional framework for Hungarian Scout groups to this day.

Promoting the fundamental values of international friendship and peace, the first World Scout Jamboree was held in London in 1920. The first Jamborees resembled the Olympic Games in many ways: they were held every four years, attracted a large international audience, and their program also included sports competitions. However, the initial competitions were replaced by more playful activities aimed at establishing friendly and peaceful relations between nations by the 3rd World Scout Jamboree in 1929.³

Prime Minister Pál Teleki, who was appointed Chief Scout of Hungary between 1922 and 1923, and later remained Honorary Chief Scout, had a decisive influence on the functioning of the MCSSZ.⁴ Through the Scouting movement, Teleki made attempts to develop the country's international relations, in order to break its isolation in the foreign policy after the Trianon peace treaty. His ideas on the usefulness of Scouting in Hungary's foreign affairs were in line with those of the political leadership of his time, as Zsolt Nagy points it out:

“...Klebensberg and post-war Hungarian leadership realized that successful foreign policy, especially in the absence of “hard power”, required generating positive international public opinion. He argued that the negative image of the country was responsible for the treaty's severity and the country's isolation. The Hungarian political elite, Klebensberg and his

¹ Vitári 2002: 9

² Nyúl 2020: 155-157

³ Bakay 1989: 136

⁴ Ablonczy 2005: 288-294

colleagues, Prime Ministers Pál Teleki and István Bethlen, and members of the Foreign Ministry (KÜM) believed cultural diplomacy was one of the most viable means of regaining the lost territories and gaining international recognition.”⁵

The IVth World Scout Jamboree represented a major opportunity for Hungary to ameliorate her image in front of the international public, therefore it became crucial that Hungary could become its host country.⁶ Due to efforts in this area, in December 1931, at the World Scout Conference in Baden, the MCSSZ was designated to organise the IVth World Scout Jamboree which was to take place in 1933. Among the three candidate countries for hosting the event, the United States of America, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the latter was chosen by the Conference.⁷ In the midst of the world economic crisis, the Hungarian state contributed to the organisation of the Jamboree, thus providing symbolic and material support to the MCSSZ. Pál Teleki was appointed Government Commissioner responsible for the organisation of the World Scout Jamboree, and he also became the chief organiser and Camp Commander of the event.⁸ Easily accessible and located near the capital, the town of Gödöllő was chosen as the venue for the Jamboree. After the thorough preparation had been carried out, about 26,000 Scouts from 46 nations, including thousands of foreign visitors arrived and camped here during the first two weeks of August in 1933.⁹ Although the Jamboree program included sightseeing tours mainly at Gödöllő and Budapest, other towns and regions of the country were also considered as possible destinations. The programme organisers proclaimed:

“We want the whole country to be a Jamboree. Not only those Scouts shall participate in it, who are going to be there at Gödöllő, but every Hungarian scout, all around the whole country. The foreigners are going to go on excursions to all parts of the country and every Hungarian scout shall be ready to welcome the foreign Scouts.”¹⁰

The excursions to the Hungarian countryside took place during the first two weeks of August, when the foreign delegations were sent to visit 16 rural destinations. These towns were Balatonföldvár, Balatonfüred, Debrecen, Eger, Esztergom, Győr, Kecskemét, Miskolc, Pannonhalma, Pécs, Salgótarján, Sopron, Szeged, Tata, Veszprém and Visegrád.

III. Pécs, Scouting and the Jamboree excursion

Scouting developed relatively early in Pécs, as the first local Scouting community appeared already during the First World War. In 1914 and 1915, the aims of the Scout movement were repeatedly described in a daily newspaper called *Pécs Napló* in order to recruit members from the local community.¹¹ This attempt was seemingly unsuccessful, as it did not lead directly to the establishment of a Scout Group. Nevertheless, the first group was created in 1915 in the *Pécsi Állami Reáliskola* [State Real School of Pécs] and it operated for decades.¹² During the

⁵ Nagy 2017: 14 The abbreviation “KÜM” used by Nagy refers to the Hungarian *Külgügy Minisztérium*.

⁶ Nagy 2017: 138

⁷ Bakay 1989: 137-138; Fodor 2001: 113, 124

⁸ Ablonczy 2005: 300-304

⁹ Radványi 1933: 18; Gergely 1989: 165

¹⁰ „Azt akarjuk, hogy az egész ország Jamboree legyen. Nemcsak azok vesznek részt benne, akik ott lesznek Gödöllőn, hanem minden magyar cserkész szerte az országban. A külföldiek kirándulásaikon eljutnak az ország minden részére minden egyes magyar cserkésznek készen kell lennie a külföldi cserkészek fogadtatására.” Quote from: Radványi 1933: 5

¹¹ *Pécsi Napló* 25 August 1914. 2; *Pécsi Napló* 29 August 1914. 2; *Pécsi Napló* 22 August 1915. 12.

¹² See: Balla D.- Siptár L.: Csapattörténet, A 10. P.Á.R. cserkészcsapat 15 éves története [History of our Scout Group. The fifteen-year history of the 10th P.Á.R. Scout Group], Pécs, 1931.

Horthy era, other Scout Groups were continuously formed in the town and in its surroundings. In the South Transdanubian region, the leadership of the VI-VII Scout District worked to unite and establish connections among the groups operating in the area. According to a contemporary publication of the MCSSZ, in 1928 there were a total of forty-seven scout troops in the district, thirteen of them in Pécs and six in the surrounding area.¹³ It can therefore be assumed that by the time of the 1933 Jamboree, a vivid scouting life had been going on in the county seat. The presence of scouting in Baranya is also indicated in the documents of the Tourism Agency relating to the traffic of the Penny Express lines from the early 1930s. These demonstrate clearly that the town hall and the MCSSZ cooperated in order to develop tourism in the town. The most characteristic example of this is the fact that the town's Scouts functioned as tourist guides: they accompanied the visitors arriving to the train station and showed them around as they knew the town and the Mecsek Hills well.¹⁴ Similar arrangements were made for the Jamboree delegation's visit to Pécs.

The various subtasks of the organisation of the Jamboree were carried out by specialised teams. The *kirándulási csoport* [excursion team] coordinated the travel of foreign Scouts to rural sites. The archives of the Janus Pannonius Museum do not contain any documentation on the names of rural towns which were taken into consideration as possible destinations, but it is easy to imagine that the towns tried to use all their lobbying power to be chosen, and thus to benefit from the increased tourist traffic generated by the IVth World Scout Jamboree. There seems to be a connection between the Penny Express railway lines and the Jamboree excursions, because scout delegations arrived from the Jamboree to each of the towns served by the Penny Express.¹⁵ In the case of Pécs, it can be assumed that, in addition to the Mediterranean atmosphere of the town, the accessibility by train, the pre-existing networks of tourism services in the town, the work of the Mecsek Association, a local circle of hikers, and the active local scouting life were all factors in favour of showing this city to foreign visitors.

The groups travelling to the countryside during the Jamboree counted mostly between 500 and 1000 people, and their visits lasted one day. A delegation of 500 people visited Pécs, but unlike other destinations, the guests spent more time in the town as they stayed for two days and one night.¹⁶ The number of people in one group might have been determined by the capacity of the trains and the previous tourism activities and the level of tourism infrastructure in the area of the destination. The number of people arriving in the city on the Penny Express line was also in the range of 600 to 1000, so the size of the Jamboree group was ideal and manageable for the Tourism Agency of Pécs, which actively participated in the organisation.¹⁷

Dr Ferenc Fodor, a geographer - who later became the director of the Pécs school district between 1940 and 1943 - visited all the rural sites as the "chief of the excursion group". On these occasions, he consulted with the host committees, which were responsible for the local level of the organisation of the Jamboree excursions. Fodor visited Pécs in December 1932 in order to begin preparations for the excursion.

¹³ Bodnár 1980: 133-134. It is worth mentioning, that in 1929, the year following the publication of these statistics, the MCSSZ officially accepted the establishment of a Scout Group in the Pécsi Pius Gimnázium [Pius Grammar School of Pécs]. Some of the foreign scouts from the Jamboree also visited this school as it was the parent institution of the freshly started Scout Group. To read more on the creation of this group: *A Pécsi Pius-Alapítványi Jézus-Társasági Kat. Gimnázium értesítője az 1929/30. iskolai évről* [School Report of the Pius Foundation's Catholic Grammar School in Pécs from the 1929/30 school year]. Pécs, 1930, 43.

¹⁴ JPM ÚLGYO accession number 6/76. IH. Cserkészek [Scouts]. without catalog number. Letter of Dr Egyed Bartók, 19 April 1932.; without catalog number. Letter of Dr Egyed Bartók, 22 May 1932.

¹⁵ Márfi 2009: 126

¹⁶ JPM ÚLGYO accession number 6/76. IH. Cserkészek [Scouts]. 1. Plan for the excursion, train departures

¹⁷ Márfi 2009: 127

IV. Preparations at Pécs

The public of the town first learned about the planned visit from the Jamboree to Pécs from a article published in *Dunántúl* on 21 December 1932 under the title *Az 500 angol cserkész pécsi tartózkodásának előkészítése* [Preparing the stay of 500 English Scouts in Pécs].¹⁸ On the previous day, at the inaugural meeting of the *társadalmi fogadóbizottság* [social welcoming committee] was held at the Town Hall. Including Mayor Andor Nendtvich, numerous volunteers were invited and had already been asked to take part in certain tasks. The committee was made up of a wide range of individuals who played an important role in the public life of the town. Thus, the executive board of the committee included Dr Szabó Pál Zoltán deputy head of the excursion team of the Jamboree, Dr Bartók Egyed executive president of the VI-VII Scout District, Lieutenant Colonel Árpád Vizkelethy and Lieutenant Ottó Tövisházy-Ferjentsik representing the army, and Dr József Derner, Chief of Police and Ferenc Balla, Police Inspector; István Tibor, Chief Administrator and Ernő Dr Halász, Secretary of the Hungarian State Railways (MÁV); Gusztáv Tallér, Lieutenant Colonel and László Kamarás, Lieutenant Colonel representing the Zrínyi State Real School; Károly Wallandt and Dr Kálmán Szikszay from the Post. Finally, the city was represented by Dr Lajos Schmidt, Honorary Chief Notary and Dr Lajos Huzella, Medical Officer.¹⁹ In addition to the executive board, the work of the committee was supported by many people, such as Mrs. Miklós Gyarmathy, whose task was to ensure that the visitors could take home souvenirs from Pécs.²⁰

At the meeting, Fodor explained that the Jamboree was of great importance to the country, emphasizing that the event was not only the business of the Scouts, but also a public matter of interest to the entire nation. The presentation was followed by questions of a mainly operational nature, with the exception of an ideological question from Elemér Gulner, the Chief Economic Inspector, who asked about the relationship between the issues related to the Treaty of Trianon and the Jamboree. The *Dunántúl* reports on Dr Fodor's response on the following way:

"The audience listened with rapt attention to Dr Ferenc Fodor's answer, in which he emphasized that the Jamboree is not a Hungarian scout camp, but an international camp. [...] We are going to be the hosts and as hosts it is not appropriate, nor should we complain about our troubles. However, if there is interest from foreigners, we will of course provide the relevant information."²¹

The idea of showing the Trianon border to a group of foreign Scouts was raised by the town's inhabitants at the meeting. Fodor emphatically tried to dissuade the assembled people, and as a result most of the Scouts arriving to Pécs did not visit the border. Although Fodor informed the camp organiser that everything was going according to plan in Pécs, the local committee, under the influence of the irredentist public sentiment, did send out a small delegation to the border.²² Fodor stressed in his speech that social cooperation is essential for the realization of the Jamboree. Here, he was not only thinking about the contributions of human resources, but he was also seeking financial resources. Although the budget of the Jamboree was supported by the state, the minimum budget provided did not cover all the costs, so the local population had

¹⁸ *Dunántúl*, 21 December 1932. 4.

¹⁹ JPM ÚLGYO accession number 6/76. IH. Cserkészek [Scouts]. 11. Record of the reunion on 25 March 1933.

²⁰ JPM ÚLGYO accession number 6/76. IH. Cserkészek [Scouts]. 4. Request to Mrs. Miklós Gyarmathy

²¹ „Feszült figyelemmel hallgatta a közönség Fodor Ferenc dr. válaszát, melyben mindenekelőtt azt hangsúlyozta, hogy a Jamboree nem magyar cserkésztábor, hanem nemzetközi táborozás. [...] Mi vendéglátó házigazdák leszünk és mint vendéglátóknak nem illik, de nem is szabad bajainkról panaszkodnunk. Ha azonban a külföldiek részéről történik az érdeklődés, akkor természetesen meg fogjuk adni a megfelelő felvilágosításokat.” Quote from: *Dunántúl*, 21 December 1932. 4.

²² JPM ÚLGYO accession number 6/76. IH. Cserkészek [Scouts]. 9. Reports of Dr Ferenc Fodor

to participate by offering financial support as well. According to the agreement reached at the meeting, the expenses of the visitors' stay were to be shared between the camp command and the local committee:

“Two days of provisions in Pécs will cost 4.00 pengő per person. For this amount, the Scouts will receive breakfast on the first day of arrival, morning snack, lunch and an afternoon snack on the way. Of this amount, the Committee requests that the camp command reimburse 2.40 pengő per person. The difference of 1.60 pengő per person will be taken over by the committee.”²³

To minimise costs, the committee contacted a number of social organisations, local businesses and public bodies to ask for their help. For example, accommodation was provided free of charge by the Ministry of Religion and Education in the dormitory of the Zrínyi Miklós Real School, and the municipal waterworks provided a one-off filling of the dormitory's swimming pool free of charge, thus ensuring the guests' cleanliness. The host committee of Pécs contacted the sites to be visited were contacted by letter. The Zsolnay Porcelaine Manufacture, the Pannonia Brewery, the First Leather Factory of Pécs, the University Library and the Jesuits' Pius Gymnasium were among the places available free of charge. At the end of July 1933, the Tourism Agency sent out a letter to the factories, companies and cultural institutions of Pécs to confirm their previously communicated offers for the visits.²⁴ They sent back positive responses, which allowed the detailed programme for the 500 visitors to be planned. On the first day, the Jamboree delegation was divided into five smaller groups and they went on trips on the Mecsek, visiting the areas of Tettye, Misina, Tubes and the French Monument. On the second day, five groups visited the sights of the city on different itineraries, including the Cathedral, Zsolnay Manufacture and the Champagne Factory, the City Museum and the Mosque. Meanwhile a smaller group was taken to Sátorhely, near the border, demonstrating the impact of the Trianon Treaty.²⁵

To cover the travel and catering expenses, the local audience could attend a scout campfire held by the visitors on the evening of 7 August, at the Pécs Athletics Club (PAC) sports field on Tüzér Street. The venue was also provided free of charge, but the city's residents had to pay for the entrance. They could opt for a 30-fillér standing ticket or for 1 pengő they could buy a stadium or box seat.²⁶

V. Final preparations before the visit

It is an interesting turn of events that just a few months before the start of the journeys, on 1 May 1933, István Tibor, the chief administrator of the MÁV, took over the leadership of the reception committee and with it the organizational matters from Dr Lajos Schmidt, who had been responsible for these matters until then.²⁷ There is no documentary evidence of the background to this decision, but it can be assumed that the head of the Tourism Agency was

²³ „A pécsi ellátás két napja személyenkint 4.00 P-be kerül. Ezért az összegért kapnak a cserkészek első napon megérkezéskor reggelit, tizórait, ebédet, utavaló uzsonnát. Ebből az összegből kívánja a bizottság, hogy a táborparancsnokság személyenkint 2.40 P-t térítsen meg. A személyenkint fennmaradó 1.60 P különbözetet a bizottság vállalja magára.” Quote from: JPM ÚLGYO GySz. 6/76. IH. Cserkészek [Scouts]. 9. Reports of Dr Ferenc Fodor

²⁴ JPM ÚLGYO accession number 6/76. IH. Cserkészek [Scouts]. 42. Open call for enterprises

²⁵ JPM ÚLGYO accession number 6/76. IH. Cserkészek [Scouts]. 64. Detailed instructions for the foreign Scouts' stay in Pécs

²⁶ JPM ÚLGYO accession number 6/76. IH. Cserkészek [Scouts]. 10. Demand for the PAC field

²⁷ JPM ÚLGYO accession number 6/76. IH. Cserkészek [Scouts]. 14. Letter to Dr Ferenc Fodor, announcement of the nomination

occupied with other tasks, the preparation and implementation of the *Pécs Festival Week*, which was held between 3 and 11 June 1933.²⁸ Although Schmidt handed over the leadership of the Jamboree's host committee, he continued to actively take part in the organisational work. On 10 July 1933, less than a month before the planned visit in August, Fodor informed the host committee of Pécs about the nationality of the members of the Jamboree delegation.

“At last, I have the possibility to announce the nationality and the number of the excursionists. Accordingly, on 7 August, 100 English, 100 Polish, 100 French, 50 American, 15 Syrian, 12 Icelandic, 75 Austrian, 25 Bulgarian, 15 Egyptian Scouts, and 10-12 Hungarian accompanying staff members will go to Pécs.”²⁹

So, contrary to what was reported in the aforementioned press article published six months earlier, the Jamboree did not bring 500 English Scouts to the town, and in reality only 20% of the visiting delegation turned out to be from England. The nationality distribution reported in the letter remained essentially unchanged, so these data on the foreign Scouts were accurate. Also about a dozen Hungarian Scouts came with them to Pécs on 7 August, who were there to do the task of interpretation.

The last meeting of the host committee in charge of preparing the reception of the foreign Scouts visiting Pécs took place on 31 July 1933 at the town hall. The last details were clarified, for example it was decided that souvenirs would be handed over at the lunch on August 8.³⁰ After the meeting, only minimal organizational tasks remained. The local press was kept informed about the Jamboree visit during the last week as well, and the bonfire was advertised to the public so that its proceeds could be used to cover the cost of catering.³¹

On August 3 1933, the local press did not report the arrival of the British Scouts anymore, but drew attention to the arrival of the foreign delegation under the title *Kilenc nemzet ötszáz cserkészének pécsi látogatása* [Five hundred Scouts of nine nations visit Pécs].³² The arriving delegation included members of more nationalities than originally expected, so it was probably during these last days that the mayor's welcome speech was translated to several languages. The different versions of the speech are preserved in the files of the Tourism Agency.

The speech was delivered in several languages at the railway station by István Makay, deputy mayor of the town at the time, and later mayor from 1936 to 1940. The version written in English starts like this: “We greet you in the name of the public of Pécs with the chivalrousness which we inherited from our ancestors and with Hungarian Geeping open house. If you don't understand my words it is not a matter because we understand each other without words too.” Reading through the drafts of the speech written in different languages, it is clear that the German one is correctly worded, the French version is written in a certain kind of a phonetic transcription, while the English version remains the less successful in terms of style and the use of grammar and vocabulary.³³

²⁸ Mendöl 2015: 247

²⁹ „Végre abban a helyzetben vagyok, hogy közölhetem a kirándulók nemzetiségét, valamint létszámát is. Ezek szerint aug. 7-én Pécsre megy 100 angol, 100 lengyel, 100 francia, 50 amerikai, 15 szíriai, 12 izlandi, 75 osztrák, 25 bolgár, 15 egyiptomi, továbbá 10-12 magyar kísérő.” Quote from: JPM ÚLGYO accession number 6/76. IH. Cserkészek [Scouts]. 23. The number and nationality of the participants of the excursion

³⁰ *Pécsi Napló*, 1 August 1933. 1.

³¹ *Dunántúl*, 4 August 1933. 4.

³² *Dunántúl*, 3 August 1933. 4.

³³ JPM ÚLGYO accession number 6/76. IH. Cserkészek [Scouts]. without catalog number. The speech of István Makay on different languages

VI. Further tourism in Pécs related to the Jamboree

At the last moment, the Tourism Agency, in cooperation with the host committee, had to face the challenges caused by the visit of another delegation of foreign Scouts; Girl Guides also arrived to Pécs. In the Horthy era, there was only minimal contact between the two scout associations, the girls' and the boys'. Thus, the 1933 Jamboree was organized by the MCSSZ, an association exclusively for boys. Although the Association of Hungarian Girl Guides (MCSLSZ) expressed its intention to participate in the Jamboree's organisation in partnership with the MCSSZ, in the end there was no closer cooperation between the two associations, as they educated representatives of both sexes separately.³⁴ The Jamboree camp at Gödöllő was inhabited exclusively for Boy Scouts, while Girl Guides – such as members of the general public - were only allowed to visit the campsite.

It is a little known fact that representatives of foreign Girl Guide associations also came to Hungary in connection with the World Scout Jamboree. The MCSLSZ coordinated the stay of the delegations of foreign Guides in the country. Besides visiting the Jamboree, divided into small groups, they were also taken travelling around to see the sights of the Hungarian countryside. Antónia Lindenmeyer, the President of the MCSLSZ, contacted the Tourism Agency of Pécs on 25 July 1933 on behalf of the visiting Guides.³⁵ Only a few weeks were available until the arrival of the delegation of the Guides so little time remained for the organisation and the preparation. Due to this circumstance and the smaller number of visiting Girl Guides, the details of their visit were worked out much less in advance than for the boys' delegation. Finally, in parallel with the visit of the group of 500 Boy Scouts, a delegation of 21 to 23 foreign Girl Guides also visited Pécs. Unlike the boys, they did not arrive in the city by train, but on a special bus on 7 August at around 11:30, and continued their journey to visit Lake Balaton around 18:00. First they went sightseeing in the city centre and visited Széchenyi Square and its surroundings, then the Cathedral. After lunch, they visited the Tettye area, which they approached on their bus.³⁶

Based on the documents preserved by the Janus Pannonius Museum, it is not possible to determine exactly which nations were represented among the Girl Guides coming to Pécs. In the local press, they are referred to as English Girl Guides, and in line with this, Antónia Lindenmeyer wrote in a letter that they would be mostly English girls and asked the Tourism Agency for guides and brochures in English and German.³⁷ And although the Tourism Agency was more concerned with the preparation of the 500-strong delegation, it also considered the arrival of the Girl Guides to be an important matter. After the Girl Guides' departure, 30 postcards of Pécs and 10 stick badges were sent to them free of charge, as they had requested it to be. A month later, the general meeting of the MCSLSZ sent a letter of thanks to the Tourism Agency for its courtesy and kindly assistance.³⁸

The preserved documents of the Tourism Agency of Pécs mainly refer to the preparation of the official Jamboree trip and the organisational work related to it and additionally to the visit of the Girl Guides. These documents help to reconstruct the journey of about 500 Boy Scouts and that of the 21-23 Girl Guides. The information contained in the local Tourism Agency's files is supplemented by further press reports of visits to Pécs by other groups of Scouts. According to

³⁴ Gergely 1989: 162-163

³⁵ JPM ÚLGYO accession number 6/76. IH. Cserkészek. without catalog number. Letter of Antónia Lindenmeyer on 25 June 1933.

³⁶ JPM ÚLGYO accession number 6/76. IH. Cserkészek [Scouts]. without catalog number. Letter of Antónia Lindenmeyer on 4 August 1933.

³⁷ JPM ÚLGYO accession number 6/76. IH. Cserkészek [Scouts]. without catalog number. Letter of Antónia Lindenmeyer on 4 August 1933.

³⁸ JPM ÚLGYO accession number 6/76. IH. Cserkészek [Scouts]. without catalog number. Letter of Antónia Lindenmeyer on 26 September 1933.

the information published in local newspapers, a group of 28 Bavarian Scouts came to join the Jamboree delegation's campfire on 8 August. The reason why no documentation remained about their trip in the Tourism Agency's files is that the Bavarian Scouts had organised their trip without the help of the host committee and the Tourism Agency.³⁹ At the end of the Jamboree, the Scouts of Pécs and Baranya were scheduled to return from the Jamboree campsite. A final group of visitors was also due to arrive with them: a group of foreign Esperantist Scouts completed the visitors' queue, to enjoy the hospitality of the local Esperanto community and to be the last representatives of the tourist flow to Pécs in the context of the World Scout Jamboree.⁴⁰

Dr Lajos Schmidt, Honorary Municipal Clerk, Head of the Tourism Agency, sent letters of thanks to the owners of the local attractions to show the towns's gratitude because the foreign Scouts could visit the sites free of charge. In the end, it can be concluded that the visit of the Jamboree delegation to Pécs on 7-8 August 1933 contributed to a boost in the tourism in Pécs. The leadership of the VI-VII Scout District sent an official letter of thanks to the Tourism Agency for its organisational assistance.⁴¹ Following the Jamboree, the cooperation between the leadership of the Scout District and the Agency continued; Scouts helped the Tourism Agency by showing around tourists arriving on the Penny Express lines to Pécs.⁴²

VII. Conclusion

In the midst of the world economic crisis, the Hungarian state took up the cause of organizing the Jamboree, providing support for the organization of the IVth World Scout Jamboree. For the Hungarian state, the Jamboree was a key opportunity, because it was used as a tool to create a positive image of the country and to build diplomatic relations. This motivation also contributed to the fact that the approximately 25,000 foreign Scouts arriving in the country were able to visit a rural town in addition Gödöllő and Budapest.

The excursion team of the Hungarian Scout Association centrally coordinated the trips to the countryside and set the organizational framework for them. However, the details were worked out by local host committees in the rural towns to be visited, who took into account local conditions and ideas. In the case of Pécs, a relatively large amount of information about the event has been preserved because the Tourism Agency of the town was actively involved in the organisation and realisation of the event and the entire process was minutely documented by this institution. The Agency's files are preserved in the Janus Pannonius Museum of Pécs, which allows a historical reconstruction of the visit of the Jamboree delegation to the city.

Pécs was included among the rural travel destinations not only because of the lively local scouting life in the 1920s, but also because there were several sights that could attract the interest of foreign Scouts. The itinerary of the visit in Pécs included the Cathedral, the Mosque and the famous Zsolnay Porcelaine Manufacture. Besides visiting cultural sites, an excursion in the forests of the Mecsek Hills was also included. The research revealed that, in addition to the official Jamboree delegation of 500 Scouts, several smaller independent groups of Scouts visited the city apropos of the IVth World Scout Jamboree.

³⁹ *Pécsi Napló*, 9 August 1933. 4.; *Pécsi Napló*, 11 August 1933. 4.

⁴⁰ *Dunántúl*, 6 August 1933. 7.

⁴¹ JPM ÚLGYO GySz. 6/76. IH. Cserkészek. Sz.n. Igaz Béla 1933. október 17-i levele

⁴² JPM ÚLGYO GySz. 6/76. IH. Cserkészek. Sz.n. vitéz Széky Pál 1934. május 29-i levele

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Winston Churchill: A Conservative, but to what extent was he conservative?¹

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When we read the definition of a political party, it claims that it is common for members of a party to hold similar ideas and that they may promote specific ideological goals. On the one hand, it means that a Liberal Party (in general) will pursue mostly liberal policies. On the other hand, if we focus on the word common, it can also mean that not all of those members are strictly liberals in their political thought.

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom between 1940-45 and 1951-55 was a member of the Conservative Party during this period. Thus, he was definitely a Conservative with a big C, but was he ever conservative with a small c? His father, Lord Randolph was a Conservative, consequently it was obvious for Churchill to join the party in 1900 – however, four years later he decided to defect to the Liberals, staying there for the next two decades, only re-joining the Conservatives in 1924.

In my presentation I am going to speak about the political thought of Winston Churchill, trying to answer the question whether he was a conservative, and if yes, to what extent. In order to do that, I explain what the difference is between Conservative with a big C and conservative with a small c, and address what it means to be ideologically conservative. For my research I am using the speeches and writings of Winston Churchill, as well as his biographies so that I can understand his ideas and thoughts and match them to the attributes of the conservative ideology. I expect that the result of my research will show that Churchill was rather an opportunist than a conservative or a liberal, still that did not stop him from being one of the most important leaders of the Conservative Party in the 20th century.

Key words: Winston Churchill, conservatism, Conservative Party, ideology, political thought

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I. Introduction

Winston Churchill is probably one of the most well-known figures of history: even those who are not historians know a lot of things about him. We might not be able to list all the positions he filled in throughout his rather long life, but everybody knows he was the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom during the Second World War. It is not as well-known, but still somewhat famous that he has won the Nobel prize in literature, thus he was quite a good writer. Especially because of this, we know a lot about what he thought and believed: he was never afraid to express his beliefs in his speeches and writings. However, his political ideology is still a mystery today, and there are historians and hobby-historians all over the United Kingdom arguing even today, about his real political thought.

When we read the definition of a political party, it claims that it is common for members of a party to hold similar ideas and that they may promote specific ideological goals. This definition however, allows diversion: it says, it is common, but not compulsory. Thus, it could happen that one becomes a significant politician of a given party, while not believing in the ideas promoted by that party? In my essay I am going to answer that question, by examining the life, political career and political thoughts of Winston Churchill, while also trying to join the discussion on his real political thoughts. He was the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom between 1940-45 and 1951-55 and he was a member of the Conservative Party during this period. Thus, he was definitely a Conservative with a big C, but was he ever conservative with a small c? This is also a question I am going to answer in this essay, after explaining what the difference is between small and big initial letter conservatism.

In order to do that, I address what it means to be ideologically conservative, then I will use the speeches and writings of Winston Churchill, as well as his biographies so that I can understand his ideas and thoughts and match them to the attributes of the conservative ideology. Judging by his actions and statements, I hope to be able to decipher his complex view of the world and decide if he was a follower of conservatism, or any kind of other ideology while pursuing his political career.

First of all, I am presenting shortly the most important points of his long life and career, and explain the ideology of conservatism. In my main chapter, I will examine every idea one by one, providing evidence for each of my statements.

II. His Life and Political Career

Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill was born on 30 November 1874 in the family palace at Blenheim. He was born half English, half American which made him special (at least for himself) and had determined his future. His father, Lord Randolph Churchill was the younger son of the 7th Duke of Marlborough, thus a man of noble descent. He was a member of the British Parliament from 1874 and a few years later he became a leading figure of the Conservative Party.

Winston looked up to his father and tried to follow in his footsteps, especially in the field of politics, therefore getting to know the political ideology of Randolph is crucial to understand the ideas of Churchill. Randolph had mostly taken his ideology from Benjamin Disraeli, one of the greatest Prime Ministers of the Conservative Party: they believed in imperialism regarding foreign politics and progressive social reforms regarding internal affairs. Churchill's father has called his version of this 'tory democracy' – this was adopted by Winston later on in his life.² It is also important to understand that Winston Churchill had a very complicated relationship with his father: Winston has always been fighting for Randolph's acknowledgement – which

² ROBERTS 2020. I. 17.

he never really got while he was alive – and after the death of his father, Churchill was striving to clear his name within political circles. These have also defined his actions as a politician.

The mother of Churchill was Jennie Jerome, daughter of Leonard Jerome, an American businessman who had been quite rich before the birth of Winston, but lost a fortune during the stock market crash in 1873. Still, the connections of his mother in the United States and in many other places have helped Churchill move forward his career.

A career that was quite long, active and impressive, even though it did begin unusually. Churchill went to the second most elite school of the United Kingdom, Harrow; but, finishing there he did not continue his studies at a university. Instead, he went on to become a soldier, completing his training at the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst as part of the cavalry, which at that time was shameful. However, Churchill was convinced that he needed to become famous as a soldier first, before starting a political career, thus he did so.

He enjoyed being in the military and fought on several battlefields, not only for the British Empire, but also as a mercenary for other countries. He took part in a war in Cuba for instance, fighting in the Spanish army – this was the first occasion he used writing in order to maintain himself and it turned out to be quite profitable. Churchill was a very talented writer, his coverages were exciting, interesting and easy to follow, thus he became one of the most well-paid war correspondents. Furthermore, the skills he had learned while writing from the battlefields of the world were also useful later on in his political career, when he was writing his own speeches.

After Cuba, he went to India, which also had a great impact on his life and beliefs: Churchill made a promise there in 1897 to dedicate his whole life to the preservation of the British Empire,³ and he more or less lived up to that promise. Then he fought in the Second Boer War, before joining the Conservative Party and finally appearing in the political field in 1900. As his father was a Conservative, it was obvious for Churchill to join this party, however he disagreed with the Tories on several issues. Therefore, it only took four years for him to decide it was not his party: in 1904 he quit the Conservatives and joined the Liberal Party instead, where he was made Undersecretary of State for the Colonies after the Liberals won the elections in 1905. That was his first office, followed by many: in 1908 he became President of the Board of Trade, in 1910 the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and from 1911 until 1914 he was the First Lord of the Admiralty. After a fiasco at Gallipoli which had cost the Allied forces thousands of lives, Churchill decided to fight on the frontlines, thus he went to France, joining the British military forces.

Following the war, he was first Minister of Munitions, then Minister of Air and Secretary of State for War at the same time, and finally in 1922 he became Secretary of State for the Colonies. However, that was his final position as a Liberal, in the last Liberal government of British history: in the beginning of the 1920s he started drifting back towards the Conservatives, and after 20 years, in 1924 he re-joined the party of his father. Moreover, he not only reunited with his old party, but he did it so gracefully as nobody else could have done it: Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin offered him the position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the third most important position in the cabinet. He held this office until 1929 when the Conservatives lost the elections against the Labour Party and Churchill was forced into opposition. Even during those years, he did not waste his time: he travelled around the world, and mostly the United States with his son and his brother, gaining essential experience and knowledge on the new world.

He did not know it at that time, but after 1929 he did not gain any office until the Second World War: these ten long years are regarded as ‘years in the jungle’ by many of his biographers.⁴ It refers to Churchill’s solo fight against his own party on several issues, such as the constitution of India, the abdication crisis, and of course the politics of appeasement. After standing up

³ ROBERTS 2020. I. 60.

⁴ Ibid 372.

against Neville Chamberlain's politics regarding Nazi Germany for years, in 1940 finally came Winston Churchill's moment – which has been the darkest hour of history – and he became Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. He gained most of his reputation during the Second World War when he was leading his country not only as PM, but also as Minister of Defence. Churchill was incredibly popular during all five years and his wartime speeches are still well-known and quoted today – he acted as if he was born to do this. However, even his popularity was not enough for the Conservative Party to win the elections right after the war in 1945, thus Churchill again had to sit in opposition for five years, before returning to power for one last term. He led the Conservatives as Prime Minister between 1951-55, after which he retired to his mansion in the English countryside, painting and reading until his death. Winston Churchill died on 24 January 1965, in London and received a funeral only earned by kings.

III. Big C and Small c Conservatism

All in all, we can claim that Winston Churchill had a very long and busy political life, throughout most of which he was the member of the British Conservative Party – thus a Conservative with a big C. But what does that mean, and what is the difference between small c and big C conservatism?

The word conservative can be used both as an adjective and as a noun. On the one hand, as a noun it is written with a capital initial letter, in other words, with a big C: in this case it refers to the Conservative Party of the United Kingdom, or a member of said party. On the other hand, as an adjective it has to be written with a small c: in this case it refers to a person, who is opposing any kind of change. However, there is a third option as well, which is the ideology itself: that is somewhere in-between the two, although it is often written with a big C.⁵ Despite that fact, for easier understanding, I am going to use it with a small initial letter in my essay from now on.

The main characteristics of all three are somewhat different. Small c conservatism in this respect means something quite radical: it is not an ideological belief; it is simply a profound resistance against any kind of change in all parts of life. Meanwhile conservatism, the political philosophy was born in the end of the 18th century and it is a much more complex belief-system. Its main ideas were first written down by an English political theorist, Edmund Burke, who concluded his thoughts on the French Revolution of 1789. The basic ideas of conservatism have not changed since then: it denies the principal of rationality; it considers history and continuity as central reference points; it prefers slow, organic development instead of rash decisions and revolutionary change; it respects traditions, religious values, traditional hierarchy and authority. It prefers collectivism over the individualism of liberalism, and supports power of the state over its subjects as the basis of order.⁶ As for being a Conservative, in other words member of the Conservative Party one does not have to believe in either of the above mentioned, simply has to maintain a membership of the Party.

Thus, this means that one does not have to be a Conservative with a big C in order to be a conservative with a small c – that we can all easily understand. However, it is also true the other way round: it is not necessary to be a conservative with a small c – or even to be a believer of the conservative ideology – in order to be a Conservative with a big C. Obviously, people who become members of the Party are usually in some respect conservative: they are in favour of conserving the structures of British politics and society, the Monarchy, the titles, the Union etc. and they stand up for traditional and religious values. On the other hand, the Conservative Party of the UK has been the party of the Empire since Benjamin Disraeli's premiership in the 19th

⁵ DEFTY 2014. <https://whorunsbritain.blogs.lincoln.ac.uk/2014/10/06/big-c-and-small-c-conservatism/> (downloaded: 05. 11. 2021)

⁶ BAYER 1998. 210-213.

century, believing in the ideology of imperialism, which is not exactly conservative, but still an important part of being a Conservative, with a big C. Furthermore, a perfect example to the idea that not all members have to be conservative with a small c is Margaret Thatcher, whose New-Conservatism makes researchers question whether she was even a Conservative with a big C, because she was definitely not one with a small c.⁷

IV. Winston Churchill and conservatism

After clarifying this difference, we have arrived to the most important question of my essay: whether Winston Churchill was a small c conservative and if yes, to what extent?

As I have already emphasised it before, one of the most important factors in the political career of Churchill was his relationship with his father, Randolph. Winston looked up to his father, and shared most of his beliefs, claiming several times during his life to be a tory democrat, just as Randolph: a believer of progressive reforms in the social sphere and a true imperialist. These are both true, and I will present some evidence for that in the following paragraphs, however, that does not make Churchill a conservative: on the contrary, progressive reforms are liberal, or even socialist ideas, while imperialism is Conservative, but definitely not conservative.

Churchill has always resented socialism, but that did not stop him from supporting social reforms. In as early as 1906, in a speech in Glasgow, he claimed that ‘the State should increasingly take the position of the reserve employer of labour’⁸ and he supported the introduction of more favourable working conditions. Although, at that time he did not have the means to employ these thoughts in action, later on in his life, he did not fail to act either. In a speech told in 1908 in his constituency in Dundee, he was talking about a huge ‘step which has been taken in the establishment of a system of Old Age Pensions’⁹ and regarded the ‘social machinery’ as ‘deficient, ill-organised and incomplete’.¹⁰ In the same speech he claimed something radically not conservative when he said: ‘But I do not agree with those who say that every man must look after himself, and that the intervention by the State in such matters as I have referred to will be fatal to his self-reliance, his foresight, and his thrift.’¹¹

Later on he proposed a bill on a minimum wage, and maximum working hours, he fought for a compulsory unemployment insurance and planned a tax credit for couples with children. When he became Secretary of State for the Home Department, and later Chancellor of the Exchequer, he passed several laws that brought about progressive social reforms. These are all ideas and steps of a social liberalist, or a democrat, as he liked to claim and were closely intertwined with his imperial thoughts: Churchill believed the only way to save the Empire was to nurture its people.

He never denied his imperialist beliefs, in fact he seized every opportunity to claim how much he loves and respects the British Empire, from very early on. Churchill fell in love with the Empire when he was sent to fight in India, in the 1890s: this was the first time he set foot in the vast territories of the British, but definitely not the last. During this journey he decided to dedicate his life to the protection and conservation of the British Empire, which has defined many of his political actions later on. His conviction was strengthened when he travelled around British East Africa in 1907-8 and got to know the Empire profoundly. He even put the interests of the Empire before his own on several occasions, making himself most probably the truest imperialist of all times.¹²

⁷ DEFTY 2014.

⁸ Quoted by ROBERTS 2020. I. 119.

⁹ Winston Churchill: ‘Humanity Will Not Be Cast Down’ In: GILBERT 2013.

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Ibid

¹² ROBERTS 2020. I. 49.

There are numerous speeches and writings of Churchill that could serve as evidence for his imperialism, but none as obvious as one of his actions. When in the 1930s, the British government decided to give India a constitution and a commonwealth status, Churchill turned against his party – once again – and risked his own political position in order to stop this. In his opinion, the loss of the brightest jewel in the crown would have meant a catastrophe for the British Empire. Thus, even though he could not win, and in the end it cost him most of his friends and supporters, and all that little respect he had in the Conservative Party, Winston Churchill never gave up on his fight for India.¹³

He preserved this fondness during the Second World War, when he knew he could count on the Empire to save Britain. Moreover, during the war, his figure became associated with the Empire so much that on one occasion in Dover a worker supposedly said, pointing at Churchill: ‘There goes the bloody Empire’.¹⁴ Churchill believed that the war was not only fought by the Empire for the motherland, but also for saving the British Empire itself, which was true in every sense. However, he was awfully wrong thinking that the glorious days of the Empire are not over, and it can stay intact after the war. On the other hand, he claimed in 1944 that ‘we did not enter the war out of a desire to acquire, but we do not plan to lose anything in it’¹⁵ – a desire he could fulfil. Together with the idea presented in one of his most famous sentences: ‘I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.’¹⁶ He lived up to that statement: during the premiership of Winston Churchill, none of the territories of the Empire gained their independence – he really had done everything to preserve it.¹⁷

Thus, Churchill was definitely a tory democrat, as he has said, but he could still have been a conservative at the same time. Many of the British conservatives are aristocrats fond of their privileges and status – Churchill was also born into an aristocratic family, so let us examine now what was his relationship with his own class.

He was the descendent of the Duke of Marlborough, and he was absolutely aware of his origins: it was a different caste in British society. The aristocrats had their own hierarchy, their own accent, schools, clubs, traditions and rituals. Churchill was part of this caste and he used its social network on numerous occasions in his life, for instance the contacts of her mother in high society, but later on he also had his own high standing friends. However, he has never been a true, snobbish aristocrat, keen on saving his privileges.¹⁸ What could prove that more than his actions in 1910-1911, when he fought on the side of David Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, in order to cut the rights of the House of Lords. It started as a debate on the new budget, but by August 1911, the upper House was forced to accept the loss of many of their rights and they mostly blamed Churchill. The issue caused an uproar in the Conservative Party – even though Churchill was member of the Liberal Party at that time – because they saw it as an aristocrat turning against its own class.¹⁹ And that had only been one of the many similar cases. As Andrew Roberts writes in his Churchill biography: ‘the aristocratic background did not stop Churchill from leaving the Tories, supporting the People’s Budget, condemn the House of Lords, support the inheritance tax, the property tax and the Irish autonomy’.²⁰ None of these are actions of a conservative aristocrat.

There was only one characteristic that has always been the peculiarity of the aristocracy, and Churchill also had it: the fondness of the Monarchy and the Royal Family. He had a very strong

¹³ ROBERTS 2020. I. 363.

¹⁴ ROBERTS 2020. II. 123.

¹⁵ Quoted by ROBERTS 2020. II. 324.

¹⁶ Winston Churchill ‘On our one aim’ <https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2009/nov/11/churchill-blood-sweat-tears> (downloaded: 03. 01. 2022)

¹⁷ ROBERTS 2020. II. 451.

¹⁸ ROBERTS 2020. I. 18-19.

¹⁹ Ibid 164.

²⁰ Ibid 276.

bond with them, even though he not always made the right decisions²¹ in connection with them. Even right after the Second World War, when the coalition government has dissolved, Churchill went to the Buckingham Palace so that the King could ask him to form a new, Conservative government. His wife, Clementine wrote about this that Churchill was the last man to believe in the God-given powers of the King, thus it was somehow extremely important to him, that the King should chose the new Prime Minister.²²

Another important characteristic of a conservative is religiousness and the respect for religious values. In the case of Winston Churchill, we can definitely say that he was not religious, at least not traditionally. Even though he made several references to God and religion in his speeches, and he was baptised an Anglican, he never practiced it. According to Andrew Roberts, he had his own belief system, which was mostly imperialism and belief in the Empire.²³

A true conservative also respects laws and rules as the basis of social order. Churchill's behaviour is quite contrary to that: he never liked rules and customs. The best example for that are his driving habits: he almost always went over the speed limit, he did not respect traffic lights and he was a really impatient driver.²⁴ Once again, not at all a conservative.

Radical conservatives would want to fight any kind of change and even non-radicals are against rash decisions and any change that was not carefully thought over. Winston Churchill was the father of the tank, he loved flying and helped the air forces gain their position within the British military, he supported the foundation of the predecessor of MI6, and the researches for the atomic bomb – and these are only the most well-known neologies of his. He even enjoyed new words just as much as new machines and technologies: he liked taking novel words from the American English, but he made up his own words as well.²⁵ Thus, in this sense he was also the opposite of a conservative.

After listing several arguments on why Churchill was not a conservative, let me introduce one last idea, which is also a true characteristic of a conservative and one that Churchill also had: the unquestionable belief in and respect for history. During his political career, he used examples taken from history on numerous occasions, in order to justify his actions or explain current situations. When he was in an uncertain situation, he always turned to history, and he believed it could help him find a way out of any difficulty. Churchill used this technique especially during the Second World War, which was obviously his greatest challenge: for instance, he spoke about the Napoleonic Wars and the failure of the French to conquer the vast Russian land right after Hitler turned against the Soviet Union.²⁶ He not only referred to historic events in his speeches, but he also wrote books on history – one of the most famous of them is *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples* – using enormous amount of materials and resources, and doing thorough research – thus he was basically a historian.²⁷

So all in all, we can say that – despite of his respect for history – Winston Churchill did not bear most of the conservative characteristics. But where did he stand regarding political parties? In 1900, following the example of his father, he joined the Conservative Party as he entered the field of politics. He regarded the Liberals at that time 'self-sufficient hypocrites' whom the Tories had to overcome.²⁸ But even though he claimed to be a Tory, even a conservative at that time, he also followed his father's lead in revolting against his own party: Churchill did not agree with the Conservatives on several issues, such as how much they spent on defence, on

²¹ In the abdication crisis in 1936. he was supporting Edward VIII. in his plans to marry Mrs. Simpson, a divorcee against basically the whole cabinet and parliament.

²² ROBERTS 2020. II. 383.

²³ ROBERTS 2020. I. 53.

²⁴ Ibid 91.

²⁵ JOHNSON 2015. 95.

²⁶ ROBERTS 2020. II. 146.

²⁷ Ibid 181.

²⁸ ROBERTS 2020. I. 86.

social reforms and especially on the idea of protectionism and he was not afraid to express his views either. He detested protectionism – the main economic standpoint of the Conservatives – so much, that it was one of the main reasons behind him changing parties. In 1903, he stated that he is a liberal and he hates the Tory Party²⁹ - and a year later, in 1904 he really did leave the Conservatives, to join the Liberal Party. It should be understood that his liberal feelings were mostly true regarding economic policies, in other words, the support of free trade; however, those were strong enough to break up with his father's party.

In opposition, he fought even more ruthlessly against the Conservative Party: he seized every opportunity to speak up against them, so much so that soon members of his old party started to hate him more than any other Liberal. He was regarded a weathercock especially because in 1905 the Conservative Party lost the elections, and they could not return to power before the end of the First World War, so Churchill changed his membership at a quite convenient time.³⁰ Just as when he, after 20 years, returned to the Conservatives: in 1923 he again claimed to be a tory democrat, who was forced to take a detour because of the circumstances, and said he would be happy to re-join the Conservatives.³¹ First, still as a Liberal, he decided to support the Conservatives against the Labour Party in 1923, then he stood as an independent candidate, before returning to the Tories in 1924. It was thus another convenient timing, as the Liberals have not gained power ever since then and Labour took their positions.

Returning did not mean reconciliation: Churchill continued to attack the Conservatives on several issues and his party members continued to detest him for that. The extremists even regarded him as a liberal who simply sat in the Tory benches, and considered him politically unstable.³² Even when he became the Prime Minister in 1940, they were suspicious of him and were thinking about how they could replace him.³³ As Boris Johnson – the current PM – writes in his book, *The Churchill Factor*, Conservatives thought of Winston Churchill as ‘Göring, an American freak, a traitor, a bloated baby, and considered him a disaster for the country in general’.³⁴

So he was closer to the Liberals, but still for some reason chose to be a Conservative. However, his deepest desire has always been forming and leading a central party, connecting those two. For that he wanted the fusion of the moderate parts of both parties, leaving the extremist right and left both behind.³⁵ He had this dream throughout his life, but it remained unfulfilled.

Thus we could say, that even party-wise he was not a real Conservative, but also not a real Liberal either. In economic terms, he was definitely a liberal, but in another sense? He hated Bolsheviks and communism with all his heart, and he spoke about that openly.³⁶ On the other hand, he never mentioned what he stood for instead. According to Johnson, Churchill ‘had a clearly outlined political identity and unshakable principles’³⁷ but even he could not define what that political identity was. It is indeed quite difficult to classify him, because he had very wide ranging views: some even argue that he was a maverick, an independent politician, without its own party, because he always had different views, not only those that fit the ideology of his party.³⁸

²⁹ Quoted by ROBERTS 2020. I. 101.

³⁰ JOHNSON 2015. 23.

³¹ ROBERTS 2020. I. 317.

³² Ibid 370.

³³ JOHNSON 2015. 44.

³⁴ Ibid 46.

³⁵ ROBERTS 2020. I. 96.

³⁶ JOHNSON 2015. 232.

³⁷ Ibid 175.

³⁸ PACK 2012. <https://www.markpack.org.uk/33251/winston-churchill-liberal-or-tory/> (downloaded: 05. 11. 2021)

In my opinion – as he himself and his colleagues have also claimed numerously – he was simply an opportunist, who had his own, solid ideas of the world and who would have done anything in order to reach his goals, and no ideology or party politics mattered to him. As Roberts quotes a *Vanity Fair* article on Churchill: ‘He is ambitious, has an intention to succeed and loves his homeland from the bottom of his heart. But he could hardly be considered a slave to any party.’³⁹ We can add ‘and to any ideology’ and that would be the perfect description of Winston Churchill.

V. Conclusion

In my essay I was trying to examine the true political identity of Winston Churchill, one of the most famous figures of history, and answer the question whether he was a conservative. In order to do that, I used the biographies of Churchill as well as his speeches and writings.

Judging by his actions and statements I came to the conclusion that he was definitely not a conservative, and it is also questionable whether he was a true Conservative. He was born an aristocrat, but has never been a real part of that elite caste and he turned against his own class on several occasions. He was not religious and he did not like to follow the rules of society. He enjoyed creating new technologies and was always keen on hearing new ideas. Even though he loved history and always looked to the past for answers to his present, that alone does not make him a conservative. On the other hand, he was hated by most Conservative Party members all his life, and he also disliked many of the party’s policies. He changed parties when it was convenient for him, and wherever he stood in the House of Commons, he always went after his own head.

It is also quite hard to decide what he actually was, if not a conservative, since he had so widely varying views of the world. In economic terms, he was a liberal, supporting free trade, however, his stance on the Empire and other foreign affairs was everything but liberal. He was also somewhat of a social liberalist, who found it important to help the poor and create better conditions for them by progressive reforms. On the other hand, he detested socialism and communism consequently, during all his life.

All in all, we could say that Winston Churchill was definitely not a consistent believer of any political ideology: he was a kind of a polyhistor, always looking for new possibilities, following his heart, his ambitions and opportunities, but never the rules and ideas of someone else. The only thing he did pursue for almost all his political life was the heritage of his father, tory democracy. In fact, in this sense, he was one of the most consistent politicians of all times. In any other sense, let me quote Churchill: ‘one can only remain consistent in the midst of changing circumstances if he changes with them, but at the same time retains the same basic goal’.⁴⁰

What this tells us, is that one can be a remarkable politician, even one of the greatest Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, without consistently following any kind of ideological belief, or even without the wholehearted support of an entire political party. Winston Churchill was such an outstanding person, who is one of the most important figures of the 20th century, and the fact that he happened to be the member of the Conservative Party when he was leading his country is probably a mere coincidence.

³⁹ ROBERTS 2020. I. 87.

⁴⁰ Quoted by ROBERTS 2020. II. 480.

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Dilemmák a köznevelés vezetőinek felkészítési és fejlesztési folyamatában

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A megfelelő vezetőképzés jelentős mértékben hozzájárul a vezető és ezáltal a szervezet eredményességének, versenyképességének növeléséhez. A köznevelésben a vezetőképzés elvégzése a vonatkozó rendelet alapján az intézményvezetői megbízás feltétele. A tanulmány azt mutatja be, milyen vezetőképzés folyik a köznevelésben, hol helyezkedik el a képzés a közszféra egyéb ágainak vezetőképzései sorában, valamint a pedagógus továbbképzés rendszerében, illetve a képzésben részt vevő hallgatók körében lebonyolított kérdőíves kutatás alapján kiderül belőle az is, tartalmában és módszertanában adekvát-e napjaink intézményvezetése számára.

Kulcsszavak: vezetőképzés, tananyagtartalom, módszertan, intézményvezetői feladatkör, megfelelés

I. Bevezetés

A vezetés jelenségének kutatása az 1900-as évek elejére, közepére vezethető vissza. Előtte az az általános elv volt meghatározó, hogy vezetőnek csak születni lehet, ugyanis a születési előjogok alapján választották ki egy adott közösség vezetőjét. Elméleti alapja az úgynevezett „arisztokratikus preformizmus”, mely szerint a vezetés nem tanulható, vezetővé nem lehet válni, vezetőnek születni kell. Ezzel az elsősorban európai gondolkodásmóddal áll szemben az az amerikai szemlélet, melynek eszmei hátterét a „funkcionalista demokratizmus” képezi (Taylor, 1903, 1911). Eszerint mindenkiből lehet vezető, aki megtanulja a vezetést: a vezetés tehát önálló szakma, melynek ismeretanyaga, elmélete és módszerei is vannak. Ez utóbbi tézisek alapjain nyugszik a vezetéstudomány és ebbe a sorba illeszkedik a vezetők képzése, fejlesztése is (Vereckei, 2021a; Berde, 2014; Bakacsi, 1999).

Manapság már evidenciának számít az a megállapítás, mely szerint a jó képzés jelentős mértékben hozzájárul a vezető és ezáltal a szervezet eredményességének, versenyképességének növeléséhez. Kérdés azonban, mi sorolható a jó képzés kritériumai közé. Általánosságban a legfontosabb tartalmi kritérium természetesen az, hogy a képzés anyaga az adott szféra igényeinek megfelelően kerüljön összeállításra, azaz az érintett vezető számára alkalmazható és adekvát tudást adjon, módszertani szempontból pedig az, hogy igazodjon a felnőttkor (különösen egy elfoglalt vezető) tanulási sajátosságaihoz (Vereckei, 2021a).

II. Vezetőfelkészítés, vezetőfejlesztés a közsférában

Magyarországon a vezetők felkészítésének igénye a 80-as évek elején jelenik meg, majd a rendszerváltás mennyiségi és minőségi változást hozott ezen a területen is (Vaszari, 2016). Mivel a menedzsmentismeretek javarészt az üzleti szférához kötődnek, itt jelentkezett először és teljesedett ki a vezetők képzésének rendszere. A KSH adatai alapján azonban Magyarországon az emberek minimum negyede a közsférában dolgozik (a jelenlegi adatok szerint 600.000-650.000 fő az ott foglalkoztatottak száma), így hamarosan jelentkeztek különböző formái ebben a szektorban is. Dinya László 2000-es évek elején végzett kutatásai szerint a közszolgáltatások zökkenőmentes biztosításához minimum tíz fő beosztott/egy fő vezető arány szükséges, melynek figyelembevételével ideális esetben a „köz” rendszerében jelenleg legalább 60.000 fő irányít több-kevesebb beosztottat (Dinya, 2002). Napjainkban már egyértelmű, hogy Magyarországon a vezetőképzés mind a versenyszférában mind a közsférában jelen van és mivel a két szektor kihívásai nincsenek összhangban egymással, mindkét szegmens kialakította saját, speciális vezetőképzési rendszerét. A közsféra vezetőképzési rendszerét áttekintve – és ágazatait három nagy csoportra osztva: 1. Honvédelem, rendvédelem, igazságszolgáltatás (bírák, ügyészség), 2. Közigazgatás és 3. Közalkalmazottak (elsősorban egészségügy, oktatás, szociális ellátás) – megállapítható, hogy a közigazgatás és a közalkalmazotti szféra vezetőképzési rendszere több hasonló vonást mutat, míg az első csoporté ezekétől elkülönül.

A honvédelem, rendvédelem és igazságszolgáltatás esetében ugyanis a vezetőképzés az alapképzés része, mely vagy mesterképzésben folytatódik vagy az adott életpályán az előmenetel olyan feltétele, melynek megteremtése a munkáltató feladata (pl. bírónak válást megelőzően fogalmazóként és titkárként kötelező oktatásokon kell részt venni). A 2. és 3. csoport esetében a közös vonásokat a következő táblázat szemlélteti:

1. táblázat: Közös vonások a közigazgatás és a közalkalmazottak vezetőképzési rendszerében

A vezetőképítés jellemzői	Közigazgatás	Közalkalmazottak		
		Szociális ágazat	Egészségügy	Oktatás
Az alapképzésnek nem része, továbbképzés keretében sajtátható el.	Igen Közigazgatási vezetőképítés	Igen Szociális vezetőképítés	Igen Egészségügyi menedzser képzés	Igen Közoktatási vezetőképítés
A képzést felsőoktatási intézmény szervezi szakirányú továbbképzésként.	Igen NKE	Igen SOTE	Igen SOTE	Igen Pedagógus/Tanárképzést folytató felsőoktatási intézmények
A képzés elvégzése a vezetői megbízás feltétele.	Nem	Igen	Igen	Igen
A képzési rendszer többszintű.	Igen Gyakorló vezetők fejlesztése és utánpótlás-nevelés.	Igen Leendő vezetők felkészítése (alapozó képzés) és a gyakorló vezetők fejlesztése (megújító képzés).	Nem Leendő vezetők felkészítése.	Nem Leendő vezetők felkészítése.

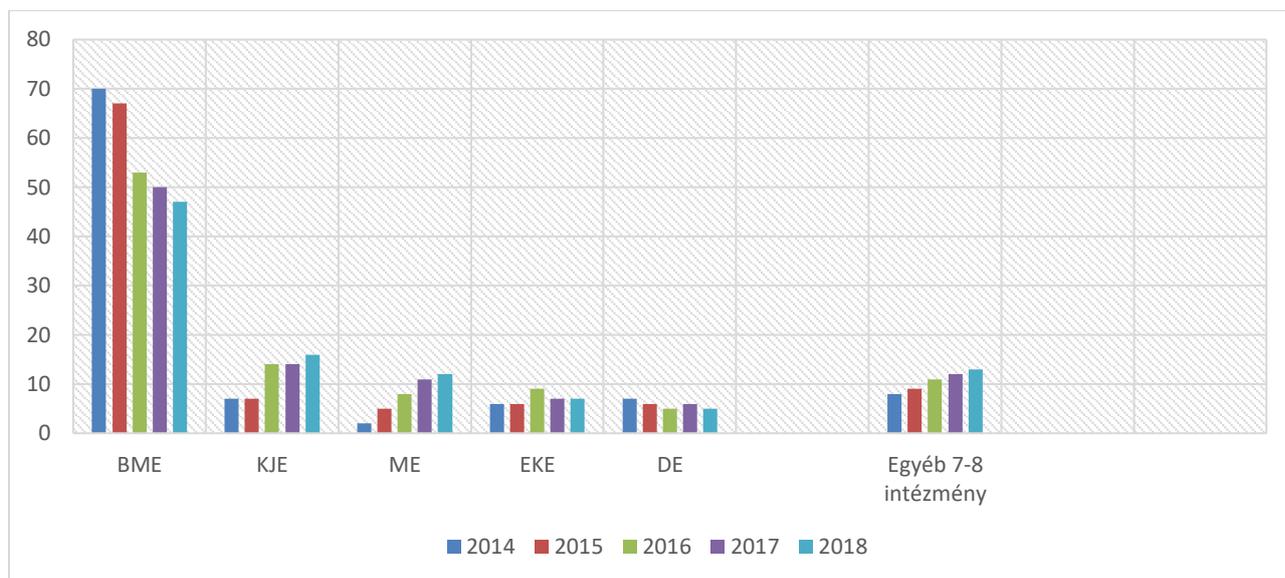
Forrás: saját adatgyűjtés [2021]

A vezetőképítés a közigazgatásban és a közalkalmazottak esetében nem az alapképzés keretében, hanem felsőoktatási intézmények által szervezett szakirányú továbbképzés formájában sajtátható el. Alapvető célja a közigazgatásban a már pozícióban lévő vezetők fejlesztése (éppen ezért nem feltétele a vezetői megbízásnak), míg a közalkalmazottak esetében a leendő vezetők felkészítése a vezetői szerepre, így annak elvégzése egyben a vezetői megbízás feltétele is. Megjegyzendő, hogy a szociális ágazatban a felkészítés mellett tovább szinteződik a képzés rendszere és megjelennek benne fejlesztő, megújító képzéselemek is.

III. Vezetőképítés az oktatásban

A közoktatásban a vezetőképítés kialakulásának kezdetei a fentiekben leírtakkal összhangban szintén a 80-as évekre vezethetők vissza, megszervezésének oka az önálló igazgatói szerepkör formálódásával függ össze. Először az Oktatási Minisztérium felügyelete alatt működött egy vezetőképítő központ, majd a megyei pedagógiai intézetek vették át a feladatot és szintén tanfolyami formában biztosították a felkészítést az igazgatói szerepre készülő pedagógusoknak. A 90-es évek elején az intézményvezetői hatáskör bővülése, a megnövekedett és új vezetői feladatoknak való megfelelés igénye természetes módon hatással volt a vezetőképítés

formálódásra, fejlődésére is – ekkor alakult ki a jogilag szabályozott, egységes rendszerű és szerkezetű, felsőoktatási intézmények által szakirányú továbbképzés formájában megszervezett közoktatási vezetőképzés jelenleg is működő formája. Az első ilyen képzés 1993. szeptember 01-jén indult el a Budapesti Műszaki Egyetem Műszaki Pedagógiai Tanszékén - alapítója Mezei Gyula volt -, de nemsokára hasonló képzésekkel jelentkeznek más budapesti és vidéki egyetemek is (Vereckei, 2021b; Benedek, 2018; Halász, 1994). Jelenleg a Műszaki Egyetem mellett 13 másik felsőoktatási intézmény kínál vezetőképzést, melyek közül meghatározó hallgatói létszámmal a Kodolányi János Egyetem, a Miskolci Egyetem, az egri Eszterházy Károly Egyetem, valamint a Debreceni Egyetem rendelkezik (Vereckei, 2021b). Kisebb hallgatói létszámmal, de állandóan szerepel a képzés a kínálatukban a következő intézményeknek is: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, Szegedi Tudományegyetem, Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Kaposvári Egyetem, Pannon Egyetem, Pécsi Tudományegyetem.



1. ábra: A közoktatási vezető szakirányú továbbképzést kínáló felsőoktatási intézmények hallgatói létszáma 2014. és 2018. között Forrás: Vereckei [2021b]

A képzés fentebb említett, egységes, jogi háttérét egyrészt a nemzeti felsőoktatásról szóló 2011. évi CCIV. törvény (Ftv.), illetve annak végrehajtási rendelete (Fvr.), másrészt a pedagógus-továbbképzésről, a pedagógus-szakvizsgáról, valamint a továbbképzésben részt vevők juttatásairól és kedvezményeiről szóló 277/1997. (XII. 22.) Kormányrendelet (Korm. rend.) biztosítja. A szabályozás egyértelműen meghatározza a képzés kötelező tartalmát (közigazgatási és tanügyigazgatási vezetési ismeretek; a nevelési-oktatási intézmények környezete, szervezete, hatékonysága; pedagógus a nevelési-oktatási intézményben; sajátos pedagógiai, pszichológiai ismeretek és módszerek alkalmazása, hátrányos helyzetű tanulók esélyegyenlőségének biztosítása, valamint - legalább 55 kredit értékben - nevelési-oktatási intézményvezetői ismeretek /Fvr. 21/B. §/), míg a pedagógus szakvizsga formájában történő megszervezésére vonatkozó előírás körülhatárolja helyét a pedagógusok képzésének rendszerében (Ftv.; Korm. rend.).



2. ábra: A közoktatási vezetőképzés helye a pedagógusok szakmai képzésének rendszerében
 Forrás: Vereckei [2021b]

A közoktatási vezetőképzés tehát olyan pedagógus szakvizsga, amely intézményvezetői szakképzettség megszerzésére készít fel. A képzéssel kapcsolatban fontos még megjegyezni, hogy a köznevelésben 2013 óta a vezetői szakképzettség megléte az igazgatói pályázat benyújtásának és az intézményvezetői megbízásnak a feltétele (Nkt. 62. §; 326/2013. (VIII.30.) Korm. rendelet 21/A. §). Meg kell említeni továbbá, hogy a vezetői munkakör betöltéséhez szükséges intézményvezetői szakképzettséget a közoktatási vezető képzésen kívül a tanügyigazgatási szakértő és a vezető óvodapedagógus szakirányú továbbképzések is adnak, de a kínálat meghatározó részét a közoktatási vezető szakirányú képzés teszi ki. Fontos kiemelni azt is, hogy 2019 szeptember 1-jével a szakképzés kivált a köznevelés rendszeréből és vezetőképzési rendszere alakulóban van, jelenleg formálódik.

IV. A megfelelőség dilemmái és a lehetséges irányok

IV. 1. Dilemmák

Tanulmányom bevezetőjében a vezetőképzés megfelelőségének két általános és alapvető kritériumaként azt fogalmaztam meg, hogy a vezető számára adekvát, alkalmazható tudást adjon és a felnőttek (vezetők) elfoglaltságához, tanulási sajátosságaihoz illeszkedő módszertant alkalmazzon. Kérdés, hogy a köznevelésben a vezetőképzés 1993-ban kialakult rendszere megfelel-e a kritériumoknak.

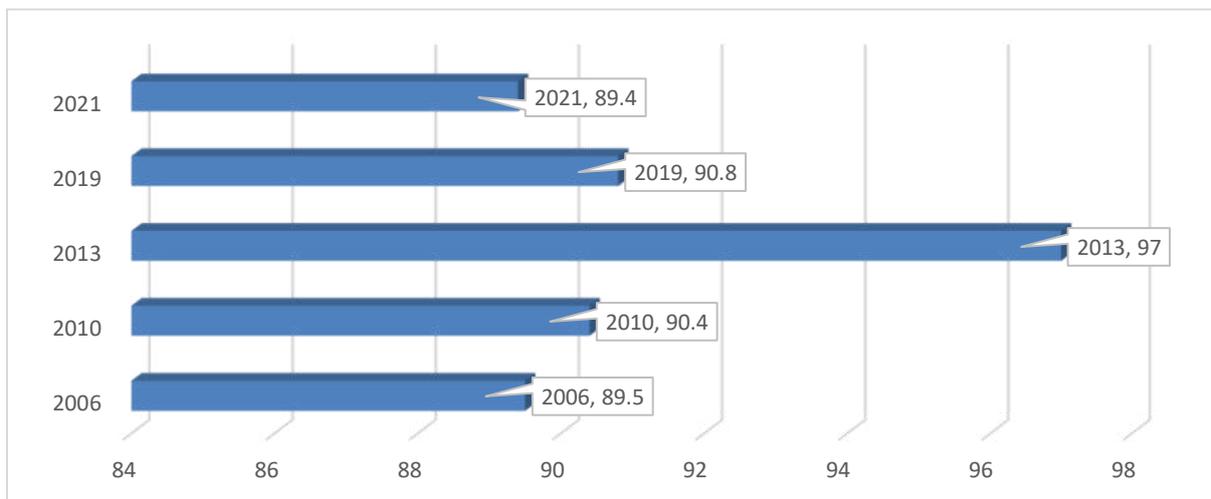
A közvetített tudás megfelelősége elsősorban abból a szempontból vizsgálendő, mennyire tudott szinkron maradni a tananyagtartalom, mennyire tudta követni a közoktatásban/köznevelésben az 1993. óta végbement változásokat, különösen a 2011. évi paradigmaváltást. 1993. és 2011. között ugyanis rengeteg változás történt az oktatásban, de az alapkonceptió: az intézményi és az intézményvezetői önállóság változatlan maradt. A 2011. évi köznevelési törvény ezen a téren koncepcionális változást hozott, mert az iskolák és a kollégiumok 2013. évi állami fenntartásba adásával az intézményvezetői szerepkör megváltozott. Az állami intézményekben a vezetők feladatainak, hatásköreinek, jogköreinek bizonyos részét - elsősorban a menedzser jellegű feladatokat - 2013 óta a vezető már nem önállóan, hanem az irányító szervvel közösen gyakorolja - megszüntetve ezzel az intézmény

fenntartótól való teljes elkülönülését is -, így ezekben az intézményekben az igazgatói munka középpontjába a szakmai munkát irányító, pedagógiai vezető szerep került (Köznevelési stratégia, 2020). Tovább árnyalja a képet az is, hogy eltérő lett a vezetői szerepkör tartalma attól függően, hogy a vezető állami vagy nem állami intézmény élén áll, ugyanis a nem állami (hanem például önkormányzati, magán vagy egyházi) fenntartás esetében a vezetői feladatok vonatkozásában jelentős változások nem történtek (Vereckei, 2021a).

A tartalmi kérdéseken túl a képzés megfelelősége szempontjából fontos vizsgálni azt is, hogy egy iskolarendszerben megvalósuló, felsőoktatási intézmények által kínált képzés mennyire tudja figyelembe venni a felnőttkori tanulás igényeit, sajátosságait. A felnőttek ugyanis tapasztalattal, háttértudással érkeznek a tanulási folyamatba, gyakorlatorientáltak, képesek az önálló tanulásra, ugyanakkor korlátozott lehetőségeik vannak a felkészülésre egyrészt koruk, másrészt pedig amiatt, mert a munka és család mellett kevés idővel rendelkeznek (OECD, 2013; Sz. Molnár, 2009). Így természetes módon a mind időben mind térben flexibilis és elsősorban a nem hagyományos, előadó és magyarázó típusú képzési formák felelnek meg számukra, hanem a fenti specialitásokhoz illeszkedő, egyéb módszerek: az e-learning, a blended learning, a tréning, a konzultáció, illetve a vita, a beszélgetés vagy éppen a gamifikáció (Paksi-Petró, 2017; Muhoray, 2015). Kulcsszerepet játszanak a fentebb felsoroltak megvalósításában az IKT eszközök, melyek terjedése eddig is rohamos mértékű volt, de különösen a digitális oktatásra való áttéréssel a szemléltetésen, a kapcsolattartáson és az információgyűjtésen kívül már az oktatásszervezés területén is központi szerepet kapnak (pl. Kréta, Neptun, Moodle, Mooc, Canvas rendszerek). A digitális kor kihívásainak való megfelelés, az azokkal való konstruktív szembenézés nélkül már a felnőttek oktatása sem képzelhető el (Vereckei, 2021a; Benedek, 2020). Kérdés tehát mennyire felel meg a képzés a felsorolt módszertani kihívásoknak, különösen annak a ténynek az ismeretében, hogy a kínálat közel felét (47%-át) a felnőttkori tanuláshoz, sőt a felnőttoktatás definíciójának is legkevésbé megfelelő nappali képzési formában hirdetik az intézmények, az alternatívák közül a legnagyobb létszámot a levelező (39%), a legalacsonyabbat pedig az esti (8%) és a munka melletti utazást a legkisebb mértékben igénylő távoktatás (6%) teszi ki (Vereckei, 2021b).

IV. 2. Vizsgálat, a lehetséges irányok meghatározása

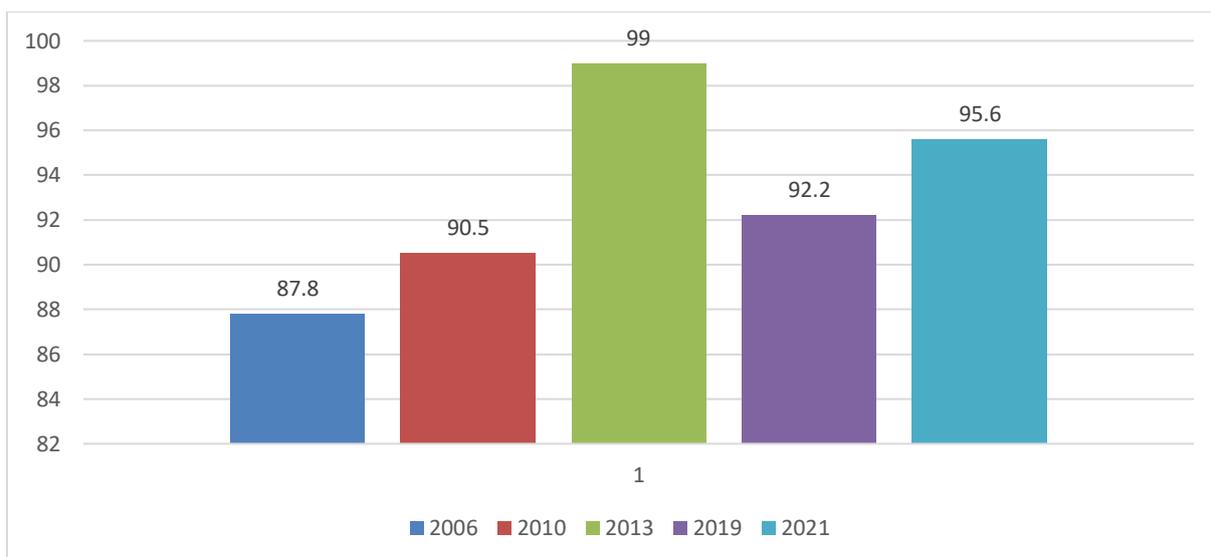
A megfelelőségi kritériumokkal való összehangot a gyakorlatban azon képzés esetében vizsgáltam, mely kezdetektől fogva és jelenleg is a legnagyobb hallgatói létszámmal valósítja meg azt, a Budapesti Műszaki és Gazdaságtudományi Egyetemét. Az egyetem a képzés minőségfejlesztési munkájának részeként 2006-tól a 2. és a 4. szemeszter végén (önkéntes és anonim) hallgatói elégedettségmérést vezetett be. Kutatásomba kizárólag a végzős (azaz a 4. szemeszteres) hallgatók mérési eredményeire alapozva - egy általános elégedettség-kimutatást követően - azt vizsgáltam, mi a véleményük hallgatóknak a tananyagtartalomról, annak korszerűségéről, gyakorlatiasságáról, az intézménytípus különbségeit is figyelembe vevő hasznosságáról, valamint az alkalmazott módszerekről.



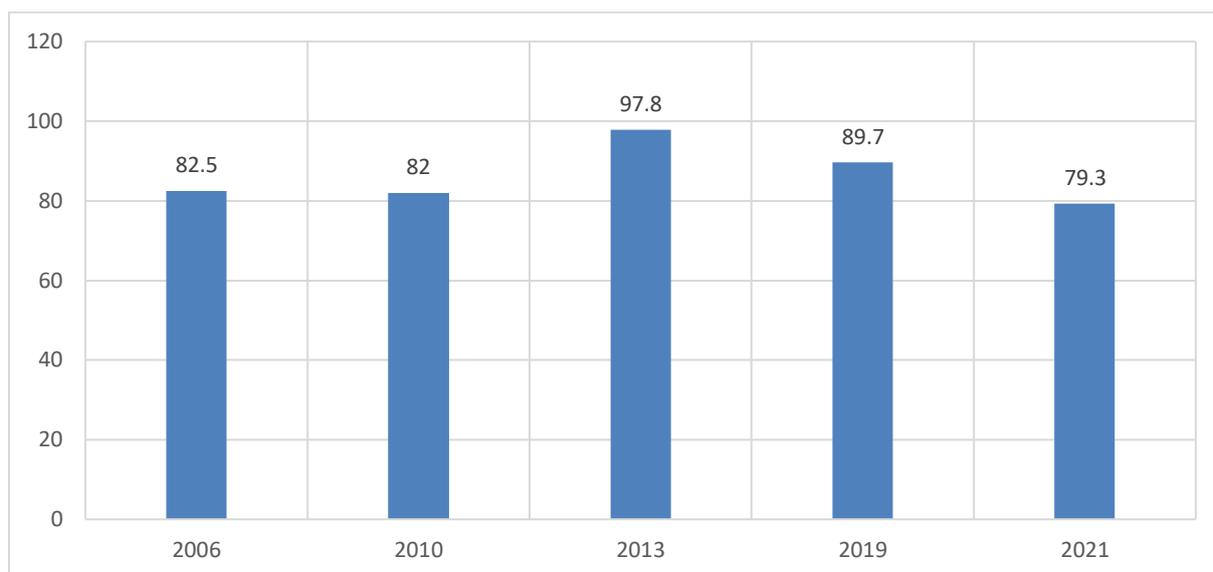
3. ábra: A végzős hallgatók elégedettsége a képzés színvonalával Forrás: saját adatgyűjtés hallgatói elégedettségmérések alapján [2021]

A hallgatók a különböző időpontokban - 2006-ban, 2010-ben, 2013-ban, 2019-ben és 2021-ben – megállapított mérési eredmények alapján szinte teljes mértékben, átlagosan 91%-osan elégedettek a képzéssel. Ilyen elégedettségi eredmény alapján feltételezhető, hogy a képzés teljesíti a megfelelőségi kritériumokat, azaz illeszkedik a jó képzések sorába.

A vizsgálati szempontokra rátérve a hallgatók a különböző időpontokban végzett mérés alapján átlagosan 93%-ban korszerűnek és 86,3%-ban a gyakorlatban hasznosíthatónak találták a tananyag tartalmát. Kiemelem, hogy a különböző időpontokban végzett mérések vizsgálata azért fontos, mert ezzel igazolható, hogy a közvetített tudást tartalom követte-e azokat a változásokat, melyek az oktatásban ezen évek alatt végbementek. Külön felhívom a figyelmet a 2013. év, az állami átvétel évének eredményeire, melyek kimagaslóak mind a korszerűség, mind a gyakorlati hasznosíthatóság szempontjából. A képzés szervezői tehát mindvégig tudatosan dolgoztak és dolgoznak a tartalmi szinkronitás folyamatos fenntartásán.

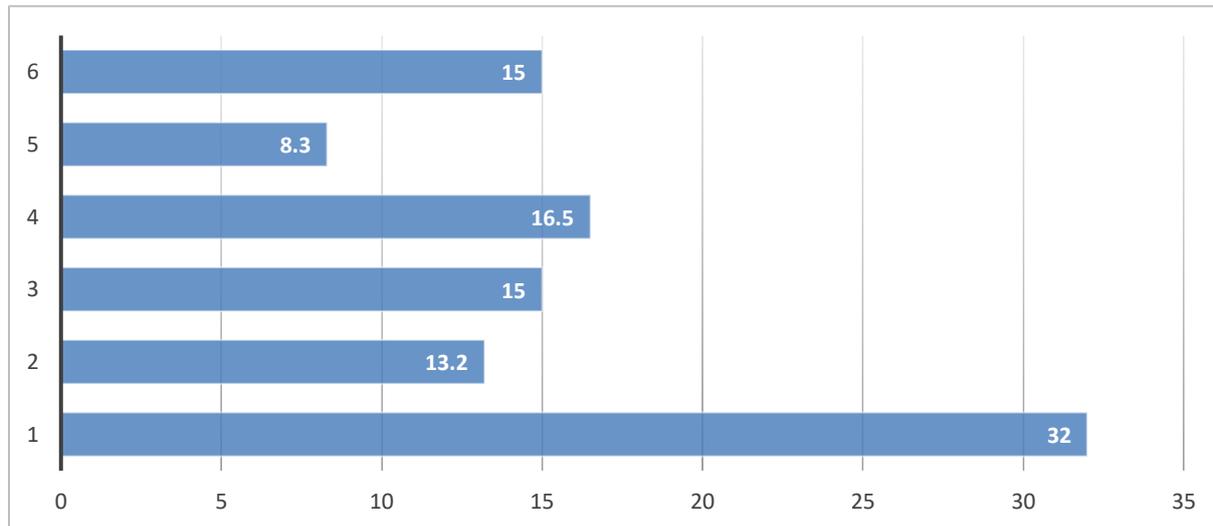


4. ábra: A végzős hallgatók véleménye a tananyag korszerűségéről Forrás: saját adatgyűjtés hallgatói elégedettségmérések alapján [2021]



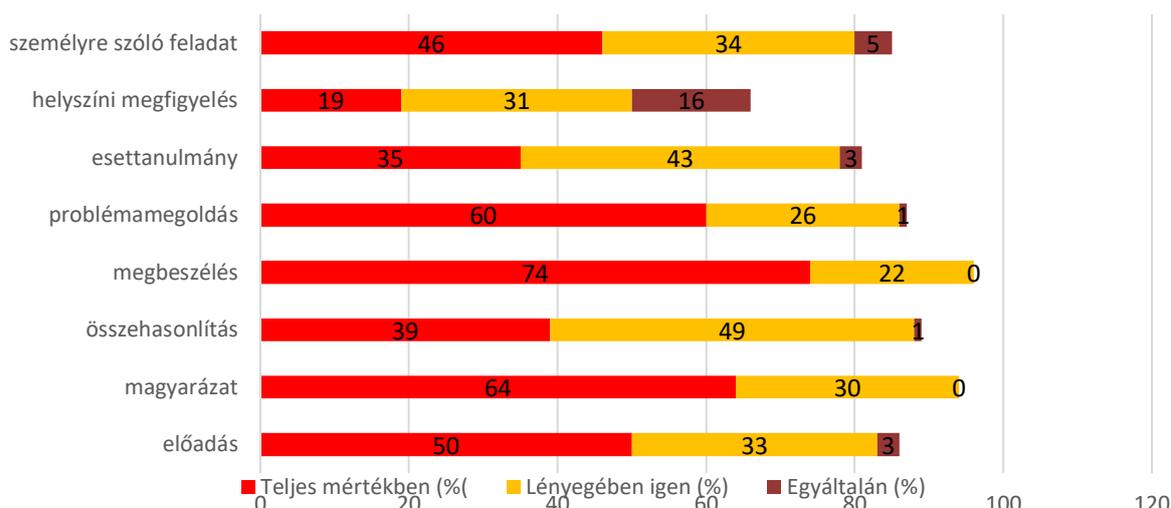
5. ábra: A végzős hallgatók véleménye a tantárgyak gyakorlatiasságáról Forrás: saját adatgyűjtés hallgatói elégedettségmérések alapján [2021]

Mivel az állami és nem állami intézmények élén álló vezetők eltérő hatáskörrel is rendelkeznek, vizsgáltam azt is, hogy az intézménytípusok közötti különbség figyelembevétele megjelenik-e képzési tartalomban. Ennek felmérésére 2021. évi, júniusi adat állt a rendelkezésemre. Mivel ebben az esetben az 1-es érték jelenti az „egyáltalán nem”, a 6-os érték pedig a „teljes mértékben” kategóriákat, ezen a területen adódnak a képzés számára további fejlesztési feladatok.



6. ábra: A végzős hallgatók véleménye az intézménytípus különbségeinek figyelembevételéről Forrás: saját adatgyűjtés hallgatói elégedettségmérés alapján [2021]

A módszertani megfelelés kritériumának vizsgálatához a 2020. évben végzett elégedettségi mérés adatai alapján egyértelműen megállapítható, hogy a hagyományos előadás és magyarázat mellett többféle, speciális, a felnőttkori tanulási igényeknek alkalmas módszereket is használnak a képzésben, mint például az esettanulmány, a helyszíni megfigyelés vagy a problémamegoldás.



7. ábra: A végzős hallgatók véleménye az alkalmazott módszerekről Forrás: saját adatgyűjtés hallgatói elégedettségmérés alapján [2021]

Megjegyzendő az is, hogy a BME-n folyó képzés a felnőttkori tanulási igényekhez maximálisan alkalmazkodó távoktatási formát valósít meg, Budapest mellett az ország számos pontján konzultációs központokat kialakítva – jelenleg 20 vidéki helyszínen van konzultációra lehetőség. Nagy hangsúlyt helyeznek továbbá az IKT eszközök használatára – elsősorban egy elektronikus oktatási keretrendszer – a Moodle felület – alkalmazásával. A Moodle-n keresztül érhetőek el a hagyományos tankönyveket teljes mértékben felváltó elektronikus tananyagok, az oktatási segédanyagok, illetve ezen a felületen történik a tanulás eredményeinek közvetítése is, a hallgatói házi- és évfolyamdolgozatok, sőt a szakdolgozat leadása, valamint itt kommunikál egymással az egyetem és a hallgató: itt követhetőek nyomon például a tanévszervezési feladatok vagy a hallgatónak szóló tájékoztatások is (Vereckei, 2021a; Benedek, 2018; 2020). A képzés tartalom központú, aszinkron, elektronikus tanulástámogatásra épülő rendszerével több tanulmány is foglalkozik (Benedek, 2018; 2020; Kovács, 2014; Molnár, 2018).

A vizsgálat eredményeként megállapítható tehát, hogy a kiválasztott képzés esetében alapvetően teljesülnek mindazok a tartalmi és módszertani kritériumok, melyek alapján a közoktatási vezetőképzés a „megfelelő” vezetőképzések közé sorolható. Megjegyzendő ugyanakkor, hogy általános megállapítás kizárólag a képzést kínáló további 15 felsőoktatási intézmény vizsgálatát követően tehető.

V. Összegzés

A fentiek alapján összegzésképpen a következők állapíthatóak meg:

- Az üzleti szféra mellett a közszférának is kialakult a vezetőképzési rendszere, mely a közalkalmazottak vonatkozásában elsősorban a leendő vezetőket felkészítő képzési elemekből áll.
- Az oktatás területén a vezetőképzés mai, szintén a leendő vezetőket felkészítő formája, mely szerint felsőoktatási intézmények szakirányú továbbképzése keretében valósul meg, 1993-ban alakult ki.
- A közoktatási vezetőképzést a Budapesti Műszaki Egyetemen elvégzett hallgatók öt különböző, 2006. és 2021. közötti időpontban végzett elégedettség-mérésének

vizsgálata alapján a hallgatók általánosságban 93%-ban elégedettek a képzéssel, válaszaik alapján aktuális és adekvát tudásanyagot kapnak, illetve a mérési eredmények szerint megállapítható az is, hogy a képzés mind megszervezési módjában mind módszertanában alkalmazkodott a felnőttkori tanulás sajátosságaihoz, többek között távoktatási formájával (és vidéki konzultációs helyszínek biztosításával), illetve egy elektronikus oktatási keretrendszer alkalmazásával.

- A fenti vizsgálat valamennyi, a képzést lebonyolító felsőoktatási intézményre történő kiterjesztésével vonható le következtetés arra vonatkozóan, általánosságban a közoktatási vezetőképzés a „jó képzések” sorába illeszkedik-e, illetve milyen fejlesztési irányok határozhatóak meg számára.
- A közalkalmazottak esetében a szociális ágazaton belül ún. többszintű fejlesztés valósul meg, azaz a vezetői feladatra történő felkészítés mellett a gyakorló vezetők fejlesztésére is gondot fordítanak. A köznevelésben az intézményvezetők fejlesztése a vezetőképzés elvégzését követően lezárul és nincs folytatása a vezetői életpálya során. Mivel az igazgatók minimum 5 évig, de sok esetben több cikluson keresztül is ellátják feladataikat, a képzés fentiekben javasolt, tehát tartalmi és módszertani felülvizsgálata mellett érdemes azt is átgondolni, hogyan valósítható meg egyéb képzési szintek (fejlesztő, megújító, utánpótlás nevelésre irányuló) bevonása a köznevelési vezetők képzésének rendszerébe.

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„Narcissus hálójában” – A narcizmus és a hozzá kapcsolódó kognitív komponensek hálózati elemzése

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Elméleti háttér: A mai világban a narcizmus az egyik legelterjedtebb modernkori személyiségi jellemzőként van számon tartva. Ebből kifolyólag a különböző fajtáit (a grandiózus és a vulnerábilis narcizmust) már több különböző szempontból közelítették meg. A jelen kutatás megpróbálja górcső alá venni a két narcizmustípus közötti különbségeket és a kapcsolódási pontokat a különböző kognitív komponensekkel, torzításokkal, amik ezt a személyiségvonást övezik.

Célkitűzés: A kutatás elsődleges célja megvizsgálni a narcizmussal kapcsolatba hozható maladaptív sémákat (feljogosítottság, vulnerabilitás, érzelmi depriváció), kognitív kiértékelő rendszereket (önértékelés, élettal való elégedettség), és a különböző torzításokat (diszfunkcionális attitűdök, mint pl.: perfekcionizmus, onnipotencia, stb.)

Eredmények: A hálózatelemzés eredményei alapján elmondható, hogy a vulnerábilis narcizmuson és az önértékelésen keresztül fut át a legtöbb vizsgált konstrukció, valamint a e mellett az érzelmi depriváció van még a legnagyobb hatással a többi személyiségvonásra. Ezek alapján elmondható, hogy a vulnerábilis narcizmus és az önértékelés képezik a modell két középpontját, mind a férfiak, mind pedig a nők esetében.

Következtetések: A hálózatelemzés és további eredmények alapján arra a következtetésre juthatunk, hogy a vulnerábilis narcizmus meglete jelentősen erőteljesebb negatív hatást tud gyakorolni a személy kognitív kiértékelő rendszerének a torzulására, s ezen keresztül a mindennapi életére egyaránt, mint a grandiózus narcizmusnak a jelenléte.

Kulcsszavak: narcizmus, hálózatelemzés, sémák, kognitív torzítás

Támogatás: A kutatást a Nemzeti Kutatási, Fejlesztési és Innovációs Hivatal (Grant No. NKFI-138040), valamint az Átfogó fejlesztések a Pécsi Tudományegyetemen az intelligens szakosodás megvalósítása érdekében (EFOP-3.6.1-16-2016-00004) támogatta. Vida Dorian köszöni Magyarországi Collegium Talentum programjának támogatását.

I. Elméleti háttér

A narcizmust hosszú éveken keresztül patológiaként, sajátos diszfunkcióként kezelték. A 20. századtól fogva viszont ez a megközelítés megváltozott, s manapság már nem lehet a narcizmusra egyértelműen kóros személyiségvonásként tekinteni (Bandi, 2014).

Korábban a narcizmust főleg kategóriákra osztották. Ilyenek a jól ismert grandiózus és vulnerábilis típusok. A mai megközelítés szerint viszont a narcizmust – csakúgy, mint számtalan egyéb személyiségvonást – inkább dimenzionális módon érdemes elképzelnünk.

A két narcizmustípusban rengeteg hasonlóságot, de számos különbséget is felfedezhetünk. Mindkettőre jellemző a korlátlan önbecsülés, az arrogancia, az érzelmi ridegség, a túlzott mértékű csodálat elvárása és általában úgy érzik, hogy „többek” másoknál.

A grandiózus narcizmussal jellemezhető személyek esetében gyakori a túlzott mértékű extravertió, megjelenhetnek az agresszió jelei, valamint a határok átlépése is igen prevalens. Ezzel szemben a vulnerábilis narcizmussal rendelkező személyeknél inkább a viselkedés gátlása (Bandi, 2014; Bandi, 2020) és a félnkség az, ami igazán dominál: náluk is megtalálhatók az alapvető jellemvonások, viszont a legtöbb esetben képesek elrejtetni őket.

Ami igazán lényeges, s képes megkülönböztetni a két típust egymástól, az az, hogy a különböző sajátosságok milyen térben manifesztálódnak – a grandiózus narcizmusnál ez inkább egy extraperszonális, míg a vulnerábilis narcizmusnál egy interperszonális folyamat.

I.1. A narcizmus megközelítése a becki kognitív modell alapján

A narcizmust számos különböző elmélet alapján lehet megközelíteni: szociális tanuláselméletek, evolúciós elméletek, pszichodinamikus elméletek, sémaelméletek, kognitív elméletek stb. Ezek közül a jelenlegi írás főleg az utolsó két teoretikus keretet veszi alapul.

Beck úgy gondolta, hogy az egyének gondolkodásmódját nagymértékben meghatározza a személy világnézete, valamint a korábbi tapasztalatai egyaránt. Ezek alapján a különböző kiértékelendő helyzetek önmagukban érzelmileg semlegesek, s a hozzájuk társuló affektív színezetet főleg a személy kiléte, aktuális lelki állapota, valamint a korábbi tapasztalatai fogják meghatározni (Mórotz és Perczel Forintos, 2005; Beck, 2002; Bandi, 2020). Így lehetséges az, hogy az egyes szituációkat az emberek másképp értékelik, valamint az, hogy különböző szituációk eltérő érzelmeket válthatnak ki más és más emberekből.

Beck a modelljét különböző szintekre osztotta fel: a sémák, az attitűdök, valamint az automatikus gondolatok szintjére. Ezek hierarchikusan épülnek fel, ami azt jelenti, hogy a különböző gondolatok eltérő komponenseket fognak aktiválni.

A jelenlegi kutatás szempontjából a különböző attitűdök voltak a legfontosabbak. Azokból is főleg a nem megfelelően működő, úgynevezett, diszfunkcionális attitűdök. Ezek aktivációja és megjelenése esetén a személy világnézete és a gondolkodása között alakulnak ki különböző torzulások, amelyek megváltoztathatók, de ez jellemzően igen időigényes (Mórotz és Perczel Forintos, 2005; Beck, 2002).

Fontos kiemelni, hogy a becki kognitív modellt igen kevesen használták a narcizmus megközelítése során, így a vizsgálatunk eredményei ennél fogva is igen újszerű információkkal szolgálhatnak.

I.2. A narcizmus megközelítése a youngi sémaelmélet alapján

A youngi sémaelmélet bizonyos tekintetben a becki kognitív elmélet limitációjára reagálva jött létre. A személyiség mélyben szintjein meghúzódó sémákat ez az elmélet inkább klasszikusabb, pszichoanalitikus elméletek segítségével próbálta megfogni, részint a becki kognitív nézőponttal szemben. A sémák olyan mély tartalmak, amelyekhez nehéz hozzáférni, s

olyannyira régóta vannak velünk, hogy már-már automatikussá válnak – ezért is nehéz őket detektálni. Young úgy gondolta, hogy a sémák már a koragyermekkorban kialakulnak, s szinte egész életen át elkísérnek bennünket. Ezek a későbbiekben történhetnek bizonyos finomhangolások, de életünk legnagyobb részében változatlanok, stabilak maradnak. Ezek magukba foglalnak érzelmeket, emlékeket, percepciót, valamint kogníciót egyaránt (Young, Klosko és Weishaar, 2003).

Fontos kiemelni, hogy amennyiben ezek a rendszerek nem működnek megfelelően, akkor beszélhetünk különböző maladaptív sémákról. A maladaptív sémák létrejötte eltérő diszfunkciókat eredményezhet, amelyek több ízben is megmutatkoznak a narcisztikus személyeknél. Ilyen, nem megfelelően működő sémák – a narcisztikusoknál – többek közt a feljogosítottság és grandiozitás séma, amely a határok nem megfelelő kezelését eredményezi (Bandi, 2020). Az érzelmi depriváció vagy érzelmegvonás séma elszakítottaságot és elhanyagolást eredményezhet, míg a sérülékenység- veszélyeztetettség séma az autonómia- és teljesítőképeség zavarát eredményezheti.

I.3. A két narcizmus típus kapcsolata a pozitív pszichológiai elemekkel (önértékelés, étellel való elégedettség)

Az önértékelést azért fontos megemlíteni a narcizmussal kapcsolatban, mivel ez lehet az egyik olyan tényező, ami alapján a legtöbbször megfelelően el lehet különíteni egymástól a két típust. Az önértékelést rengeteg szempontból lehet megközelíteni, a jelenlegi kutatás során az önértékelést a jelenség kognitív oldaláról közelítettük meg. Ez a felfogás szerint az önértékelés egy olyan kiértékelő rendszer, amely segít nekünk reflektálni a gondolatainkra, az érzéseinkre, valamint az aktuális helyzetre egyaránt (Zagyváné, 2017).

Elmondható, hogy néhány elmélet alapján (Brummelman és Thomaes, 2016) a narcizmus és az önértékelés kapcsolata kissé paradox módon jelenik meg – a mai napig nem teljesen tisztázott, hogy a narcisztikusoknál mért magas önértékelés egy valós, vagy egy „felvett”, megjátszott személyiségjellemző. Az viszont elmondható, hogy a kutatások többségében a vulnérabilis narcizmusnál alacsony, míg a grandiózus narcizmusnál magas önértékelést találtak (Vida, 2018; Vida, 2019). Ebből is adódhat az a szemlélet, hogy az önértékelés lehet a megfelelő konstruktum a narcizmus két fajtájának elkülönítésére (Bandi, 2012).

Az önértékelés mellett fontos lehet megemlíteni az étellel való elégedettséget is, amit a jelenlegi kutatás során szintén kognitív szempontból közelítettünk meg – ami alapján az étellel való elégedettség egy hasonló kiértékelő rendszer, mint az önértékelés, viszont az élet szubjektív értékelésére vonatkozik, nem az énré. Több korábbi kutatásban (Vida, 2018; Vida, 2019) is hasonló kapcsolatot találtak a két narcizmustípus és az étellel való elégedettség között. Ezek mellett a kapcsolatok nagymértékben hasonlóak voltak, mint a narcizmus és az önértékelés között. Így lehetséges, hogy az étellel való elégedettség is egy olyan konstruktum, ami alapján elkülöníthetővé válhat egymástól a grandiózus és a vulnérabilis narcizmus.

II. Vizsgálat célja és a hipotézisek

A vizsgálat legfőbb célja létrehozni egy hálózati modellt – amit a narcizmus kapcsán eddig kevésszer használtak –, aminek a segítségével alaposabban el tudjuk majd különíteni egymástól a vulnérabilis és a grandiózus narcizmust.

A vizsgálat másik fő célja a becki kognitív elmélet beemelése a narcizmus szemléletébe, mivel ez a fajta megközelítés még kevésbé kutatott és feltárt ezen a tudományterületen.

II.1. Kutatói kérdések és hipotézisek

A bevezetőben ismertetett elméletek alapján a megfogalmazott kutatói kérdések a következők: A narcizmus különböző fajtái (grandiózus és vulnerábilis), mint személyiségvonások mennyire állnak szoros kapcsolatban a különböző koragyerekkorban létrejövő sémákkal, a különböző kognitív kiértékelő rendszerekkel? A két narcizmusfajta mennyire központi elem, illetve az önértékelés mennyire játszik központi szerepet a létrejött modellben?

A felvázolt kutatói kérdés alapján a hipotézisek az alábbiak:

- H1: A grandiózus, valamint a vulnerábilis narcizmus együtt járást mutat a különböző maladaptív alapsémákkal.
- H2: A grandiózus, valamint a vulnerábilis narcizmus együtt járást mutat az önértékeléssel.
- H3: A vulnerábilis narcizmus együtt járást mutat a diszfunkcionális attitűdökkel.

III. Módszertan

III.1. Minta és eljárás

A kutatásban 486 fő vett részt, amelyből 478 fő egyezett bele a kérdőív kitöltésébe, 4 fő pedig úgy döntött, hogy nem szeretne nyilatkozni a nemi hovatartozásáról – így ezek az adatok nem kerültek bevonásra az elemzés során.

A további 474 vizsgálati személyből mindenki betöltötte már a tizennyolcadik életévét, így végül 474 adatsorral dolgoztunk. A kérdőívet online módon vettük fel, s elektronikus úton terjesztettük – kényelmi mintavételi módszerrel. A kitöltők között 77 férfi és 397 nő volt. A legalacsonyabb életkor 18 év volt, míg a legmagasabb életév 76 év volt ($M=35,23$; $SD=15,00$). A kitöltés minden esetben teljesen anonim és önkéntes módon zajlott – a kitöltők nem részesültek semmilyen juttatásban.

A kitöltők a vizsgálat bármelyik pontján megszakíthatták az együttműködést. Egyéni kiértékelésre nem került sor, az adatok kizárólag csoportos elemzés tárgyát képezték. Az adatok harmadik fél számára nem hozzáférhetők, diagnosztikai célzatú felhasználásuk nem lehetséges.

III.2. Felhasznált mérőeszközök

III.2.1. Narcisztikus személyiség leltár (NPI)

Az NPI (Raskin és Terry, 1988) egy 40 tételből álló önbevallásos grandiózus narcizmust mérő kérdőív. Jelen vizsgálatunkban Ackerman és munkatársai (2011) tanulmánya alapján létrehozott 25 tételes verziót használtunk, amelynek a validált magyar változata néhány éve látott napvilágot (Engyel és mtsai, 2020). Ez a változat a tekintélyelvűség, a grandiózus exhibicionizmus és a kizsákmányolás szintjét ragadja meg, amelyben a tételket egy 5-fokú Likert-skálán kell a válaszadóknak kiértékelniük (1: Egyáltalán nem igaz; 5: Teljes mértékben igaz). A magasabb pontszámok a szubklinikai grandiózus narcizmus magasabb szintjét tükrözik ($M=62,03$; $SD=15,55$; $\alpha=0,906$).

III.2.2. Maladaptív rejtett narcizmus skála (MCNS)

A HSNS (Cheek, Hendin és Wink, 2013) egy 23 tételből álló önbevallásos mérőeszköze a vulnerábilis narcizmusnak, amely a hiperérzékenység, a sebezhetőség és a feljogosultság szintjét méri egy 5-fokú Likert-skálán (1: Egyáltalán nem igaz; 5: Teljesen mértékben igaz). A magasabb pontszámok a túlérzékenység és a sebezhetőség – a vulnerábilis narcizmus – magasabb szintjét tükrözik ($M=54,61$; $SD=15,26$; $\alpha=0,907$).

III.2.3. A Young-féle Séma Kérdőív (YSQ-1)

Az YSQ-1 (Young és Brown, 1990) egy 244 tételből álló, 19 különböző maladaptív séma mérésére szolgáló mérőeszköz, amelyben a tételek egy 6-fokú Likert-skálán (1: Egyáltalán nem igaz rám; 6: Tökéletesen igaz rám) mérnek. A kérdőívet leggyakrabban klinikai eljárásokban használják, de tudományos kontextusban is alkalmazható.

Vizsgálatunk során a teljes YSQ-1 sémáiból mindössze három sémát figyeltünk meg: Érzelmi depriváció- érzelmegvonás séma ($M=19,13$; $SD=10,32$; $\alpha=0,938$), Sérülékenysé- vesztélyeztettség séma ($M=35,86$; $SD=13,94$; $\alpha=0,900$), Feljogosítottság- grandiozítás séma ($M=29,43$; $SD=9,69$; $\alpha=0,845$).

III.2.4. Diszfunkcionális attitűdök skála (DAS)

A diszfunkcionális attitűdöket mérő kérdőív eredeti változatát 1978-ben készítette el Weismann és Beck (Weismann és Beck, 1978). A kérdőív magyar adaptációját Kopp hozta létre 1985-ben (Kopp, 1985). A kérdőív rövidített változata 8 itemet tartalmaz az eredeti 35 helyett – minden alskála 5 tételből áll az eredeti változatban. A rövidített változat magyar adaptációját Kopp és munkatársai hozták létre 1993-ban (Kopp és Fóris, 1993). A kérdőív egy 5-fokú Likert-skálán mér (1: egyáltalán nem értek egyet; 5: teljesen egyetértek). A magasabb pontszám nagyobb fokú kognitív torzítást jelez ($M=23,18$; $SD=6,30$; $\alpha=0,801$).

III.2.5. Rosenberg Önértékelés Skála (RSES)

Az RSES (Rosenberg, 1965) egy 10 tételből álló önbeszámoló mérőeszköz, amely az önértékelés szintjét méri egy 4-fokú Likert skálán (1: egyáltalán nem értek egyet; 4: teljesen egyetértek). A magasabb pontszámok az önbecsülés magasabb szintjét tükrözik ($M=29,88$; $SD=7,19$; $\alpha=0,908$).

III.2.6. Élettel Való Elégedettség Skála (SWLS)

Az élettel való elégedettség kérdőív Deiner nevéhez fűződik, aki 1985-ben alkotta meg ezt a mérőeszközt (Deiner és mtsai, 1985). A kérdőív egy 7-fokú Likert-skálán mér (1: Egyáltalán nem értek egyet; 7: Tökéletesen egyetértek). A magasabb pontszám magasabb élettel való elégedettséget jelent ($M=23,83$; $SD=6,34$; $\alpha=0,864$).

IV. Eredmények

IV.1. A vizsgált változók együtt járásai

A változók előzetes feltárására során Spearman-féle korrelációt használtunk. Az első táblázat a vizsgált változók között lévő korrelációkat tünteti fel.

1. sz. táblázat: a vizsgálati változók együtt járásai

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1.NPI	-							
2.MCNS	0,188***	-						
3.YSQ – ET	0,487***	0,588***	-					
4.YSQ – ED	0,061	0,470***	0,263***	-				
5.YSQ – VH	0,082	0,661***	0,361***	0,362***	-			
6.DAS	0,159***	0,717***	0,400***	0,332***	0,576***	-		
7.RSES	0,258***	-0,577***	-0,107*	-0,370***	-0,553***	-0,549***	-	
8.SWLS	0,162***	-0,240***	-0,040	-0,364***	-0,293***	-0,239***	0,460***	-

(NPI – Nárcisztikus személyiség leltár; MCNS – Maladaptív rejtett nárcizmus skála; YSQ-ET – A Young-féle Séma Kérdőív – Feljogosítottság- grandiozitás séma; YSQ-ED – A Young-féle Séma Kérdőív – Érzelmi depriváció – érzelemmegvonás séma; YSQ-VH – A Young-féle Séma Kérdőív – Sérülékenység veszélyeztetettség séma; DAS – Diszfunkcionális attitűdök skála; RSES – Rosenberg Önértékelés Skála; SWLS – Élettel Való Elégedettség Skála; *** $p < 0,001$; ** $p < 0,01$; * $p < 0,05$)

Az első hipotézis tesztelésének eredményei az alábbiak szerint alakultak:

- A grandiózus nárcizmus és az érzelmi depriváció-érezlemmegvonás séma között nem található kapcsolat ($r=0,061$; $p>0,05$).
- A grandiózus nárcizmus és a feljogosítottság-grandiozitás séma között közepes mértékű kapcsolat található ($r=0,487<0,001$).
- A grandiózus nárcizmus és a sérülékenység-veszélyeztetettség séma között nem található kapcsolat ($r=0,082$; $p>0,05$).
- A vulnerábilis nárcizmus és az érzelmi depriváció-érezlemmegvonás séma között közepesen erős pozitív kapcsolat található ($r=0,470$; $p<0,001$).
- A vulnerábilis nárcizmus és a feljogosítottság-grandiozitás séma között közepesen erős pozitív kapcsolat található ($r=0,588$; $p<0,001$).
- A vulnerábilis nárcizmus és a sérülékenység-veszélyeztetettség séma között közepesen erős pozitív kapcsolat található ($r=0,661$; $p<0,001$).

A második hipotézis tesztelésének eredményei az alábbiak szerint alakultak:

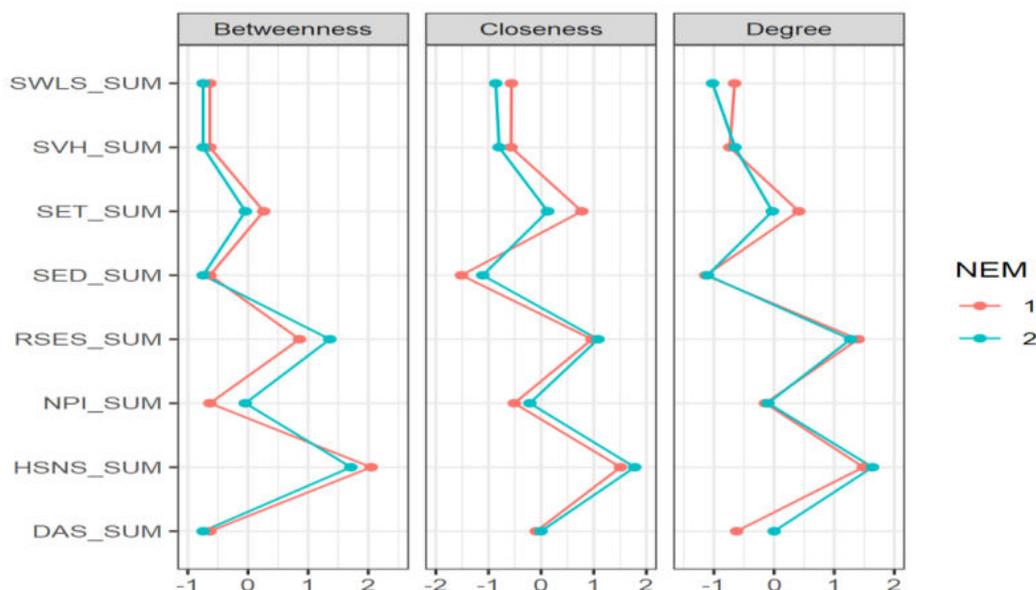
- A grandiózus nárcizmus és az önértékelés között gyenge pozitív kapcsolat található ($r=0,258$; $p<0,001$).
- A vulnerábilis nárcizmus és az önértékelés között közepesen erős, negatív kapcsolat található ($r= -0,577$; $p<0,001$).

A harmadik hipotézis tesztelésének eredményei az alábbiak szerint alakultak:

- A vulnerábilis nárcizmus és a diszfunkcionális attitűdök között erős, pozitív kapcsolat található ($r=0,717$; $p<0,001$).

IV.2. A vizsgált változók hálózati elemzése

A hálózati elemzés során EBICglasso módszert használtunk. Ez egy olyan becslési módszer, amely a gyenge és részleges kapcsolatokat kiszűri a hálózatból. Az eredmények alapján a vulnerábilis nárcizmus és az önértékelés tekinthető a modell középpontjának. Mind a közöttség (betweenness), mind a közelség (closeness), mind pedig a hálózati pont foka (degree) értékén ez a két mért konstruktum mutatta a legkirívóbb hatást mind a férfiak (1. ábra), mind pedig a nők esetében (1. ábra). A közöttség értéke arról ad információt, hogy ahhoz, hogy a modell során vizsgált különböző konstruktumok egyikéből átjussunk egy másikhoz, a vulnerábilis nárcizmuson és az önértékelésen keresztül lehet ezt a leggyorsabban megtenni. A közelség azt mutatja meg, hogy ez a két konstruktum áll a legtöbb egyéb konstruktummal direkt kapcsolatban. Az utolsó érték, a hálózati pont foka (degree) pedig arról ad számot, hogy ugyanez a két mért konstruktum van a legnagyobb hatással a többi jelenség alakulására.



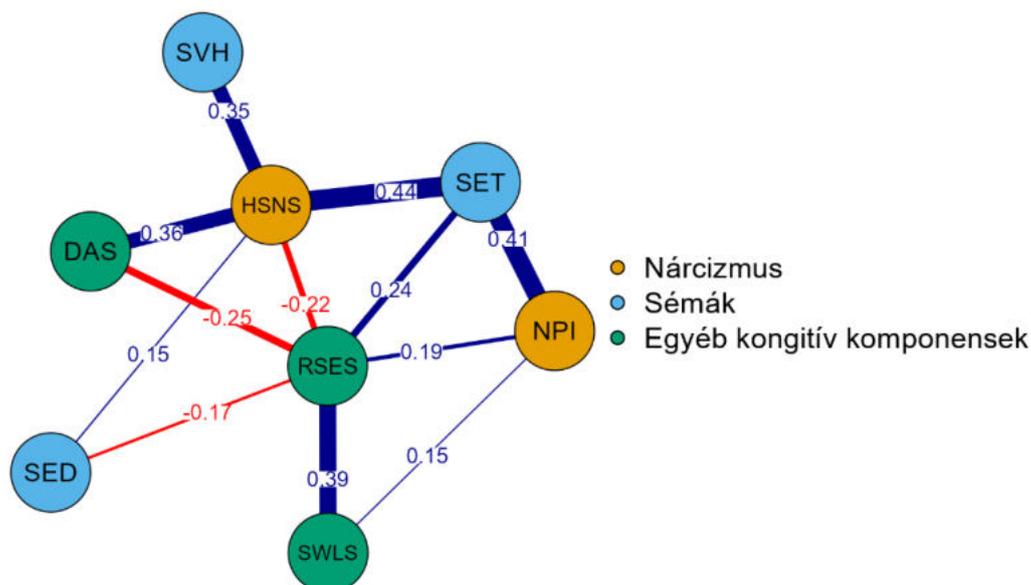
1. ábra: A modell közöttisége (betweenness), közelsége (closeness) és a hálózati pont foka (degree). 1: Férfiak; 2: Nők

A férfi és a nő populáció hálózati modelljei nagyon hasonló eredményeket és kapcsolatokat mutatnak. Elmondható, hogy a vulnerábilis nárcizmus minden vizsgált komponensből maximum kétegységnyi távolságra található. Ugyanez elmondható az önértékelésről is.

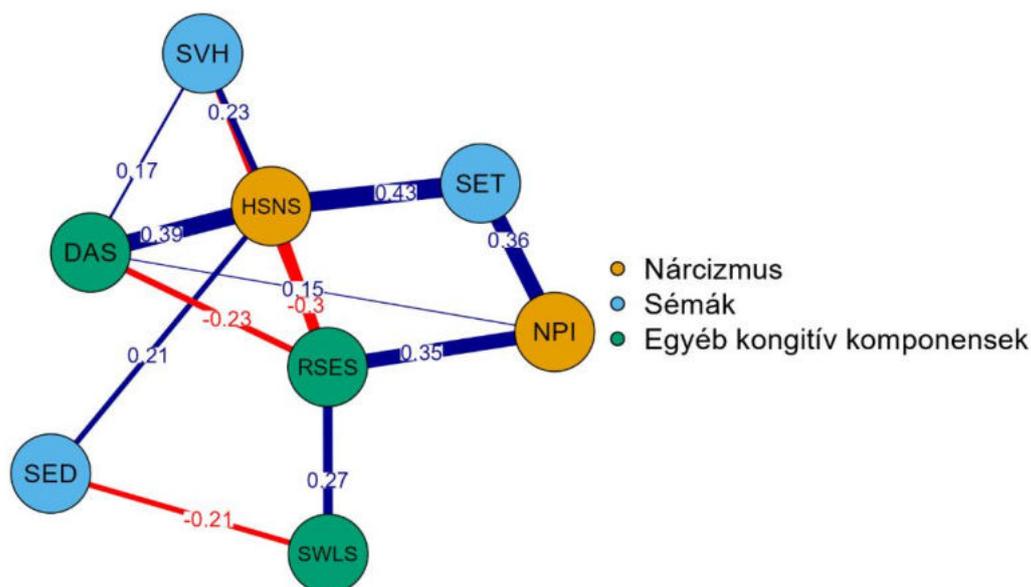
A modell szélén (ld. 2. és 3. ábra) helyezkedik el az érzelmi depriváció séma, amely a vulnerábilis nárcizmus és az önértékelésen keresztül csak igen gyenge kapcsolattal van jelen a hálózatban. Mint ahogy látjuk, amennyiben növeltük volna a küszöbértéket a modellben, az érzelmi depriváció séma teljesen kiszorulna a hálózati modellből.

A grandiózus nárcizmus csak a feljogosítottság-grandiozitás sémával áll kapcsolatban, míg a vulnerábilis nárcizmus mind a három maladaptív sémával kapcsolatot létesít – ezeket az eredményeket a korrelációs vizsgálatok is megerősítik.

A korrelációs vizsgálattal összhangban, a grandiózus nárcizmus pozitív, míg a vulnerábilis nárcizmus negatív kapcsolatot mutat az önértékeléssel. Érdekes lehet megjegyezni, hogy a modell alapján a kapcsolatok mértéke – mind a grandiózus nárcizmus és az önértékelés, mind pedig a vulnerábilis nárcizmus és az önértékelés – sokkal erőteljesebb a nők, mint a férfiak esetében.



2. ábra: A férfiak hálózatelemzési modellje.



3. ábra: A nők hálózatelemzési modellje.

V. Diskusszió

V.1. A korrelációs eredmények megvitatása

A korrelációs eredmények alapján látható, hogy a feljogosítottság séma közepes erősségű kapcsolatban van mind a grandiózus ($r=0,487$), mind pedig a vulnerábilis ($r=0,588$) nárcizmussal. Ez a fajta kapcsolat valószínűleg azért tud létrejönni, mivel a nárcizmus egy olyan személyiségvonás, amely nagyon gyakran az önreflexió hiányát és a korlátlan önimádatot tükrözi (Millon és mtsai, 2012), ami sok esetben hozható kapcsolatba a feljogosítottsággal, grandiozitással, mint ahogy a séma neve is utal rá.

A vulnerábilis nárcizmus közepesen erős, pozitív kapcsolatot mutatott az érzelmi depriváció sémával ($r=0,470$). A nárcizmus magas értékével jellemezhető személyek általában egy hideg, érzéketlen családi környezetben nőnek fel, s gyakran teljesen érzéketlenné, vagy érdektelenné válnak a szociális interakciók megértésére (Millon és mtsai, 2012).

A grandiózus nárcizmus és az érzelmi depriváció séma közötti kapcsolatnak bár az elméletek alapján meg kellett volna jelennie, az eredményeink alapján ez a fajta kapcsolat nem áll fenn (Young, Klosko és Weishaar, 2003; Bandi, 2020). A kapcsolat hiánya azzal magyarázható, hogy míg valószínűsíthetően egy klinikai, valamint szubklinikai mintában ez a fajta kapcsolat fennállna, addig a normál populációnál a grandiózus nárcizmus egy teljesen más szerepet tölt be a személyeknél. Lehetséges, hogy ilyen módon az érzelmi depriváció egy olyan tényező lehet, ami képes lehet elválasztani a klinikai, és a nem klinikai populációt egymástól. Ennek a megállapításához viszont egy másfajta elrendezés lenne szükséges, amit a jelenlegi kutatásban nem tudunk kivitelezni.

A sérülékenység – azaz vulnerabilitás – séma közepesen erős, pozitív kapcsolatban volt a vulnerábilis nárcizmussal. A vulnerábilis nárcizmus jegyeit mutató személyekre a legtöbbször túlérzékenyek, valamint magasabb fokú kitettséget mutatnak a vélelmezetten negatív valenciájú érzelmekre (Jauk és Kaufman, 2018). Az ilyen személyekre jellemző a félelem, az érzelmek palástolása (Campbell és Miller, 2011).

Fontos kiemelni a vulnerábilis nárcizmus és a diszfunkcionális attitűdök közötti erős kapcsolatot, ami arra utal, hogy ez a nárcizmusfajta a maladaptív sémák felhalmozódásával létrehoz egy olyan kognitív torzítást, ami később kihatással lehet a személy önértékelésére, valamint az étellel való elégedettségére. Az itt meglévő kapcsolat nagyon erős, s ez mutatja meg igazán a nárcizmus negatív oldalát. Mint már az elméleti háttérben is utaltam rá, a nárcizmus megjelenési formái igen sokfélék – a szélsőségesen vulnerábilistól a szélsőségesen grandiózusig –, ami extrém mértékű kereteken belüli negatív megnyilvánulásokkal is járhat. Az egyik ilyen maladaptív jellegzetesség a diszfunkcionális attitűdök kialakulása és felhalmozódása, amik a személy világnézete és gondolkodásmódja között kialakított torzításokból jönnek létre.

Ezen felül ki kell térni a két nárcizmusfajta önértékeléssel lévő ellentétes kapcsolatára. Mint ahogy az elméleti bevezetőben is említettem, az önértékelés lehet az egyik olyan tényező, ami valószínűleg elkülöníthetjük egymástól a grandiózus és a vulnerábilis nárcizmust (Bandi, 2012). Az eredmények jól mutatják ezt, hiszen a grandiózus nárcizmus gyenge, pozitív, míg a vulnerábilis nárcizmus közepesen erős, negatív kapcsolatban van az önértékeléssel. Mint már említettem, a vulnerábilis nárcizmust nagyon gyakran hozzák kapcsolatba a féltékenységgel, a viselkedés gátlásával (Campbell és Miller, 2011), ami eredményezheti az alacsonyabb önértékelésnek a kialakulását. Másrészt a nárcizmusra sokszor jellemző a túlzott mértékű extravertió, a magabiztosság, ami főleg a grandiózus nárcizmusra jellemző (Paramboukis és mtsai, 2016), ami eredményezhet egy magasabb önértékelési állapotot.

V.2. A hálózati elemzés eredményeinek a megvitatása

A hálózatelemzés alapján látható, hogy a modell középpontjában a vulnerábilis nárcizmus és az önértékelés találhatóak. A kettő közül is minden vizsgált kritérium szerint (közöttség, közelség, hálózati pont foka) a vulnerábilis nárcizmus az, ami központibbnak tekinthető. A vizsgált konstrukciók közül a vulnerábilis nárcizmus mindegyikkel kialakít valamilyen direkt, vagy indirekt kapcsolatot – ezt a korrelációs eredménynél is megmutatkozik.

A modell érdekessége főleg az, hogy míg a vulnerábilis nárcizmus ennyire domináns és központi szerepet kap az értelmezés során, addig a grandiózus nárcizmus kevésbé, szinte már a peremre szorul a modell alapján. Ez valószínűleg azért lehetséges, mivel a vulnerábilis nárcizmus sokkal több kognitív torzítással, valamint negatív gondolkodásbeli torzítással lehet

kapcsolatba hozni, mint a grandiózus nárcizmust, aminek a megléte – megfelelő mértékig – még sokszor adaptívként is értelmezhető.

A vulnerábilis nárcizmus mellett a másik központi elem az önértékelés. Az önértékelés és a nárcizmus kapcsolatát már régóta kérdések sora övezi, s ezek alakulása sokszor pont ellentétes irányú (Brummelman és Thomaes, 2016) – ha az egyik mértéke csökken, akkor a másik erősödik az életünk során. Az önértékelés valószínűleg azért kap központi szerepet a modellben, mivel a különböző torzítások, amiket a személy létrehoz, valamint a személyiségben lévő változások mindennapi lecsapódása pont az önértékelésnél figyelhető meg.

VI. Limitációk

Mint minden kutatásnak, jelen vizsgálatnak is vannak bizonyos korlátai. Először is fontos kiemelni, hogy ez egy keresztmetszeti, s nem longitudinális kutatás, ami leszűkíti annak a lehetőségét, hogy precízebb képet kapjunk arról, hogy a vizsgált komponensek vajon csak pillanatnyi levetülések, vagy hosszabb távon is folytonosan fennállnak.

Másodszor fontos megemlíteni, hogy a nemi arányok igen-csak eltolódtak: 77 férfi és 397 nő vett részt a kutatásban. A hálózatelemzés során – kontroláló tényezőként – ezért hoztunk létre külön modellt a női és a férfi mintából egyaránt.

Továbbá limitációnak számíthat még a kényelmi mintavételi eljárás is, amely esetleges módon befolyásolhatja a kapott eredményeknek a megbízhatóságát.

VII. Konklúzió

A hálózatelemzés és a korrelációs vizsgálat alapján arra a következtetésre juthatunk, hogy a vulnerábilis nárcizmus megléte jelentősen erőteljesebb negatív hatást tud gyakorolni a személy kognitív kiértékelő rendszerének a torzulására, s ezen keresztül a mindennapi életére, mint a grandiózus nárcizmusnak a jelenléte.

A hálózatelemzés alapján az önértékelés kiemelkedő jelentőségű a nárcizmus kognitív komponenseinek alakulásában, így feltételezhetjük, hogy a személy világról alkotott képének az alakulásában is egyaránt. Ez a kutatás a nárcizmus és az önértékelés paradox kapcsolata mentén a képzeletbeli mérleget afelé billenti el, hogy a nárcizmus nem minden fajtája jár együtt alacsonyabb önértékeléssel – hiszen az eredmények alapján jól láthatók, hogy a grandiózus és a vulnerábilis nárcizmus pont ellenkező kapcsolatban áll az önmagunkról kialakított képpel.

Összességében a kutatás eredményesnek bizonyult. A különböző statisztikai eljárások segítségével átfogóbb képet kaphattunk a grandiózus és a vulnerábilis nárcizmus szerepéről a kognitív torzítások kialakításában. Elmondható, hogy a vulnerábilis nárcizmus sokkal több ilyesfajta gondolkodásbeli változást eredményezhet, s inkább negatív vetülete van az önértékelésre és az étellel való elégedettségre nézve. A grandiózus nárcizmus megléte viszont néhány esetben ellenkezőleg hat a személy kognitív feldolgozórendszerére: sok esetben növelheti az önértékelést és az étellel való elégedettséget egyaránt.

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Code-switching in English as a lingua franca in the ASEAN context

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Abstract: This study examines the code-switching of English speakers from ASEAN countries while communicating in English with each other. Participants were seven dyads, with each dyad having English speakers from two different ASEAN countries. The data was from video recordings of each dyad talking about food or actually cooking together, and following retrospective interviews with each participant while watching the recorded video together with the researcher. Close and in-depth analysis was carried out on instances of code-switching by the participants in the data collected. The study found that participants code-switched not only to their native language, but to their interlocutors' native language as well as to additional languages. Reasons for code-switching were also different such as lack of linguistic resources, signalling culture, and assisting understanding each other. It was also found that code-switching of a participant did not hinder the interlocutor's understanding, what is more, in some cases, code-switching even enhanced understanding.

Keywords: ASEAN; ELF; code-switching

I. Introduction

Code-switching is regarded as an element of English as a lingua franca (ELF) talk by Klimpfinger (2007). In previous studies, it was found that ELF speakers use other languages in their talk. Southeast Asia (formally known as ASEAN) is a linguistically diverse region, and it is common that people from the ASEAN region are bilingual or multilingual.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is an association whose members are Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Singapore, Thailand, The Philippines, and Vietnam. English is the official language of ASEAN to be used among ASEAN countries (ASEAN, 2007) as well as to communicate with non-ASEAN countries. However, the role of English is different in the various ASEAN countries. In some ASEAN countries like Singapore, English is used as a second language, while in other ASEAN countries such as Thailand and Vietnam, English is used as a foreign or additional language. According to Kachru's (1997) three circles model, Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines, which were once the colonies of the UK or the USA, are the *Outer Circle countries*. Indonesia, Thailand, and Vietnam, which were not colonized by any members of the *Inner Circle countries*, are in the *Expanding Circle*. Myanmar was once a British colony, but the role of English was volatile, depending on the language policy changes made by the post-colonial governments. The other two ASEAN countries, i.e. Laos and Cambodia, are former French colonies. No matter from which countries they are, people from ASEAN countries have to use English when they communicate with other ASEAN countries which do not share any other language with them in official or non-official settings.

Coming from diverse language backgrounds, and having different levels of English proficiency, English speakers from ASEAN countries use a variety of strategies to keep their conversation flowing and avoid communication breakdowns while communicating in English (Deterding, 2013; Kirkpatrick, 2007).

This study focuses on the code-switching of English speakers from ASEAN countries while interacting with each other in an informal context: international students from ASEAN countries interacting with each other while cooking together or talking about food.

II. Previous studies on code-switching in English as a lingua franca contexts

As mentioned above, people from the ASEAN region have diverse language backgrounds. However, there is no one single language which is spoken in all the ASEAN member countries although there are some languages which are mutually intelligible to some extent in some ASEAN countries. So, people from ASEAN countries use English as a lingua franca (ELF) when they communicate with each other. According to McLellan (2012: 267), English speakers from the ASEAN region are those “who have access to other languages and for whom English is as add-on”. He also states that Englishes in the ASEAN region are “code-mixed varieties” (p. 267). Although there is a distinction between *code mixing*, *code switching* and *borrowing* (Klimpfinger, 2007), this study is not focused on the distinction between them. So, the term *code-switching* will be used as a general term to cover all these three categories, as in Klimpfinger's (2007) study, whenever non-English words are used together with English.

Grosjean (2010: 51-52) defines *code switching* as the situation when “the speaker makes a complete shift to another language for a word, phrase, or sentence and then reverts back to the base language”. Thus, code-switching can occur at a single word level, or at that of a phrase, clause, and a sentence.

In previous studies on the communication strategies of ASEAN ELF speakers, Kirkpatrick (2007: 132) finds that ASEAN ELF speakers “avoid using local or idiomatic terms” of their native languages as these terms can trigger other speakers' non-understanding. In his study, although

Bruneians, Indonesians, Malays and Singaporeans have the knowledge of Malay, he finds only one example of codeswitching or the use of a local term in his data. However, as stated above, code-switching is regarded as an element of ELF talk by Klimpfinger (2007). ELF speakers use other languages in their conversations to achieve shared understanding. She notes that ELF speakers code-switch for various reasons such as “specifying an addressee”, “appealing for assistance”, “introducing another idea” and “signaling culture” (p. 38). She also claims that ELF speakers code-switch not only to their first language but also to additional languages to ask for assistance from the other speakers, hoping that the code-switches will be understood by one of the interlocutors, and finally mutual understanding will be achieved among the speakers. Thus, the question arises here whether English speakers from the ASEAN countries code-switch or not when they communicate with each other in English. And, if they code-switch, to which language(s) do English speakers from the ASEAN countries code-switch? Although there is some literature on ELF in ASEAN context, no previous study discusses code-switching as a communication strategy which can support understanding among speakers. This is another aim of the present study, to investigate whether code-switching of one speaker can support the interlocutor to enhance understanding in the interaction or not.

Therefore, in my current study, the research questions are as follows:

1. Which languages do participants use when they code-switched: their own language(s) or interlocutors' language(s)?
2. Why do participants in the study code-switch?
3. Does code-switching help interlocutors understand what speakers are saying or lead to misunderstanding?

III. Methods

III.1. Participants

The participants of this study are seven dyads, with each dyad having English speakers from two different ASEAN countries. Because of the unavailability of other participants on the days of the recordings, a Burmese (B1) and an Indonesian (I1) person participated in two recordings. This is why there are only 12 participants instead of 14 participants in the study. Participants are from nine different ASEAN countries who were students at Hungarian universities at the time of the data collection. The participants in each dyad and their linguistic background are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Participants according to nationality, their first language and the other languages they reported having some knowledge of

	Code	Gender	Nationality	First language	Second language(s) they use in daily life apart from English	Additional language(s) they have some knowledge of apart from English
Dyad 1	I1	Female	Indonesian	Javanese	Bahasa Indonesian	some Hungarian
	B1	Male	Myanmar or Burmese	Burmese	-	some Hungarian
Dyad 2	T1	Female	Thai	Thai	-	some Chinese
	I2	Female	Indonesian	Sundanese	Bahasa Indonesian	Russian

Dyad 3	I3	Female	Indonesian	Manado Melayu	Bahasa Indonesian	German, Spanish, Italian, some Hungarian
	C1	Male	Cambodian	Khmer	-	some French, some Hungarian
Dyad 4	L1	Female	Laotian	Laotian	-	some Chinese
	B2	Female	Myanmar or Burmese	Burmese	-	-
Dyad 5	F1	Female	Filipino	Cebuano	Filipino	some Hungarian, some Japanese, some Korean, some Spanish
	S1	Male	Singaporean	Mandarin Chinese	-	-
Dyad 6	B1	Male	Myanmar or Burmese	Burmese	-	some Hungarian
	V1	Female	Vietnamese	Vietnamese	-	French, some Russian
Dyad 7	I1	Female	Indonesian	Javanese	Bahasa Indonesian	some Hungarian
	M1	Male	Malaysian	Malay	-	some Arabic, some Thai

III.2. Procedure

The data was collected via video recordings of each dyad talking about food or actually cooking food together, and the retrospective interviews with each participant while watching the recorded video together with the researcher. Close and in-depth analysis was carried out on instances of code-switching by the participants in the data collected.

On the day of the video recording, each dyad was given a task which involved talking about the recipe of a participant's traditional cuisine or actually cooking together a participant's traditional dish. The participants carried out the task in English while their interaction was video recorded.

After the recording, retrospective interviews were conducted, based on the researcher's observation notes during the video recording. During the interviews, each recorded video was watched together with the researcher and the participants, and at each moment when there was a question to each participant, the video was paused. If one of the participants in a dyad did not want the interlocutor to be with them during the interview, the interview with that participant was conducted individually.

III.3. Data analysis

The data used in the study comprises the transcriptions of the recorded videos, the observation notes during the recordings, and notes from the retrospective interviews. In the transcripts, the participants' names were coded with the initials of their respective nationalities (such as 'L' for Laotians, and 'S' for Singaporean) and a number (used to distinguish participants of the same nationality). Then, transcripts were analyzed together with the notes made during the video recordings, and the notes from the follow-up retrospections with participants.

For data analysis, as the emphasis of the study was the participants' use of code-switching in their conversations, the extracts related to this research focus were selected. Then, conversation analysis along the lines of Atkinson and Heritage (1984) was employed, also using an adjusted version of their transcription conventions.

IV. Findings and discussion

IV.1. Languages participants code-switched in the study

Among participants in the study, some participants whose first language (L1) is not the official language of their country stated that they use official language of their country as their second language (L2) in their daily life. Others stated that they were even more fluent in their second language (L2) than in their first language (L1). For example, F1 in the study is from the Philippines, and her first language is Cebuano. She uses Filipino as her second language in her daily life, and she said she thought her Filipino language skills are much better than her Cebuano language skills. In the study, participants whose first language is not the official language of their country used not only their first language but also their second language, which is the official language of their country.

In the study, it was found that participants code-switched not only to their first and second languages, but also to their interlocutor's language(s). Moreover, they also code-switched to the additional language(s) they know, including Hungarian, which is the language of the country they were studying in at the time of the data collection. The total number of code-switches by each participant can be seen in Table 2.

Among 12 participants in the study, C1, I3 and V1 did not code-switch at all during their conversation with their interlocutor whereas other participants code-switched. There were altogether 128 code-switches found in the data. Among 128 code-switches, 78 code-switches (60.94%) were to the speakers' first and second languages; 34 code-switches (26.56%) were to the interlocutors' first and second languages; whereas 16 (12.50%) code-switches were to additional languages (see Table 2 and Figure 1).

Table 2. The number of code-switches by each participant

Code	Number of code-switches to speaker's L1 or L2	Number of code-switches to interlocutor's L1 or L2	Number of code-switches to additional language(s)	Total number of code-switches by each participant
B1 in Dyad 1	-	15	2	17
B1 in Dyad 6	8	-	-	8
B2	-	-	3	3
C1	-	-	-	-
F1	14	-	3	17
I1 in Dyad 1	15	-	4	19
I1 in Dyad 7	9	-	2	11
I2	17	2	-	19
I3	-	-	-	-
L1	-	-	2	2
M1	3	10	-	13
S1	8	-	-	8
T1	4	7	-	11
V1	-	-	-	-
Total	78	34	16	128

Among those who code-switched, the participants who code-switched most in the study were I1 in her conversation with B1 as Dyad 1, and I2 in her conversation with T1 as Dyad 2 (see Tables 1 and 2). Both I1 and I2 code-switched for 19 times each.

Among the 19 code-switches of I1, 15 code-switches were to her language(s), and 4 code-switches were to additional language(s) (see Table 2). I1 is from Indonesia and her first language is Javanese. In the study, when I1 code-switched, she did not code-switch to Javanese, her first language, but she code-switched to Bahasa Indonesian. I1's code-switches to the additional language were to Hungarian. An example of I1's code-switch can be seen in Example 1.

Example 1 was extracted from the conversation of Dyad 1 in which B1 and I1 participated. When they were cooking *opor*, an Indonesian dish, together, I1 talked about in which occasions *opor* is usually served in her country. At that time, I1 code-switched to the Indonesian language (see Line 3). *Idul Fitri* (used by I1 in Line 3) is an Islamic celebration at the end of the Muslim Ramadhan. When I1 was asked in the retrospection why she used the Indonesian language here, I1 said that she forgot how to say the name of that celebration in English. Although I1 code-switched to her language in this example, B1 understood what I1 meant. B1 said in the retrospection that there is also the Muslim celebration of Eid Mubarak in his country, so he could understand what I1 wanted to say.

Example 1. The use of the speaker's language in code-switching

- 1 I1: Indonesian food. ((laughs)) Usually *opor* serve for ah Islamic celebrations.
 2 B1: Hmm.
 3 I1: It's ah the the celebration name is *Idul Fitri*. So, after thirty days of feast,
 4 they celebrate. Ah one of the meal in the celebration is *opor*.
 5 B1: Hmm.

Like I1, I2 is also from Indonesia and uses Bahasa Indonesian as her second language. I2's first language is Sundanese, and she also speaks Russian (see Table 1). However, when I2 code-switched in her conversation with a Thai student, I2 did not code-switch to her first language, Sundanese, instead, to Bahasa Indonesian. Among the 19 code-switches of I2, 17 code-switches were to Bahasa Indonesian, and 2 to the interlocutor's language, i.e. Thai. An example of I2's code-switch to Thai can be seen in Example 2.

Example 2 was extracted from the conversation of Dyad 2 of which participants were I2 and a Thai student (T1). In the extract, T1 was talking about a Thai soup before actually cooking. After hearing a bit about the soup, I2 asked T1 if the soup T1 was talking about was like /tôm jām/ or not (see Line 20). Here, I2 code-switched to her interlocutor's language, and this made it easier for T1 to continue what she was explaining.

Example 2. The use of the interlocutor's language in code-switching

- 1 T1: Ah:: I will talk about ah I'm not sure you know about a Tri-Thai traditional
 2 food or dish. It's a kind of like spicy soup.
 3 I2: Ok.
 4 T1: And, you can the just like the spicy, and you have to put some ingredients.
 5 I will I will talk about the ingredients first. Ah:: for the ingre- the main
 6 ingredients, it's kind of like ah red curry. You have to put the red curry.
 7 I2: Hmm hmm.
 8 T1: Yeah. The red cur- the red curry. Actually, I don't know exactly what
 9 about about ingredients to make the ah red cur- red ah red curry, but ah

To answer Research Question 1, which languages participants used when they code-switched, it has been found in the study that participants used their first or second language as well as their interlocutors' first or second language and other additional languages. In terms of frequency, the most used language in code-switching in the study was the participant's first or second language, whereas the least used language in code-switching was additional language(s) (see Table 2). The proportion of the participant's first or second language, the interlocutor's first or second language and the additional language(s) used in code-switching by participants in the study can be seen in Figure 1.

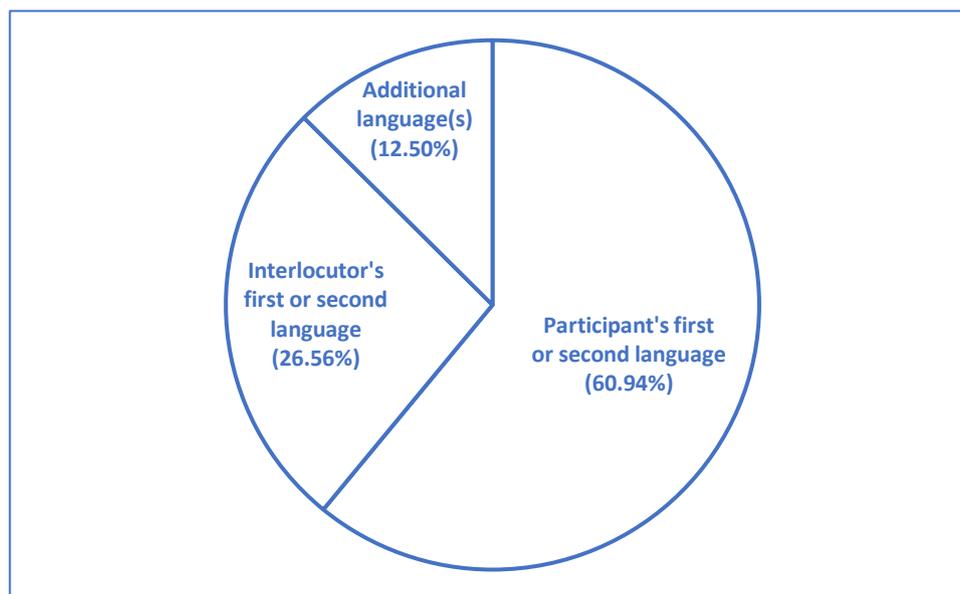


Figure 1. The proportion of the languages the participants code-switched in the study

IV. 2. Reasons for code-switching

As seen above, in IV.1., the participants who code-switched in the study used different languages. And their reasons of code-switching were also different. For example, the reason for I1's code-switch in Example 1 was that she forgot the English words for what she wanted to say. Similarly, I2's code-switch in Example 6 below was also an example of code-switch for lack of linguistic resource. However, I2's code-switch in Example 2 was to confirm her understanding with her interlocutor. Her code-switch not only made her more clearly understand what her interlocutor was saying but also made it easier for her interlocutor to explain about the dish. There were also other reasons for code-switching found in the study. For example, the code-switch of B1 in Example 4 was for signaling culture.

Example 4 was extracted from the conversation of a Burmese (B1) and a Vietnamese (V1) student cooking a Burmese dish together. While cooking, B1 talked about what the dish was called in the Burmese language. In the retrospection, B1 said that he wanted to use his mother tongue instead of just saying *egg curry* for the dish they were cooking at that time. He said that he wanted to show his Burmese identity in this way. Thus, B1's code-switch here is in line with Pözl's (2003: 11) claim, who states that ELF speakers signal "their individual culture identity" by code-switching into their first language while communicating in English as a lingua franca.

Example 4. An example of code-switching for signaling culture

1 B1: You know but our language, we call it ah /ce? u ó ga?/. /ce? u/ /ce? u/.

- 2 How can I say? This is the egg, ((gesture for egg)) our language we
 3 call it /ce? ɯ/. And also /ce? ɯ ɱwèi/, not /ce? ɯ ɱwèi/. How can I say?
 4 /ce? ɯ ʃ^he?/. We call it /ce? ɯ ʃ^he?/.
 5 V1: Yes.

Another reason for code-switching found here has been to accommodate the interlocutor. Example 5 was extracted from the conversation of an Indonesian (I1) and a Malaysian (M1) student. When they were preparing for their cooking session, I1 and M1 were talking about their life in Hungary. At one time, M1 said that he knew an Indonesian word which was *gratis* (in Line 1). However, I1 did not recognize the word, and asked for clarification (in Line 2). So, M1 provided the English equivalent for *gratis* (in Line 3). Then, I1 recognized that Indonesian word and confirmed the meaning of the word (in Line 4). In this example, M1's code-switch was nothing related to their cooking activity or their chat about their life in Hungary. In the retrospection, M1 said that his code-switching was to create an atmosphere between him and I1 in their social interaction. M1's code-switch into I1's language in this example is in line with Pözl (2003), stating that the ELF speakers code-switch not only to their language(s) but also to their interlocutor's language(s) in their conversation with the purposes such as to act in accordance with the interlocutor's norms, to blend in the ELF membership, and so on. In Example 5, I1 also code-switched with the word *gratis* (in Line 6), but I1's code-switch was just repeating what M1 said. This kind of repetition for the interlocutor's code-switch was also found in other dyads who code-switched in the study.

Example 5. An example of code-switching for creating atmosphere

- 1 M1: Ah, OK. I know one word ah:: which is hm *gratis*.
 2 I1: What is that?
 3 M1: *Gratis* is ah free, right? In Indonesian?
 4 I1: Oh, yeah yeah.
 5 M1: Yeah.
 6 I1: Yeah yeah *gratis*.
 7 M1: Only that one.
 8 I1: Yes.
 9 M1: I noticed in: the market, sometimes they put the word *gratis*.
 10 I1: Oh really!
 11 M1: Yeah.
 12 I1: I've never found it. ((laughs))
 13 M1: Ah is it in Germany? I can't remember. ((laughs))
 14 I1: Yeah yeah.

Indication of different reasons for code-switching in the study can be seen in Table 3. In the table, reasons for code-switching by each participant were categorized as follows:

- Lack of linguistic resource (for the speaker's code-switch because of being unable to find an English equivalent);
- Assisting understanding (for the speaker's code-switch which helped the interlocutor understand what the speaking was saying or helped the interlocutor to say something);
- Signaling culture (for the speaker's code-switch to signal his/her or the interlocutor's identity and culture);
- Creating an atmosphere (for the speaker's code-switch to accommodate the interlocutor and create an atmosphere between them);

- Repeating the interlocutor’s code-switch (for the code-switches which were just repeating what the interlocutor said);
- Miscellaneous (for the code-switches which were not in the above five categories).

Among six categories of reasons for code-switching, most code-switches were signaling culture (see Table 3).

Table 3. Reasons for code-switching by each participant

Code	Lack of linguistic resource	Assisting for understanding	Signaling culture	Creating atmosphere	Repeating the interlocutor’s code-switch	Miscellaneous
B1 in Dyad 1	-	-	-	-	17	-
B1 in Dyad 6	-	-	8	-	-	-
B2	-	3	-	-	-	-
C1	-	-	-	-	-	-
F1	-	3	14	-	-	-
I1 in Dyad 1	5	-	14	-	-	-
I1 in Dyad 7	-	1	6	-	2	2
I2	1	2	16	-	-	-
I3	-	-	-	-	-	-
L1	-	1	-	-	-	1
M1	-	3	5	5	-	-
S1	-	5	3	-	-	-
T1	-	3	-	-	8	-
V1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	6	21	66	5	27	3

IV. 3. Participants’ code-switching and their interlocutors’ understanding

The third research question in the study has been to investigate whether participants’ code-switching helped interlocutors understand what speakers were saying or led interlocutors to misunderstanding. It has been found that none of the code-switches of the speakers in each dyad led his/her interlocutor to misunderstanding. Some code-switches of the speakers made their interlocutors not understand, whereas others helped their interlocutors understand what was being said. When a code-switch of a speaker could not be understood by an interlocutor, the speaker or both the speaker and the interlocutor tried to clarify. For example, in Example 3, when I1 code-switched into Hungarian, B1 signaled that he did not understand what I1 meant. Then, they used other communication strategies such as showing as confirmation check, pointing, and confirming yes or no to arrive at understanding. That is why, although I1’s code-switch was not understood by B1 at first, the code-switch did not lead B1 to misunderstanding and their use of other communication strategies made them arrive at understanding.

In addition, in Example 6, a speaker code-switched when she did not know what to call an ingredient in English. This example was extracted from the conversation of Dyad 2, in which participants were an Indonesian (I2) and a Thai (T1) student. In the example, I2 was talking about the recipe for an Indonesian dish before the actual cooking. While I2 was talking about the ingredients for the recipe, she had difficulty how to say an Indonesian word in English. So, she code-switched with the Indonesian word *sawi* in the rhetorical question (in Line 3). Then, I2 said *cabbage* (in Line 5) with an accompanying gesture. When T1 heard “cabbage”, she

repeated the word *Cabbage?* with a rising intonation (in Line 6) because I2's gesture for the shape of the leaf was different from the shape of the cabbage. Then, I2 said *lettuce* (in Line 7). This example showed that although the Indonesian participant code-switched to her language because of lack of linguistic resource for what she wanted to say, she tried to resolve it, first, by giving the name of a similar vegetable with an accompanying gesture of the vegetable she wanted to name. Later, she provided her interlocutor the name of the vegetable which should be used in the actual cooking. Therefore, the speaker's code-switch in this example did not hinder the interlocutor's understanding.

Example 6. An example of the speaker's code-switch which did not hinder the interlocutor's understanding

- 1 I2: ((laughs)) It's really good. And actually, you just need to bring like the
 2 greens, any green leaves you want as long as it the color is green. So, you
 3 can have like spinach, you can have like um what what is *sawi*? ((laughs))
 4 I don't remember. I don't remember. ((laughs)) like these these ((gesture
 5 for the shape of the leaf she is talking about)) cabbage.
 6 T1: Cabbage?
 7 I2: Not really not really cabbage. Li- lettuce.

An example of the speaker's code-switch which helped the interlocutor understand can be seen in Example 7. The example was extracted from the conversation of Dyad 5 in which a Filipino (F1) and a Singaporean (S1) student participated. They were cooking a Filipino dish at that time. While cooking, F1 and S1 were talking about difficulties of getting ingredients for Southeast Asian food in Hungary. In the example, when S1 asked if there is a Filipino grocery store in Budapest, F1 answered that there is a stand for Filipino seasonings in an Asian grocery store at a market. Then, F1 took out the seasoning packs she bought in Budapest and showed them one after another to S1, explaining which was what. At that time, F1 code-switched to mention the seasonings for Filipino foods: *bihon* and *sisig* (in Line 6), and *tocino* and *pancit bihon* (in Line 8). When S1 heard *bihon*, he was a bit surprised, and repeated it as *bee hoon* (in Line 7). Then, S1 tried to know if the Filipino *bihon* is the same food as the Singapore *bee hoon* (in Line 9). In this example, when F1 used the Filipino word *bihon*, her code-switching made S1 easily understand what type of noodle F1 was talking about. There are different kinds of noodles in Southeast Asia, and *bihon* or *bee hoon* is a kind of rice noodle Southeast Asian people eat. If F1 used an English word *noodle* for *bihon*, it would not be clearly understandable what kind of noodle was meant. Therefore, the Filipino participant's code-switching in this example was helpful for the Singaporean participant to know what kind of noodle the Filipino participant was talking about.

Example 7. An example of the use of another language in code-switching

- 1 S1: Is there a Filipino shop in Philippines I mean in Budapest?
 2 F1: Ah not really Filipino shop, but it's like an international market.
 3 S1: Ah.
 4 F1: And they have this section for: ((gesture of a stand in a shop)) These ones
 5 are Filipino's ((shows seasoning packs one after another to S1)) specialties,
 6 like *bihon*, *sisig*.
 7 S1: *Bee hoon*? Ah OK. ((takes the *bihon* pack and looked at it))
 8 F1: Ah, sweet and sour, *tocino*, *pancit bihon*.
 9 S1: You guys call that *bee hoon* as well? The noodles.

- 10 F1: Yeah. ((laughs))
 11 S1: Ah OK. I was taught a thing like *bee hoon* but Malay language but,
 12 F1: ((laughs)) We also have that.

[Note: *Bihon* or *bee hoon* is a kind of rice noodle Southeast Asian people eat; *sisig* is a Filipino dish of sizzling pork head, pork belly, and chicken liver; *tocino* is a Filipino sweet cured meat dish.]

So, to answer the third research question in the study, participants' code-switch did not lead their interlocutors to misunderstanding. Instead, some code-switches even helped the interlocutors understand what the speakers were saying.

V. Conclusion

As ASEAN is a linguistically diverse region, and people from the ASEAN region have diverse language backgrounds, they code-switch intentionally or unintentionally when they speak to others from the same region but from other language backgrounds. Of the 12 participants in the present study, nine code-switched in their conversations with their interlocutors from another ASEAN country. When they code-switched, they used different languages: they code-switched to not only to their language, but to their interlocutors' language as well as to additional languages. And the reasons behind their code-switching were also different such as lack of linguistic resource, signalling culture, and assisting for their understanding each other, but most code-switch were to signal culture. Although participants code-switched in the study, their code-switches did not hinder their interlocutors' understanding, and in some cases, code-switching enhanced the understanding of the interlocutors what the participants were saying. In conclusion, the study shows that ELF speakers from ASEAN countries code-switch to different languages, but their code-switching does not hinder understanding but, on the contrary, enhances understanding between the speakers.

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Transcription conventions

The video-recorded materials were transcribed according to the following notation system which was an adapted version of Atkinson & Heritage (1984).

,	a continuing intonation
.	a stopping fall in tone
:	an extension of the sound or syllable it follows, more colons prolong the stretch
?	a rising inflection
!	an animated tone, not necessarily an exclamation
wor-	a halt or cutoff, a word or clause not produced in its entirety
-word-	syllables of a word or strings of words to show stammering
((word))	a non-vocal action, description of conversational scene

[overlapping (start)
]	overlapping (end)
/word/	transcription in IPA
<i>italic</i>	code-switch into a non-English language

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A Corpus-Based Critical Discourse Analysis of People's Daily and New York Times' reports on the pandemic

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Abstract: Coronavirus has plagued the world since the beginning of 2020, forcing the great majority of people to live in an extraordinary condition of learning, working, and living. During the epidemic, the media has played a critical role in influencing individuals' views and behaviors by serving as a key window for the public to get timely information. However, various media have varied discourses in their coverage and stir debate of the pandemic driven by the different cultural backgrounds and political attitudes of the nations or parties in which they are located. CDA researchers such as Chilton (2004), Fairclough (1992), Van Dijk (2008), and Wodak (2001) claim that discourse representation is under ideological manipulation. This explains why the media cover of the same topic in the same time period are strikingly different.

Based on this precondition, this study investigated the debates on the pandemic in Chinese People's Daily and the American New York Times between September 1-10, 2021. Using the database analytic program Sketch-Engine. This study has two primary goals: 1. to see what issues are addressed in the People's Daily and in the New York Times in the context of the pandemic; 2. to compare and contrast the subjects presented in these two newspapers mentioned on different ideological support for the same topic and time period. To achieve the above two goals, this study employs the critical discourse analysis approach, showing what exactly these two newspapers discussed in the same context under the pandemic three factors, such as: Notional words, Key words, and the sentiment of those words. After the quantitative analysis of the data, explanations are provided and an attempt is made to summarise the similarities and differences between the two media in the discussion of pandemic topics. The corpus-based research reveals that People's Daily used more neutral terms when discussing the Coronavirus pandemic, and used the past tense when describing China and the globe under the pandemic, which is more positive and hopeful. The New York Times, on the other hand, used more negative adjectives to describe the Coronavirus pandemic, and utilized the present tense to describe the United States and the rest of the globe in the context of the pandemic, which was objective but also gloomy.

Keywords: CDA, People's Daily, New York Daily, pandemic

I. Introduction

Since 2019, the pandemic induced by the covid-19 virus has lasted two years. Governments have aggressively supported different methods to avoid the epidemic, but with the virus spreading and changing so quickly, the globe has been unable to totally stop the pandemic's spread. In the early days of the covid-19 virus, the Chinese authorities took significant measures, forcing a lockdown on the country's major cities and implementing rigorous entrance control procedures, with considerable success. Although the covid-19 virus recurs on a regular basis in China, the scope of transmission has been efficiently regulated, and the risk of severe disease and mortality has been greatly decreased. In the US, however, the pandemic is still widespread. Despite the American government's continuing calls for a vaccination and increased research and development of targeted treatments, the public response in the United States has been muted, and the incidence of serious sickness and death cases remains high. As a result, media conversations about the same issue in China and the United States at the same moment may look different due to difference in local conditions. So, as an assumption, it is believed that while reporting on the same issue at the same time, the representative media of China and the United States, the world's two primary ideological leaders presently, may report on the pandemic differently. When the data was analyzed, it was discovered that, in addition to confirming the existence of such difference, they were also influenced by ideology.

The People's Daily is China's most widely circulated daily paper and a major organ, sponsored by the Communist Party of China's Central Committee. The People's Daily follows the communist ideology and is regarded as a socialist journalism with Chinese Characteristics. The People's Daily's major job, according to its newspaper profile, is to "*faithfully execute the responsibilities and tasks of the Party's press and public opinion activity.*"

The New York Times is the most Pulitzer Prize-winning newspaper in the United States and is often regarded as the most liberal daily in the country. Despite having the third highest readership in the United States, the New York Times is the most important daily among American liberals, has a strong influence on the U.S. and other Western societies. The New York Times' mission statement is, "*We seek the truth and help people understand the world.*"

Corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis lends itself to a broad overview investigation of a huge number of news texts. I created two self-built corpora for this investigation, gathering 10 randomly selected news texts from the People's Daily and the New York Times, respectively, and carried out basic data cleaning. I used the English web 2020 corpus to cross-reference these two corpora to derive the core content of the two newspapers' pandemic reporting in three ways: Notional word, Keyword, and the sentiment of those words.

II. Literature Review

Since the worldwide outbreak of covid19 in 2019, the study of pandemic journalism has quickly become a prominent issue. In China, research on pandemic news has concentrated on two major areas: domestic news production and distribution concerns, and international media coverage of the pandemic in China. In the former, Luan and Zhang (2020) summarized the process of Chinese media coverage in the early stages of the outbreak, reporting that news about the pandemic first appeared in the self-published media and then in parallel in the full media. Meng and Pei(2020) used an empirical study to analyze the press releases of nine Chinese provincial governments, discussing the shortcomings of the Chinese government's press release work and making recommendations. Wang and Xu(2020) analyzed the Chinese government's press

release work. Latter, Gao and Xu (2020) analyzed the public opinion of six media (New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, the Times The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Times, Le Monde, Der Spiegel, Le Figaro, The Asahi Shimbun and The Australian.) reports on China's new crown pneumonia and found that these media had a roundabout attitude of "affirmative – negative - affirmative - negative" towards China. Liu and Zhang(2020) examined twenty New York Times articles on China's fight against the Covid-19 and discovered that the media used a DE-legitimization strategy and skewed the facts in their portrayal of the pandemic in China. Gao and Zhang (2021) also applied a framing theory to the New York Times' China story, concluding that the Times is generating a 'stigmatized' and 'dangerous' image of China. Xue, Zhang, Wu, and Cao (2021) used the GDELT news database to analyze changes in "global-China" state relations as reflected in news reports, and gained some important concluded:

"(2) under the Covid-19 event, the 'global-China are both the cooperation and conflict categories of international relations changed under the Covid-19 pandemic, but the changes varied. At first, the global cooperation category was more dense than the conflict category, and subsequently there was a meandering situation where the cooperation category went from down to up and the conflict category went from up to down, which is related to the 'affirmative-negative-affirmative public opinion posture of the international media towards China under the pandemic. (3) Among the four countries with high coverage and confirmed cases of the pandemic (the US, UK, Italy and Russia), the conflict value of international relations fluctuates much more than the cooperation value... (4) Global pandemic concern continues to grow as the pandemic breaks out at multiple points in the world. The overall level of 'Global-China' international relations cooperation values declined slightly and conflict values increased significantly, remaining at the corresponding levels of fair to good in the cooperation category and discordant to tense in the conflict category, with high cooperation and conflict values often occurring together in the same region. (5) The types of events that trigger changes in international relations are diverse. However, specific themes can have a greater impact on changes in international relations, such as the reality of global pandemics, international foreign policy and pandemic prevention initiatives, statements by international official bodies, and the results of pandemic research. (The original is in Chinese)"

In English, the study of pandemic news focuses on fake news and dis-information, news sentiment, conspiracy theories, and so forth. Hart, P., Chinn, S., & Soroka, S. (2020) suggest that the high degree of politicization and polarization in initial COVID-19 coverage may have contributed to polarization in U.S. COVID-19 attitudes; van Der Linden, S., Roozenbeek, J., & Compton, J. (2020) refuting some of the misinformation about COVID-19 and suggesting the use of Inoculation Theory in psychology to undermine the impact of fake news. Sacerdote, B., Sehgal, R., & Cook, M. (2020) find out that US media coverage of pandemic news have a strong negative bias, with 91 % of major US media coverage being negative, compared to 54% of non-US media coverage; Buckman, S., Shapiro, A., Sudhof, M& Wilson, D. (2020) They confirmed that pandemic-related media stories in the United States had resulted in an earlier and more significant reduction in consumer confidence in Michigan than in prior eras.

A comparison of two part recent studies demonstrates that Chinese academicians are eager to debate pandemic news in their own nation as well as English-language media coverage of China, even if it is not confined to pandemic subjects. English-speaking researchers, on the other hand, appear to be uninterested in this area, with the majority of English-language papers examining the same topic written by scholars of Chinese background.

Regarding the theoretical framework, critical discourse analysis was selected. Communication scholarship has long held that news coverage is selective, which is known as the “gatekeeper theory”. Lewin(1943) coined this idea by arguing that news coverage cannot be truly objective or neutral; White(1950) said gatekeepers control the flow of words and images in the newsroom; Shoemaker(1991) argued that readers and the timing of news reception are also selective; and Sullivan(1994) defined “gatekeepers” as “*those who occupy strategic decision-making positions in news media organizations, such as editors.*” Bennett(2004) argues that in the age of digital journalism, there are at least four gates of news construction, and he also updates the gatekeeper theory to a multi-gate model theory.

Communication studies have discovered and summarized the laws by which news is selected, using which linguists attempt to elucidate the power relations and ideologies behind the use of language that treats news as text, a research field that is primarily the domain of critical discourse analysis linguists.

There are several discourse types in CDA approach such as news discourse, medical discourse, legal discourse, and CDA can find and analyze the power manipulation relationship and ideological penetration in certain discourse. In the field of news discourse, CDA can offer some help to uncover how and why the gatekeeper in communication governs the news selection process. CDA was founded by Fairclough (1989) and has been regarded as a “instrumental linguistics” from its beginnings. Fairclough observes that CDA is more than analysis; it is critique. CDA turns against ideological naturalization, analyzes the linguistic forms in a discourse in order to uncover the implicit link between language, power, and ideology, as well as how the ruling class utilizes language to enforce ideological control and retain its position of power (1989: Fairclough). Early CDA and CL¹ investigations, on the other hand, were frequently confused (Wodak, 2006) and depended largely on Halliday’s systemic functional linguistics, resulting in an excessively theoretical approach that was disconnected from real social practices. Van Dijk (2006) challenged Halliday’s concept of register and context, and Fairclough’s study has also been critiqued for being overly subjective, neglecting the author’s and reader’s ideas, and leaping to conclusions (Widdowson, 1996). Later, Wodak introduced the discourse-historical approach (2001) and cognitive approaches (2006) to CDA research, broadening the scope of CDA research and its methods. Wodak herself conducted cognitive research on news broadcasts and Internet chat boards, arguing that CDA research integrates all contextual information to analyze and interpret racist ideas and biases in public discourse, and that this approach is suitable for analyzing implicit biases in discourse and interpreting them. According to Chilton (2003), any spoken or written discourse is a specific product of some ideology, and he also suggests that we should add cognitive linguistics to CDA, such as lexical and implicate research methods. Van Dijk (2008) studied discrimination against racial and ethnic minorities, as well as power and inequality in discourse, from a sociolect-cognitive perspective, and emphasized the importance of context in reflect the ideology of discourse.

As a result, I will employ CDA to reveal the hidden ideological content of news discourse by using the word recognition and two-character phrases in the cognition method, try to locate specific facts in the utterance.

During the current analysis one factor, the sentiment of the words have to be discussed. Sentiment analysis, also known as sentiment disposition analysis and opinion mining, is a set of techniques that uses natural language processing, text mining, computers, and linguistics to

¹ The CL mentioned by Wodak refers to critical linguistics.

identify, extract, and analyze sentiment embedded in comments or text. Sentiment analysis is one of the fastest growing branches of computing, and it is difficult to define its origins. However, there is no doubt that it originated in NLP and flourished around 2004, when web technologies matured. (Mäntylä, M. V., Graziotin, D., & Kuutila, M., 2018). Sentiment analysis has advanced within the discipline of computer science in the web 2.0 era, allowing extensive texts such as news, blog entries, product reviews, and forum postings to be analyzed for sentiment patterns (Zhou, He, & Wang, 2008). It is now much more commercialized and has been expanded as a research instrument to science and sociology, including marketing, finance, political science, communications, health sciences, and even history. This evolution is due to the fact that opinion is at the center of practically all human activity and has a significant impact on human behavior. Our views, perceptions of reality, and decisions are highly influenced by how others see and judge the world. As a result, while making judgments, we frequently seek the advice of others.

“Sentiment Analysis (SA) or Opinion Mining (OM) is the computational study of people’s opinions, attitudes and emotions toward an entity...Therefore, the target of SA is to find opinions, identify the sentiments they express, and then classify their polarity.”(Medhat, Hassan, & Korashy, 2014)

Long texts are the most common field for modal analysis, but the inner logic is still based on calculating the modality of individual words and calculating different formulae to get the overall modal tendency of the phrase or long text. So, after being introduced to this research instrument, one of the first tasks assigned to linguists was to construct a dictionary of moods. Until now, several linguists and computer scientists have created corpora or lexicons that can assess whether the emotional attitudes of certain words are positive, negative, or neutral. Shuyuan Deng, Atish P., Sinha Huimin Zhao (2017) statistics on the more commonly used modal dictionaries at present: General Inquirer (Stone, Dunphy, & Smith, 1966), Senti Word Net (Esuli, & Sebastiani, 2006), Opinion Lexicon (Ding, Liu, & Yu, 2008) and MPQA (Lingjia, D. & Janyce, 2015).

The lexeme is the smallest unit of morphological analysis, and all natural language processing-based tools must begin with the morphology of the individual lexicon in conjunction with the phrases, sentences, and sub-paragraphs in which the lexicon appears to determine what unique semantics it expresses when it appears here. As a result, the sentiment dictionary is the most commonly used tool for modal analysis, as well as the most basic and straightforward. The current study will make use of Liu’s (2008) modal lexicon. The benefit of this modal dictionary over others is that it is made in word and text file format and can be opened and reviewed directly without the need to learn other particular applications to operate for themselves.

III. Method of analysis

I employed corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis (Baker et al. 2008) methodologies to investigate the true concerns of the People’s Daily and the New York Times during the pandemic. I created two corpora to compare and contrast the similarities and difference between the two media on the pandemic. The Chinese People’s Daily corpus is my first, while the American New York Times corpus is my second one. They were compiled in the same time frame (from Sep1- Sep10, 2021). During this time, I searched the official websites of two newspapers using the keyword “pandemic,” then chose one report per day at random in ten consecutive days, DE-formatted and pasted the main part of the report into a word document. I manually removed images, the author’s name and contact information, and advertisements.

I used Sketch-Engine to built up self-built corpora. It is a robust corpus platform that can be utilized on the web, allowing scholars to generate your own corpus and including corpora of different languages enabling users to undertake cross-comparative analysis.

During the analysis three factors were analyzed. First, Notional words have specific meaning, they construct the core content of article, they cannot be deleted or the paragraph content will change. Notional words include Nouns, Adjectives, and majority of Verbs; except Quantifier, Preposition, Adverbs and grammar marker. Second, Keywords are the words that occur statistically more often in a corpus in comparison to another corpus (Baker,2004). During the analysis the terms high frequency and high relevance were used to account for keywords.

The third factor is sentiment word. “*Sentiment analysis (SA) is an intellectual process of extricating user’s feelings and emotions.* (Devika, Sunitha, & Ganesh,2016)” In this study only positive and negative attitudes will be discussed. I am using “+” and “-” to mark the positive and negative of notional words/ key words in adjectives and certain verbs and nouns only. Sentiment analysis is classifying texts or words according to the emotions they express. The classification has been a challenging issue, there are at least six reliable opinion dictionaries or corpora on the Internet. Lingjia Deng & Janyce Wiebe(2015) defined the types of attitude(e.g. positive and negative) according to subject increase or decrease the amount of object. In this analysis, Opinion Lexicon developed by Bing Liu(2004) are selected.

IV. Data analysis and discussion

IV.1 Notional words

The People’s Daily corpus has 2803 words, including 1694 notional words, whereas the New York Times corpus contains 2638 words, including 2135 notional words. The pro- portion of terms in the overall lexicon that have genuine meaning is also greater than in People’s Daily, demonstrating the advantage of native language writing. The high frequency words of nouns, verbs and adjectives in notional words are presented in the form of three tables.

Table 1a. Noun notional words in People’s Daily

Number	Item	Frequency	Relative
1	china	74	9167.49257
2	country	36	4459.86125
3	trade	36	4459.86125
4	cooperation	33	4088.20614
5	brics	32	3964.32111
6	covid-19	30	3716.55104
7	Pandemic	29	3592.66601
8	development	29	3592.66601
9	us	27	3344.89594
10	service	26	3221.0109

A total of 899 nouns were identified in People’s Daily. In The People’s Daily the word CHINA proved to be the most frequent notional word, reflecting the principal duty of overseas propaganda for which its English-language coverage is accountable. The primary reason for reading the People’s Daily by over- seas Chinese and other English-speaking readers’ is to learn

about Chinese news, therefore, there is no surprise that CHINA appears the most frequently. However, the tied second position of COUNTRY and TRADE indicate a high possibility of co-occurrence in word frequency, and when combined with the fourth position of cooperation and BRICS, we can read that the People’s Daily still prioritizes showing the Chinese government’s achievements in foreign trade in the context of the epidemic. Brics is a capitalized term that is an acronym of the initials of the five BRICS countries: Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa. These nations are most likely China’s key international trading partners, and they are mirrored by growth which is placed eighth, indicating that China is still progressing economically despite the pandemic environment, and that this development is facilitated by foreign trade. Only two words in the table meet the pandemic research context: COVID-19, which is placed sixth, and PANDEMIC, which is rated seventh. These two phrases rank low and have less than half the frequency of the first place keyword, CHINA, demonstrating that the true topic under the People’s Daily pandemic report is not dominated by epidemic information, but by the economic development story telling of China despite the pandemic.

Table 1b. Noun notional words in New York Times

Number	Item	Frequency	Relative
1	death	51	4159.191
2	case	48	3914.5327
3	people	43	3506.76888
4	pandemic	40	3262.11059
5	new	38	3099.00506
6	year	37	3017.45229
7	virus	34	2772.794
8	china	30	2446.58294
9	york	30	2446.58294
10	manhattan	29	2365.03017

A total of 1159 nouns of notional word appear in New York Times. The data in the noun notional word table from the New York Times indicates the strong relevance of their coverage to the search phrase “pandemic.” Readers understand the reference to DEATH in the first place and CASE in the second place in the context of the epidemic, which indicates the risk to human life from the new pneumonia in the United States. The third-ranked word, PEOPLE is comparable to CHINA or COUNTRY in People’s Daily, implying that the themes mentioned in the New York Times are more relevant to the public’s daily lives than debating problems at a high notional level like People’s Daily. The fourth phrase, PANDEMIC, is our search term, and it appears in the New York Times with a frequency similar to the top three, indicating a degree of co-occurrence. This illustrates the New York Times’ pursuit of both journalistic accuracy and fearless to choose word in negative feelings. NEW, the fifth-place word, has multiple connotations in each of the 10 stories and may express to the city of New York before describing something new or an event. Sixth position YEAR is a longer time scale in news discourse, signifying that the themes mentioned by the New York Times in the context of the epidemic stretch years. The presence of VIRUS in the seventh position is widely recognized as a highly relevant word for the search phrase. The eighth position, CHINA, on the other hand, may be perplexing to readers looking for information about the U.S. pandemic, and the reason for the New York Time’s frequent reference of CHINA may be complex. However, there is no compelling evidence that China’s inclusion in the New York Times pandemic report was due to the two nations’ fight against the virus or economic collaboration. The New York Times has an article headlined is “China Doesn’t Want to ‘Live With’ Covid. But It May Have To.” But is used

to emphasize the part attached to it, possibly implying the New York Times' critical stance toward China's anti-epidemic tactics.

Table 2a. Adjectives notional word in People's Daily

Number	Item	Frequency	Relative
1	global	24	2973.24083
2	digital	21	2601.58573
3	new	18	2229.93062
4	more	18	2229.93062
5	chinese	18	2229.93062
6	international	17	2106.04559
7	many	16	1982.16056
8	other	14	1734.39049
9	economic	13	1610.50545
10	first	12	1486.62042

A total of 334 adjectives of notional word appear in People's Daily. The five most common adjectives are all neutral terms with no obvious sentiment tendencies. These adjectives may be thought of as complements to the primary nouns in the preceding paragraph, and four adjectives, such as GLOBAL, DIGITAL, INTERNATIONAL, and ECONOMIC, can be used to describe international trade. Other words, such as MORE and MANY, they are only recognized as neutral words. Because it is necessary to use the nouns connected by these words to judge how much object they have added, since the attitude of the connection nouns are diverse, So words like MORE and MANY cannot own a clear tendency. However, in the context of the People's Daily, the overall attitude of the remarks in which these two words appear is typically favorable. E.g. "I'm awaiting the COVID-19 situation to normalize as soon as possible so that we could send more goods abroad." from *Nepali handicrafts men look forward to expanding export to China in post-pandemic era*, MORE is used here to describe goods in this context in order to convey the favorable trade attitude of the Nepali business people. "We need to intensify cooperation in vaccine research, development and production, provide more public goods to the international community." from *Xi's remarks on boosting Northeast Asian cooperation amid pandemic*, MORE is also used in conjunction with GOODS here, to illustrate the first half of the sentence: "strengthen cooperation," emphasizing China's President Xi's proactive attitude to assisting other nations during the epidemic. NEW is used similarly to MORE, except that it is used once to describe the US government's "creating new anti-Chinese alliances" and the other 17 times are all to indicate a new phase in China's ties and collaboration with other nations.

Table 2b. Adjectives notional word in New York Times

Number	Item	Frequency	Relative
1	global	24	2973.24083
2	digital	21	2601.58573
3	new	18	2229.93062
4	more	18	2229.93062
5	chinese	18	2229.93062
6	international	17	2106.04559
7	many	16	1982.16056
8	other	14	1734.39049
9	economic	13	1610.50545
10	first	12	1486.62042

A total of 847 times and 346 adjective of notional word appear in New York Times. The first point that can be seen is that the employment of MORE in the New York Times differs greatly from that of the People’s Daily, and there are several cases of MORE in the New York Times being related with the epidemic’s malignant progression. E.g. “*This year, the strong spread of the Delta variant makes decisions about those traditions more complicated. Cases, hospitalizations and deaths are all rising in the United States.*” from *Unvaccinated Americans should avoid Labor Day travel, the C.D.C. director says.* and “*Experts say maintaining existing standards of care for the sickest patients may be difficult or impossible at hospitals with more than 95 percent I.C.U. occupancy, and throughout the pandemic,*” from *Hawaii is facing an oxygen shortage amid a record surge in virus cases.* Both of these MOREs highlight the significant risk of covid-19. Of course, not all MOREs come in sentence with an overall bad attitude; MOREs are also used multiple times while discussing vaccination rates, when they correspond to more favorable attitudes. For example, report *Covid Ravaged South America. Then Came a Sharp Drop in Infections.* describes how improved vaccination rates have resulted in a drop in the frequency of new diseases in South American countries. LOW and LAST The use of LOW and EARLY in adjectives is analogous to the use of MORE and NEW in adjectives, which appear to lower the amount of the object in some manner, but may also diminish the unpleasant aspects, making the sentence as a whole reflect a good attitude. In the case of the New York Times, however, these two terms are typically employed in connection with unfavorable phrases and sentences. E.g. “*Health experts say the surge is driven by the highly contagious Delta variant and low vaccination rates.*” from *Hawaii is facing an oxygen shortage amid a record surge in virus cases;* “*If there are low levels of natural immunity and vaccines are less effective at protecting against new variants of the virus, then reaching zero infections will not be possible as the country opens up.*” from *China Doesn’t Want to ‘Live With’ Covid. But It May Have To.* and the title of *When Was the First U.S. Covid Death? C.D.C. Investigates 4 Early Cases itself.* It is worth noting, however, that LOW is most frequently used in the New York Times in the phrase LOWER MANHATTAN, but not bother LOW does express a generally negative attitude in the remaining examples.

Table 3a. Verb notional word in People’s Daily

Number	Item	Frequency	Relative
1	say	47	5822.59663
2	work	13	1610.50545
3	accord	13	1610.50545
4	take	10	1238.85035
5	include	10	1238.85035
6	need	9	1114.96531
7	share	9	1114.96531
8	become	9	1114.96531
9	boost	9	1114.96531
10	add	9	1114.96531

A total of 996 times and 320 verb of notional word appear in People’s Daily. SAY occurs the most frequently, which is a regular occurrence in news discourse, as it indicates a popular technique for the media to suggest the impartiality of their reporting by attempting to relay the interviewee’s words while minimizing their own direct display of subjective preferences when reporting. In People’s Daily, ACCORD is used in the same way as SAY; both are used to quote other people’s ideas or data.

WORK comes just once in negative and once in neutral feeling sentences, both times when the People’s Daily criticizes the Biden administration in the United States. They are “*US scientists who have worked with their Chinese counterparts have been investigated or persecuted.*” and “*Biden has repeatedly said ‘America is back’ and worked to rebuild the US’ alliances with Western and Asia-Pacific countries.*” from *US uses politics of fear to target China*. Others appear twice in WORK-HARD, twice in WORK-FOR, twice in WORK-TO, three times in WORK-TOGETHER, three times in WORK-WITH, and once in WORK-AS-TEAM, all in situations expressing China’s international economic cooperation.

BOOST, SHARE, ADD, and BECOME are all used consistently in international trade statement, indicating commercial transactions or the economic advantages of expansion. NEED is a little different in that it typically emphasizes future aspirations while implying shortcomings in the present, therefore it will only be used in conjunction with plainly positive phrases, and its use of irony does not occur in the People’s Daily.

Table 3b. Verb notional word in New York Times

Number	Item	Frequency	Relative
1	say	138	11254.28152
2	vaccinate	26	2120.37188
3	do	19	1549.50253
4	take	18	1467.94976
5	become	15	1223.29147
6	include	15	1223.29147
7	come	15	1223.29147
8	show	14	1141.7387
9	begin	10	815.52765
10	go	10	815.52765

A total of 1740 times and 494 verb of notional word appear in New York Times. SAY was also the first to appear in the New York Times for the same reason. When compared to People’s Daily, the use of SAY in New York Times is more than twice as common, and Relative is almost twice as often, demonstrating that the New York Times quotes non-news makers idea more frequently. The usage of VACCINATE appears only at a high frequency and in the top position in the New York Times, showing that there is a widespread debate in the United States regarding whether to vaccinate during a pandemic.

Although both the past and negative forms of VACCINATE appear in all three re- ports, VACCINATED appears in only two reports that primarily discuss the pandemic situation in the United States and a third that discusses the improving situation in South America, whereas UNVACCINATE and LESS-VACCINATE appear only in reports that discuss the situation in the United States.

The Sketch-Engine platform identified the non-grammatical marker DO as a usage of vaccine injection. For example, the reported verb of notional word DO is used in the sentence “*have received at least one dose of the vaccine.*” There is one exception, though: “*People who do not vaccinate themselves are less careful.*” from *Unvaccinated Americans should avoid Labor Day travel, the C.D.C. director says.*

IV.2 Key words

In this part, the Sketch-Engine platform is to generate five single-key words and five multi-key items for the People's Daily and the New York Times. Multi-key items is a vocabulary used by the Sketch-Engine platform, which means a phrase with two lexemes. In order to avoid inconvenience in reading, the latter part of this article, except for the table, is replaced by two-lexeme phrase for multi-key items. The results are shown below. Sketch-Engine compares all of the words in the corpora to the reference corpus, and by counting the absolute frequency of specific words in the corpus and the relative frequency derived from comparison with the reference corpus. Furthermore, Sketch-Engine determines which words are used in accordance with the default conventions of the reference corpus, and mark which words are used in a unique way. For example, to mark the words which are more obvious in the corpus to have idiosyncratic usage. As a reference corpus, English Web 2020 are chose, a huge corpus that summarizes English usage on the Web in 2020, which can reflective of normal word usage by English speakers today.

Table 4a. single-key words and multi-key items in People's Daily

Number	Key Word	Multi-Key Item
1	brics	trade cooperation
2	cifits	win-win cooperation
3	China-Africa	digital trade
4	handicraft	napali handicraft
5	xinhua	post-pandemic era

People's Daily's usage of keywords continues to follow the pattern discovered in notional words, and its distinctive word choice imagery remains centered on the area of international trade. I offer the meanings of certain specific keywords separately, but the analysis of the compound terms will be covered later in the implicature section. The abbreviation BRICS mentioned above. Ciftis is China's international Trade in Services Fair. Xinhua is a Chinese news agency. The People's Republic of China's official state-run news agency is Xinhua News Agency. This term, xinhua, appears in people's daily, implying the union of party newspapers and notional publications in propaganda.

About two-lexeme phrase, three sentences associated with each other using the same vocabulary in People's Daily, implying the universality of the implicature meaning of the six terms: trade cooperation; win-win cooperation; digital trade. The post-pandemic period is the sole phrase that incorporates unfavorable opinion in people's everyday lives. The meaning it represents is also constrained by the past tense, which suggests that there are no more pandemics in China in the present. The sole important term in the People's Daily that has a negative value is "POST-PANDEMIC ERA." The meaning it represents is constrained by the past tense, which may reflect People's Daily's attempt to reconstruct China's pandemic period, the past tense, in the context of events that are still shrouded in pandemic haze around the world, implying that in other circumstances, like, the present, China does not talk much about the pandemic.

Table 4b. single-key words and multi-key items in New York Times

Number	Key Word	Multi-Key Item
1	unvaccinated	central synagogue
2	vaccinate	death certificate
3	Covid-related	liquid oxygen

4	Raethel	foot traffic
5	Laoly	holiday weekend

The top three main one-word keywords in the New York Times are all strongly connected to the pandemic subjects indicating that the New York Times’ content presentation and our search term pandemic are very well aligned. But unvaccinated, which topped the list, was the first negative sentiment that New York Times readers felt. The following two significant one-word words, on the other hand, are names of two people: Raethel is the President of the Hawaii Healthcare Association, while Laoly is the current Minister of Law and Human Rights.

The New York Times, unlike the People’s Daily, does not include two-lexeme phrase that utilize the same vocabulary. We can only look at the co-occurrence of two component lexical in each two-lexeme phrase separately. The negative lexical DEATH associated with certificate, which enhances the negative attitude of the sentence, emphasizes the huge death toll in pandemic, according to the New York Times. Concerning OXYGEN, its usual condition should be gas, however it is collocated with liquid, signifying the treatment of patients in a pandemic, which also a negative sentiment. FOOT TRAFFIC represents the act of a person traveling through a certain location; it must be combined with an adjective or quantifier. E.g. *“Lower Manhattan still has far fewer office workers and tourists than it did before the pandemic, and many bars and restaurants are seeing little foot traffic.”* and *“Inside the shopping mall under the Oculus, foot traffic was light as indie rock played over the speakers.”* from *Lower Manhattan Rebounded After 9/11, but the Pandemic Erased the Gains*. FOOT TRAFFIC is more frequently associated with adjectives such as little, less, and so on. Although it appears with increased in same report, there is just one time: *“Inside the Oculus, where some stores have reported increased foot traffic in recent months.”* Although HOLIDAY WEEKEND is a popular combo that makes people happy when they see it, it usually merely conveys a time range. We discovered that the use of HOLIDAY WEEKEND in the New York Times is mostly in the context of pandemic stress. like *“The director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention said unvaccinated people should avoid traveling during the Labor Day holiday weekend with the Delta variant spreading, and cases, hospitalizations and deaths rising.”* and *“I want to share ways that Americans can keep their families and themselves safe over the long holiday weekend.”* From *C.D.C. Urges Caution Surrounding Labor Day Travel*.

IV.3 The sentiment of words

It discovered that the People’s Daily has two positive and two negative terms, which is fairly balanced. The New York Times, on the other hand, has five negative terms, one positive word, and one difficult-to-define word, china. Due to the frequent occurrence of another country’s name in the New York Times’ pandemic article, it is impossible to conclude that this is a neutral expression. It is also worth noting that, the great majority of words may communicate multiple meanings depending on the location in which they are employed, therefore it is impossible to identify each words with positive or negative in the word dimension. Therefore, owing to the stringent nature of sentiment dictionaries, only these 10 words in the table exhibit a clear trend towards mood among the high-frequency notional terms collected in this study, whereas the rest of the words are recognized neutral.

Table 5. Sentiment words in the two newspapers

Number	People’s Daily	New York Times
1	covid-19 -	covid-19-
2	Pandemic-	pandemic-

3	work+	death-
4	boost+	virus-
5		unvaccinated-

To summarize, the New York Times performs better than the People's Daily in terms of content relevance, they have no qualms about using negative emotional terms to describe life under pandemic themes, an expression that co-occurs in reports on the situation within the United States as well as in reports on the rest of the world. But the New York Times, as a newspaper operating in the US, has its focus and primary readership from the English-speaking world, and the coverage in this case is a mixture of overtly positive and overtly negative articles. But in the non-English speaking world, where the focus of the coverage is not, the New York Times' coverage only highlights the negative emotional slant, which can invite much criticism and makes the overall coverage of the New York Times reflect a negative-leaning sentiment.

People's Daily is more balanced than New York Times in terms of situational neutrality than People's Daily. Because the People's Daily, as the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, is first and foremost accountable to its patrons, considerable importance is attached to the selection of lexical moods in the content of its reports. The People's Daily is not supposed to have stories with only a single emotional tendency, which is contrary to the journalistic philosophy of its founder. so he shows a neutral attitude in the sentiment analyze. In addition, the very purpose of the People's Daily reporting in English has the motive of introducing itself to the English-speaking world, which would explain the need to keep the reporting mood neutral and free from false self-aggrandizement.

XV. Conclusion

This study examined articles written on the same topic, pandemic in the People's Daily and the New York Times throughout the same time period, in two self-constructed corpora using the database analysis tool Sketch-Engine. It was proven that the substance mentioned in the People's Daily and the New York Times under the pandemic concern was different, reflecting the two media sources' differing language techniques. For starters, People's Daily's coverage was neutral and objective, with a perfectly balanced expression of high- frequency notional words that, when combined with the allusion to the epidemic occurring in the past tense in the keywords, reflected the Chinese media's and the Party and government behind it's positive attitude in the face of the epidemic. The New York Times, on the other hand, is plainly negative in its reporting, use more negative terms in its lexicon and conveying to the audience the gravity of the present pandemic in a realistic and negative manner. Second, while the People's Daily focuses on economic and trade cooperation with other countries in the context of the epidemic, the New York Times tries to show that the current situation in the US is not the worst by reporting on or criticizing pandemic policies or social situations in other countries, such as frequent mentions of China. In conclusion, by comparing the two media outlets' pandemic news coverage, this study suggests that the media fully utilizes the positive role of discourse, optimizes the use of discourse strategies in news coverage of the new crown pneumonia, and calls on the media to assist the government with positive messages and reduce public panic. Readers should also critically examine the media's pandemic news coverage and be conscious of the effect of ideology on the substance of the reports.

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A versmondó benső világa

Zoltán Áron, Színház- és Filmművészeti Egyetem, Doktori Iskola

Tanulmányomban a versek egyedi nyelvi megvalósulását vizsgálom a versmondás tükrében. „[A] vers előadója éppúgy színpadi, jelen idejű, tapintható jelenség, mint a színész, de ő nem alakot formál, hanem »a vers benső világát, szellemiségét formálja meg, az adott versnek azt a szellemi, spirituális világszerűségét tárja fel, amelyet a nyelvi elrendezettség potenciálisan rejt magában.« Ezt azonban úgy teszi, hogy [...] személyes üzenetként tolmácsolja a verset” – írja Böhm Edit Bécsy Tamást idézve [1]. A lírai költemény „teljes egészében a művész benső világában alakul ki” [2], az ott létező életjenségeket teszi objektummá. Az intuíciókat, érzelmeket, hangulatokat, sejtelmeket, a benső világ szubjektív élményeit nyelvi formába önti, így a líra története ezeknek a jelenségeknek művészi létezővé formálásáért a nyelvvel mint anyaggal folytatott küzdelem. Ezt a küzdelmet állítja színpadra a versmondó is.

A lírai műnem jellegzetes kifejezőeszköze a megszólaló személyének és az őt körbevevő közeg jellemzőinek *dezorientációja* (Simon Gábor) [3]. A lírai mű születésének közege illékony, homályos, vagyis a versírás performatív kontextusának időbeli, térbeli és kulturális távolsága az előadóművész közegétől olyan űrt jelent, melynek kitöltetlensége a mű színpadi, előadónéző szituációban történő megvalósulása során problematikus. A hiányosságok pótlásában az előadóművész munkáját a filológiai kutatás segíti, a filológia ugyanis kísérletet tehet a szöveg eredeti pragmatikai kontextusának rekonstrukciójára. Megfigyelhető azonban az a tendencia, hogy a szerző szándékának megfelelően a mű keletkezési körülményeinek ismerete nem segít abban, hogy az előadóművész megalkossa performatív kontextusát. Az ilyen versek esetében beszélhetünk *akut dezorientációról* (Simon Gábor), melyre neves versmondók is különböző módon reagálnak előadóművészi munkájuk során.

A versmondó a nyelvi szimbólumok jelentéséből kiindulva, először mint befogadó, a receptív-emocionális aktus részeként, átéli a költeményt, ezzel visszavezeti a mű objektumát a saját társadalmi létének és benső világának életjelenségeire, majd a versmondás alkotó aktusa során a költőhöz hasonló objektívációs műveletet végezve, a saját benső világában létrejött interpretációt verbális és nonverbális eszközökkel teszi a közönség számára befogadhatóvá.

Eredmények: Mindezt egy több ízben, középiskolásoknak vezetett versmondáskurzus gyakorlati tapasztalatainak tükrében járom körbe, Weöres Sándor műveit hívva segítségül.

Következtetés: Mindez hasznos lehet az előadóművészek számára, de közelebb hozhatja a vers mint a befogadóban élő, organikusan változó művészi alkotás élményszerűségét a műkedvelő számára is. Ez kiváltképp a fiatal korosztály költészet iránti érdeklődésének felkeltésében játszhat szerepet, alternatívát teremtve a filológiai elemzés pedagógiai gyakorlata mellett.

Irodalomjegyzék:

[1] Böhm E. *A magyar versszavalás története*. Budapest: Ad Librum; 2009. p. 41.

[2] Bécsy T. *A dráma lételméletéről*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó; 1984. p. 107.

[3] Simon G. *Bevezetés a kognitív lírapoétikába*. Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2016. p. 83-88.

Kulcsszavak: előadóművészet, versmondás, interpretáció, líra, poétika

I. Bevezető

Tanulmányom az *Előadóművészi verselemzés középiskolás diákokkal*¹ címmel megjelent publikációm folytatása, melyhez hasonlóan most is középiskolás színjátszócsoportokkal végzett versmondási gyakorlatok tapasztalatait ötvözöm irodalomelméleti, poétikai, versmondáseleméleti kutatások tanulságaival.

Előadóművészi elemzésmódszertan-kutatásaim során a híd szerepét igyekszem betölteni a kortárs irodalomelméleti kutatások és a gyakorló előadóművészek között. Elméleti munkám célja, hogy olyan alapot nyújtson az előadóművész számára, amely a bonyolultabb poétikai eszközök megfejtését és akadálymentes előadóművészi alkalmazását segíti, függetlenül attól, hogy végül személyes stílusának, értékrendjének, művészi célkitűzéseinek megfelelően milyen végcélhoz szeretne előadása során eljutni. Feladatom a versértelmezés képességének fejlesztése, a versmondó motivációjának erősítése, mely a nehezebben kibontható szövegek esetében is a személyesség és közvetlenség élményét erősíti a verset elemző előadó és közönsége számára.

Jelen tanulmányban a *SztalkerSuli*² néven, az elmúlt öt év során, évente új csoporttal induló, heti egy alkalmas kurzus keretében, három különböző csapattal megtartott Weöres Sándor³ versmondáskurzus tapasztalatai alapján írok, elsősorban a *szubjektívizáció* és a *metafora* poétikai eszközei kapcsán. Ezen eszközök részletesebb előadóművészi szempontú vizsgálatának kiindulási pontját képezi Simon Gábor *lírai diskurzus* elmélete⁴ – különös tekintettel az elmélet szerves részét képező *dezorientáció* jelenségére –, valamint a szubjektívizáció elmélete Tolcsvai Nagy Gábor tolmácsolásában, melyek tükrében vizsgálom Weöres egyes, példaként kiragadott műveit.

Azt a gondolatmenetet keresem a szubjektívizáció jelenségének vizsgálata során, amely az *akut dezorientációval* (lásd később) jellemezhető versek esetében a művek többértelműségét, a közönség számára is személyes befogadói munkát igénylő, azt motiváló előadásmód megvalósításában segíti a versmondót.

II. A versmondáskutatás és kortárs líraelmélet⁵

A versmondáskutatás szerves részét képezte mindig is a versmondás különböző művészeti- és tudományos ágaktól való elkülönítésére tett kísérletek⁶, valamint a versmondó költőhöz való viszonyának kérdése. Jelen tanulmány alapját képezi Böhm Edit tézise, mely szerint a versmondás mint *szavalóművészet*, a *beszédművészetek* alfaja, önálló előadóművészeti ág⁷, mely ugyan szoros kapcsolatban áll a színművészetrel és a retorikával, de kapcsolódása éppen annyira szoros az irodalomtudománnyal, filológiával, nyelvtudománnyal és poétikával is. Ha

¹ Zoltán 2020. <http://mek.oszk.hu/22300/22302/22302.pdf> [l. i.: 2021.12.29.]

² 2017 és 2019 között évente új csoportot indító heti egy napos, egy éves drámaiskola. „Sztalker Suli | heti rendszerességgel foglalkozunk hatvan 12-23 éves fiatallal Jerzy Grotowski, Mihail Csehov, valamint a Tudatos Jelenlét mestereinek szellemiségében.” – olvasható a Sztalker Csoport bemutatkozó cikkében, a Nemzeti Magazin, V. évfolyam, 7. számában. (Sztalker 2018) A Weöres Sándor versmondáskurzust három alkalommal, három különböző korosztály számára tartottam meg (12–16, 15–17 és 17–21 évesek).

³ Weöres Sándor egyedülálló életművében a magyar nyelven alkalmazható versformák páratlanul széles skáláját vonultatja fel, minden fajta terjedelemben, az egyszavas versektől a több oldalas szimfóniáig. A formai sokszínűség mellett a lírai megszólalás heterogenitása is nagyban hozzájárul ahhoz, hogy egy sokszínű csoport tagjai közül is mindenki megtalálja a számára igazán fontos lelki tartalmakat megmozgató verset.

⁴ Simon 2016:83–100.

⁵ A szűkebb témát feldolgozó tanulmánynak meg kell küzdenie azzal, hogy a versmondás elméletének tudományos kidolgozatlanságából eredően szélesebb körű, általános fogalmakat is tisztáznia kell.

⁶ Böhm 2009:13–15.

⁷ Böhm 2009:40–45.

tehát a versmondás elméletét szeretnénk kutatni, ezen művészeti és tudományos területek módszereivel kell vizsgálnunk interdiszciplináris módon. Jelen tanulmányban első sorban a poétikai nyelv megvalósulását, és annak előadóművészi interpretációját vizsgálom néhány példa segítségével.⁸

A mai versmondáskutatásnak szembe kell néznie azokkal a jelenségekkel és újításokkal, amelyek a lírakategória általános megítélését befolyásolhatják. A lírakutatás jelenleg is folyamatban lévő átalakulása, megújulása⁹ olyan új eredményeket mutat fel, amelyek a versmondás elméletére is közvetlen hatással vannak.¹⁰ „Az ezredforduló környékén kibontakozó poétikai kutatás [...] a megismeréstudományok, köztük a kognitív nyelvészet eredményeire építve közelíti meg az irodalmi műveket.”¹¹ E kutatások új utakat nyitnak a versmondó számára is, megvilágítva azokat a folyamatokat a kognitív tudományok interdiszciplináris eszközeivel, amelyek korábban a versmondás kevésbé átlátható szürke zónájába tartoztak, nehezítve annak reprodukcióját, leírhatóságát, átadhatóságát.¹²

III. Az akut dezorientáció és a versmondás

A mai értelemben vett versmondás-művészet az írott formában terjedő versekhez köthető, melyek esetében szerző és előadó személye határozottan elkülönül egymástól.¹³ A költészet alkalmiból autonómmá válása során a mindenkori befogadó elveszti biztonságos pozícióját, amelyből a lírai művek kontextusa egzaktta válik. A versmondó mint alkotóművész feladata így sok vonatkozásban nem is más, mint a megszólaltatott mű pragmatikai kontextusának¹⁴ egzaktta tétele. Ez különösen összetett kérdéssé válik a tanulmányban vizsgált esetekben (lásd később: *akut dezorientáció, szubjektívizált lírai én*).

A Simon Gábor által fölvezetett kortárs befogadáselmélet segítségével olyan bonyolultabb poétikai konstrukciók előadóművészi interpretációja is lehetségessé válik, melyekkel kapcsolatban a versmondó eddig csak az intuitív/ösztönös *átélés*¹⁵ sikerére hagyatkozhatott. Az egymásnak részben ellentmondó huszadik századi lírapercepciós elméletek szintéziséből kiindulva Simon a költői műalkotást mint egy kommunikációs szituációban megfogalmazódó nyelvi közlést vizsgálja, „melyben a lírai én valamely második személy (te) megszólítását hajtja végre, és ezen keresztül részesíti a befogadót a költészet élményében.”¹⁶ A vers szövege így retorikai teljesítményként vizsgálható egy olyan kommunikációs helyzetben, melyben azonosítható egy lírai megszólaló, egy megszólított és egy üzenet, maga a költemény – mint a

⁸ A *poétika* feladatát Roman Jakobson meghatározásában értelmezem, mely szerint „[a] poétika elsődlegesen azzal a kérdéssel foglalkozik, hogy mi tesz egy nyelvi közleményt műalkotássá. Mivel a poétika fő tárgya a nyelvi művészet differencia specificája – más művészetekhez és a nyelvi viselkedés más fajtáihoz viszonyítva –, ezért a poétika jogosult a vezető szerepre az irodalomtudományban.” Jakobson 1972:230

⁹ Lásd MTA-ELTE Ált. Irodalomtud. K.cs. „Kultúraalkotó médiumok, gyakorlatok és technikák” projektjének keretében létrejött *Verskultúrák – A líraelmélet perspektívái* című kötet: Kulcsár Szabó – Kulcsár-Szabó – Lénárt 2017.

Valamint az ELTE BTK Latin Tanszék és Összehas. Irodalom- és Kultúratud. Tanszék közös kut. projektjének „féldős” publikációja, mely az antik lírát évszázadokig meghatározó tendenciák kirajzolódásán keresztül a kortárs líraelméletek, az irodalom- és kultúratudomány szempontjaiban jelentenek meghatározó újítást.

¹⁰ „A líra elmélete talán az egyike azoknak az irodalomtudományos tárgyterületeknek, amelyek – némi túlzással fogalmazva – a legtovább maradtak érintetlenek az 1980-as–1990-es évektől kezdve több hullámban begyűrűző kultúratudományos fordulattól” Kulcsár Szabó – Kulcsár-Szabó – Lénárt 2017:9

¹¹ Simon 2017:372.

¹² Lásd később például a versmondó pozíciója a lírai diskurzushelyzetben.

¹³ Szemben a szájhagyományozó költészettel, mely „az előadásokban él”. Ritoók 1973:31

¹⁴ A nyelvi megnyilvánulás beszédhelyzetéből, a megszólaló személyiségéből, ismereteiből, a résztvevők közti kapcsolat minőségéből stb. eredő összetevőkből formált környezet.

¹⁵ Az *átélés* fogalmát, mint a „receptív-emocionális aktusok legjellemzőbbjét” Bécsy Tamás terminusaként alkalmazom. Bécsy 1984:128

¹⁶ Simon 2016:83

megszólítás kontextusára, résztvevőire és önmaga megszerkesztettségére is reflektáló nyelvi konstrukció.

E megközelítés versmondásra adaptált verziója implicit módon kifejezésre jut a huszadik századi magyar versmondáselmélet-írók munkáiban is, ahol a költő és olvasó – mint két kommunikációs fél – beszédhelyzetének a versmondó – mint a *beszédmű*¹⁷ során a költő pozícióját elfoglaló előadóművész – és a közönsége közti egyoldalú párbeszédhelyzetet feleltetik meg. Ascher Oszkár, a század első felének neves versmondó-elméletírója – kora uralkodó versmondási szokásaira¹⁸ reagálva szigorú instrukciókkal eszközeitől¹⁹, egyéniségétől megfosztva, teljességgel a költő alá rendelve az előadót – így foglalja össze a versmondó feladatát:

„1. helyesen, átéléssel kell cselekednie, szinte mozgás nélkül, *csak* élőszóval!

2. a költővel azonosulva (belsőleg) kell szóbeli cselekvését végrehajtania, a vers adott körülményei között.

3. *közvetlenül* a közönségre irányuló cselekvéssel kell megteremtenie *hallgatóival* a kapcsolatot és *így egymagában*

4. a mű eszmei mondanivalóját és a költő szándékát kell megvalósítania.”²⁰

Ascher második pontjához hasonló gondolatot fogalmaz meg – szélesebb értelmezési tartománnyal – Latinovits Zoltán: „az előadóművésznak magát a költőt kell »megjátszania«, vagyis az alkotás néha biz hosszú folyamatát kell oly röviden összefoglalnia, mint maga a vers”.²¹ Az imént felsorolt versmondáselméleti írásokban is érzékelhető a törekvés, hogy a lírai megszólalás pragmatikai kontextusa és a versmondó–közönség viszony kontextuális adottságai közti feszültséget feloldják. Az idézett szerzők azonban a költő személyiségében képzelik el az ellentmondás feloldását. Ez a feloldás elégséges lehet azon művek esetében, amelyek lírai szubjektumaként egzakt módon szereplővé válik a szerző személye, minden más esetben viszont a versben megjelenő poétikai szándék súlyos jelentésvesztéssel járó leegyszerűsítésévé válhat.

A század második felének jelentős tanára, tankönyvírója, Gáti József új gondolatokat fogalmaz meg, szerinte „[a] versmondásban [...] egyszerre két művész (az író és előadóművész) együttes varázsa él: a mű és a mű által kiváltott *előadói élmény*. Ezek a vers mondásakor elválaszthatatlanok egymástól.”²² Közvetlenül jelen tanulmány témájához kapcsolódóan pedig így fogalmaz: „[a versmondó n]em alakul, *nem játszik*, csak *érzékel* és így többet bíz a hallgatóra, illetőleg nagyobb asszociációs folyamatokra *kényszeríti*, mintha mindazt, ami a versben van, sorra eljátszotta volna. [...] Ilyen sűrített világot nem lehet részleteire bontva eljátszani, csak jelezni. A többit, amit a versmondó elhallgat, a hallgatóság a hallottakkal együtt összegezi, lejátssza, vagy átéli önmagában.”²³ A Gáti által körvonalazott versmondói attitűd jelentősen több eszközt ad az előadó kezébe, és – „a legmagasabb rendű színjátszás egyik

¹⁷ A *beszédmű* (Böhm 2009:30–37) fogalmáról (hangzó mű, melyben mű és szerző tulajdonságai, gondolatai, mondanivalója, látásmódja keveredik az előadó tulajdonságaival, gondolataival, mondanivalójával, látásmódjával, és amelyet az előadó saját szólamaként szólaltat meg, a lírai beszédmű esetében úgy, hogy közben az nem válik egy szerep dramatikusan szövegévé, vagy egy fikatív mesélő meséjévé) részletesen 2020-as tanulmányomban írtam, lásd fentebb.

¹⁸ Gáti József foglalja össze a huszadik század első felének versmondási stílusait és Ascher jelentőségét (Gáti 1973:50–62). A romantikus, deklamatív színjáték hatására kialakult patetikus, majd idővel álpateikus szaválás során az előadó „dörögve” és „sóhajtva” „helyzeteket játszik, szavakat színez, fest” (Gáti 1973:51). „Ezzel egy időben, a húszas évek elején divott a modernkedő közvetlenkedés, a naturalista szürkeség, motyogás.”

¹⁹ Lásd „hangos mimika” Böhm 2009:40–45

²⁰ Ascher 1953:16

²¹ Latinovits 1985:22

²² Gáti 1973:67

²³ Gáti 1973:71

formájaként”²⁴ aposztrofálva a versmondást – felismeri azt az összetett poétikai feladatot, amely annak elidegeníthetetlen sajátja.

Simon elméletét felhasználva olyan pozíciót határozhatunk meg a versmondó számára, amely szélesebb perspektívában, bonyolultabb poétikai konstrukciók interpretációjához is megfelelő kiindulási pontot biztosít. Szerinte „egy lírai műnek kettős kontextusa van: egy performatív és egy szimulált/imaginárius. [...] Könnyű belátni, hogy az alkalmiból autonómmá váló költészet a közvetlen diszkurzív környezetet közvetettre változtatja [...], ez pedig a performatív kontextus elhalványulásával jár: az alkotót/előadót, a művet és a hallgatót egy idő után semmilyen szituációs összefüggés nem kapcsolja össze, így a vers kommunikációs helyzetének hangoltsága, irányulása és a tényleges befogadás helyzete között disszonancia lép fel.”²⁵ Ezt a disszonanciát nevezi Heinz Schlaffer nyomán *dezorientációnak*, melynek két fajtáját különbözteti meg:

1. a *posztumusz dezorientációt*: amely során a lírai megszólalás szituáltsága reflektált, ám a befogadó számára ismeretlen, ezért annak rekonstrukciója – a befogadói interpretáció részeként – szükséges a performatív kontextus meghatározásához;²⁶
2. az *akut dezorientációt*: kiváltképp az avantgárd költészettől kezdődően majd később a posztmodernség esetében megfigyelhető, hogy a kortársak számára sem értelmezhető az egyes művek performatív kontextusa, a performatív kontextus hiánya a mű eszmei mondanivalójának része. A szerzői szándék szerint a befogadó csak a felismerhető formai-műfai elemekre, kulturális utalásokra, a mű szimulált/imaginárius kontextusára támaszkodhat az interpretáció során.²⁷

Míg az első esetben a filológiai kutatásokra támaszkodhat a versmondó, azokból mintegy felépítve magának a költői megszólalás helyzetét, a második esetben vagy leegyszerűsíti a művet, és egy konkrét szituáción belül értelmezi (szerepjátékká alakítja), vagy olyan helyzetet kell teremtenie előadásában a poétikai eszközök előadóművészi adaptációjával, amelyben nyilvánvalóvá válik, hogy a performatív kontextus hiánya *a mű eszmei mondanivalójának része*, és így annak befogadása a szimulált/imaginárius kontextus megteremtésével a közönség aktivitást igénylő feladata. Ez esetben a lírai megszólalás diszkurzív kontextusának feltérképezésében a filológiával szemben hangsúlyosabb szerepet kap a poétika.

IV. A szubjektivizált versmondás hipotézise

A versmondás – Wacha Imre rendszerében – formailag közvetlen, de valójában áttételes kommunikáció, mely során az előadó olyan beszédhelyzetet teremt közönségével, amelyben a korábban megírt, befejezett műalkotást újra teremti²⁸, az átélés útján önálló műalkotásként eleveníti meg²⁹. Ilyen szempontból hasonlítható a folyamat a színész munkájához. Míg azonban

²⁴ u.o.

²⁵ Simon 2016:85

²⁶ Kiváló példa erre Pindaros ókori görög ódaköltő 2. isthamosi ódája: „Bárha a sanda irigység gyakran erőt vesz az emberek szíven, | Óh ne borítsd feledésbe atyád erényét | S ezt a dalt! Nem azért íram meg, | Hogy nyugodjék nálam némán, hangtalanul. | Nikasippos, hogyha megérkezel, ezt | Add tudtúl a jó barátoknak.”

(Csengery 1929: 298–302.) A fordító a „Nikasippos” névhez rövid lábjegyzetet fűz, mellyel segíti tisztázni a mű performatív kontextusát: „Annak a neve, akire a költő e költeményét rábízta, hogy vigye el Szicíliaába.” Az „elküldött dalokról” részletesebben még: Agócs 2020.

²⁷ Weöres Sándor [*Őszi éjjel...*] kezdetű verse esetében a fentebbi példával ellentétben a filológiai kutatás háttérbe szorul, kevésbé válik fontossá az, hogy milyen körülmények közt fogalmazódik meg a mű szövege, mint az, hogy hogyan. „A Galagonya-ének és a hozzá hasonló dalok a nyelvi érzékelés addig ki nem használt határterületein járnak, ahol általánosabbat lehet kifejezni az én-líra addigi tartalmainál, s tömörebben, mint a filozófusi gondolkodás elvont eszközeivel.” Kenyeres 1973.

²⁸ „[A]z írott szövegnek hangzó beszéddé való átközlésének a módján múlik a kommunikáció sikere.” Az előadó „nem szavakat, mondatokat hangosít csak, hanem gondolatokat szólaltat meg.” Wacha 1994:145

²⁹ Böhm 2009:41

a színész szövege „eleve színpadra szánt, megszemélyesítést kívánó műalkotás”³⁰, melynek előadása közben a színész „elsősorban a színpadi partnerével van kapcsolatban, a közönséggel csak közvetetten kommunikál”³¹, és játéka egy nagyobb egész, a színházi előadás részeként érvényesül, vele szemben a versmondó önálló produkciójában az előadó közvetlenül a közönséggel kommunikál, és a nem előadásra szánt mű „nyelvileg megteremtett, fiktív és öntörvényű világ”³²-át értelmezi, interpretálja, majd saját személyiségén átszűrve, egyéni értelmezésében, az eredeti mű szándéka szerinti – írott – formától eltérő módon, hangzó formában, saját műalkotásaként *performálja* közönségének.³³

A fentiek alapján tehát kialakítható a kortárs versmondás olyan speciális, „szubjektivizált” megközelítési módja, mely során a versmondó különbséget tesz a mű szubjektuma és az előadó szubjektuma között úgy, hogy figyelmének irányításával a költői nyelv reflektált performativitását teszi előadása tárgyává. Így a költői mű mint tárgy valósul meg, és az előadó személyisége és alkotói szabadsága nem az adott műben teljesedik ki expresszív-mimetikus módon – mint a színházi szerep megvalósítása során a színművész esetében –, hanem az előadó mint alany a fiktív kommunikációs sík megalkotójaként *performálja* a művet és önmagát mint annak interpretátorát, ezzel személyes keretet alkotva a tárgyként jelenlévő költői mű számára. Másként fogalmazva a versmondó úgy szólaltatja meg saját szövegeket a verset, hogy közben reflektálttá teszi saját megszólalását, és abban kifejtett viszonyát saját egyéni (előadóművészi) látásmódja és a mű mondanivalója között, megnyitva így közönsége számára az előadás során megteremtett adott interpretáció részeként a mű szélesebb spektrumon mozgó értelmezési tartományát is.

V. A versmondáskurzus első lépcsője: játékversek

A kurzus első alkalmain a versválasztás személyessége kerül középpontba.³⁴ A résztvevőknek ki kell választania egy kedvenc verset Weöres *Rongyszőnyeg* ciklusából. Ez a ciklus a rövid lírai művek változatos palettáját mutatja fel, amely egyrészt széles verstani ismeretek elsajátítására alkalmas és a bonyolultabb lírapoétikai eszközök bemutatására is kiváló (rövid) példákkal szolgál, másrészt pedig változatos formai és tematikus felépülése a középiskolás korosztály számára is könnyedé, motiválttá teszi a versválogatást.³⁵ A ciklus költeményei javarészt a *játékversek* közé sorolhatók, melyekben a „túlfokozott, legtöbbször szimultán ritmus

³⁰ Böhm 2009:39

³¹ Böhm 2009:38

³² Böhm 2009:42

³³ A *performál* ige használatát Bollobás Enikő tanulmánya alapján visszaható igeként alkalmazom. Bollobás a XX. századi költészeti hagyományt szembe helyezi a romantikus, illetve karteziánus *lírai én* expresszív-mimetikus ábrázolásával, magát a vers anyagát, a nyelvet téve a költészet fő tárgyává. Allen Ginsberg nyomán „a 20. századi költészet legfőbb közös jegyének tartja ezt a nyelvre való reflektálást, a nyelv vizsgálatát és az azzal folyó kísérletezést.” Ezt, a szubjektivizáció poétikai eszközét alkalmazó versek mondásának elméletére is adaptálható gondolatot, az amerikai *konkrét költészet* kapcsán Bollobás így összegzi Jacques Derrida gondolatait felhasználva: „miközben logocentrikus elméleti keretben a *performál* tárgyas igének tekinthető, valójában visszaható igének kell tartanunk: az alany önmagát *performálja*, az aktor önmagát képezi meg ágenssé. Ami azt is jelenti, hogy az alany vagy alanyiség sajátos módon tér vissza [...]: nem mint az expresszív-mimetikus figyelem tárgya, hanem mint a performativitás alanya és tárgya egyszerre.” Bollobás 2013:67 és 72

³⁴ „Ha térben és időben legbelsőbb húrrendszerünk rá pendül egy-egy versre, mint zenekari próba alatt a sarokban felejtett hegedű húrja rezonál a hangzatokra, a »zengeményre«, úgy mondjuk: »szeretem ezt vagy azt a verset« – írja Latinovits Zoltán kiválóan érzékeltetve azt a részben irracionális folyamatot, amely alapján a versmondó kiválasztja azt a verset, amelyet leginkább érdemesnek tart arra, hogy elmondjon. (Latinovits 1989:269) Azon diákok, akik a válogatást komolyan vették, versmondásukban is ugrásszerű fejlődésre voltak képesek, míg, akik elmondásuk alapján csak felcsapták a kötetet, és hoztak egy rövid verset, hosszú ideig stagnáltak, mígnem megkértem őket, hogy válasszanak újat.

³⁵ Valamint a versek terjedelme a szövegtanulás idejét is lerövidíti, mely a már korábban említett „irritáció” miatt az első – ismerkedő – alkalmakon fontos technikai kérdés.

eloldja a konkrét szójelentéseket, fellazítja a képeket, azáltal hogy eltereli róluk a figyelmet, és az olvasó csaknem egész érdeklődését magára vonja.”³⁶ Ezekben a versekben a műnemi sajátosságok nagyobb mértékben vesznek részt a jelentésképzésben³⁷, mint a leírt szavak fogalmi jelentése, ezáltal kiváló alapanyagot nyújtanak a lírai művek előadásának gyakorlására, a lírakategória sajátosságainak megismerésére.

A játékversek a lírai költészet bölcsőjéhez, a mítoszokhoz, illetve még azoknál is korábbi állapothoz, a mágikus erejű varázsigékhez vezetnek vissza bennünket.³⁸ Az emberiség ősi, holisztikus világképét a gyermekkor nézőpontjában fedezi fel.³⁹

Ezt a gyermeki rácsodálkozason át megközelíthető líraiságot erősítik meg a *Rongyszőnyegből* választott versek elemzése mellett a Kodály Zoltán *Kis emberek dalai* című gyűjteményéből⁴⁰ a résztvevők közt kiosztott 1–2–3 hangos dalocskák Weöres Sándor versekre (javarészt a *Magyar etüdök* ciklusban megjelent művek). Legfőbb haszna ennek az anyagnak a hangadás megteremtése. Afféle tűzkeresztség. Ha már elénekelt egy verset a diák, utána egy mondott vers megszólaltatása a csoport előtt már kisebb lelki megpróbáltatásnak tűnik. Ezenfelül nagyon nagy segítséget ad az alapvető beszédhibák kiküszöbölésében is, éneklés közben a nem hétköznapi hangadás miatt más figyelem összpontosul a hangzók képzésére is, a hadaráson, motyogáson kívül komolyabb beszédhibák is könnyebben kiküszöbölhetők a recitativok segítségével. És ami még szintén fontos járulékos tanulsága a gyakorlatnak, hogy a szövegritmus megértésében segíti a diákokat. Ezek a pár hangos megzenésítések kivétel nélkül a magyar nyelv dallamát veszik alapul, tulajdonképpen azt "nagyítják" zenei hangokká, túppontos prozodiával, tudatosan megteremtve egy-egy verssor ívét, időmértékét és ütemeit, mindezt észrevétlenül, gyermekjáték-dalocskaként tálalva. Bármennyire is az értelemre fog koncentrálni a későbbiekben versmondásunk, a felkészülést a szép és modulatív hangképzésnél kell kezdeni, megfelelő alapot teremtve ahhoz, hogy a későbbiekben ne álljon a közlés útjába a ritmustalan, hangtalan beszédből fakadó érthetlenség. A játékverseket a kurzus során a teljes életműből választott versek, majd a kurzusvezető által ajánlott nagyobb lélegzetvételű gondolati lírai költemények követik.

VI. Ki volnék? – szubjektívizáció a játékversben

Weöres a lírai költészet rituális, varázskort idéző funkciójának rekonstrukciójaképpen olyan hangot szólaltat meg játékverseiben, amely – az epigrafikus lírához hasonlóan⁴¹ – a megszólalót a nyelvi-poétikai eszközök segítségével mint a költő és a befogadó számára egyaránt külső fiktív, konstruált énként aposztrofálja. A kognitív szemantika és poétika elméleti keretében ezt a jelenséget a *szubjektívizáció* fogalmával párosíthatjuk, mely a 20. századi lírára jellemző poétikai eljárásként a lírai beszélő diskurzustérbeli közvetlen jelenlétét felfüggeszti, a megszólaló személyét implicitté teszi. Az én ebben a lírai helyzetben egy olyan (közös)

³⁶ Kenyeres 2013:210

³⁷ Egy játékvers esszenciális tartalmának kifejezése epikus vagy drámai formában még lehetetlenebbnek tűnő vállalkozás, mint a bővebb fogalmi jelentéstartományt mozgásba hozó gondolati líra mondanivalója esetében.

³⁸ A *ritus-nyelv-költészet koevolúciós modell* részletes bemutatása: Simon 2016:203–258

³⁹ „Weöres játékversei nem az elveszített gyermekkor iránt érzett vágyakozást szólaltatják meg, hanem a költészet látóhatárát tágítják új területek birtokbavételére, hogy használható és emberi legyen az is, amit a szemléletesség eszközeivel nem értünk el.” Kenyeres 1973.

⁴⁰ Kodály Z.: *Kis emberek dalai*. Zeneműkiadó, Budapest, 1962.

⁴¹ Az első olvasásra szánt lírai költemények megismerése fontos tanulságokat jelent a mai versmondó számára. „[A]z archaikus (Kr. e. 7–5. századi) görög epigrafikus költészet úgy alkotja meg saját időbeli beszédkereteit, hogy mintegy megelőlegezi azt, amikor az olvasó a felolvasás útján majd hangzóvá teszi az írást. Különösen a legkorábbi, kőre vagy kerámiára vésett epigrammákban általános tendencia, hogy nem a felirat szerzője beszél, hanem maga a fogadalmi ajándék, amely harmadik személyben és múlt időben szól a szöveg szerzőjéről, ezzel eltávolítva őt a felolvasás síkjától.” Agócs 2020: 4–5.

nézőpontba helyezkedik, amelyben megszólaló és befogadó számára egyaránt személyes, egyes szám első személyű (interszjektív) én nézőpontjából számol be megfigyelése tárgyáról.⁴² Kérdés, hogy a versmondó előadása során képes-e a poétikai eszközök ezen célját megvalósítani. Hogyan éri el azt a hatást, hogy közönsége ne horgonyozza le az ő személyében a versben megszólaló lírai én *szándékosan meghatározatlan tulajdonságait* vagyis, hogy létrejöjjön a posztmodern vers teljesebb befogadását lehetővé tevő akut dezorientáció?

A kérdésre látszólag adekvát választ ad Böhm Edit már említett beszédmű-elmélete. „Mivel minden költői alkotás magas szintű sűrítés, bonyolult jel- és asszociációs rendszer, az interpretálónak lehetőséget ad a költemény jelentéssíkjaiból, jelentéshálózatából kiválasztani, és saját egyéniségéhez, mondanivalójához, kora közönségéhez alkalmazni a mű mindenkori konkrét megszólaltatását.”⁴³ A mitologikus, interszjektív térben megszólaló szubjektívált lírai én esetében azonban ez a fajta megközelítés a műben megvalósuló poétikai törekvéssel szemben áll, a jelentéshálózatból kiválasztott egyféle jelentés a mű szubjektívizációjának lehetőségét veszi el.

VI.1. Elméleti előkészítő játék a szubjektívizáció témájában

Vitaindító játékként a kurzus során megvizsgáljuk Weöres *Magyar etüdök* ciklusának 33. vagy 69.⁴⁴ versét tartalmi szempontból, a versmondó szemszögéből⁴⁵. „Tűzben fa parazsa volnék, / vízben puha moha volnék, / szélben jegenyefa volnék, / földön apám fia volnék.”⁴⁶ Az alapelemek, őselemek járja végig a vers. Mit állítok? Ha tűz volna a lételemem, nem a láng volnék, nem a fa, hanem a parázs. Vízben a víz alatti köveken (kizárólag a víz hatására) puhán hajladozó mohaként léteznék. A levegő eleméhez metonimikusan kapcsolódó szélben pedig a jegenyefa mint toposz jelenik meg. A jegenye a puha fák közé tartozik, magasra nő, látványos kilengéseket tud tenni, „hajladozik”. A negyedik elem, a föld esetében érkezünk az emberi világhoz. Az önmagát „apja fiaként”, aposztrofáló ember gondolatébresztő képe jelenik meg ebben a sorban. És a vers látszólag itt véget is ér, az eddig lehorgonyzatlan tünő lírai szubjektum egy kissé bizonytalan hangot megütve, melyben a „volnék” valójában „vagyok” értelemben szólal meg, le is zárul. Tehát míg az első három esetben könnyen elengedjük a lehorgonyzás lehetőségét, ezt általában nem tesszük meg a negyedik alkalommal. Ennek oka egyrészt az, hogy a megismerés során „a dolgokat nem profilokként, észleleti szeletekként, hanem egészes, holisztikus, gestalt-jellegű objektumokként azonosítjuk”⁴⁷, másrészt pedig az, hogy a lírai én negyedik felmerülő önmeghatározási lehetőségének a humán elméhez legközelebb álló humanoid megvalósulása a befogadó számára a négy lehetőség közül a leginkább adódó.

A játék kedvéért azonban egy filológiai összefüggésre hívom fel az kurzuson résztvevők figyelmét. Ismerjük Weöres költészetének más példáiból a „lennék” és „volnék” feltételes módú létigék megkülönböztetését⁴⁸. A „lenne” jövőbe mutató, jelen idejű befejezetlensége szembeállítható a „volna” befejezettséget sugalló jelen idejével. A korábban leírt interpretációval ellentétben, ha figyelembe vesszük a „volnék” szó inkább befejezettségre utaló feltételes módját, vagyis azt, hogy a „lennék”-kel ellentétben magában hordozza beteljesülésének bizonytalanságát, a verset, mint az epigrafikus lírához hasonló művet

⁴² A téma kibontása Martin Heidegger filozófiája alapján: Tolcsvai Nagy 2017:361–362. Részletesebb kibontás Edmund Husserl filozófiája és az evolúciós elméletek segítségével: Simon 2016:82–129

⁴³ Böhm 2009:42

⁴⁴ Az *Egybegyűjtött irások* (Weöres 1975) kötetben 69-es számon, a külön kiadásban megjelent *Magyar Etüdök* (Weöres 2006 és 1985) kötetekben 33-as számon található meg.

⁴⁵ A sok lehetséges interpretáció közül a beszélgetés során felépítünk egyet.

⁴⁶ Weöres 1975:II/95

⁴⁷ Simon 2016:53

⁴⁸ Lásd *Ha a világ rigó lenne*: „kötényem is honnan volna, | ha egész világ rigó volna.” Weöres 1975:II/118–119

értelmezhetjük, melyben a lírai megszólaló ideje és tere sem a szerző, sem a befogadás idejével és terével nem azonos. A beszélő a négy – konkrétan vagy metonimikusan – megnevezett elem világán kívülre helyezi magát, és vagy olyan rendszerben értelmezhető, amely a felsorolt négy elemen felül más elem(ek, vagy azok kombinációjának) létezését állítja, amely a megszólalásának terét adja, vagy egy másik lehetséges esetben, eltekint önmaga létezésétől. Itt tehát egy olyan paradoxon elé állít minket ez a négysoros játékvors, amely világnézeti, filozófiai kérdést vet fel, és feloldása (vagy fel nem oldása) a versmondó konceptualizáló döntése.⁴⁹ Roman Jakobson által tudományos keretek közt is dokumentáltan ismerjük Sztanyiszlavszkij orosz rendező kísérletét, mely során egy színművész negyven szituációba helyezve hangsúlyozta hangfelvételen ugyanazt a kifejezést. „E közlemények legtöbbjét helyesen és részletesen dekódolták a moszkvai hallgatók.”⁵⁰ Ez a kísérlet arra a felelősségre világít rá, amely a versmondót terheli, amikor egy többértelmű lírai képet konceptualizál.

A filológiai kutatás segíthet, hiszen Weöres életművében számtalan helyen találkozhatunk az önmagát mint tapasztalati világon kívüli, szellemi lényt aposztrofáló megszólalóval. Például a *Nocturnum* című versében: „Végtelenül únom szünetlen | zártságomat egy férfi-testben” – hangzik a vers felütése. Ezt követően hosszú felsorolás következik, mely során felépülő deiktikus utalásrendszerben a megszólaló teste és a megszólalás hangja közt paradox feszültség keletkezik. Az „ő” és „én” névmások olyan megszólalót körvonalaznak, aki testi-lelki-szellemi jelenlétéről egyes szám harmadik személyben beszél. A *Nocturnum* esetében a versmondó helyzete más, mint az *etiüd* esetében, hiszen a vers végén a lírai megszólaló bemutatkozása feloldja a paradoxont: „vagyok a gát-nélküli bőség, | az észrevétlen lehetőség | aki mindent magába-fogva | teljes kincsét szünetlen osztja.”⁵¹ A megszólalás fiktív síkjának megteremtése ebben az esetben kulcseleme a versmondó munkájának, amelyen magáról, mint közvetítőről – testileg is (tapasztalati síkon) jelenlévő énjéről – egyes szám harmadik személyben beszélhet, és a vers végén kibomló, csak (fiktív) nyelvi szinten jelenlévő, metaforikus önmeghatározás énje válhat megszólalásának szubjektumává.

Az *etiüd*ben azonban felismerhetjük a szándékot, mi szerint – a *Nocturnummal* ellentétben – a befogadó szubjektív döntésévé válik, hogy milyen viszonylatban horgonyozza le mondanivalóját. Így a legfőbb kérdés az lesz, hogy a versmondó képes-e úgy átadni a verset, hogy az saját szólamává válik (lásd korábban *beszédmű*), anélkül, hogy a benne felmerülő *szándékosan megválaszolatlan* kérdéseket lezárt módon adná tovább közönsége számára, vagyis úgy, hogy többértelműsége a versmondás esetében se tűnjön el.

VII. A versmondó benső világa

A versmondó saját eszméit, benső világának tapasztalatait, élményeit, ideáit ismeri fel a vers poétikai konstrukcióiban, prototipikus esetben ez adja belső motivációját is a vers előadásához. Kiváltképp a szubjektivizált líra esetében azonban el kell fogadnia azt a tényt, miszerint megfejtése, mely őt tűzbe hozza, csak egy lehetséges interpretációja a végtelen módon értelmezhető költeménynek. Ha tehát a lírai művet azon sokszínűségében kívánja beszédművé alakítani, amely számára és mindenki más számára is lehetővé teszi a különlegesen bensőséges interpretációt, azt a távolítási műveletet kell végrehajtania, amelyet a költő eszközöl, amikor

⁴⁹ A játék részét képezi az a költői gondolat (mely a téma költőiségét tekintve megengedhetővé kell, hogy váljon), miszerint a költészet az emberi kultúra azon ritka lehetőségei közé tartozik, melyekben az ember képes a világnézeti, ideológiai ellentétek fölé emelkedni, így a versmondó is képes a befogadó szubjektumára bízni a műben megfogalmazódó gondolat világnézeti, ideológiai lehorgonyzását.

⁵⁰ Jakobson 1972:236

⁵¹ Weöres 1975:II/448–450

személyes élményeit egy objektívált, külső térben, poétikai konstrukciók hálózatában fogalmazza meg.⁵²

Feltételeznünk kell, hogy a költő tudatosan megformált művet publikál, melyben benső világának *bizonyos* (nem tudatosan alakított – intuitív, érzelmi, hangulati stb.) *elemeit* teszi művészileg megformált objektummá.⁵³ Ehhez hasonlóan feltételeznünk kell azt is, hogy a versmondó képes a költői művet tudatosan megformált beszédműként interpretálni. Az interpretáció során a költő által poétikai eszközökkel megformált objektumok a versmondó benső világának *bizonyos* (nem tudatosan alakított) *elemeit* aktiválják, melyeket a versmondó a beszédműben előadói eszközökkel objektívál. Ha ez a tudatos megformáltság reflektálatlan marad az írott mű beszédművé alakítása során, akkor a beszédmű valós kommunikációs kontextusának adottságai miatt (ti. versmondó közönséghez beszél) a befogadó elfogadja, hogy a művész törekvése szerint a lírai én az előadó énjével egyenlő. Ekkor beszélhetünk ösztönös, reflektálatlan versmondásról. Ha azonban az előadó önreflektív eszközökkel távolságot fejez ki saját benső világa, és a tudatosan megformált megszólalás között, a befogadóban azt az érzetet kelti, hogy a kimondott szöveg mint egy benső világ *bizonyos elemeinek* objektívációja, csak egy szelete, egy adott helyzetben megformált része annak a nagyobb, teljesebb egésznek, amely továbbra is kimondhatatlan marad⁵⁴. Mivel azonban a költő poétikai manipulációjához hasonlóan⁵⁵ az előadó is fesztelenül, saját szövegemént tolmácsolja a művet – tehát úgy tesz, mintha számára tapasztalati síkon is megformálná a műben megszólaló entitás és a megszólalás szimulált/imaginárius kontextusa –, kognitív disszonancia keletkezik a befogadóban. Ennek a kognitív disszonanciának feloldása válik a lírai költemény szubjektív befogadási folyamatává, amely során a közönség mint befogadó saját benső világából merítve kell, hogy kiegészítse a hiányzó részeket.⁵⁶

A kognitív lírapoétika ezt a jelenséget a tapasztaló elme absztraháló és sematizáló megismerési műveletével magyarázza.⁵⁷ Minél erősebben érzi a befogadó a versmondó benső világának aktivitását az objektív, tudatos megfogalmazás mögött, minél nagyobb kognitív disszonanciát

⁵² Hasonló módon hívja fel a problémára figyelmünket Böhm Edit is: a lírai vers szövege – annak ellenére, hogy „a hangzó beszéd írott formája”, és párbeszédhelyzetben értelmezhető kommunikációs szempontból, „nem egy valóságban elhangzott beszédmű írásbeli rögzítése, hanem maga alkotja meg saját számára a nyelvi cselekvés szabályait.” Böhm 2009:42.

⁵³ Bécsy 1984:108–109.

⁵⁴ Lásd korábbi tanulmányomban az *előadóművészi magánügy* fogalma (Zoltán 2020:21; 30–32). Ismeretek halmaza, amelyeket az előadó személyes tapasztalataiból, érzéseiből (magánéletéből, belső felismeréseiből, tanulmányaiból) állít össze. Az alkotás során ezen ismeretek jelentik az előadó számára a szubjektív elemek lehorgonyzási bázisát. Minél többet tud belőle a közönség (vagyis minél jobban ismeri a versmondó személyes tapasztalatait, látásmódját), annál könnyebb számára az előadó személyében dekódolni a beszédmű interpretációját (hasonlóan az írott mű filológiai kutatásokban lehorgonyzott megfejtéséhez). Abban az esetben azonban, ha nem ismeri (vagy az adott művel kapcsolatosan nem áll rendelkezésére ismeretanyag), csupán az érintettséget érzi (nonverbális jelek alapján) és keresi annak okát (találgat). A keresés során talál valamiféle választ, mely egy megérzés formájában a saját (befogadói) interpretációjának alapját képezi, saját benső világának kivetüléseként.

⁵⁵ A költő a szubjektívált lírai én megszólalását saját megszólalásaként rögzíti.

⁵⁶ Simon 2016:252.

⁵⁷ „Az emberi elme információkat fogad be a világból, továbbá olyan cselekvéseket kezdeményez, amelyek révén a világ információiban gazdag rendszerként jelenik, röviden szólva az elme tapasztal. E tapasztalatokat feldolgozza: a világról korábban kialakított generikus vagy specifikus tudásához próbálja igazítani, vagy azzal összehangolni, amikor a konkrét információból általánosabb, egyben sematikusabb összefüggések, struktúrák felé vonatkoztat el. Meglévő fogalmi sémáival kísérli meg értelmezni a tapasztalatokat, és a világ általa ismert jelenségeink prototipikus megvalósulásaihoz hasonlítva kategóriába sorolja a megismerendő dolgot, ha pedig mindez nem eredményez koherens reprezentációt, új sémák, kategóriák kialakításával emelkedik felül az információs disszonancián, illetve a konceptuális inkoherencián. A megismerés fontos – jöllehet nem mindenkor, és nem is feltétlenül teleologikus – eredménye valamilyen reprezentáció, amely egy korábbi tudáselem aktiválásától egy relatíve újszerű összefüggést vagy aspektust modelláló új mentális struktúra emergálásáig terjedhet.” Simon 2016:176.

okoz ez a befogadó tudatában, annál nagyobb motivációt fog érezni arra, hogy feloldja az így keletkezett paradox élményt, ideális esetben saját valóságának (a befogadás idejére eszközölt) megváltoztatásával.⁵⁸ Ha a befogadóban megtörténik a feloldás, akkor beszélhetünk katarziszról, Bécsy tanulmánya értelmében.⁵⁹

VIII. A metaforikusság mint a szubjektivizáció legfontosabb eszköze

A benső világ homályos elemeit nyelvi létezőként megformáló poétikai eszközök⁶⁰ megismerése segíti a versmondót abban, hogy az őszinte, átélésen alapuló versmondását⁶¹ olyan komplexebb gondolatokkal egészítse ki, amely során ő maga is *költővé növekedve*⁶² nem a mű rá – mint befogadóra – gyakorolt hatását eleveníti meg reflektálatlanul, hanem a poétikai eszközök beszédműre adaptálásával, az *akut dezorientáció* művészi feloldásával képes azt a hatást kifejezni, amely a műben megfogalmazódó eredeti szándékként jelen van.

A kurzus utolsó, leghosszabb szakaszában a korosztály feltételezett szintjét meghaladó bonyolultságú (lét)filozófiai gondolatokat is érintő, nagyobb lélegzetvételi lírai művekkel foglalkoznak a diákok.⁶³ A „nagy versekre” egy egész félév áll rendelkezésünkre. Egyéni órákon dolgozunk, személyes élményeket, önálló, belőlük fakadó gondolatokat keresünk a diákokkal, amelyek az elemzett mű poétikai eszközei, képei mögé illeszkednek, személyessé téve azokat.

Weöres *A megállt idő* című verse kiváló gyakorlat a dezorientált posztmodern metaforikus beszéd és a szubjektivizáció poétikai konstrukcióját alkalmazó líra előadóművészi megvalósítására. A műben a szubjektivizáció poétikai eszközöként értelmezhető metafora-felsorolás implicit deiktikus⁶⁴ funkcióját elemzem versmondói szempontok szerint. A költemény egy statikus vers, egyéni interpretációm alapján az öntudatra ébredés, felnőtté válás, öregedés élményéről. A vers három nagy egységre bontható, melyben leitmotívum-szerűen térnek vissza témák. A három egység törzsét képezi három metafora-felsorolás, melynek visszatérő eleme a metaforák egyik propozícióját betöltő fürdőszobai tárgy. A vers egészében, így a felsorolásban sem találunk konkrét utalást a lírai beszélőre, megszólalásának helyzetére, idejére. Tolcsvai Nagy Gábor elméletét alkalmazva így a szubjektivizációra jellemző metaforahalmazt azonosíthatjuk benne.⁶⁵

A három előfordulási helyen minden metaforikus szókapcsolat egyik tagja állandó. Ezek közül most a „csipketerítő” motívumát mutatom be példaként. Az első helyen a „cukorhab-csipketerítő” szóösszetétel szerepel, amely a második előfordulásnál „csipketerítő hárfát penget”, majd harmadjára „márvány-csipketerítő” formában tér vissza. A felsorolásokban a metaforák konceptualizálója, mint implicit szubjektum kerül a középpontba. Versmondóként a legfontosabb módszertani kérdésünk, hogy „ki az, aki, ilyennek látja ezt a tárgyat?”, és „mi változik benne, amikor már másnak látja azt?” A kérdésre adott szubjektív válasz kell, hogy

⁵⁸ „A Mű a Befogadó benső világában teremti meg az új tárgyasulás lehetőségeit, amelyek – vagyis a lehetőségek – [...] az ő szubjektuma részeinek külsővé válásaként megjelenhetnek. [...] A mű világa közvetítetten, közvetítésben kerül újra a létbe.” Bécsy 1984:35

⁵⁹ „Katarziszról éppen akkor beszélünk, ha a Mű kényszeríti a Befogadót, hogy a valóságot új terminusokban, [...] értelmezze és élje meg.” Bécsy 1984:35

⁶⁰ Bécsy 1984:109

⁶¹ „az »őszinteség« [...] nem más, mint az élettények szubjektivitásként való átélése.” Bécsy 1984:108.

⁶² Latinovits 1985:22.

⁶³ A cél egyezményesen a felkészülés maga, nem az, hogy ezeket a képzett előadóművészek számára is komoly kihívást jelentő műveket a diákok közönség előtt is megszólaltassák.

⁶⁴ Simon 2016:86.

⁶⁵ „A felsorolásnak nincsen emberi szereplője, éppígy az nincsen a lírai beszélőhöz viszonyítva. A szubjektivizáció magában a hangban, a megszólalásban mutatkozik meg: valaki beszél, de csak impliciten van jelen öntudatos konceptualizálóként.” Tolcsvai Nagy 2017:354.

megalapozza a versmondás egységenként változó személyes, átélt (a versmondó benső világának elemeit megmozgató) keretét, amelybe a metafora-felsorolás, mint megfigyelt objektumok felvonultatása valósul meg egy bizonyos szubjektum (változó) konceptualizációjában.

Az első esetben a gyermekkor világa képezi a céltartomány referenciális bázisát, a második előfordulási helyen az aktivitás, a kifejezés kerül a középpontba, azonban továbbra is állóképszerűen, hiszen a tárgyak tehetetlensége és csendje szemben áll a hangkeltésre irányuló cselekvésekkel, és végül az elmúlás monumentális megjelenítése érzékelhető a metaforák hasonlítási alapjaiként. A „cukorhabból” így lesz „hárfapengetés”, majd „márvány”. A versmondás kidolgozása során, a kurzuson résztvevő versmondóval, a három metafora-felsorolás referenciális bázisának világszerűségében próbáltuk meghatározni a különbséget. A tapasztalat azt mutatta, hogy a különböző illusztrációs módok segédeszközszerű használata segíti a metafora-felsorolások személyes keretét meghatározni, és ugyanakkor erősítik a nyelvi megvalósulás objektivitását. A módszer a középkori képmutogatás⁶⁶ módszerét idézi.

Az első versszakban a gyerekkor világának megfelelően egy rajzot kellett készítenie a versmondónak, saját látásmódja szerint térben ábrázolni az említett metaforikus tárgyakat. A második előfordulási hely kapcsán egy videóklip, videóinstalláció tervét készítette el, amelyben az első verzióhoz hasonlóan, ám más médium segítségével – mozgásban – mutatta be az igei metaforák⁶⁷ felsorolását, végül a harmadik előfordulási hely felsorolásában az egyes metaforákhoz egy-egy történetet csatolva, narratívába helyezte a szókapcsolatokat. A versmondó így bizonyos tekintetben a pszichológiában használatos szóasszociációs projektív tesztek működési elvéhez hasonló folyamaton vezeti végig magát: a végtelen lehetőségben interpretálható metaforikus szókapcsolatokat⁶⁸ saját lelki tartalmaival egészíti ki, a képi- vagy szöveges illusztrációk segítségével a lehető legtudatosabb szintre emelve benső világának a metaforák által aktivizált elemeit. Az akut dezorientáció paradoxonának feloldása ez – a versmondó számára.

A módszer egy olyan világ megteremtésében segíti a versmondót⁶⁹, melynek keretében figyelmét a versmondás során képzeletbeli külső térben összpontosíthatja, amely számára és a közönsége számára is egyaránt tárgyiasult, objektív sík. Mivel azonban ez a világ teljes mértékben fiktív (végül a versmondás során csak az előadó képzeletében jelenik meg, a segédeszközöket a gyakorlás későbbi fázisaiban elhagytuk), valójában a résztvevők benső világának objektívációja. Az előadó úgy beszél magáról, hogy közben tárgyakat sorol, ezen tárgyak szubjektív imaginációja azonban saját képzelőerejét magas szinten működtetve a közönségben is készletet ébreszt, hogy ne elégedjen meg a referenciális utalások előadó személyében való lehorgonyzásával, hanem azt a konceptualizáló elvet próbálja meg fölfedezni, amely a szöveget alakítja. Így a néző is aktív résztvevőjévé válik a poétikai szubjektum képzésének, a saját lírai énjét teremtve meg, saját benső világának elemeiből képezve a metaforák referenciális bázisát. Mindez természetesen a közönség megfelelő nyitottsága és aktivitásra való hajlandósága mellett jöhet csak létre, melynek megteremtésének módszere újabb kutatások tárgyát képezi.

⁶⁶ 17–19. századi vásári műfaj, az előadó pálcájával magasba emelt képekre mutat, és zenei kíséret mellett verses formában mesél el egy történetet. A műfaj sajátosságait Arany János *A kép-mutogató* című balladája is őrzi. (Székely 1994)

⁶⁷ Simon 2016:176–202.

⁶⁸ Bowron – Marx – Rose 1978:301–302. valamint Simon 2016:199.

⁶⁹ Böhm 2009:42.

IX. Összefoglalás

Tanulmányomban arra igyekeztem rámutatni, hogy a versmondás során a poétikai eszközök nyelvi megvalósulásának ismerete kulcsfontosságú szerepet játszik. Szemben az expresszív-mimetikus előadásmóddal, kiváltképp a modern, posztmodern tárgyiasult líra esetében az előadásmód szubjektivizációja segíti a poétikai jelenségek sokszínűségének (a lehorgonyzási lehetőségek legszélesebb skáláját fenntartó) interpretációját. A végső soron beszédműként performált vers befogadása így nem szűkül be az előadó személyiségének referenciális köreire, hanem megőrzi tárgyiaságát, a közönséget is készítve a bonyolultabb lírai szubjektum képzésére is lehetőséget adó befogadói attitűdre. A versmondó így nem mint színész, hanem mint közvetítő, terjesztő vagy hírnök van jelen, aki a mű által megteremtett interszubjektív horizonton a szerző, az előadó és a közönség számára egyaránt szubjektív megszólaló közleményét interpretálja.

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