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Migrant Remittance Practices among Hungarian Health Care Workers in Norway

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ABSTRACT: Although current researches aim to reveal the migration potential and practice of emigration of Hungarian health professionals, little attention is paid on measurable and descriptive data of their migrant remittance practices. The aim of this study is to present the relating patterns of remittance flows, demonstrating the usage and outcomes of migrant transfers, and investments through the relating literature, drawing especially on Tharmalingham's typology. I conducted a qualitative inquiry by half-structured interviews with Hungarian physicians and nurses employed in Norway in order to analyze their migrant remittance practices according to their social status, network, and motivations. Based on the data, I conclude that migrant remittances have greater impact on social, and economic mobility of the beneficiary family of lower-middle class health professionals, as the narratives showed that they are willing to remit much more than migrants from higher social class. Family-oriented, individual remittances are the most common sorts that are frequently invested in services besides materialized use.

KEYWORDS: migrant remittances, health care workers, Hungarian emigration, mobility, Norway.

Introduction

Emigration from Hungary: an increasing tendency

Nowadays, the proportion of those who plan to emigrate from Hungary is increasing. According to the longitudinal surveys of TÁRKI Monitor and Omnibusz, in 2012 the migration potential among the adult population was 19%[1], which is the highest proportion for the past twenty years. This means that, in 2012, almost every fifth Hungarian adult was planning to move to a foreign country for a longer or shorter period. The latest data show that by the beginning of 2013 migration potential had slightly decreased, but it may still be considered high.[2] Without having accurate data, the number of people who have actually emigrated can only be estimated. However, this finding is not surprising, particularly when one knows that the employment level in Hungary is one of the lowest in the European Union (KSH 2012:22).

The Demographic Research Institute of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office

1 Source: http://www.tarki.hu/hu/news/2012/kitekint/20120523_migracio.html
2 Source: http http://www.tarki.hu/hu/news/2013/kitekint/20130220_migraciot_tervezok.html

published their most recent estimates about the foreign residency status of the 19–49 year old population with a permanent residence status in Hungary in 2013. According to the rapidly-arrived at estimation, 7.4% of the sample, or 35,000 people,[3] were permanently living abroad (KSH NKI 2013). This figure does not correspond to the real number of emigrants. The sample did not include those who had ceased using their permanent addresses in Hungary, nor did the survey include those outside the specified age group. It can be concluded therefore that the number of Hungarians living and employed abroad is even higher than the number identified in 2013.

Notwithstanding any negative consequences of emigration, these emigrants can contribute positively through financial remittances, the impact of which may be crucial at the micro level during a period of economic recession. In numerous cases that concern individuals and households the investments and various services financed by migrant remittances provide more detailed information about the features of migration than data for the macro level. In this paper, after describing some data about Hungarian and international migrant remittances, I examine how these remittance flows influence social mobility and the welfare of the concerned households, and in which ways they reduce poverty.

In the following I argue that when examining emigration from Hungary it is not sufficient to focus only on the numbers of emigrants, or to reveal the disadvantages of the loss of human capital - as frequently described in the Hungarian media. These factors only represent a fraction of reality. It is necessary to take migrant remittances into consideration since they offer an unambiguous economic advantage in terms of the qualifications, professional experience, human capital and the living standards of the recipients.

Emigration of Hungarian health care workers

In Hungary, medical workers more frequently migrate than the societal average (Girasek et al. 2013). Semmelweis University Health Services Management Training Centre (HSMTC) has been collecting data about the willingness to migrate of Hungarian medical workers since 2003. The data in the research, entitled *"Observation on the intentions of labor market aspirations, migration and vocational motivations of resident doctors"*[4] showed that approximately 64% of resident doctors were willing to migrate (Eke et al. 2009: 809).

According to data from the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (HCSO), in 2011 there were 34 active physicians in Hungary for every 10,000 people, which is considered an average rate for Europe (KSH 2012). At the same time, increasing numbers of doctors and health care workers are emigrating. The emigration of this

3 Approximately 3.4% of the Hungarian population

4 Original title: "Rezidens orvosok munkaerő-piaci elhelyezkedési szándékainak, migrációs és pályaválasztási motivációinak vizsgálata"

highly-qualified occupational group is not only seen in the statistics. It also has an empirically-experienced impact on the whole of society (HCSO).[5]

Research into the migration of Hungarian medical workers is still ongoing. The HSMTC of Semmelweis University is dealing with the issue of medical workers' willingness to migrate, and is launching a new project to observe the international movements of doctors in cooperation with the Swedish Karolinska Institute (Girasek 2013). Moreover, another research effort led by Ágnes Hárs (financed by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund OTKA) has already started to collect data about emigrant Hungarian doctors, and results are expected by the end of 2014. It is vital to note that the main goal of the Demographic Research Institute's participation in the SEEMIG project, which contains eight countries (Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia and Slovenia) and additional observer countries (Albania, Georgia, Ukraine), is to provide accurate data about demographic and emigration-related processes in South-East Europe.

Scandinavian countries as a destination for Hungarian emigrants

Scandinavian countries are not considered to be the most attractive destinations for Hungarians. This can be explained by their long distance from Hungary, unfavorable geographic conditions, different climates and the fact that most Hungarians lack the related language skills. However, these factors can act as pull-factors as well. In certain cases, emigrants have chosen Norway as a destination country precisely because of the relatively great distance from their home country, the different mentality of the locals and the adventure of encountering a less well-known culture, even if economic and standard of living considerations play a crucial role in the decision-making process too. However, the latest research demonstrates that Hungarian migrants, in order of strength of preference, opt for Germany, the United Kingdom, then Austria (in third place), followed by North America and the Benelux countries (KSH NKI 2013). Norway and Sweden are characterized by having a lower number of Hungarian immigrants compared to these other countries.

However, immigration to Norway is becoming more and more popular, both among members of EU states[6] and Hungarian migrants. Among the EU/EEA countries, a significant growth in the number of immigrants to Norway occurred in 2007; a fact confirmed by data from Statistics Norway (SSB 2013).[7] Thanks to accurate Norwegian administrative practices, we have exact data about Hungarian immigrants. On 1 January, 2001, 1,306 first generation migrants (of Hungarian origin, without a Norwegian background) were living in Norway, while by 1 January

5 It is important to note that there are attempts being made to keep doctors and residents in Hungary. The Lajos Markusovszky Scholarship for doctors and the Károly Than Scholarship for pharmacists offers a monthly stipendium on the condition that the recipients do not leave the country, they work in Hungary for 10 years and they do not accept gratuities (Girasek et al. 2013).

6 Source: http://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/statistikker/innvbef/aar/2013-04-25

7 Source: http://www.ssb.no/befolkning/statistikker/innvbef/aar/2013-04-25?fane=tabell&sort=nummer&tabell=109859

2013 the number had risen to 2,844. If we count *other* emigrants as well[8], we can see that in 2001 the number of officially registered emigrants with a Hungarian background was 3,073. By 2013, the number had risen to 7,025. Accordingly, the data shows an increase in emigration to Norway.

Migrant remittances

The issue of migrant remittances is particularly interesting when one observes migrant ethnic groups that live in welfare states.[9] There are two basic sources of data about migrant remittances. Macroeconomic analyses rely on balance-of-payment statistics, while microeconomic statistics are based on sample surveys. Balance-of-payment statistics are limited by the fact that they only contain recorded flows, and not every country is able to distinguish migrant remittances from other private transfers (Carling 2008). Although the IMF defines the concept of migrant remittances[10] the concepts used in my paper require further explanation and will be provided in the following section.

My paper is designed to contribute to filling a gap in the knowledge and research about Hungarian migrant remittance practices. The empirical analysis described herein concerns the investments and developments that are attributable to remittance flows, and is intended to encourage further research into the subject. In the preceding decade, only one scientific article has been published in a Hungarian journal concerning this topic. This paper summarized the related literature and presented a statistical interpretation of Central-Eastern European remittances (see Rédei 2007). Although Rédei examined the effects of migrant remittances, she did not reflect specifically on Hungary but rather examined related international impacts. This current piece, therefore, is written to contribute to a better understanding of Hungarian migration and remittance practices, both at the theoretical and empirical level. In doing this, I explore the variables that relate to the remittances of qualified Hungarian labor migrants.

The following material is comprised of four main parts. In the following section I provide details about the theoretical background and literature about international migration flows and migrant remittances. I touch upon the theory of chain migration and cumulative causation. Afterwards, I summarize the methodology used in the research. In the fourth section I present my findings about the migrant remittance practices of the sample. I have divided this section into four main parts: a description

8 including foreign adoptions, foreign-born individuals with one Norwegian-born parent, Norwegian-born with one foreign-born parent, born abroad of Norwegian-born parents, and persons born in Norway of two foreign-born parents

9 In this article, when using the term 'welfare state', I refer to the Social-democratic (or Scandinavian) model of welfare state, as classified and defined by Esping–Andersen (1990).

10 "Remittances represent household income from foreign economies arising mainly from the temporary or permanent movement of people to those economies. Remittances include cash and noncash items that flow through formal channels, such as via electronic wire, or through informal channels, such as money or goods carried across borders." (IMF 2009: 272) Balance of Payments Manual, 6th edition.

of the characteristics of remittance-sending migrants, the role of networking and favors, the various ways remittances are used as investments in services and social ties, and finally, the further plans of emigrant health care workers. Finally, I provide my conclusions.

Theory

Review of the research question

In the paper I reveal the characteristics of migrant remittance practices and provide details about how Hungarian heath personnel living in Norway invest the money they remit. First, I determine the factors that had the greatest impact on the observed group's remitting behavior and the factors that influenced the remitting patterns of the respondents. Then I present information about the uses of these flows. This refers to more than the precise spending patterns of beneficiary households or the effects on their microeconomic situation. My research questions were the following: 1) how do various investments made using migrant remittances sent by Hungarian health care workers contribute to the welfare of households and/or reduce the extent of household poverty?; and, 2) what are the prominent attributes of the affected social groups in relation to the remittance patterns? These questions could be easily applied to a large sample but due to the smaller sample size and methodological approach the present research is intended to demonstrate trends rather than provide clear answers. However, I first put incoming migrant remittances to Hungary in an international context by presenting some data.

International data about migrant remittances

The most accurate data about migrant remittances is contained in the Balance of Payment Statistics of the World Bank. The World Bank counts personal remittances from personal transfers and the compensation of employees. [11] According to the latest data available, in 2012 Hungary received 2.14 billion USD[12] of personal remittances, comprising 1.72% of the total GDP of the country in 2012 (World Bank 2014). This represents an increase of 0.06% compared to 2011. It can also be stated that in the last decade the highest annual amount of remittances to Hungary occurred in 2008 (2.51 billion USD) (see Figure 1). This amount followed steady increases in remittances

11 "Personal remittances comprise personal transfers and compensation of employees. Personal transfers consist of all current transfers in cash or in kind made or received by resident households to or from nonresident households. Personal transfers thus include all current transfers between resident and nonresident individuals. Compensation of employees refers to the income of border, seasonal, and other short-term workers who are employed in an economy where they are not resident and of residents employed by nonresident entities. Data are the sum of two items defined in the sixth edition of the IMF's Balance of Payments Manual: personal transfers and compensation of employees." (Source: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.TRF.PWKR.CD.DT)

12 Source: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.TRF.PWKR.CD.DT/countries

which continued until the beginning of the economic crisis. In comparison, I present data from neighboring countries (see Figure 2). Apart from with Hungary's western neighbors (Austria and Slovenia), remittances as a percentage of the total GDP of the neighboring countries are higher than for Hungary. Despite this fact, this comparison cannot be made without an additional comment about the World Bank ranking system. The neighboring states of Hungary are significantly different in terms of the size of their economies. Migrant remittance flows (as a percentage of GDP) in 2012 were 1.91% in Romania, 2.11% in the Slovak Republic, 2.43% in Croatia, 4.79% in Ukraine, and 7.37% in Serbia (see Figure 3). Some slight changes occurred in comparison to previous years: for instance, remittances to Slovenia, Croatia and the Slovak Republic constantly increased. However, the proportion of remittances is lower among countries with economies more developed than Hungary's (Austria 0.7%, Slovenia 1.42% and Poland 1.42%). The data indicate that the remittances of a country with a weaker economy are more visible as components of GDP, although the total amount of remittances depends on many other factors such as the number of emigrants, migration potential, destination countries, etc. With regard to these factors, Hungary's data are approximately average compared to its neighboring countries.

World Bank data also indicates that 4.86 billion USD was sent to migrants' countries of origin from Norway in 2012. This is the largest amount of money that was sent from any Nordic country (see Figure 4). Even though we do not have exact data about the proportion or amount of remittances from Norway to Hungary, it may be assumed that the gradually increasing presence of Hungarians will be having positive effects on the amounts sent.

Empirical research on Central and Eastern European migrant remittances

An EU-SILC database analysis from 2005 gives insight into the role of remittances in poverty reduction in Hungary and other Central and Eastern European countries (Poland, Czech Republic and Slovakia) (Giannetti et al. 2009). The research for which these data were collected was designed to explore the role of remittances in reducing inequalities and poverty, as well as the risk of social exclusion, and included a comparison of remittances with welfare transfers (such as child and housing benefits, etc.) to examine to what extent remittances reduce inequality. The results of the research showed that, although remittances and welfare transfers reduce the risk of poverty, the effects of social transfers are greater in every country. However, the study indicated that the impact of migrant remittances on poverty reduction in the observed Central and Eastern European countries is statistically significant. In the following section I briefly summarize some definitions and theories about migrant remittances.

Theories about migrant remittances

The literature differentiates between two types of remittances; economic and social remittances (Castles–Miller 2009). The term economic remittances is applied to the money transfers made by migrants to their countries of origin, while social remittances relates to acquired skills, habits, practices and attitudes which promote further development in the home country. According to Sørensen, by using the two different definitions of remittances we can understand migration "as a social process in which migrants are potent agents of economic, social, and political change" (Sørensen 2004:8). Further distinctions that are employed concerning the terms that are used for migrant remittances include *individual* and *collective* remittances. The latter signify that migrant associations or communities in the host country gather resources from their members in order to support educational or health-related facilities, or to finance infrastructure (Castles–Miller 2009).

Sometimes investments into material objects, such as the building of houses, have impacts beyond the manifestation of the buildings themselves. The reason for this is various forms of symbolism, such as the maintenance of the cultural roots of the family, or protection of the national and religious identity of the second generation. According to the findings of Marta Erdal (2012), the two major sources of motivation for the house construction in Pakistan of Pakistani immigrants to Norway are practical and symbolic (Erdal 2012). Although her interviewees mentioned that the constructions were used primarily for holidays and to support relatives, the act of house building as the "physical manifestation of the migrant's connection with the homeland" was considered an additional factor. (ibid. 635)

The most commonly cited theory is connected with the names of Lucas and Stark who determined migrants' motivations to remit (Lucas–Stark 1985) and connected it with the theory of the *new economics of labor migration*. The theory claims that households make decisions about the act of migrating which influence remittance behavior (Massey 1993). Lucas and Stark define three different types of motivation; *pure altruism, pure self-interest, and tempered altruism or enlightened self-interest*. Their findings showed that it is practically impossible to distinguish between altruism and self-interest and they highlight the fact that pure altruism does not fully explain migrant remittance practices.

Literature offers a different kind of typology. Tharmalingam distinguished five main categories of migrant remittances according to the theory of Transnational Social Spaces. The author carried out his research with Tamil and Somali immigrants that were living in Norway. His categories of remittances were family-oriented, politics-oriented, welfare-oriented, network-oriented and investment-oriented (Tharmalingam 2011). Furthermore, he defined the difference between the three types of reciprocity by observing the expectation migrants had that they would return and their moral commitment. The first form of remittance practice relates to

mutual expectations: when sending somebody abroad to live is a conscious economic act. The second form is linked to a moral commitment that expects nothing in return. This form supposes that the migrant is strongly attached to his or her family, who take the act of remitting for granted. When we speak about kinship relations we may regard this form of remittance as a type of investment. Remittance transfers maintain and strengthen family and reciprocal ties, even if the sender does not receive anything in return (Faist 2000). Finally, the altruistic mode contains neither moral commitment nor expectations of return (Tharmalingam 2011).

Another question emerges when studying remittance behavior: do individuals with a higher level of education remit more than unskilled workers? Recent research by Bollard and Rapoport which was designed to reveal the relationship between education and remittance behavior showed that migrants with a higher income remit more; the phenomenon is more strongly explained by the level of salary than the family situation (Bollard et al. 2009).

Migration chain and migration shell theories

Through observing migrant remittances and understanding the networking patterns of migrants both at home and in the host country some remarkable information may be derived. Because of this fact I briefly highlight the approach of *Network theory* to the perpetuation of migration. The theory observes how the costs and benefits of the migrant change according to their belonging to a network. According to network theory, when the network reaches a certain size the expansion of the network reduces the expense and risk of moving, which in turn increases the probability of migration; migration thus becomes self-perpetuating (Massey 1993). The concept of cumulative causation defined by Massey says that migratory flows become more likely in relation to increases in international movement (Massey 1990). Connected to the above-mentioned theory, Tilly draws attention to the significance of *trust networks* which can indicate a high level of solidarity between people who are connected to the network (Tilly 2007). Besides an intense level of attention, support and stronger ties on the part of the migrants, members contribute to maintaining long-distance migration flows through their specific business activities.

Sik asks why networks play such an important role in the process of international migration (Sik 2012). The answer can be found in the characteristics of the network that the market or state do not provide (ibid.137). On the one hand, interpersonal networks reduce expenses and risks while at the same time increasing trust, seemingly free of charge. They also help encourage the utilization and interpretation of information, and, of course, ease the integration process of the immigrant into the host country. Sik's conclusions regarding the migration shell differ from Massey's in two ways. Sik extends the meaning of the concept since he considers the migration shell to be much more of a conscious investment by the migrant, and he argues that

networks of potential migrants should also be considered as part of the migration shell (ibid. 156).

Features of the analysis

In my work I analyzed migrant remittances according to two main features: namely, through their type and use, and the motivation behind them. For the usage variable I distinguished between three main types: 1) services and human capital that is chiefly invested in services that promote development; 2) materialized investments (such as house construction or renovation, tangible assets, various other forms of investment); 3) symbolic remittances. While the first two categories of remittance relate to the strengthening of family ties and networking of the migrant, the latter kind is funneled into maintaining culture and values. The motivation for remitting is therefore defined through reference to these two groups.

Methodology

Sampling

I chose the interview method for my research. I conducted half-structured in-depth interviews with 13 dedicated Hungarian health care workers who are employed and living in Norway, and two Hungarian doctors currently living in Sweden and Finland. Regarding the results of the research, the two additional interviewees did not change the outcomes as they were employed under similar circumstances in a welfare state. Nevertheless, their participation contributed to the data. I found the interview method to be appropriate as the interviewees had broad scope to provide details about their living conditions and perceptions about living abroad. These details and pieces of information derived from personal stories allowed a deeper understanding of the research questions - deeper than would have been possible through use of a questionnaire. Certain sensitive topics, such as details about financial situations or plans for the future were generally shared without restraint. Therefore the selection of this method had positive effects on the validity of the research.

On the other hand, the reliability of the research is less due to the application of this method. I worked with a relatively small sample (15 respondents). The main reason for the small sample size was the considerable difficulty encountered in finding interviewees. Firstly, the interviewees I identified could not suggest other potential respondents in Norway, and secondly, in several cases people who would have been suitable interviewees did not agree to participate in the research. The opportunities were also limited by the fact that Norway is not the primary target country for Hungarian medical workers, which influences their number and accessibility. There

is no organized community of Hungarian medical workers in Norway where the research could have been publicized; interviewees had to be personally identified.

I searched for potential interviewees using two methods. Two social networking sites helped with the recruitment of some interviewees. This method turned out to be the less effective way as only two people volunteered to take part in the research when this method was employed. The other sampling technique used was the *snowball method*. Respondents suggested other potential respondents who they either knew personally from Hungary or Norway, or who they had never met but had heard about. Individual interviewees were able to suggest more than one future participant.

The interviews were either personally conducted or done via Skype. Considering that Norway is a geographically extensive country, the opportunity to reach the interviewees personally was not always available. In terms of methodology there were no significant differences between the two types of interviews. A personal tone often evolved quickly during Skype-meetings as well.

Composition of the sample

Regarding age, profession and origins the composition of the sample was very diverse. (see Table 1) The 15 interviewees were between 28 and 55 years old. One person was in their twenties, nine in their thirties, four in their forties, and one in their fifties. Omitting the two outlying values, the arithmetical mean of the years that the interviewees had spent in Norway was 5.2; the median of the total was 5. The number of years spent abroad had a great impact on the findings of the analysis. There were two interviewees who did not speak about migrant remittance practices, although those who had been living in Norway for longer did speak about these practices.

At the beginning of the sampling process a question arose concerning exactly who could be identified as a Hungarian health care worker. The sample contained 11 Hungarian emigrants from Hungary and four ethnic Hungarians from Transylvania, Romania. It is important to emphasize here that the ethnic Hungarian interviewees were working in nursing so the majority of the nurses in this sample were not Hungarians from Hungary. The ethnic Hungarians were of Romanian nationality when entering Norway, and according to official statistics they did not augment the Hungarian population of Hungarian origin. It is really important to distinguish between these two groups as their socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds are different in most cases. For my research I determined that the criteria 'being Hungarian' meant having a Hungarian identity and Hungarian mother tongue. The common features of the four Transylvanian interviewees were that they all graduated from nursing colleges and they were working in nursing and elderly care in Norway. Two of the nurses were blood relations and had known another of the interviewees

before moving to Norway. The three of them came to Norway without transiting Hungary, unlike the fourth care worker who moved to Norway after residing for a few years in Budapest. Since they all had strong feelings about being Hungarian, I did not question the legitimacy of their existence in the sample. All the nurses provided details about migrant remittances, although in their case the remittances were being made to Transylvania, Romania.

The sample included, by profession, eight doctors, six nurses and a pharmacist. Regarding where the doctors had been educated, five had received their diploma at PTE[13], two at SOTE and one at DTE. Three Transylvanian nurses had graduated in Romania, and the fourth went to a Norwegian college. The doctors obtained their qualifying exams in various areas of specialty: there were family doctors, anesthesiologists, a neurosurgeon, a psychiatrist, an obstetrician-gynecologist, a traumatologist and a dentist. However, some doctors had to start a completely new course of vocational training in Norway.

The gender distribution was 4:11 in favor of women. The findings described in this paper have not necessarily been influenced by the fact that fewer interviewees were male. Norway is a strongly egalitarian country, where – as opposed to Hungary – there are no differences between the salaries of men and women employed in the same field. The extent of migrant remittances is influenced by several factors which have stronger effects than gender. These include the social status of the migrant and his or her family, their income, the numbers of years spent abroad and the number of family members who have emigrated. Data about the profession of the interviewees' parents was collected. From this we can see that care workers with college degrees tend to come from the lower-middle class. Nonetheless, there are blue-collar workers or simple mental workers among the parents of doctors as well. Later, we will see how much influence the family's financial situation has on the amount of remittances of those interviewed. It is also shown in the data that more highly educated parents received migrant remittances from children who had emigrated as well.

Interview topics

In the following I present details about the topics that were included in the course of the interviews. The interviews centered around three main areas, namely: 1) an examination of the migrant's walk of life; 2) migrant remittance practices; and, 3) attitudinal variables. The migrant 'walk of life' section touched upon the topics of demographic variables, the period prior to the migrant's emigration, the motives of the migrant, the move itself, the characteristics of the profession (domestic and foreign) and an examination of the professional and ethnic social networking of the individual. Concerning the topic of remittances, I asked about the motive for

13 University of Pécs, Medical School (PTE), Semmelweis University (SOTE), University of Debrecen (DTE)

remitting, the nature of the remittance, the frequency and the exact amount that the beneficiaries spent, as well as the target of the spending. I also inquired about potential social remittances as well as material ones. Finally, I asked questions about the migrant's future plans and the potential for them to return home. I found it important to talk about issues that provided an insight into the respondent's perceptions of the differences between the host and the receiving country.

Results

In the next section, I present the findings about migrant remittance practices. First, based on the sample I demonstrate some characteristics of willingness to remit. I show according to which parameters migrants remit and I provide details about those who did not mention this activity. Following this, I talk about the relationship between favors and chain migration. Finally, in the third section I describe the specific use of migrant remittances using a classification scheme which distinguishes between the following categories: 1) remittances invested in services and human capital; 2) materialized remittances; and, 3) symbolic remittances in practice. I also briefly discuss the future plans of the interviewees.

Who is not making remittances?

In order to understand remittance practices, one must understand the individual's ties to the motherland, family, and their main motivation for emigrating. Regarding the type of migration, two-thirds of the cases can be classified as *colonizing* migration, but *career*, *circular*, and *chain* migration have also occurred.[14] Regarding the cause for migration, it is more difficult to classify the individuals, as dissimilar motives played a role in the decision. (see Table 2) The two reasons most commonly mentioned by interviewees were financial problems and the insecurity of the workplace in the home country. This was followed by personal attachment, emotional involvement and fear for the uncertain future of family and children. The state of the Hungarian health care system was clearly indicated as a push factor in the narratives, even if it was not always expressed explicitly. Two interviewees stated that they would never go back to work in Hungary because of the deteriorating situation of the Hungarian health care system. For methodological reasons I can also point out that a number of potential interviewees who categorically refused to participate in the research argued similarly. It is important to note that, among nurses and care workers (as

14 The literature distinguishes between at least five types of migration. These categories are based on "the extent to which migrants retain positions in the sending networks, and the degree to which the move is definitive" (Tilly 1991: 13). Colonizing migration means that migrants move to a territory where they did not live before. Coerced migration involves forced or obligatory departure. Circular migration signifies that the immigrant maintains social ties with the home community and frequently returns to the country of origin, for which he feels responsible. The way immigrants form kinship chains to prepare for the arrival of relatives is called chain migration. Finally, career migration denotes the seeking of transnational professional working opportunities.

opposed to doctors), no one mentioned the health care situation as a primary or even secondary motive for migration.

However, it is essential to analyze the circumstances of those who did not remit any money back home from Norway or the two other Nordic states. Five interviewees out of 15 (all doctors) stated that they had not sent home any money in the past. However, clarifying questions highlighted that these statements were not entirely true because financial assistance had been provided to family members or others. In the following, I examine the factors that explain the lack of willingness to send remittances.

One determining factor is the time spent abroad. Two interviewees who had been living in Norway for less than a year explained that they could not afford to send funds home until they had stabilized their financial situations. However, they were planning to send remittances in the future:

"We regard ourselves and our earnings as the financial background of both our families. So if worst comes to worst, it'll be us who get behind them." [15] *(Ágnes)*

The other main arguments which were heard from interviewees was that "they [potential beneficiaries] did not ask", or "there was no need" for financial support. Several respondents explained that their families made a good living at home and were not struggling with financial problems. In my sample nurses did not mention this factor, but 5 doctors out of 8 stated that they did not send any money home. Since the primary beneficiaries were parents in the vast majority of cases, the most important factors that influenced the amount sent are demographic variables related to social status and occupation.

My results showed that expatriate children of parents from the middle or upper classes much less frequently sent home remittances than did the children of lower middle class parents. Consequently, the results of my sample did not correspond with the outcomes of Bollard and Rapoport's research which found that more educated individuals of a higher socioeconomic status remitted less. One reason can be found in the huge differences in salary between Norway and Hungary/Romania; namely, purchasing power parity. In 2012 the GNI per capita in Hungary was 20,710 USD, in Romania it was 16,860 USD, while in in Norway it was 66,960 USD (World Bank Data 2014). Those who had relatively high standards of living in their country of origin probably had less grounds for remitting money to their families, as the offering of support to wealthy parents does not correspond with their social status. Some of the interviewees mentioned that they and their parents were doing well for themselves in their home countries: accordingly, asking for money or services from the emigrant relative would not fit the profile of the elevated social status. Moreover, the moral

15 "De úgy tekintünk magunkra és a keresetünkre, hogy ez az anyagi háttér mindkettőnk családja számára. Tehát ha beüt a krak, akkor mi leszünk azok, akik odaállunk mögéjük." (Ágnes)

commitment to support the family through remittances is much lower or simply does not exist in well-off families. On the other hand, it is possible that interviewees of a higher social class preferred not to reveal their financial background and money-transferring practices and therefore they consciously evaded giving an answer. My observations indicate that interviewees from families of a lower social class spoke more frankly and naturally about money-related topics, financial problems or situations, while the others had a preference for avoiding the topic.

Interviewees who did not send money home rarely named financial problems as being reason for their migration. Instead, the state of the Hungarian health care system, the future prospects of their family and children and politically-related reasons were most commonly offered. It is important to remember that alongside the remittances that were acknowledged, significant transfers may be being made that remain unrevealed by the interview. Just as with official statistics, qualitative methods of inquiry allow respondents the possibility to conceal the truth; a phenomenon which may occur more frequently with respondents of higher social status. But how do the beneficiaries spend the money they receive in the home country, and how does it contribute to development?

Chain migration and favors

The phenomenon of chain migration is observable among Hungarian health workers employed in Norway. 11 of those interviewed out of the 15 reported that they had had some relatives already living and working abroad before their own migration to Norway. It is also noteworthy that almost half of the interviewees had close relatives at the time of the interview who were living in other foreign countries. This phenomenon was described by the interviewees themselves: "One causes the other."[16] Gizella summarized not only her own but also the story of other emigrant families of her acquaintance. She stated:

"Several people came to Norway through us: my brother, his former wife, his current wife. I believe that we did good to many, although it is not sure that the Norwegian state is glad. But all of them work, they pay tax to the Norwegian state."[17] *(Irén)*

This case shows that the theory of chain migration can be applied at the micro level as well as the macro since invitations from increasing numbers of family members who reside abroad make migration more probable. In encouraging emigration, besides family ties, having an amicable and collegial network also plays a role. According to my observations one can get specific help with employment abroad in two primary ways.

16 "Egyik hozza a másikat". (Gizella)

17 "Általunk többen kijöttek Norvégiába. A testvérem, a volt felesége, a mostani felesége. Azt hiszem soknak jót csináltunk, bár a norvég állam nem biztos, hogy örül. De az összes dolgozik, adót fizet az államnak." (Irén)

The first takes the rather informal form of favors, where experienced acquaintances provide information about a foreign social system and living circumstances and provide loans or temporary accommodation. However, a more practical way may also include help with planning the act of migration such as offering job opportunities, for instance. Here are two examples of informal help which describe conditions for migration:

"I didn't call her [my sister-in-law], I rather kept her aware that here is an opportunity. I can't decide instead of her, but I'm here, I can guarantee the circumstances."[18] *(Sára)*

"In October a friend of my husband's came to find some job. And with him, his friend [came]. The latter received a job, but the friend of my husband didn't because he left for home earlier. They lived at our place for free for two months; we hosted them and fed them."[19] *(Leonóra)*

In the sample 11 interviewees stated that since they have emigrated they have provided assistance to friends who were interested in the practical side of life abroad. In three cases job seekers have been successfully helped to enter a specific workplace by the interviewees; in four cases respondents managed to accommodate others. Inquiries through email were relatively frequently received by respondents, and loans were often mentioned as well (four times by interviewees). According to the theory of Sik, people who have gained information about living conditions abroad may be considered to be part of the migration shell (Sik 2012). Having knowledge about opportunities can have a great influence on an individual in decision-making about migration. Overall, one can see from the abovementioned cases that the theory of chain migration also seems to be confirmed at the micro level. The more informal relationships the migration-planning person has, the more information he or she will receive in the future which will facilitate the act of migration. This means that favors embedded in networks maintain and make further migration more probable. In many cases, migrants get to know both sides of this phenomenon.

The use of remittances

Table 3 illustrates the various services and materialized remittances that were most often mentioned in the narratives. I created a simple index from the data, considering that the items have the same strength. Obviously, services and materialized investments are not of the same value, thus the applicability of the indices is limited. Nonetheless, the table illustrates the differences and some trends in the remittance-sending activity of doctors and nurses.

18 "Én nem hívtam, inkább tartottam benne a lelket, hogy itt van a lehetőség. Én nem tudok dönteni helyette, de én itt vagyok, biztosítani tudom a körülményeket." (Sára)

19 "Októberben a férjem egyik barátja jött ki munkát keresni. És vele egy barátja. Az utóbbi kapott munkát, (...) de a férjem barátja nem talált, mert előbb elment haza. Ők két hónapig ingyen laktak nálunk, elszállásoltuk őket, enni adtunk nekik." (Leonóra)

Investments in services

From the various services, education, health care, family events, and occasional financial support were particularly often mentioned by the respondents. In the following I examine how these contributions contribute to the growth and well-being of the beneficiary families, and to what extent.

The data show that care workers are more likely than physicians to spend the remittances they make on fostering education (see Table 3). Three of the four nurses described such investments, and it turned out that often there was a very specific motivation for the decisions they made. Sára (a nurse) has been financing her sister-in-law's nursing college education for three years from Norway. This relation also works in the same Norwegian town. Previously, the same nurse financed the obtaining of a driving license for her nephew. She stated that remittances only make sense if they serve as investments:

"When one of them doesn't have a job, or they have financial problems for some reason, transferring them a certain amount is practically just temporary help. It does not help them in the long-term."[20] *(Sára)*

Leonora, also a nurse, paid her sister's university fees for three years (600 NOK per month) and Zsuzsa, another nurse who was interviewed, contributed to the cost of a German language course for her son which provided him with greater chances on the Swiss labor market. In the cases of these family-oriented remittances we can see a strong moral commitment on the part of the sender. According to a theory proposed by Tharmalingam these acts cannot be considered to be altruistic since there are no expectations on the sender's side, except that the receiver should complete their education. Those relatives who did not spend money that was remitted on education generally did not have a potential beneficiary of an appropriate age or stage of life, or simply did not need financial support for education. Investing remittances in education did not occur among respondents whose parents were more highly educated (held university degrees), but it was common rather among nurses.

Accordingly, among the members of the lower social class, remittances that support education have a significant impact on social mobility. There are other examples of the facilitation of inter-generational mobility due to migrant remittances. This pattern may clearly be seen in the following cases: A migrant nurse, being a child of skilled worker parents, is able to cover her children's or nephew's college or university-expenses. They, in turn, will be thus more likely to achieve a higher level of education which surpasses that of their parents. Therefore, the *status attainment path model* (Duncan–Blau 1967) can be identified among the interviewees through the special characteristics that I observed in the narratives of the nurses. In my sample the husbands of the nurse interviewees had similar or rather lower

20 "Amikor valamelyiknek nincs épp munkahelye, vagy különböző okok miatt anyagi problémáik vannak, az hogy hazaküldök egy nagyobb összeget, gyakorlatilag csak egy ideiglenes segítség. Nem segít nekik hosszú távon." (Sára)

levels of education than their wives. This is the reason why, in this model, taking into account the level of education of the mother, not the father, is more appropriate.

Financing of health care services and treatments through remittances was also mentioned. This form of contribution brought significant changes in the living standards of the families of the respondents. Although only 5 people mentioned such contributions, one of them specified the exact amount. In the case of Leonora, family members from three different countries financed her mother's treatment for cancer.

"We send around 1000 NOK regularly. Her monthly medication costs 100 000 HUF; we pay for it more or less every third month. The father of my husband lives in Germany, the brother of my father-in-law is in the US, together we three pay this amount."[21] *(Leonóra)*

Interestingly, only one doctor specified that he financed health services through remittance money, while four nurses acknowledged that their remittances went for this purpose. Only one person's remittances concerned paying for 'prevention and recreational services' (in answer to the question who paid for his mother's swimming pass). However, many of the interviewees who had not sent anything home for this purpose were considering the impending health problems of their aging parents. Nevertheless, this example demonstrates that having a physical presence near to old and infirm parents is a less convenient solution than remitting from abroad:

"When the time comes, it is much easier to pay somebody, I can better afford it rather than live next to them, suffering from problems, in addition to taking care of them."[22] *(Sára)*

The interviewees also alluded to family events like weddings, Christmas and PhD defenses abroad which would have been organized in a different way without external financial help. Due to the orientation of the remittance-sending activity, financing the above-mentioned services requires a solid moral commitment which can be linked to the second phase of Tharmalingam's theory. In addition, these events and services evoke a sense of safety and future prospects in a family that contribute to the general well-being of the household.

Materialized remittances

Mention of consumer goods in the context of remittances was not common. Interestingly, however, two items appeared in several narratives: dishwashers and washing machines. Mention of this equipment highlights the current status of the household in the narratives. For Zsuzsa, who had washed her clothes in a stream for decades, since her house was without plumbing, owning a washing machine and

21 "Körülbelül 1000 koronát küldünk rendszeresen. 100 ezer Ft az egy havi gyógyszere, ezt nagyjából háromhavonta mi fizetjük. A férjem apja Németországban él, az apósom tesója Amerikában, mi hárman fizetjük ezt az összeget." (Leonóra)

22 "Ha eljön annak az ideje, valakit megfizetni sokkal könnyebb, sokkal inkább megengedhetem magamnak, mintha ott élnék mellettük, problémákkal szenvednék, és ráadásul még rájuk is kéne vigyázzak." (Sára)

dishwasher was a clear sign of a rise in her standard of living. Irén said that her family was now living in Romania under similar circumstances to how she lived in Norway:

"Anytime we go home, we help them [the family]. We have already renovated the house two times where we live. They are living as we do here. So, a dishwasher, washing machine, everything can be found in that house."[23] *(Irén)*

Nevertheless, ownership of consumer goods did not have special prestige for the sample, except for these items. Apart from two exceptions, those interviewees who mentioned migrant remittance activities also identified some form of material investment, such as renovating their own or their relatives' houses, or covering public service expenses. Expenses that were mentioned include renovating houses, paying for services, paying bills and/or rent and paying for the installation of a thermostat or plumbing. In many cases beneficiaries would have faced serious problems if they had not received assistance from abroad:

"They don't spend on luxury, but it facilitates their everyday life a bit. My parents divorced six months ago, my mother moved out, and I'm paying her rent and her overhead expenses."[24] *(Dani)*

Among the answers, welfare products were not mentioned by respondents when speaking about the use of materialized remittances, but it appears that the relative well-being of respondents' families has definitely increased due to the money that has been sent. We can find some examples of the poverty-reducing role of remittances; the following statement highlights a case of unexpected expenses occurring after a natural disaster struck:

"My mother lives alone as a pensioner, I'm not sure that she could have paid a huge amount by herself in order to have the house fixed. But it was totally destroyed. There were storms and hail. Accordingly it was necessary to have everything changed. At that time it was good that one could earn more."[25] *(Zsolt)*

Lastly, I should briefly mention two cases where collective remittances were mentioned. In the first case the motivation was primarily religious. One respondent said that he had several times supported his former Christian communities, the Baptist Church in his hometown, and a youth group at his university. In the sample at least three interviewees were identified as being very religious but apart from the aforementioned example the others did not speak about supporting their churches.

23 "Ahányszor hazamegyünk, segítünk nekik. Már kétszer is felújítottuk a házat, ahol lakunk. Úgy élnek, mint itt. Tehát mosogatógép, mosógép, minden van abban a házban." (Irén)

24 "Nem luxusra költik, hanem kicsit megkönnyítette a mindennapjaikat. Elváltak a szüleim fél éve, anyu elköltözött, és most az albérletét és rezsijét én fizetem." (Dani)

25 "Anyukám egyedül él nyugdíjasként, nem biztos, hogy ki tudott volna fizetni egyedül milliós összeget ahhoz, hogy meg tudja csinálni a házat. Pedig teljesen tönkrement. Viharok voltak, meg jég, tehát szükség volt teljesen lecserélni. És akkor jó volt, hogy az ember itt jobban tud keresni." (Zsolt)

The other individual had remitted only once to a community when her former college needed help to buy a piano. However, with the exception of these cases there were no more examples of the collective form of remittances. These examples approach altruism, even if some commitments were necessarily related to these institutions.

Accordingly, the material uses of the remittance flows of the sample did not include spending on welfare items; nevertheless, they had a poverty-reducing effect and increased the well-being of the recipients.

Symbolic remittances

Symbolic remittances might not seem to be related to welfare or poverty-reduction, although two examples show that they can be indirectly connected to both. The cases concerned two Transylvanian nurses. One interviewee, Zsuzsa, spoke at length about her house which was built in Transylvania. In her imagination this house would later serve the purpose of hosting guests during summer, or in other words, it would become a site for agro-tourism. The guests – mainly friends – would pay for their accommodation, but at a much lower price than they would at a local hotel. This act of building the house can be considered a materialized remittance since it involves a dwelling place. At the same time, it also represents an entrepreneurial investment as the family would receive some income from it. But we can also see that there may be another driver, which is the desire to share culture, natural beauty, and a rural atmosphere with friends from different countries. One cannot determine the intensity of the different forms of motivation, but it is sure that the purpose of the investment is more than purely material.

Similar ambitions were also identified in other cases. Irén had inherited an old castle in Transylvania that she wanted to transform into a guesthouse. The transformation would occur after her younger son had grown up, and when the family could finally move back home. She and her Norwegian husband intended to organize guided tours and hikes in the surrounding area, as well as host guests in the future hotel. The two cases differ from each other since Zsuzsa's plans exists only in theory, while Irén's husband has already organized trips to Romania with his travel agency. Nevertheless, both of them are motivated by the idea of sharing and transmitting values. Besides these goals, the investments would enable them to retain their identities and maintain their familial-ethnic sentiments and the established enterprises would contribute to the economic revival of their families.

Evaluation of changes in future prospects

I shall touch upon the topic of *social remittances* using only a few words. All of the physicians and nurses interviewed spoke about gaining professional skills or obtaining knowledge from which they could profit in the future, not only in the host country but at home as well. Almost all the doctors mentioned the desire to meet the professional challenge, a notion greater than simply becoming competent

at using the different systems of another country and learning another language. The Hungarian physicians who were employed in Norway said that they had to have much wider vocational competences than in their home country.

"Here [in Norway], I do many more things. Here, I plaster, suture, tailor, we provide gynecological treatment, we are pretty well otolaryngologists. If someone is snowed in, I may have to conduct a delivery. You have to use everything you know, everything that you studied at university."[26] *(Matild)*

"The sky is the limit, what one can do, where one can send a patient."[27] *(Odette)*

The respondents commented on the development of their experience in the field of specific treatments as well:

"Classic solutions, operations and procedures that we dealt with in Hungary are undertaken in a different way here, in the field. Often in a more effective, cheaper and better way."[28] *(Ferenc)*

However, a dentist thought that her work was more challenging back home:

"In Hungary I could have carried out work requiring a much higher level of qualification. Patients had more opportunities too. Here, in Norway, people do not have such high demands."[29] *(Terka)*

The question was whether all of this professional knowledge was capable of being exploited by the representative of the profession in the home environment. Interviewees doubted if the Hungarian health care system was capable of attitudinal changes in the near future under the present financial conditions.

The future plans of the interviewees were varied. Nine of them stated that they would not move back to Hungary in the foreseeable future (within 10 years). Among these there were a few who had been living in Norway for only a few years, but some of them had been living there for more than 10 years. Only three of them stated that they would move back to Hungary within 5-10 years although during the research period one doctor had already left Norway to restart his practice, partly in Hungary. Consequently, the potential for the return of the emigrant Hungarian health care workers in the sample appears to be low. This result may originate from the original marital status of the interviewees (who had arrived in Norway with a spouse),

26 "Itt sokkal több mindent csinálok. Itt gipszelek, varrok, szabok, nőgyógyászati kezelést végzünk, fül-orr-gégészek vagyunk jóformán. Ha behavazik, lehet, hogy szülést kell levezetnem. Mindent használni kell, amit tudsz, amit tanultál az egyetemen." (Matild)

27 "Valahol a csillagos ég a határ, hogy az ember mit csinál, hova küldi az ember a betegeket." (Odette)

28 "Azokat a klasszikus megoldásokat, műtéteket, vagy eljárásokat, amit Magyarországon megoldottunk, itt másképpen oldják meg a szakmában. Sokszor effektívebben, olcsóbban és jobban." (Ferenc)

29 "Magyarországon sokkal kvalifikáltabb munkát végezhettem. A betegeknek is több lehetőségük volt. Itt Norvégiában nem igényesek az emberek." (Terka)

the existence of well-established familial relations abroad (e.g. the emigration of the whole family, a local husband), and the important aforementioned living and working conditions.

Summary

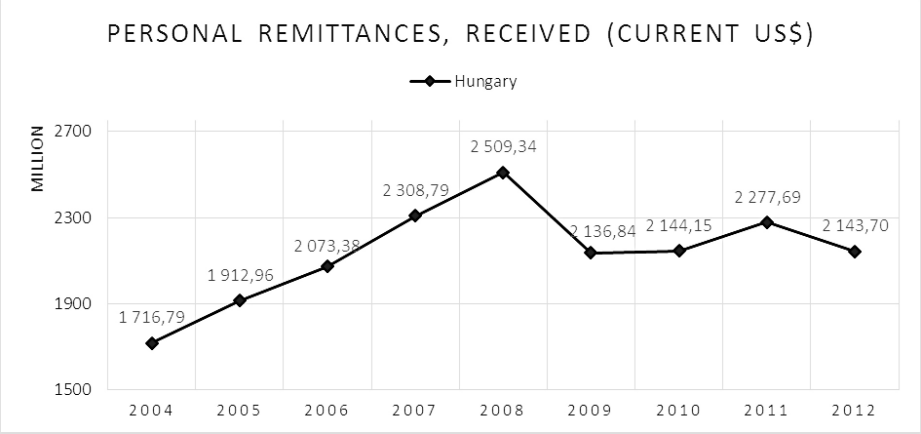
To sum up, in my paper I describe how I investigated Hungarian medical workers from different fields in order to get a deeper insight into the characteristics of migrant remittance practices. By revealing the different patterns and outcomes of these flows I observed whether remittances contribute to the welfare of the recipient family and whether they reduce poverty in other cases. The narratives of the interviewed medical workers confirm that remittances have significant effects on the living standards of the individual, particularly concerning improvements in social standing. One argument in support of this statement is that the above-mentioned patterns demonstrated that migrants from the lower-middle class invest much more of the money remitted on the education of their kin than people from the upper-middle class. On the whole it is important to note that lower-middle class people tended to speak about their remittance practices more frequently, thus I gained more information about them.

The interviewees had one characteristic in common that might have arisen partly due to their occupations and their original motivation for migration. This concerns the state of the Hungarian health care system. Their remittance practices were rather family-oriented; there was little evidence of network-oriented remittances. Collective remittances were mentioned only twice which suggests that remittances in most cases were aimed at supporting the closest members of the family. Investigation showed that those interviewees who had left their home countries because of professional rather than financial reasons sent home much less than others. Finally, it should be noted that the sample respondents did not refer to welfare-investments, but the well-being of the beneficiaries of remittances was reported to have demonstrably increased due to the investments in various services and materials.

Whether the remittances of Hungarian health care workers can compensate for the loss of human capital in the home country or not is difficult to answer. However, evidence suggests that physicians who emigrate can return to their home countries with a variety of newly-learnt skills, significant professional experience, international networks and changed attitudes in some cases. Moreover, social remittances should always be considered when researching and describing migratory movements and remittance practices.

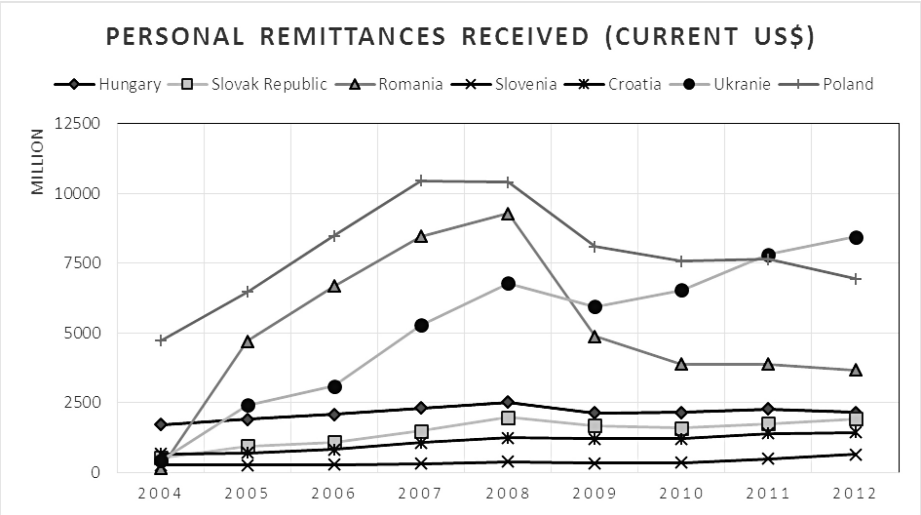
Tables and Figures

Figure 1: *Amount of Personal Remittances in Hungary (current US$)*



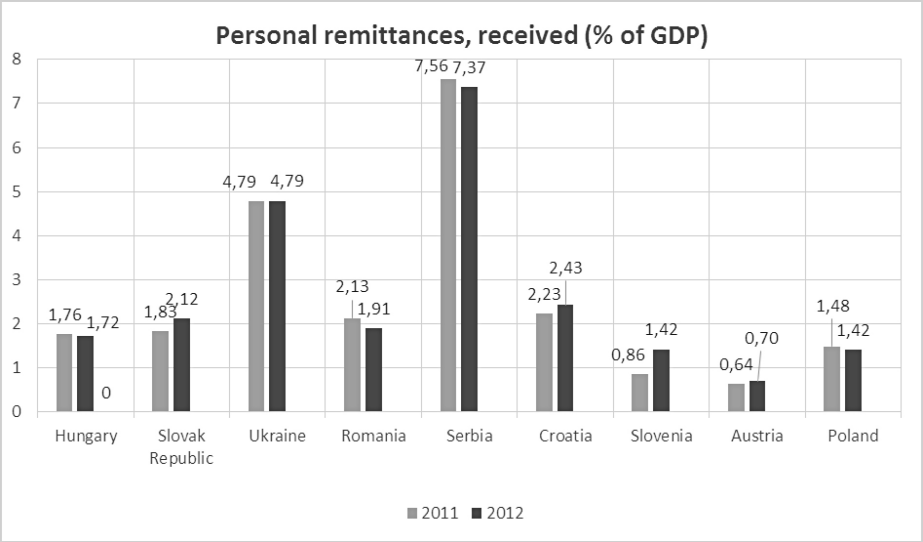
Source: World Bank 2014.

Figure 2: *Personal Remittances by Central-Eastern and Eastern-European Countries (current US$)*



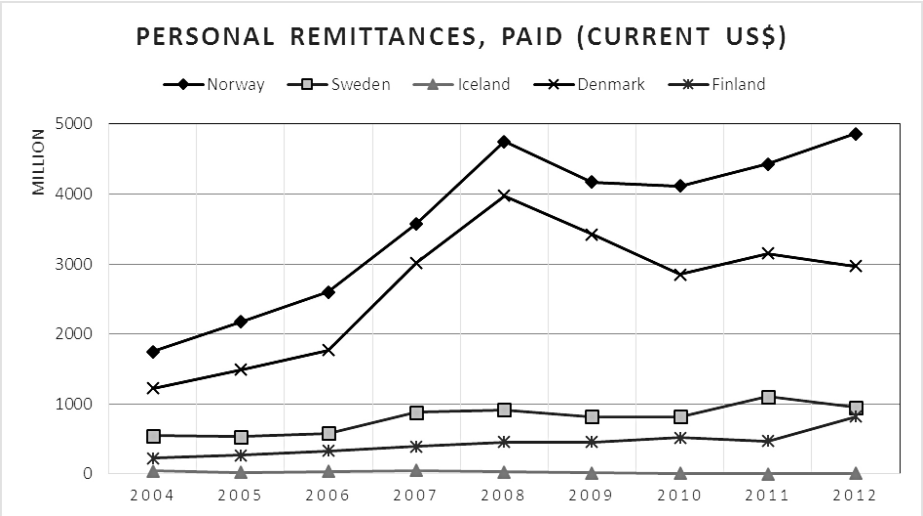
Source: World Bank Data 2014.

Figure 3: *Proportion of Personal Remittances of GDP, Central-Eastern and Eastern-European Countries*



Source: World Bank Data 2014.

Figure 4: *Personal Remittances Paid by Nordic Countries (current US$)*



Source: World Bank Data 2014.

Table 1: Demographic Variables of the Interviewees. (Ethnic Hungarian)*

Demographic Variables					
Name	**Gender**	**Age**	**Education**	**Current job**	**Father's Job**
Care Workers					
Leonóra*	F	28	nurse (college)	care worker	turner
Gizella	F	55	social pedagogue	personal assistant	locksmith, foreman
Mária	F	35	social worker, social policy expert	care worker	cattle raiser skilled worker
Sára*	F	35	nurse (college)	helpdesk assistant	carpenter
Zsuzsa*	F	48	nurse (college)	care worker	
Irén*	F	47	nurse (college)	care worker	craftsman assistant, locksmith
Physicians					
Ágnes	F	35	Doctor of Medicine Master of Arts	emergency physician	mining engineer, university professor
Odette	F	42	Doctor of Medicine	family doctor	dairy industry overseer
Dani (SWE)	M	31	Doctor of Medicine	psychiatrist, psychotherapist	carpenter
Zsolt	M	34	Doctor of Medicine	family doctor	locksmith, technician
Matild	F	34	Doctor of Medicine	family doctor	carpenter
Krisztina (FIN)	F	33	PhD, Doctor of Medicine	neurosurgeon	engineer
Terka	F	31	Doctor of Dentistry	dentist	winemaker, craft engineer
Ferenc	M	45	Doctor of Medicine	obstetrician, gynecologist	doctor of medicine
Albert	M	35	pharmacist	pharmacist	pharmacist

Table 2: Interviewees' Basic Variables of Migration.

Basic Variables of Migration				
Name	**Reasons**	**Type**	**Year of Arrival**	**Potential of Return**
Care Workers				
Leonóra*	1, 2	1	2010	0
Gizella	2	2	2011	0
Mária	1, 2, 4	1	2008	2
Sára*	7	1	2000	0
Zsuzsa*	1	4	2010	3
Irén*	2 (5)	1	1993	2
Physicians				
Ágnes	1, 5, 4	1	2013	0
Odette	1, 4, 7	1	2008	2
Dani (SWE)	7	3	2007	2
Zsolt	1	1	2008	0
Matild	3	1	2013	0
Krisztina (FIN)	2	3	2006	4
Terka	4, 3 (5)	1	2008	0
Ferenc	3, 1 (7)	3	2007	1
Albert	1, 6, 7	1	2010	0

* Ethnic Hungarian

Reasons Mentioned for Moving to Norway	
1	Mainly financial problems
2	Personal reasons (marriage, family reunification)
3	Bad situation of Hungarian health care system
4	Uncertain future prospects
5	Political situation in the home country
6	Crisis, bankruptcy
7	Other (adventure, beauty of the landscape)

Type of Migration	
1	Colonizing
2	Chain
3	Career
4	Circular

Potential for Return	
0	not planned at all
1	planned in the next 1-4 years
2	planned in the next 5-10 years
3	circulating
4	planned for a shorter period in the future

Table 3: Remittance-sending Activity and Use of the Amount Received in the Home Country of the Interviewees

Name	Remittance activity (self-declared)	Type of Remittances					
		Financed Services			Materialized Remittances		
		Health care	Education	Visits	Gifts (sent to the country of origin)	Housing (overheads/ bills/ renovation)	Loans (taken out in the home country)
Care Workers							
Leonóra*	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Gizella	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
Mária	1	1	0	1	0	0	1
Sára*	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
Zsuzsa*	1	0	1	1	0	1	0
Irén*	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
		67%	50%	67%	67%	67%	33%
Physicians							
Ágnes	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Odette	1	0	1	1	0	1	0
Dani (SWE)	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
Zsolt	1	0	0	1	1	1	0
Matild	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Krisztina (FIN)	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Terka	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Ferenc	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
Albert	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
		11%	11%	78%	78%	44%	44%

Source: own data and calculation.

Legend	
0	No
1	Yes

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How to Explain CouchSurfing's Success?[1]

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ABSTRACT: In this paper we describe the social network of CouchSurfing as an innovative, non-monetary model for the traditional international hospitality and travel market. This paper is written to describe our understanding of how it can operate and expand in spite of potential risks and uncertainties. We present the results of an exploratory qualitative research project that was conducted in Hungary in 2012/13. The findings indicate that: (1) a high level of trust as a personality trait characterizes members; (2) trust can be interpreted as a strong cultural rule; (3) members perceive a low level of risk and have limited practical knowledge about the safety features of the system; and (4) trust towards a given member is not based on rational calculation but on emotions.

Keywords: Online risk, online trust, online collaboration, management of trust, CouchSurfing

Introduction

Online social networking sites (SNS) enable the efficient maintenance and extension of relationship networks beyond the constraints of time, distance, or social groups. Furthermore, some of them can also be considered to be new ways of cooperating that offer alternatives to organizing economic activity on an unprecedented scale. In their capacity as innovative, non-monetary market models they are alternative processes for providing products or services. Instead of central operative boards of management, global communities organize their operations based on relatively simple rules. The community-based model of *'crowdfunding'* and *'crowdsourcing'* tend to supplement habitual ways of finding investors or new ideas. In the field of research and development, a similar logic is followed with so-called *'open source'* innovation networks, whose members voluntarily and cooperatively develop software, hardware and medicines without formal organizations. What these models have in common are the facts that, on the one hand, they do not usually require monetary transactions, thus participation does not lead to financial return, and on the other hand, participation is completely voluntary.

This paper examines more closely a community-based voluntary system of this kind: CouchSurfing. CouchSurfing (hereafter: CS) was launched in 2004 and in a mere 10 years the community has expanded to include 100 000 cities and 6 million users worldwide. There are more than 29 000 members in Budapest, the capital of Hungary, alone (CouchSurfing.org 2013). CS is a successful alternative

1 The authors would like to thank the anonymous reviewers and editors for their valuable comments and remarks on the previous versions on the paper. Responsibility for any errors in the resulting work remains our own.

to the traditional hospitality and tourism-related service markets, although here the vendors are not hotels or travel agencies, and customers are not conventional tourists. CS is a "global network of travelers, adventure seekers and lifelong learners", who share their "cultures, hospitality and adventures with each other" (CouchSurfing.org, 2013). Its website connects travelers with local inhabitants who offer accommodation and other services such as acting as tourist guides or providing advice about cultural and sports programs, free of charge. In practice, this means that, in most cases, instead of hostel or hotel rooms, users called couchsurfers stay at the homes of hosts who they know only superficially, and the limited information they have about their hosts or places of accomodation is obtained through the website of the community. In turn, the hosts let community members, who they have never personally met before, stay in their homes. In this fashion, the system provides not only accommodation, catering and travel information services but has made travelling a social experience. Additionally, the website helps with event organizing, which in turn provides opportunities for group members to meet and get to know each other personally. Couchsurfers cooperate voluntarily in order to utilize the common benefits of the flexible and trustworthy system, and monetary transactions are not involved at all.

As common-sense might suggest, trustworthiness is the biggest precondition for the existence of CS. This paper is designed to illustrate how such a system can work and expand in spite of its potential risks and uncertainties. We focus especially on risk assessment and trust judgment in the context of the successful operation of the network.

The paper is structured as follows: as a point of departure it introduces the theoretical frameworks of trust that we apply throughout this paper. The following section then summarizes the empirical findings of pre-existing literature in relation to online trust and the issue of trust within CouchSurfing. In the third part, one can find a detailed account about the research project and its findings. Lastly, we discuss the main conclusions and reflect on the limitations of the project's findings.

Before we go further, we now introduce some of the basic mechanisms of CS to which we will later refer in this paper.

Basic Definitions

This section provides a brief overview about the way CS operates and about the three trust guarantees that are provided by the system of the community.

As for the rules of participation, the CS community is relatively open: anyone who has internet access and a basic level of English can join the network. Registration only requires the construction of a public profile page on the CS website, thus barriers to entry and to becoming a member are relatively low. New members automatically become both potential service providers and users. As part of their registration

process, couchsurfers are expected to enter and publish detailed personal and hosting-related information (such as their place of residence, living circumstances, occupation, languages spoken, personal interests, or philosophy). Pictures of the registrants can also be uploaded or information about the users' hobbies, social life or their travel experiences. Additionally, the user's profile page shows the individual status of three trust guarantees: *verification, others' references*, and information about *vouching*.

Verification refers to an optional check on one's name and location by the community's administrators in exchange for payment by bank transfer of a small sum of money. This is followed by online registration (signifying that the user has been 'verified') using a personal code sent via post. This process helps members to prove that they really exist under the name and address they have provided, and enables the CS system to connect digital entities to physical persons who live in the real world.

References usually take the form of paragraph-long pieces of feedback about members written by other CouchSurfers who have interacted with those members as hosts or guests. References involve providing a rating (positive, negative or neutral) about the experience.

Vouching is also based on physical relationships (the CS website particularly emphasizes that knowing other members 'in the real world' is a minimum requirement for vouching), but it implies a higher level of trust. Vouching was designed to help foster and promote a safe network within the community. Being vouched for always signifies a one-way trust relationship and requires that three other members independently 'vouch' for an individual. The network of vouching thus develops in the form of spreading trust relations.[2]

Theoretical Background

The CS system is the manifestation of a remarkable degree of trust, the concept of which deserves closer study. This paper is based on a sociological framework of trust, namely, Piotr Sztompka's account (2003). He argues that trust is linked to the unknown future and can be interpreted as a crucial strategy for dealing with uncertain and uncontrollable situations. He identifies three levels of trust: (1) at an individual level; that is, trust can be seen as a personality trait; (2) at the level of interactions, or, in other words, that trust can be understood as the quality of a relationship; and lastly, (3) at a social level where trust appears as a cultural rule. The following section briefly summarizes each of these dimensions and reflects on their relevance concerning CouchSurfing.

2 Besides these trust guarantees, the system administrators are also able to exclude problematic members whose behavior has been criticized by other members because of abusing the system.

Trust as a personality trait

Although trust obviously appears in the context of human interactions, the concept of trust can also be defined at the level of the individual. Sztompka argues that trust can be viewed as a personality drive, or, in other words, a basic 'trusting impulse' toward particular others or human beings in general. The existence of this personality trait can be seen as the outcome of successful socialization and grows from an intimate, caring and emotionally-secure developmental environment, which is most often one's family. So, emotional security can be considered as the very basis of any kind of trusting act (Sztompka 2003).

As far as the interrelationships of trust and the CS system are concerned, it can be argued that at this level trust plays a significant role as a personality trait. The very nature of the CS community calls for an extraordinarily high level of the trusting impulse that Sztompka writes about. This means that the 'trust threshold' for entering into the community may be rather high, thereby creating a strong selection effect. Therefore it can be presupposed that only people who are more trusting than average become members of such a community. It can be argued that people in the CS community are better at dealing with feelings of uncertainty and anxiety created by social encounters than others. Additionally, CS experiences can be characterised by their high level of risk and involve excitement, adventure and enjoyment, so it can be assumed that they attract sensation seekers and risk takers who are active in social activites (Huang et al. 2014).

One of the strategies for dealing with the challenges of social life is dealing with people that we know and whose behavior we can anticipate. In other words, "trust needs touch" (Handy 1995: 46). This is totally the opposite of what happens in a 'normal' CS transaction. CS members meet and spend time with people who they do not know and whose cultural codes and behavioral responses are often totally different and therefore cannot be anticipated or expected (Bialski 2012; Molz 2012; Chen 2012).

Trust as the quality of the relationship

Trust is often experienced in a specific social relationship. Sztompka points out that this relational dimension of trust is mainly covered theoretically by rational-choice theory. This theory presupposes that actors, in this context both the truster and trustee, rationally try to maximize their utilities in a transaction. Making rational calculations based on all available information is at the heart of this form of trust (Sztompka 2003: 60).

It is also noteworthy that each relationship involves a significant amount of uncertainty or risk because of the situation of incomplete information. As pieces of information might be missing about several elements of the situation, a key aspect of

the 'exchange' is that actors cannot predict the others' future actions. Therefore, the trustworthiness of the other person is a crucial aspect of the transaction and actors are motivated to gather and assimilate information about this element (Sztompka 2003: 60-63).

One can argue that, in the case of CouchSurfing, the key factors at this level are the 'memory traces' (viz. feedback) left by previous encounters (Layder 2004) that help to deal with the basic 'uncertainty about the other's trustworthiness' which is emphasized by rational-actor theorists (Becker 1986; Elster 1989). One essential function of the CS service is putting 'memory traces' online in the form of references, as described previously. Experiences of previous encounters are made visible, shared online and are accessible to all in the form of feedback written by previous hosts and guests. It could also be argued that 'memory traces' are also shared in a traditional offline community, but this sharing mostly happens verbally on a one-to-one basis. However, the 'virtual visibility' of previous experiences of CS is a very effective way of sharing and accessing these 'common memories'.

It can be hypothesized that these virtual memory traces of previous encounters help people to avoid risks and awkward situations. CS provides a service for managing a type of risk, namely, the experience of negative feelings (anxiety, uncertainty, feelings of losing control) which may be generated in social interactions by giving the opportunity for members to consider, *ex-ante*, each other's compatibility. The system and its members thereby also attempt to ensure that positive emotions are generated in future encounters.

Furthermore, these shared memory traces also have important implications from the rational-choice perspective. Because of the uncertainty about the others' future action and their trustworthiness, gathering relevant information about them is a crucial element of trust-giving.

Trust as a cultural rule

Sztompka identifies the third dimension of trust 'as a cultural rule'. This dimension highlights the fact that trust is not only a dispositional characteristic and/or an outcome of rational calculations, but also a cultural phenomenon. Trust as a cultural rule can be viewed in a Durkheimian sense as a 'social fact', being the property not of individuals but of social wholes. Sztompka argues that if the rules of trust are shared in a community and are felt to be external to the actor, "then they exert a strong constraining pressure on actual acts of giving or withdrawing trust" (Sztompka 2003: 66). These normative obligations refer both to trust in others and to being and remaining trustworthy and reliable. In this sense, trust can be related to social roles and role expectations; that is, actors can presume that others will behave according to their socially and/or culturally predefined behavioral scripts.

This 'cultural rule' level is especially interesting in the case of CS since it is a hybrid

space that exists both at a virtual and a physical level. Every CS experience starts with online communication, which then can be translated into an offline setting. These settings often have more-or-less predefined roles. One function of roles is that they reduce uncertainty and anxiety in relation to a given situation by clarifying expectations. People expect others to behave and communicate in specific ways, both online and offline. With the CS service, it is easy to see this phenomenon since the host and guest relationship are laden with normative expectations. However, these expectations might differ from culture to culture, which can complicate the interaction for both hosts and guests.

The CS website also defines normative obligations for members so as to help them avoid feelings of awkwardness. These obligations cover safety-related issues like how to behave both online and offline and how and when to trust and distrust. Being aware of cultural differences indicates that two of the most important normative obligations are having respect for others and communicating clearly. Another very important normative obligation is to provide feedback on the website, which is important for the community as a whole. These relatively broad norms show that CS members have the possibility (or even the obligation) to negotiate their respective roles and expectations prior to their offline CS experiences.

It is also interesting to note that the normative obligation to trust may be especially strong in relation to the host or the guest. To balance out these 'traditional' obligations to trust, the CS website explicitly emphasizes in several places that it is 'OK' to distrust others. 'Trust your instincts' is one of first tips which is offered about safety, thus giving permission to members to be distrustful and to reject others if they feel uncomfortable about them. It is also worth mentioning that female surfers travelling solo are especially encouraged by the CS website to stay with other women or their families, and to be clear and firm about their boundaries (CouchSurfing.org 2013). All in all, the CS website defines normative expectations and the boundary conditions of trust and distrust (based on emotions and instincts) in relation to the social roles of being a host or a guest. These normative obligations to trust (or distrust) affect the CS members in particular and the community in general.

After analytically distinguishing between these different aspects of trust, the next section of the paper provides a brief but comprehensive empirical literature review of online trust structured according to this theoretical framework.

Literature about Online Trust and CouchSurfing

Literature about the trust felt in an online environment typically concerns two common encounters: e-commerce marketplaces (where individuals or organizations carry out transactions with each other), and virtual teams (that are, by definition, online communities that have no common past or future, that are culturally diverse

and geographically disperse and that communicate electronically) (Jarvenpaa–Leidner 1999). According to the above definitions, findings about virtual teams are relevant to the study of CS, even though CS cannot be treated as a kind of typical virtual team as it is not designed to form a network of individuals for the purpose of solving a problem or participating in a production process.

As for e-commerce, not all the possible relationships are relevant here; however, the individual (i.e. Consumer-to-Consumer, C2C) buyer-seller nexus can be considered analogous to CS's host-guest relations. These situations are similar since individuals who only have virtual connections with each other at the beginning, and whose positions are asymmetrical, come into contact with each other. Although there are some differences, we refer to empirical research about e-commerce here because its findings about imperfect information, the risk of opportunism and the role of trust can be illuminating from the perspective of CS.

This section reviews literature related to online trust (i.e. the perception and maintenance of trust felt in an online context, and literature that discusses how trust affects e-commerce transactions and the operations of virtual teams) and empirical literature about trust formation and maintenance in CouchSurfing. This review section is structured according to the levels of trust defined by Sztompka.

Online transactions and trust as a personality trait

According to Philip Pettit (2004), 'real' people do not manage to establish trust in one other on the basis of pure internet contact. Although his standpoint has been refuted by reality (the existence of CS is a confutation in itself), it has to be admitted that the online environment requires an extended level of trust from individuals. In the case of ICT-mediated transactions, there is a risk of technical failure as well as malicious attack, thus also the possibility of cheating and fraud (Nissenbaum 2001), and with a lack of personal encounters there comes the increased risk of opportunistic behavior (Jarvenpaa–Tractinsky 1999).

In new situations, just like when participating in e-commerce is novel to a user, people cannot rely on their past experiences. In this initial phase they can rely only on their general disposition to trust (McKnight–Chervany 2002). Research shows that the extent to which e-commerce is novel to a consumer influences their disposition to have interpersonal trust in the vendor (Gefen 2000; McKnight–Chervany 2002). Although this dispositional trust seems to be of major importance in the success of online marketplaces and communities, research usually leaves it out of consideration and pays attention to the other two levels of trust - trust as a quality of relationships and trust as a cultural rule.

Online transactions and trust as a quality of relationships

In an online environment where a human interface is not available, virtual information can be an alternative means of gaining a first impression and can signal the initial level of trust that can be placed in the other party. Research shows that positive online user reviews can significantly increase the business performance of hotels (Ye et al. 2009), and that information about a person's personal identification positively affects the perceived credibility of online reviews (Xie et al. 2011).

Meents and his colleagues (2004) state, however, that virtual C2C transactions are not dyadic but rather triadic in nature because an auction-facilitating organization is also present, besides the two consumers. He refers to McKnight and Chervany (2002), who interpret the internet environment (and thus this third party) as an institution that can offer legal and technological control structures to protect participants' interests. Empirical research shows that in the case of online auction transactions, these institutional structures have a positive influence on trust (Pavlou et al. 2003).

Research also shows that people with a higher level of prior knowledge (past experience, familiarity/expertise) about a destination are less likely to use and place trust in online information (Kerstetter–Cho 2004). Although CS is an online community (it provides information online) it aggregates and publishes details about the prior experiences of its members. Our research is designed to help understand how this online knowledge base of user-generated information affects the trust of individuals and the CS community.

Web-based social networking sites also provide different (in most cases user-generated) trust-guaranteeing structures that can replace traditional strategies of establishing trust. These are third party formal controls (such as endorsement; e.g. Ryan 2004), self-disclosed profiles (Molz 2013), digital photographs (Molz 2013), trust mechanisms that build on conversations (Canfora–Visaggio 2012) or associations among members (Molz 2013), trust mechanisms that build on experiences, attitudes and behavior (e.g. voting mechanisms) and trust dissemination mechanisms (Sherchan et al. 2013). These last four guarantees are also referred to as reputation systems (Molz 2013), or memory traces (Layder 2004).

In the case of CS: (1) public profile information; (2) a voting mechanism (vouching); (3) a third party validation system (verification given by the portal); and, (4) a trust mechanism based on experience in the form of a record of members' activity (feedback) are available.

The first can be called 'personal identity'. This helps with establishing an individual's reputation and trustworthiness within the CS community (Molz 2013) and identifying similarities between users. This has also major importance in our research because, besides reputation (McKnight–Chervany 2002; Zucker 1986), homophily (Ziegler–Golbeck 2006; Golbeck 2009) can also be a basis for trust.

Although the self-disclosed information and the third-party verification seem to be the most basic of CS's trust guarantees, member-driven information may be of more importance. As Meents and his colleagues (2004) also point out, in online reputation systems the judgment of members plays a significant role (Pavlou 2002). With CS, the reputation system consists of vouching and the feedback mechanism. They provide a 'referral network' (Abdul-Rahman–Hailes 2000) within the 'trust community' (Sherchan et al. 2013) of CS at virtually no cost and they help actors to effectively assess other members' trustworthiness in the community, based only on member-generated content.

It is also worth mentioning that the virtual visibility of these memory traces offers the opportunity to sanction members. As Sztompka has argued, rational actors may also assume rationality on behalf of others (Sztompka 2003: 62) and CS members, as rational actors, may also presuppose that each member wants to maintain their use of the service in the future. In order to do so, members will not breach spoken or unspoken, written or unwritten agreements between the host and the guest. However, it is noteworthy that 'sanctioning' through feedback (i.e. giving negative feedback) is very rare in the CS community (Lauterbach et al. 2009), which is in line with experimental results in social-exchange theory (Molm 2001).

Trust as a cultural rule

As cultures increasingly overlap through the internet, individuals have access to a variety of appropriate people and resources for dealing with different situations (O'Regan 2009). The other side of the coin, however, is that working on a global scale has its own disadvantages. Research shows that both e-commerce marketplaces and global virtual teams are challenged by a potential lack of trust (Bradach–Eccles 1989; Mayer et al. 1995). Besides the risk which is derived from a lack of common experience, the potential lack of an anticipated future relationship as well as the participants' cultural and geographical diversity can decrease levels of trust significantly.

The cultural background of members is relevant at another level as well. People from high trust and low trust cultures may cooperate differently online. A study by Jarvenpaa and Leidner (1999) shows that there can be discrepancies between different virtual teams according to their initial and later levels of trust. Teams that reported high levels of trust at the beginning and at the end of the research effort appeared to be more capable of managing uncertainty, complexity and expectations. The authors also provide evidence that communication behaviors can facilitate, maintain and strengthen trust. Moreover, they find that response behavior is as important as initiating behavior and members have to express their commitments, excitement and optimism explicitly in order to achieve a high level of trust.

Not only may the level of initial trust be different, but role expectations might

also differ from culture to culture, which might complicate interaction for both hosts and guests. These difficulties are discussed in several articles (Chen 2012; Bialski 2012; Bushberger 2012).

After summarizing the relevant findings of the pre-existing literature, in the next section of the paper we examine how members of the CS community thematize risks and trust each other and the CS system in general.

Qualitative Research in Hungary

To explore how members perceive and utilize the system, empirical research was conducted in 2012/13 among CS users living in Hungary. Since we were interested in examining a relatively new phenomenon, and our research questions were exploratory in nature, our research design involved qualitative in-depth analysis.

Methodology

25 semi-structured interviews were conducted with CS users, who were selected using the snowball sampling technique. The sample consisted of users of both sexes between the age of 20 and 35 (the most populous age group in the CS community, see the CS statistics[3]) who had had previous encounters with the CS system either as hosts or guests. The sample size was not defined before the research project; instead the research team looked for the point of data saturation after which conducting further interviews would have been redundant. To analyze the transcriptions of the interviews we applied a template approach (Crabtree–Miller 1999), and used NVivo data management software.

Our interviews were comprised of seven sections: introduction and conditions for joining; motivation; general trust; the role of trust from the perspective of the host; the role of trust from the perspective of the guest; exhibiting trustworthiness; and converting online trust offline. For some risk and trust-related questions we utilized research by, and adapted and rephrased interview questions from, Tran LeDieu (LeDieu 2009).

This paper mainly focuses on risk assessment and trust formation. We also reflect on our findings in the light of our expectations which are rooted in our theoretical background, and, in turn, describe the main conclusions of our research and formulate questions for further research.

Research questions

Generating trust and expressing trustworthiness are at the heart of the operation and maintenance of the system. Consequently, our main research

3 https://www.couchsurfing.org/statistics, 2014

questions are related to the perceived risks and the formation and maintenance of trust within CS.

Based on the applied theoretical framework we formulated the following research questions:

Q1: (trust as a personality trait): How do CS members perceive and calculate risks in relation to their CS encounters?

Q2: (trust as a quality of relationship): How do members control risks and how do they use the trust guarantees offered by the system? Which trust guarantee (reference, voucher, verification) plays the most important role in partner selection, and why?

Q3: (trust as a cultural rule): Are there any normative obligations or expectations related to trust within the community?

Findings

Q1: (trust as a personality trait): How do CS members perceive and calculate risks in relation to their CS encounters?

Since prospective hosts and guests have no personal encounters before the act of couchsurfing, their general disposition to trust has importance. Our results show that a high level of trust as a personality trait characterizes the CS community, but this does not mean that the members do not consider the potential risks of their encounters. However, it was surprising that the range of risks considered proved to be very narrow, and that risks were perceived and thematized quite differently from what was expected.

The answers given by the respondents suggest that a high 'trust threshold' is needed to enter the CS community. In other words, trust should play a significant role as a personality trait, and the members' trusting impulses and their attitudes towards losing or regaining personal control are unusual. Our interviewees easily trusted in others based only on an online profile and short email conversation, without having had previous personal encounters with the other parties.

"To sum up, neither I nor any of those people I talked to have had any negative experiences. This is due to the practice that when you accept someone as a guest you have to write about him or her, and s/he writes about you as well. If you read these references about your [prospective] guest, you can immediately decide whether s/he is trustworthy or not. This is the first thing you have to find out, and this can be clearly seen from his or her references…" (Respondent Nr.5, male, 25)

"...I don't know how safe the system is, for me it seems to be safe, and I guess, that this [CS activity] requires a high level of trust from both parties." (Respondent Nr. 16, female, 28)

Moreover, this behavioral pattern was already characteristic of most of our interviewees from the very beginning of their membership of CS. Even those who were a bit skeptical or suspicious at first quickly gained confidence and their feelings of trust, control and security strengthened soon after their first experience. It is important to highlight the fact that Hungary is a relatively low-trust country (Dessewffy–Nagy 2013), especially compared to other European or OECD countries[4]. So the fact that the CS service can operate even in a relatively mistrustful social atmosphere suggests that a strong selection mechanism is at play that favors people with a strong 'trusting impulse'.

As for risk assessment as a method of control, most of the respondents reported that they do not usually estimate risks in advance in a deliberate way, except for with their very first experience. When we asked respondents to estimate the risk, they typically came up with an answer after some hesitation, as if they were surprised by the very question. One of the respondents described the following risk:

"It can happen that a guest is mistreated because they have to be grateful to stay there [with a host]. There are some people who ask you to pay for food, because you eat too... or if you say 'sorry, this is not a good place, I don't feel good', it is harder to say 'I'll go somewhere else', because this can lead to people leaving feedback on your profile that you are irresponsible, although you had good reason to leave." (Respondent Nr. 11, female, 22)

"[As a host you know, that]... smaller or bigger accidents can happen, when things break or spill, but it could also happen that they [the guests] steal everything, and disappear. I have never had such an experience, but it can happen. Or it may just be that the person can be also nasty and you just cannot send him packing." (Respondent Nr. 11, female, 22)

Surprisingly, the most frequently-mentioned risks were not related to personal safety or property damage but the risk of negative feelings and experiences arising from personal incompatibility and the potential awkwardness of a situation. Not getting along with a person can damage someone's emotional security and lead to frustration that affects self-esteem, self-confidence and self-belief. In other words, not being at ease and not being in control in unforeseen situations was one of the main concerns of the respondents.

"I had one experience when my hospitality was misused. I told [to my guests] that I had to leave within the next few days and I needed one or two days before that to sort myself

4 According to an analysis based on Eurobarometer 2004 (Medgyesi–Tóth 2005), the general level of trust in Hungary is below the average of the EU25, but is above the average of new EU countries. If we classified EU countries into three groups based on trust, Hungary would be found in the upper segment of the lowest group.

out and to put my thoughts in order. However, they enjoyed their stay so much, that they overstayed. It had nothing to do with CouchSurfing, but with my personality." (Respondent Nr. 9, male, 22)

"The thing, which is difficult is to adapt to the other person. This also depends on the person you travel to. Since s/he is the one, who does a favour for you, it is obvious, that you try to fit in. I don't know whether there is any risk [concerning CouchSurfing], I don't think there is." (Respondent Nr. 10, female, 21)

In relation to the above findings, from the interviews it seems that being a guest is more risky than being a host because of the degree of control the hosts have in the situation: the guests are visitors in a foreign country with a foreign culture without local knowledge, thus they are relatively defenseless or vulnerable, while the hosts enjoy a 'home turf advantage' and can define the rules in their home. Since they are the ones who are doing a favor for the guests, this dominant regulatory position is mutually accepted. In sum, we can conclude that the effect of cultural diversity on risk assessment is asymmetrical between hosts and guests.

To sum up, it can be argued that members evaluate the risks as low; they do not consider most hypothetical risks to be real (e.g. intentional property damage, stealing, or harmful/criminal acts such as kidnapping). The very concept of risk is thematized mostly as the potential awkwardness that may occur in a social encounter and the giving up of personal control.

Q2: (trust as a quality of relationship): How do members control risks and how do they use the trust guarantees offered by the system? Which trust guarantee (reference, voucher, verification) plays the most important role in partner selection, and why?
Since respondents in general declared that they have high trust both toward each other and toward the CS system, interactions that create interdependence can easily come into existence. Guests and hosts alike become vulnerable in a way (mentally, financially or physically), during the period of their CS interaction, but both parties have the expectation that neither of them will misuse the situation and take advantage of the other party. The following citation illustrates how members attempt to control risks:

"The guest has less risk and more discomfort. In theory it can happen that you apply to stay in a flat owned by Jack the Ripper who attacks you during the night, but there is a minimal chance of this. You, as the guest, have every freedom to leave whenever you want if you don't like the host. There is a risk, of course, in living with a stranger, but if you check him out properly, this is minimal" (Respondent Nr. 2, female 34).

Thus, the situation is the same with CS as with e-commerce and virtual teams where a human interface is not available: virtual information can be the basis for the

initial level of trust. Our interviewees widely relied on the information that could be obtained from profile pages, from personal e-mail conversations and from memory traces left by previous encounters. These online tools assist members to exercise personal control: they help avoid negative experiences and negative emotions by allowing members to select each other as guests and hosts in advance. Some respondents also reported that they trust in their own ability to handle any problems that arise, to manage conflicts or to find an alternative if their accommodation is unsatisfactory. If something does not work out as expected, both the host and the guest have the opportunity to break off the relationship. The guest can search for new accommodation via CS (or other means), while the host can ask the guest to leave her home.

"The risks which you are able to handle yourself and on the Internet, these are manageable. It's interesting, that there are always some risks, you can get hurt, but you can minimize these before your departure."

"These CouchSurfing people are not like this [namby-pamby type of people].... they are smart. If there were something dodgy going on, they would just leave and search for a new place. These aren't strict rules, like if you went there, you must stay there no matter what. If someone starts to get bossy, it is totally cool. If you don't like it [the situation], you can leave." (Respondent Nr. 10, female, 21)

Surprisingly, most of the respondents knew hardly anything about the vouching system and the meaning of verification, and those who did regarded them as being of very little importance. Since the relational aspect of trust emphasizes information-seeking as a way to minimize uncertainty about another's future actions, it is very surprising that people really did not know about these mechanisms or did not avail themselves of key pieces of information offered to them that could help them to assess risk and indicate whether they could trust others.

It may be assumed that CS members' lack of knowledge about vouching and verification (although they are introduced and presented on the website in great depth) is due to the low demand for these forms of trust guarantees. Thus, although CS as an institution offers third party control over its membership (verification), it does not play the important role that we might expect. Even those who take these verification procedures into account during partner selection regard them as extra elements that have no real impact on their decisions (they merely serve to strengthen trust which has already been given in advance). This also indicates that general trust in the community as a whole is more important than any of the safety mechanisms taken separately.

Moreover, trust in the community is not necessarily abstract or theoretical. Being part of a 'trusting community' can in itself generate positive attachments.

The following citation shows that these kinds of emotions play a crucial role in trust formation:

"...people need to help and trust each other. Today, people miss human relations so much, and fear for themselves, human relations have disappeared. CouchSurfing gives this back and offers hope that they [positive relationships] do exist, you just have to find them. This is why it is so good that there are these references, and if you check the profile, you feel that this is good. Maybe I was just lucky, because I have had no negative experiences, but I consider it [CouchSurfing] safe." (Respondent Nr. 3, female, 33)

Out of the three safety mechanisms; vouching, verification and references, the last one seems to be regarded as being most valuable. Besides references, members also study general profile information deeply. Yet many respondents emphasized that, since references are usually positive (people refrain from giving negative feedback to others, see earlier), general profile information is the main basis for partner selection.

At this point several questions arise regarding how members are able to give their trust to others if safety features seem to play only a supplementary role, how this trust is formed, and what kind of role emotions play in this process of trust giving. We now attempt to give tentative answers to these questions based on our findings.

Our research revealed that trust proves to be poorly differentiated within the community. Based on the answers we received and analyzed, we can state that unverified members, those members who have not been vouched for, and those who have fewer references, are not awarded significantly less trust. Since references are very similar to each other in terms of trust, successful encounters and the positive emotions generated by them are of less importance from the perspective of trust on an individual level than on a system level. These emotions help members to trust each other, but they help even more to generate trust in the community in general, creating a self-enhancing dynamic of trust.

"If I read the profile I don't try to gauge how trusting or honest but how likeable the other is. In a profile the references contain information concerning his or her trustworthiness. What you can [really] grasp from the profile is what kind of orientation s/he has to life... I can trust more in someone who I like as a person, and this is the decisive factor." (Respondent Nr. 10, female, 21)

"People try to leave positive references even if those few days [spent together] weren't 100% perfect... [You take the risk that] your personality doesn't fit your guest's, and you cannot stand each other. Fortunately, I haven't had a situation like this. It can also happen that someone has a difficult personality and cannot establish a relationship from the beginning.

It is dangerous if you don't get along with each other, and you have to spend a week together - this can be uncomfortable." (Respondent Nr. 3, female, 33)

Unlike vouching or verification, detailed user profile information has major importance from the perspective of trust and partner selection. While the 'vouching' remains typically unnoticed, and references are mostly positive according to our interviewees, the voluntarily-provided profile information and the personal e-mails that are exchanged contain many features that generate different impressions or emotions. These emotions were called 'intuition' by one respondent, and the interviews show that members do not hesitate to base their decisions upon them during the selection process:

"You get the feeling from their letters that they won't do anything bad. I am very intuitive (...) it has never really happened. I got one or two guests with whom I had nothing in common; it's normal. But this is not about trust." (Respondent Nr. 1, female, 32)

Q3: (trust as a cultural rule): Are there any normative obligations or expectations related to trust within the community?

Within CS, trust is mostly based on published information. Based on the respondents' answers we can state that providing profile information and providing feedback after transactions take place are the main tools for promoting and maintaining trust, and these activities can be considered normative obligations within the community. Members are expected to create a detailed profile page (which relates to their own trustworthiness) and write references after their experiences (about their partner's trustworthiness). Since these pieces of information are essential not only in shaping peer-to-peer trust, but general trust, this normative obligation seems very well-founded at the system level.

"I don't like it if someone does not upload pictures or did not finish filling in his or her profile. I don't like this. I like it when there is information." (Respondent Nr. 9, male, 22)

"It is important indeed to have a well-made profile. Normally. Because of course if the town and the country is indicated, and it is stated if s/he speaks English.... [but] these are still not enough. Pictures, interests [are needed to be there too]." (Respondent Nr. 12, female, 22)

One respondent pointed out that a precise, well-written profile page says more about its owner than the knowledge that can be gained after a longer friendship. What follows from this observation is that instead of vouching or verifications, voluntarily-shared personal information plays an important role. The amount of information shared with the community and the strength of attraction felt by others may be related to each other.

Additionally, the type of information can also matter here. One interviewee, for instance, mentioned that he prefers to see members' full names as user names

instead of nicknames, and some photos about members in different contexts can also foster positive emotions and, in turn, trust. Profiles which lack information or photos can result in a lower level of trust being given in advance and result in a smaller chance of building connections.

Besides profile information, email conversations were mentioned as the most popular source of trust. While in the case of profiles the volume of information seems to be critical, with email communication normative expectations are more stylistic. An open-minded, cheerful email generates positive emotions with a higher likelihood of reply, while an uncommunicative, impersonal, template-like or 'sullen' email is usually not welcomed. Based on our interviews we can state that here it is not the content itself but the style of communication that matters. The way one phrases his wishes and preferences regarding accommodation or opinions can generate positive emotions, like feelings of attraction. These preferred stylistic features of virtual communication can differ from culture to culture; however, investigating this topic exceeds the limits of this study. Hosts expect prospective guests to send personal emails which are personally addressed to them based on their profile information.

"Those, who write mail like this: 'hi', and not even able to write down your name, their messages are immediately thrown into trash." (Respondent Nr. 5, male, 25)

In other words, there is a normative obligation in the CS community that people should seek to create common experiences and quality shared time based on similar interests, values or philosophies. Consequently, people who 'only' attempt to find a place to stay by sending several impersonal emails to potential hosts are sanctioned by the community.

What we can state based on the interviews is that positive emotions and trust are closely related. When we asked members about trust they often answered by referencing other emotions like feelings of empathy or friendship, or in terms of group-belonging. This supports the notion of the importance of virtual self-representation that is shown by members' profile pages. The answers we collected reflect the fact that emotions are more important than rational calculation. During the phase of personal encounters a feeling of greater trust was usually described as 'talking a lot with each other' and 'becoming friends'. Evidence of the existence of homophilic preferences during partner selection can also be inferred from our respondents. Homophily seems to have a strong impact with regard to personal interests and age, while cultural diversity might be referred to as a preference.

Discussion and Limitations

As a community-based, non-monetary alternative to the traditional hospitality market, CouchSurfing offers many lessons in connection with hospitality-related

risk assessment and trust formation. First of all, the biggest perceived risk of couchsurfing is not physical or material but emotional. Travelling always means having some sort of emotional experience, and, surprisingly, the relatively higher probability of minor situational inconveniences is considered more disturbing to individual CS members than the (relatively smaller) risk of suffering serious physical or material damage. Secondly, the trust guarantees offered by the system contribute to trust formation much less than communication among members does. It is also characteristic that, within online communities like CS, the provision of user-generated personal information is of greater importance than any impersonal third party guarantees. Thirdly, the self-representation of individuals is of key significance within the community in terms of trust formation. Those members who consciously make more effort to enhance their self-representation may be more popular because they prove to be more trustworthy. Here the quality and the quantity of shared information both matter. Finally, our research shows that virtual trust communities such as CS can only work if there is a strong normative obligation towards members to share certain information with the community, and to have a particular mindset and set of values as far as travelling is concerned.

In summary, we can state that, within CS, trust depends on the perceived risk, on the shared personal information of the members and on information provided by the system. As far as risk assessment and trust formation are concerned, members rely on shared personal profile information much more than any system-based information or safety mechanisms 'wired into' the network.

However, it is also possible to question the interpretation of the findings in this paper and offer an alternative explication. As David and Pinch (2008) show, reputation systems can be easily abused for financial gains or to earn a higher position in a social ranking system. So it is also possible that users are aware that references cannot be totally trusted since they can be manufactured artifically or that people very rarely give each other negative ratings in public ranking systems (Molm 2001). In a similar manner, 'vouching' can also be misused in order to seem trustworthy without being so. Consequently, it is possible that CS users turn to public profiles as a genuine source of information since all other trust mechanisms can be manipulated.

Although, this exploratory research project cannot decisively refute this alternative explanation, the authors of this paper do not consider this type of interpretation valid. There are several reasons for this.

It can be claimed that it is much easier to abuse personal profile information (or play a role in emails) to gain the confidence of others than to trick the safety mechanisms of the CS system. So if users were truly rational decision-makers concerning CS data, they should also have their doubts about information on personal profiles or written in emails.

Moreover, since verification of one's identity requires a personal bank card, it is a much more trustworthy safety mechanism than other trust gurantees (references,

vouching). If users wanted information they should rely on, they should have utilized information on verification more often compared to other safety mechanisms or other personalized data. This is not the case according to the findings of this paper.

Lastly, if users ignored some sources of information because they are unreliable that would have been the result of a concious decision-making process assessing the relability of different sources. The answers in the interviews demonstrated that users are seriously underinformed about safety mechanisms offered by the Couchsurfing system in general. They rely on personal information because this provides them much more meaningful information than those data which allow for a more rational decision-making path.

While this qualitative research project was designed to provide deeper insight into the problem of trust within CS, it also has some limitations. First of all, the research context involves a single large Eastern European city: Budapest. Although not all the respondents were Hungarian, using a different sample that has a different cultural composition might lead to different findings. Whether or not the results are generalizable to the whole CS community requires further investigation. Extended, international comparative research would make intercultural comparison possible.

Secondly, although this qualitative study provides deeper insight into the research questions, quantitative large scale research could enhance the validity of our findings.

Thirdly, the results of this research leave us unable to draw conclusions about the dynamics of trust, to understand how trust or distrust diffuses within the community or to know whether there are characteristics of the network that influence the diffusion of trust significantly. These questions might be answered using social network analysis methodologies and agent-based simulations.

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Narrative Stimulating Cubes

A Qualitative Method for Analyzing the Nature of Democratic Culture among Hungarian Students[1]

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ABSTRACT: Several recent studies on youth culture have demonstrated the low participation and political radicalization of young adults. In an attempt to understand whether apathy, love of comfort or inactivity lies behind the low participation of young adults, the Campus-life project (http://campuslet.unideb.hu) aimed to identify factors that structure and organize students' lives beyond the formal agents of civic socialization. Within this framework this paper seeks to reveal the relationship between public values and forms of collective action in two halls of residence at the University of Debrecen. In order to explore the forms of civic and political activities at the university a mixed method with the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was employed. This paper, however, focuses its attention only on a specific projective technique used as a story trigger and presents an analysis of forty (4 semi-structured, 26 group and 10 narrative) interviews. The argument advanced in this paper is in accordance with Utasi's findings that pointed to a process of the individualization of private communities in parallel with growing institutional individualization. This process can be characterized by the fact that, under the circumstances of increasing institutional dependency and control, individuals paradoxically avoid integrating into macro groups and advocate for career opportunities. This new form of generational orientation leads to new forms of civic and political involvement.

KEYWORDS: participation, civic education, higher education, qualitative interview techniques

Introduction

Apart from active but small groups of radical actors,[2] Hungarian young adults (between the ages of 18-29) are lost between the plurality of social life-worlds and political subsystems, with one of the lowest participation rates in Europe. The European Social Surveys (2004, 2006, 2008) and Hungarian national youth surveys (Ifjúság 2000, 2004, 2008; Bauer–Szabó 2005, 2009, 2011; Laki–Szabó–Bauer 2001) revealed that the low level of political activity and affinity measured during the East European political transition in 1989 has further decreased among young Hungarian adults (Szabó–Keil 2011a; Szabó–Örkény 1998). It is known in the

1 Words of thanks and appreciation are owed to Prof. Ian Grosvenor, Prof. Ildikó Szabó and Dr. Béla Marián. Without their generous contribution this article would never have been completed.

2 Several recent studies about youth culture have demonstrated the political radicalization of young adults (Lánczi 2011; Bartlett–Birdwell–Krekó–Benfield–Győri 2012; Bustikova–Kitschelt 2009, 2011).

light of previous research (Utasi 2008; Szabó 2009) that young adults are neither motivated to identify themselves with formal communities nor readily participate in them. Apart from a small group of radical actors, young adults in Hungary have no voice and visibility in the political arena. They cannot be considered part of the political society. This process has lead to the ongoing deficit in the legitimacy of the political system and to mistrust at an institutional and personal level. It partly points to the dysfunctional operation of political and civic socialization and also reflects the nature of the current democratic culture in which the public sphere is seen to be a remote, untouchable realm.

However, there is a slight and promising rise in some forms of political activity in a certain age group (20-29) (ESS 2010). Traditional forms of political activity are gradually becoming less acceptable, whereas case-driven civic activities are gaining more and more in popularity (Verba et al. 1995; Dalton 2008; Inglehart 1997; Norris 2002; Klingemann–Fuchs 1995; Pattie et al. 2004; Kriesi 2008; Jancsák 2009). These trends in patterns of activity can hardly be explained by political apathy or disappointment (Zukin–Keeter–Andolin–Jenkins 2006: 118-189; Szabó–Oross 2012: 66) any more. This interpretation appears to be unconvincingly simplistic.

There is a wide range of evidence that suggests that the public sphere – and the actions taking place within it – cannot be considered only as a scene of communication with definite aims and contents. The private and the public may no longer be conceived of as distinct and comprehensive frameworks of social practice. Habermas's classical concept of publicity (1962) was vociferously criticized from normative (Peters 2007; Fraser 1990) as well as from communicative aspects (Curran 2007; Heller–Rényi 2000). Sennett's illuminating work (1998) drew attention to the paradox of the public realm in late modernity. He argues that there are two contradictory processes underway. As the private man leaves the public arena, personality paradoxically gains more and more relevance in civic and political participation and the themes and legitimacy of the public sphere are primarily valued through the expectations of the private realm. The public is understood through the lens of the private. As a result, a private/public distinction gains an action theoretical, strategic relevance (Heller–Rényi 2000, Császár 2011). The public sphere is increasingly considered to be a continuously altering strategic space in which collective action is only understandable from multiple perspectives.

The dichotomy of the private and the public is one of the most fundamental and constitutive ordering principles in institutional order, as well as in the practice and experience of the spatial organization of modern social life. The alteration of the private and the public are intertwined, since one discursively constructs the other. The rise of privacy, with its rich information learning and technical capacity, has a definite educational relevance. Therefore, without careful consideration of the newly-prominent private realm and the relation of the private to the public, it is impossible to understand the shape and the formation of the public realm within

student communities. As a result, political and civic behaviour is considered in this paper to be action in this ever-changing strategic field which involves civic and political engagement, but also participation in communities.

After the political transition in a country with definite collectivist priorities there was an elementary need to redefine private and public boundaries and rebuild existing models of civic and political socialization. After the political transition a perceptible vacuum emerged as formal agents (schools, civil societies) played less and less role in civic and political socialization. The impact of informal agents in this vacuum (political actors, media, and peers) is of paramount importance and therefore the current model of political socialization is fragmented. Szabó (2010) reminds us that there exists no comprehensive youth policy which could create a consensus about civic identity and deliver unified patterns of social practices.

The very fact that from 2009-2013 there were five independent research projects which were devoted to the analysis of civic and political activities of Hungarian young adults shows the relevance of the problem. Studies significant to our concerns here can be divided into two strands of research. The first strand of research was only concerned with political behaviour, whereas the other strand employed a wider conceptual framework. Each of these research projects is now briefly summarized:

1. The *Active Young Adult* research project proposed to reveal the socio-economic background variables of active young adults,[3] specifically of those who identify themselves with extreme right or left ideologies. The project maintained that some forms of activism – left radicalism (called 'critical mass generation'), for instance, – are easily correlated with socio-economic background variables. Active neo-nationalists, however, cannot be described through pointing to the features of a specific social stratum (Róna–Sőrés 2012). The popularity of these forms of activity is certainly growing beyond social classes. In light of the data, the involvement of Hungarian young adults also cannot be associated with objective or subjective deprivation (Rydgren 2007; Tóth–Grjaczár 2011). Szabó and Keil have even argued that the political transition has become endangered and stuck by the process of social integration. They emphasize that the indifference and passivity they identified was associated with cautious resistance rather than apathy. Analyzing democratic political participation opens up the question whether young adults are indeed indifferent or whether they are simply choosing new forms of engagement instead of the discredited classical forms of activities.
2. This is the starting point of the analysis of Feischmidt (2013) and her colleagues. Feischmidt has provided further evidence about the insufficiency of previous explanations concerning the activism of neo-nationalists. In the light of her findings, radical notions and forms of activity can be considered

3 http://aktivfiatalok.hu/

to be a kind of reaction to the material and cultural repression apparent in the neoliberal era (Holmes 2000; Kalb 2011; Minkenberg 2000).This approach relies on the consideration that new forms of exclusion caused by the structural deficits of new capitalism have appeared. Under the circumstances of collective frustration due to an unstable political and financial situation, the need for supremacy and personal and collective self-esteem is growing. As a consequence, – Fischmidt suggests – there has been a communitarian-traditional turn in the value systems of young adults. Rightwing, radical young adults refuse to participate in enjoyment-oriented and consumption-based free time activities. Active community involvement, commitment and intensive political affinity and activity seem to be perceived as a kind of revolt among them. The legitimacy of personal and collective supremacy is based on heroic and historical discourses in which identification of enemies and strangers plays a decisive role.

3. The *My Place* research project is policy-based and being conducted in 14 European countries. The project is designed to uncover the nature of political and civic engagement in different European countries.[4] This project stresses the significance of the culture of remembrance in civic and political involvement and attempts to understand new forms of participation, the democratic articulation of needs, xenophobia and radicalism.
4. The *Community Involvement as a Renewal of Democracy 2008-2012* research project led by Utasi (2011, 2013) has challenged previous concerns and shifted the emphasis within the concept of participation beyond political behaviour towards civic and community involvement.[5] This entailed establishing a new perspective about the concept of participation. Private communities were analyzed as if they were a kind of societal 'laboratory' of democratic culture, the smallest units of democratic public life. Using quantitative data this research group uncovered the motivation, means, frequency and outcomes of activities which took place within interpretative private communities. Specific attention was given to the mechanisms by which social constructs and behavioral patterns are created in private communities. The project members also expressed some concerns about what roles the articulation of needs, democratic attitudes and communicative rationality play in private communities.

   Analysis of the evolutionary units of democratic culture pointed to the fact that 22.5% of the entire population are not members of any private communities and a further 22.9% belong to only one such community. One

4 www.fp7-myplace.eu

5 http://nyilvanos.otka-palyazat.hu/index.php?menuid=930&num=73034&lang=HU. MTA Politikatudományi Intézet – Szegedi Tudományegyetem. N=1051.

third of the population live outside of a stable relationship, one fifth do not expect help from anybody and 3% do not share public opinions even among family members. Life in private communities, however, appeared to be notably more intensive. Members frequently share their time and ideas and the level of solidarity also proved to be high. Yet, most of the communities analyzed cannot be considered multicultural, multilocal or multicronal. In light of the data, Utasi declares that private communities function as status homogenous 'playgrounds'. They are informal, non-supervised spaces and their members ignore societal hierarchy in an attempt to create equal circumstances. They play as if they were all equal in rank. 75% of the respondents considered that their friends were of higher social status. 78% identified 'common views' to be the most relevant feature of their private communities. Access to these 'playgrounds', however, is characterized by a marked inequity.

After analyzing the role of communicative rationality in interpretative communities, Sik (2011) contends that communicative rationality (measured by altruism, tolerance and involvement in communication) has an intermittent impact on political and civic activities. It affects activity patterns through demographic and network parameters. Sík maintains that public engagement is more probable if educational achievements are high, income is average, age is not too advanced and if there are first-hand experiences with democracy. He also argues that civic and political participation fundamentally differ, since the political affinity and activity of people engaged with civic activities is notably low. Civic activity is primarily determined by the educational background, whereas political activity depends on gender and urban status. In conclusion, research findings concerning community involvement have demonstrated that private communities, with their intensive communication and homogenous nature – as a community of practice –, have a decisive effect on forms of civic and political activities.

4. While many rely on macro perspectives in their account of how institutions shape political behaviour and connectivity in a community, the micro level processes at work frequently receive insufficient attention in Eastern Europe. Social scientists have rarely looked at how the seemingly irrelevant micro processes of the evolution of democratic culture lead to significant outcomes among young adults in Hungary. The *Campus-life* research project was therefore launched to deepen the investigation into democratic processes in youth culture at the University of Debrecen.[6] The project was designed to explain how the changing forms of connectivity and privacy contribute to civic education. Specifically, Campus-life research focused on the agents

6 Campus-lét http://campuslet.unideb.hu/OTKA 81858, Project leader: Prof. Dr. Szabó Ildikó, Department of Social Politics and Sociology, University of Debrecen

of informal socialization that structure and organize students' behaviour beyond their academic duties. [7]

Within the framework of the *Campus-life* project this analysis sought to uncover patterns of collective action in the student houses at the University of Debrecen. Consistent with the above-mentioned two strands of research, it aims to address the question whether *forms* of participation can be identified in relation to students' socio-economic status or whether participation is predominantly determined by patterns and meaning complexes as perceived in private communities. In advocating for a deeper understanding of the low political and civic participation among young adults, the paper offers insights into the complex relationship between students' perceptions of the public realm and the forms of activities which they consider engaging in. The process of the translation of public values into collective action is at the core of the analysis. The argument is organized around three interrelated questions: 1.) What characterizes students' political and civic involvement in student houses at the University of Debrecen; 2.) How is the private and public realm articulated and interrelated?; and, 3.) What does active involvement mean from the students' perspective?

Research Field

The determining role of the private (with its rich information and technical capacity in comparison to the public) affects the combination of cultural elements that can lead to the different forms of political and civic behaviour. Therefore the private rooms of student houses appeared to be an ideal place to ask about the students' private and public notions and activities.

Before the political transition, student houses attracted close attention as scenes of institutional control exercised over students' privacy. Several studies have highlighted the value preferences (Szentirmai 1972), the life styles (Diczházi 1987) and the time consumption habits (Falussy 1984; Falussy et al. 1991) of students living in student houses at that time. In the last two decades, however, under the circumstances of regular financial cutbacks, cultural and political self-governance within student houses has received less and less attention, financial support and publicity. While education has long been recognized as a function of student houses, the research focus in this field has shifted to the integration of educational expectations into an operation which also has definite business, service and management roles (Gábor 2006, Dénes 1995).

This paper neither seeks to contribute to the numerous institutional analyses carried out after the political transition, nor to offer insight into the integrative functions of student houses at the University of Debrecen. The primary contribution

7 Special attention has been paid to students in the field of political socialization since the political affinity and activity of young adults (with their higher educational achievements and predominantly urban backgrounds) has been proven to be higher. They are also the most affected by Western European trends.

of this study lies in the fact that it considers student houses as semi-private spaces where the private/public distinction is discernible. Private and public spaces in student houses – as states within a state – reflect students' attitudes towards institutional order and the public sphere. This research field offered researchers the opportunity to detect evolutionary processes of democratic culture in the micro spaces of students' institutional private lives. It also made it possible to uncover what implications the spatial and communicative signifying practices of the private/public distinction carry for civic and political behaviour.

At the University of Debrecen there are eighteen student houses with 4754 places for students. The dramatic change in the field of student housing can be illustrated by the fact that, out of 4754 places, 3128 were built or rebuilt in the last two decades by different private/public funding constructions. Some institutions are still owned and run by the university while others are run by private firms. As a consequence, there are contrasting managerial styles and objectives. Community initiatives and the preferred level of institutional control also differ. In an effort to reflect this institutional diversity the research for this paper was carried out in the private rooms of two student houses – the Campus Hotel[8] and the Veress Péter Kollégium.[9] These accommodation blocks are very similar in size but have contrasting managerial objectives and civic/political culture. After sufficient consideration the underlying assumptions which led to these institutions being chosen were the following: a) their community initiatives[10]; b) their intention to be a hotel or home (Douglas 1991); and, c) their notions about the satisfactory level of surveillance technology (McGrath 2004).

The Campus Hotel, built in 2006 through a public-private funding construction, is owned by the University and run by Hunép Universal Zrt. The market-oriented operational body of Campus Hotel has contractually disclaimed any educational role. Students do not actively take part in the operations of the hotel and practically cannot shape their own living environments, especially not their own public spaces. The institution offers its services to 906 students (42 foreign students) from every kind of faculty. The Campus Hotel has 424 rooms in two buildings (A and B) on four flours. Visible public life mainly follows the smokers who occupy marginal spaces (balconies and entrances) in accordance with the changing regulations. Invisibly, however, public life takes place in B building's private kitchens.

In contrast, the Veress Péter dormitory and student hostel (built in 1964) enjoys relative independence in the structure of the university as an interfaculty unit. It is dedicated to the socialization and integration of students who are the first members of their families to attend university. The management of Veress Péter Kollégium has launched a great number of initiatives to enhance the sense of community, offering free

8 http://www.campushotel.hu

9 http://portal.agr.unideb.hu/kollegiumok/arany/koszonto/veres_peter_kollegium.html)

10 This feature was chosen in accordance with the Connected Communities research project at the University of Birmingham: http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/research/activity/education/connecting-communities/index.aspx

access to equipment (e.g. table tennis tables, bicycles) and to events (film clubs, mental hygiene seminars, etc.). A lower level of service is offered at lower price to 512 students (3 foreign students) of the faculty of agriculture. The university owns and runs this house and a democratically-elected student house committee helps with its operation. The Veress Péter Kollégium contains 126 four-bedrooms and eight two-bedrooms on six floors. The building has been under permanent reconstruction over the last six years. New rules and regulations follow the reconstructed areas. Although stricter rules have been established in the reconstructed parts, students tend to creatively reconstruct their environments, or occupy their own private spaces in the non- reconstructed area.

Finally, the two institutions have differing attitudes about the satisfactory level of personal security and social freedom. As a result, the proportion of both open and hidden mechanisms of control within the institutions is dissimilar and written formal regulations and their implementation in everyday practice contrast with each other. Although the list of regulations is long and detailed in each student house, students are forced to comply by the *faceless power of service* at the Campus Hotel and by *managerial maternal goodwill* at the Veress Péter Kollégium. In the Campus Hotel control is apparent on two different levels; the increasing proportion of spaces that are under surveillance and the actual presence of security guards. Surprisingly, even places with specific public functions (laundries, kitchens, studies) have become transitory, interstitial spaces because of the presence of surveillance.[11] At the Veress Péter Kollégium, however, institutional respect for privacy is evident. Bodyguards are only present at the electronic gate at the entrance to check students' identity and cameras are installed only on each corridor.

Methodology

In order to answer the question what implications socio-economic status, value profile or community commitments have for civic and political behaviour, mixed methods were used with a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches. First, the Campus-life database[12] was analyzed in order to see whether forms of civic and political activities are associated with socio-economic background variables, activity structure or value profile. In the light of the quantitative data, as I have argued elsewhere, the explanatory power of socio-economic background variables, activity structure or value profile cannot sufficiently explain forms of civic or political activities involving right or left radicalism. (Pataki 2012).

The quantitative analysis of the students who lived in student houses, however, revealed a paradoxical phenomenon. Students can be characterized by their

11 In the Campus Hotel all corridors, entrances and public places (including the laundry and TV room) are controlled by video cameras. Security staff are always present in public spaces; even in kitchens or study areas.

12 Data for this study were taken from the 2010 Campus life database (www.campuslet.unideb.hu) which was designed to record the nature and the influence of group cultures on civic and professional socialization. It was an on-line survey connected to the administrative systems of universities. For the University of Debrecen the sample size was 4828. The samples in the survey were appropriately weighted in terms of faculties to correct for their disproportionate selection.

multilevel institutional dependency and at the same time by cultural independency and cautious self-management. Firstly, there is a strong familial dependency. Two thirds of students who live in student houses go home at least once a week to eat and have a rest, but they are less likely to nurture their close relations. Secondly, students in student houses are significantly more eager to meet the social, financial and academic expectations of the University of Debrecen than their peers. Even if they find these expectations stressful. Thirdly, their dependency on the entertainment industry is also evident. Unlike their peers, they more often go to parties and are less likely to spend their time in small places of entertainment such as cafes or restaurants. In contrast to their institutional dependency, students were very cautious about their cultural independency and self-management. Their cultural independency was reflected in their family-centered, profession and career-oriented value profile in which a constant reflection on self-biography was prevalent.

Previous understandings of patterns of activities which rested on explanations of socio-economic status or value profile seem to compete poorly with the power of community-related interpretations (Wenger 1998; Pusztai 2011). Analysis of activity patterns and world concepts that have evolved in private communities appears to be crucial to determining students' involvement in public matters.

This consideration led to the analysis of the role of interpretative private communities as communities of practice in civic and political involvement. The level of students' integration into formal and informal communities was uncovered by means of quantitative as well as qualitative approaches. This analysis of social integrity revealed that the students' low level of commitment towards formal or informal communities lies in their physical inactivity, their entertainment habits, the high frequency that they visit home and their strong desire to meet social, financial and academic expectations. After the analysis of students' integration into their social environment was complete, qualitative methods were used to highlight the way activity patterns were constructed in interpretative communities. Within this framework specific attention was paid to the complex relationship between students' perceptions of the public realm and the forms of actions thought reasonable in this public environment. Initially, a massive culture of silence prevailed regarding the utterance of public opinions; however, the use of 'triggers' (story cubes, mental-mapping, cards) in interviews helped to guide students to the verbal visual level where they could comfortably express their public notions.

This paper focuses on only one particular projective method, the use of story cubes, which appeared to be immensely productive when applied to recognizing hidden structures in activity patterns. The paper presents data gained using this technique in forty interviews (26 group interviews, 10 narrative interviews and 4 semi structured interviews) between January and June 2012.[13]

13 Interviews were audio-taped and securely stored in our project databank.

Methodological problems

It became clear at the beginning of the interview process that particular themes triggered specific strategies for hiding the real nature of existing ideas. The communicative professionalism my interviewees demonstrated was fascinating. By changing the private or public character of spaces, themes or situations, students were able to protect their opinions in an interview situation. They seemingly answered questions but at the same time did not impart information. In addition, students used mobile boundary setting practices to obscure boundaries and create cognitive and behavioral ambivalence about situations. They aimed to orient themselves about fluid, unfixed norms in this way. As a result, they could hide their identity using various forms of symbolic insignia. The dislocation of private/public boundaries proved to also be useful in setting the agenda and controlling the communicative action. As a consequence, they could stay in their private sphere, even in an interview situation, and did not have to face their civic responsibilities. These strategies helped them to mask their lack of knowledge and even their communicative incapability to rationally and not emotionally support their arguments.

To address these difficulties and overcome the boundaries of verbal communication the use of *narrative stimulating story cubes* was developed.[14] By guiding the communication to a verbal-visual communicative level, students readily discussed their memories and find their comfortable place within a formal interview situation. It is worth noting here that there is no indication in the research literature that story cubes have thus far been deployed in social sciences.[15] It proved to be a fruitful device for revealing hidden structures and patterns of action by triggering associations, projections and stories in formal interview situations.

In addition to using story cubes, spatial and visual triggers were employed. Mental mapping, cards and story cubes were applied as project techniques in each group interview[16] or after narrative interviews.[17] Mental mapping[18] helped to identify actual public spaces in student houses; cards[19] which illustrated a list of social problems made it possible to solicit further

14 For the conceptualization and the development of the methodology I owe great thanks to Prof. Ildikó Szabó and Dr. Béla Marián.

15 Projective techniques in political socialization have rarely been applied in research in Hungary (Csepeli–Szabó 1984) Projective techniques in social sciences, however, are widely deployed (Vicsek 2006; Siklaki 2011).

16 Group interviews were conducted among roommates of the above-mentioned two student houses at the University of Debrecen. The main concern during the selection of my respondents was to highlight the role of interpretative communities in student participation. In a randomly-selected first room students were asked to identify peers with whom they shared their free time and private sphere and public notions. The next room was selected on the basis of these strongest ties. In this way I expected to determine private communities and friendships. One important consideration in the use of such a 'community based' study is that it supports the identification of those cultural practices (stories, identities, etc.) that fixate private communities and create the basis of collective actions. After gaining data concerning private communities I was interested in identifying students who lived in relative isolation. Key informers from the operational body helped me to find isolated students.

17 If someone was either too furtive or 'too informative' during group interviews the narrative interview appeared to be appropriate for obtaining reliable data. Through the analysis of biographies, students' own logical reasoning in terms of the private/public distinction became apparent.

18 In order to establish in detail the role of private/public boundary setting in space construction, students were asked to introduce, sketch and narrate places in the student house. The construction of meaning and symbols were recorded and coded. The order of the objects introduced by the interviewees and the drawing techniques were analysed.

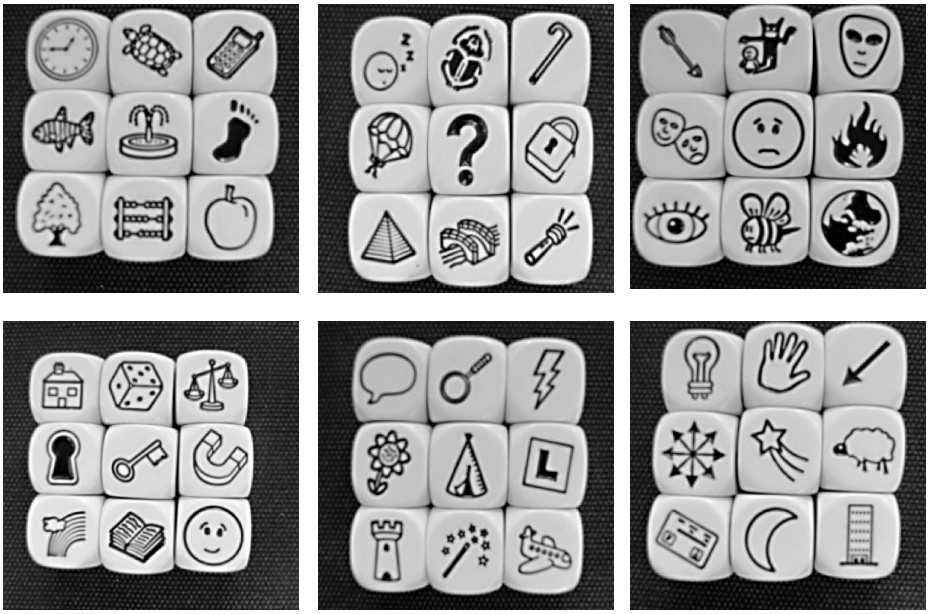
19 Respondents were presented with a list of social problems and were then asked to rate their severity using a scale. The soliciting question that was employed was: "If you were a prime minister, which would be the hottest problem to solve?"

activity patterns not triggered by the other two methods. Finally, story cubes allowed us to map primary and secondary meaning complexes associated with the public sphere.

Narrative-stimulating story cubes

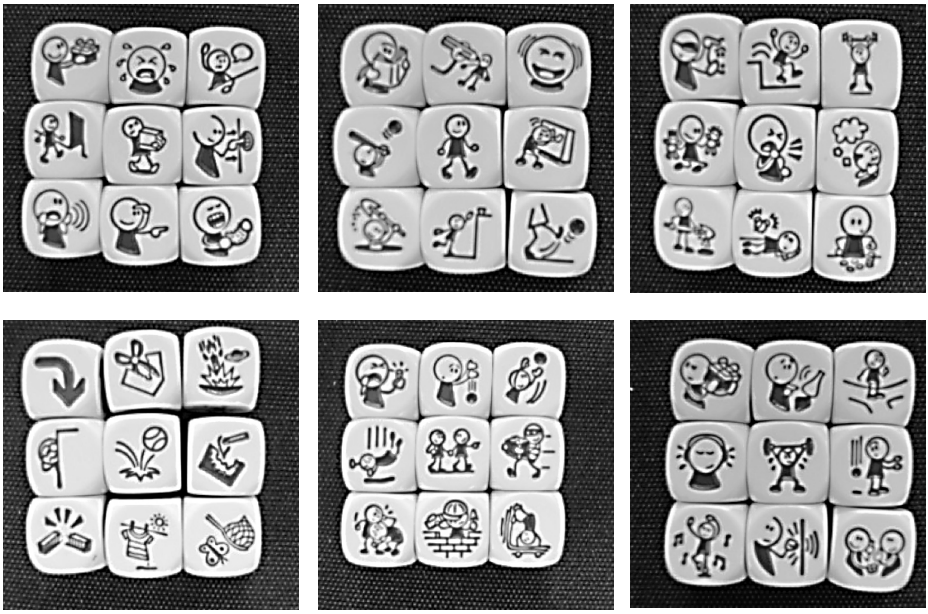
The story cube is a product of an Irish toy company[20] that was developed to foster the linguistic development of children. There are eighteen cubes. There are common symbols, signs and objects on nine cubes, and the other nine cubes depict human activities. All in all, respondents were presented with a combination of 108 pictograms (2x54=108). The typology of the pictograms is illustrated in the photo illustrations 1 and 2.

Illustration 1.: *Symbols, signs, objects*



20 Rory's story cubes. http://www.storycubes.com. 73 Rushfield Avenue, Belfast, BT7 3FQ, Northern Ireland,

Illustration 2.: *Activities*



In an effort to identify public topics that students were engaged with, respondents were asked to throw all the cubes. After looking at the pictograms visible on the top of each cube, respondents were asked to describe their view of Hungarian public life. If the focus changed, the soliciting question was re-presented: "What do you think of Hungarian public life?"[21]

Methodological advantages and disadvantages

One of the strongest arguments for applying this method is that it offers a comfortable interview situation in which thoughts can be encouraged and provoked without structured questions. It gives various opportunities to play with self-representation and to find a comfortable position in an interview situation. It guides students to the verbal-visual communicative level where they can comfortably express their public notions. It also gives the opportunity to present communicative professionalism, from double meanings to fictions. In addition to this, the logic of the game itself makes it more difficult to employ strategies to avoid communication. It is hard to recognize pictograms then delineate thoughts in associative sequences and control the situation. On the other hand, there were some disadvantages during the phase of data processing. Some strength of the method can also be considered weakness. The method is not appropriate for invoking intimate identification since it foster expressing public notions without identification. The story cubes mostly triggered normative associations and stereotypes which were deepened when combined with other interview techniques. One other important

21 Consistent with previous research I cautiously avoided mentioning politics in the soliciting question since it gained definite pejorative associations after the political transition (Szabó–Örkény 1998; Szabó 2009; Laki–Szabó–Bauer 2001; Jancsák 2009).

consideration is that figural pictograms notably more frequently evoked associations than the pictograms with their abstract symbols. Therefore the method itself fosters narration rather than description. This consideration was taken into account during the analysis of conflicts.

Table 1.: *Advantages and disadvantages*

Advantages	Disadvantages
Comfortable interview situation without structured questions	Inappropriate for uncovering intimate identification
Verbal visual level of communication	Normative stereotypes
Opportunities to perform communicative professionalism (jokes, fiction)	The proportion of stories triggered by the symbols and the figural elements were dissimilar
Flexible opportunities for self-representation	Evocation of enthralling, dramatic events (narration rather than description)

Results

Content analysis

Narrative stimulating story cubes triggered stereotypes embedded in stories. Content analysis was concerned with the public visions that were triggered and the context these stories were embedded in. The real value of these stories lies in their nature, the frequency of their appearance and the context they were embedded in. Analysis of the cubes helped to identify the broad associative field; the way the cubes were set out on the table (visual constructs) informed me about the categories these associations were organized and, finally, the stories (narrative constructs) highlighted the context these associations and categories were embedded in. Data collected, therefore, have been categorized into two separate dimensions: 1.) primary meaning complexes; and, 2.) secondary meaning complexes (visual and narrative constructs).

The first level of interpretation was at the level of pictograms. I assumed that the pictograms first chosen were either the strongest triggers or the symbols that had the most obvious public associations. The frequency of the choosing of each pictogram and the pictograms first chosen in each case were recorded. The second level of interpretation was the level of stories. Secondary meaning complexes – visual and narrative constructs – helped me to specify the categories in which associations were organized and the context these categories were embedded in. Although respondents were asked to express their opinions about Hungarian public life, the data received were either public or private in character. As for secondary meaning complexes, it was possible to discern three distinct levels of public/private spheres: the classical political sphere, the social sphere and social lifeworlds. Social lifeworlds have been considered to be a broadly minded private sphere which includes everyday

social interactions. This twofold private/public character of social lifeworlds made it possible to gain insight into the nature and strategies of private/public distinctions.

To conclude, the content analysis relied on the identification of primary and secondary meaning complexes. Most importantly, the research addressed two questions: 1.) What kind of public associations were triggered; and, 2.) what kind of stories were they embedded in?

Primary meaning complexes

The underlying methodological assumptions behind the analysis of primary meaning complexes are as follows: if a certain pictogram was associated with the same meaning in at least seven independent cases it was not considered to be a coincidence. With seven independent selections a relationship was assumed between the pictogram, its associations and the stories. Out of 108 pictograms only 32 appeared independently in seven stories. The most frequently-chosen pictograms were selected and among them the strongest triggers were identified. Results are displayed in Table 2.

Table 2.: *Primary associations*

Cubes	Pictograms	Primary meaning complexes	First choice	Frequency
Reading figure		*plagiarism of the president, rules, learning, entertainment, youth, literature*	*3x*	*17*
Weight-lifting figure		*fitness, energy, struggle, persistence, weight-lifting, sports*		*15*
Digging figure		*he digs himself into the problem, he is obsessed with his work, he burries the country, he digs himself out of trouble*		*12*
Eating figure		*healthy food, greed, addiction, worries*		*12*
Hobgoblin		*robber, wolf, pessimism, devil, fears, shadows*		*12*
Smiley		*relaxation, communities, laugh, madness, election, security, sense of humor*		*11*
Robber		*bankrobber, crime*	*3x*	*10*
Man with headset		*ignorance, headset, happiness*	*2x*	*7*

A quick overview of the first half of the table makes it possible to sense the negative universe that is evident at the level of primary associations. Although significantly more cubes align with positive meaning (17) than with negative (12), respondents connected even undoubtedly positive signs (smiley, presents) with negative meanings. This phenomenon is best illustrated with the *smiley* pictogram, which was not only associated with relaxation and communities but also pretence and madness.

If we look more closely at the first associations with the pictograms we can see that, apart from the typical activity patterns of students' life cycles, a personal existential struggle is recognizable. Notably, in this existential struggle students do not expect external support. Out of 32 pictograms five can be connected to the exploitation of career opportunities (ball, weight-lifting figure, digging figure, alarming clock, sleeping figure). After the reading figure the second and the third most often chosen pictograms were the weight-lifting figure and the digging figure. The professional world is vividly evoked in most interviews. Worryingly though, none of the comments related to challenges or creativity; most of them referred to the humiliation and boredom suffered by employees. As a result, frustration and fears of unpredictable tragedies were quite often mentioned. Five pictograms triggered such associations (lightening, star, landing, robber and hobgoblin). Out of 32 pictograms the *robber* and *man with a headset* proved to be the strongest triggers, which indicates students' resistance towards their unstable surroundings.

Analysis of the primary meaning complexes depicts a distant public sphere which is closely connected with crime, corruption, deception or robbery. In this predominantly bipolar world the concepts of success and failure are primarily determined by personal skills and capabilities. A fear of unpredictable incidents is prevalent.

Secondary meaning complexes

In the previous section I argued that there is a specific associative field that reflects students' notions of the public realm. I have also tried to depict some of the common features of this public vision. In this section I move on to the stories these associations were embedded within. Some forms of participation are also evident in these stories.

The content analysis of stories offered deeper insight (than the simple frequency of associations) into the context and the meaning of utterances. In an effort to answer the question what kind of associations appear, how often and in what context, I noted down every meaningful utterance and ignored the meaningless text between the argumentation. In doing so, 758 meaningful utterances were identified from 40 interviews. Utterances were coded into categories which were further structured into more general meaning complexes. Students' own categories – visual forms of cube constructions – were taken into consideration during the process of categorization. Secondary meaning complexes are shown in Table 3.

Table 3.: *Secondary meaning complexes*

Public and private secondary meaning complexes	Utterances
Social sphere	287
Political sphere	82
Social lifeworlds	345
Self-representation	12
Communication	32
Total	*758*

Although respondents were asked to share their public opinions, the number of private (345) and public comments (369) was not fundamentally different. This fact and the remarkably small amount of self-representation within public stories show students' resistance to expressing political identification. In the generation examined, discussion about political matters is considered to be intimate or even taboo. Self-representation and privacy plays a decisive role in expressing political and public attitudes.

Politics

There was apparent resistance to sharing political opinions throughout the interviews. When speaking of either 'particular' or 'general' events students did not conceive of an intermittent public space they could fully participate in. They did not consider themselves to be part of political society. Data provided a vision of a general political atmosphere in which some patterns of active participation were also recognizable.

Out of 758 remarks only 82 contained political meaning: 52 comments were concerned with political actors and 30 with political incapability or financial/legal instability. The 52 utterances were divided among 27 political actors which points to the fact that only very few actors received marked attention. Among them we can find contradictory figures in Hungarian public life (Gyurcsány, Matolcsy) or the main characters from open scandals ('The Whisky Drinking Robber', 'Stolbuci').

Democratic culture. Students generally avoided expressing public opinions throughout the interviews. When they were 'forced' to do so they did not pronounce reflective political notions based on rational argumentation or detailed information. Only two democratically elected parties were mentioned: the governing party (FIDESZ) and the extreme right party (JOBBIK).The frequent appearance of political messages from the media and the reiteration of parents' views signals that the effect of the media and parental background cannot be ignored. In accordance with the official communication of the current government, thermal waters, Hungarian athletes, Hungarian science and national sovereignty quite often emerged during the interviews. Students argued that a *lack of professionalism* (5 utterances) and insufficient articulation of interest (5 utterances) had led to the current state of public affairs. My respondents identified *mass communication* as being a governmental means of misleading citizens.

"Big magic. The government's performance is big magic. It bewitches people."[22]
"Politicians suck out money and mood while they simply ignore us."
"Europe is laughing at us."

Nevertheless, active participation as a civic responsibility in a democratic culture and the function of the media as a public service were not thematized. Respondents shied away from politics; they are evidently not even looking for solutions to current public affairs. They definitely do not intend to be involved in political society. Politics and political involvement are connected to the failures of their parents' generation.

"It is the world of losers."

Table 4.: *Politics as a public sphere*[23]

Politics as a public sphere		Utterances
Political actors *(Subtotal: 52)*	State	3
	Government	8
	Europe	9
	Parliament	4
	The Whisky Drinking Robber	3
	Globalization	2
	Malév airline	2
	Gyurcsány (former prime minister)	2
	Opposition	1
	Mafia	1
	Schmitt Pál (former president)	1
	Matolcsy György (former minister of economics)	1
	Stolbuci (Stohl András media star)	1
	Jobbik (extreme rightwing party)	1
	Fidesz (governing party)	1
	IMF	1
	Political elites	1
	Student Council	1
	Student House Committee	1
	Agricultural policy	1
	Dirty politicians	1
	Policies	1
	Dictator	1
	Reform	1
	Presidential speech in Öszöd	1
	Olympics	1
	European Championships	1
Governmental Failures *(Subtotal: 16)*	Political professionalism	5
	Past orientation	6
	Lack of articulation of interest	5
Finances		14
Total		*82*

22 Interviews are translated which entails that the sentences presented here do not always convey the sentiments or directly match the words used at the time.

23 The table contains five persons out of whom three are politicians. Those who are not politicians include Antal Attila ('The Whisky Drinking Robber') who committed robberies on thirty occasions and graduated in prison. Stohl András (stolbuci) a famous actor and reporter from RTL Club TV chanell was also sentenced to ten months imprisonment.

Society

While students refused to talk about their political involvement, they were willing to have a conversation about societal matters. Out of 758 meaning complexes, 297 referred to 'people' or to the 'Hungarian people' in general. These utterances mostly revealed structural features of Hungarian society, including its options and limitations.

Crime. The most prevalent societal phenomenon mentioned throughout the interviews was crime. Crime was mentioned in different forms and contexts on 64 occasions. Corruption (4), tax-evasion (10) and robbery (15) are at the top of the list but deception (11) and exploitation (9) were also among the most frequently-mentioned public features.

Hierarchy. It is illuminating to consider that, apart from crime (64 utterances) and pessimism (59 utterances), the third most commonly-mentioned public feature was social control in terms of exploitation or being exploited. The frequent appearance of hierarchy in stories, constructions and abstractions is thought-provoking. Students discussed hierarchy or leadership on 14 occasions and 20 other remarks referred to the controlled mass or misled, 'sheep-like' Hungarians.

"We do not have to go far away. The structure of the university is hierarchical indeed. Teachers and students are organized hierarchically and the Student Council or the Student House Committee is also hierarchical. Within the society of these student house there are leaders, followers and workers."

The *sheep* and bee pictograms triggered associations with badly-informed, defenseless workers who are exposed to their working environment. Students reluctantly identified themselves with the mass. They either placed themselves on top of the hierarchy or at a meta level in order to indicate that they are not going to be involved in any way in this hierarchical societal structure.

"Everybody is sleeping or staring at his TV in block of flats. Life is gambling. There are so many empty men and this is me and I am just laughing."

These findings were further substantiated by analysis of the visual constructs. The way students placed the cubes on the table in one third of the cases formed a hierarchical shape. The form of the construction in nine interviews out of forty was markedly hierarchical. Most often, private life, success or some kind of meta power (god, awareness, sense of humor) occupied the highest position. Students tended to reduce the complexity of public life into bipolar dimensions of good/bad, significant/insignificant, private/public.

Chart 3.: *Visual constructs (hierarchies)*

Pessimism. Under conditions of multiple hierarchies personal success is hardly imaginable. Students mainly foresee discouraging future perspectives:

"You are a loser but that is life. The whole country is a loser."
"The central element is pessimism. Hungarian pessimism."

Students argued that the low level of reliable information and the inability to orient oneself among rules and regulations exaggerate social instability. This leads to a sense of distorted perspective.

"We are trying to move in darkness."
"Everybody is trying to be aware of vital things but it is almost impossible."

Social order. In stories there emerged a strong desire for stability and predictability (18 utterances). Students contemplated public security (29) and the necessity of regulations at length (5+5). Views about the Hungarian state and legal system were contradictory. Several utterances were concerned with overregulation, law-evasion, and a lack of equitable legal services. Worryingly, some of the respondents (9) supported radical forms of strict and oppressive law enforcement.

Transcendence. Students seemed to be prepared to face personal tragedies in their lives and they strongly believed in the ability of external forces to change their surroundings.

"We are waiting for a miracle. Is it positive or negative?"
"Put it here, under the question mark."

Table 5.: *Society as a public sphere*

Society as a public sphere		Utterances
Crime *(Subtotal: 64)*	Murder	2
	Robbery	15
	Tax evasion	10
	Corruption	4
	Mafia	1
	Deception	11
	Exploitation	9
	Pretence	12
Pessimism *(Subtotal: 59)*	*Awareness*	9
	Instability	29
	Pessimism	21
Finances *(Subtotal: 43)*	Hierarchy	10
	Leadership	9
	Lack of overview	4
	Lack of identity	2
	Obedience	18
Transdence *(Subtotal: 42)*	Miracles	15
	Accidents	11
	Incidences	10
	Apocalypses	6
Order *(Subtotal: 18)*	Law (positive)	4
	Law (negative)	5
	Law enforcement	9
Sports		14
Reluctance to act		13
Stereotypes		16
Environment		20
Free time activities		8
Total		*297*

This section concludes with the consideration that students behave extremely cautiously concerning environmental matters and career development. They cannot form encouraging future perspectives in a social context where inconsequential decisions guide unstable public order. Respondents were not willing to become 'responsible citizens' but preferred to be clever strategists. They do not intend to actively form or be informed by this social context. They rather wish to take advantage of it and cunningly move between institutional levels. Most importantly, they aim to become 'leaders' or 'followers' but definitely to avoid the life of the exploited 'worker'.

Life-world

After identifying strictly political meaning, complexes and remarks about society general utterances were coded into the *life word* category if they referred to the everyday interactions of students. Descriptions of everyday events and phenomena offered a different perspective with which to analyze students' visions of Hungarian public life: the perspective of privacy. Not surprisingly, private experiences reflected

the consequences of scandalous events in political life and hierarchical structures even in the students' private sphere.

Aggression. Verbal (12 mentions) and non verbal aggression (25 mentions) was prevalent in students' everyday stories. There are institutional (4), existential (10) and even physical threats (5) in my respondents' lives. They clearly perceive social and political divisions and conflicts in their surroundings. Whereas anger is growing in the students' public environment the typical activity pattern on the level of everyday interactions does not concern attempts to solve problems but rather to avoid conflicts, or even discussions.

"As for self-protection, problems somehow must be solved. The best solution is to bury them inside myself. This assures the avoidance of life-imprisonment."

Worryingly, students quite often mentioned deviant behaviour (21 utterances) as a response to the social injustices experienced. They mentioned drug addiction, alcoholism, gambling, smoking and addictions to technology.

"When we are pessimistic we do not know what to do. We are eating, getting fat. Not knowing which direction we should move, we drink and use drugs. There is a way here but it does not lead to anywhere where finally, there is light at the end of the tunnel."

Personal struggle. Consistent with the findings uncovered at the level of primary meaning complexes, respondents did not expect external help in their everyday stories. 43 utterances were associated with the difficulty of career development, out of which external help was only mentioned on three occasions. Success or failure almost fully depended on personal capabilities and less attention was given to social factors or getting the support needed to achieve goals.

Institutions. The context in which institutions appeared allowed me to draw some preliminary conclusion about the role these institutions play in students' civic socialization. Students relatively often referred to the university (22), and especially to its faculties. Student houses, however, were mentioned only on two occasions out of 758 utterances. This points to the fact that, regardless of institutional initiatives, student houses are not considered to be scenes of successful political or civic education. Student houses cannot be regarded as determining spaces of public life at the University of Debrecen.

Table 6.: *Social lifeworlds*

Social lifeworlds		Utterances
Relations *(Subtotal: 70)*	Interest	8
	Friendship, love	18
	Kids	13
	Family	14
	Party	17
Life standard *(Subtotal: 58)*	Money	22
	Relaxation	6
	Food	9
	Living conditions	9
	Mental hygiene	12
Personal sruggle *(Subtotal: 43)*	*Support*	3
	Career development	13
	Externally imposed	7
	Personal failure	8
	Decision	12
Job *(Subtotal: 38)*	Work alcoholism	32
	Unemployment	6
Aggression *(Subtotal: 37)*	Fighting	13
	Murder	1
	Suicide	1
	Bad-will	5
	Anger	5
	Quarrel	12
Threats *(Subtotal: 28)*	Institutional	4
	Physical	5
	Existential	10
	Unknown	9
Deviant behavior *(Subtotal: 21)*	Drug addiction	3
	Food addiction	4
	Alcoholism	7
	Gambling	4
	Smoking, addiction to technology	3
University		22
Sports		14
Activity pattern *(Subtotal: 12)*	Shifting responsibility	2
	Ignorance	6
	Career building	4
Students houses		2
Total		*343*

Private stories from students' life words are a particular display of personal struggles in an unwelcoming social environment. Students who live in student houses at the University of Debrecen are not willing to form the social mechanisms of their surroundings. They perceive a discouraging negative universe which promises quite little to their age group.

Forms of Active Participation

As was pointed out earlier, students' visions of the public realm can be characterized by multiple hierarchical structures and a lack of perspective. The question that needs to be answered here is how active participation can be characterized under these circumstances.

Keeping in mind students' public visions, what kind of political or civic involvement seems reasonable for them? In the above-depicted hierarchical society students are cautiously looking for their place in order to avoid integrating into the faceless mass. Within this framework, having flexible variations of self-biographies and easily moving among hierarchical structures seem to be rational choices. Young adults quite often emphasized the importance of pretence (12 mentions), reserve (13) and awareness. Their orientation among lifestyles, social layers and institutional levels appears to be of paramount importance. On the basis of the interviews, three separate forms of activities were identifiable: 1.) development of communicative status; 2.) orientation, a constant reflection on the institutional mechanism and on the process of institutionalization itself; and, 3.) duplication of real spaces and creation of alternative realities.

There has long been a tradition of duplicating public spaces in Hungary. Parallel economical or public spheres have existed in several historical periods. Due to the historical continuity of parallel worlds, there have existed ready-made activity patterns that young adults only need to follow after consideration of the opportunities that these alternative realities offer to them. Alternative realities are understood in this paper to mean public scenes with three distinct characteristics: 1.) they are regulated playgrounds with predictable consequences; 2.) within them, perception and construction of space and time is extraordinary; 3.) social meaning is not given but rather formed within them. As a result, alternative realities offer a scene for active involvement or post-conventional forms of activity.

At the level of everyday interactions it is also possible to identify alternative realities, strictly regulated. These are places that could offer opportunities for active participation. Sport clubs and communities with a specific focus on tradition can be identified as alternative realities. The Facebook page of the student houses, for instance, is a nice illustration of a secondary economy which provides students with regulated freedom of consumption. Not to mention private communities – in accordance with Utasi's findings (2013) – that can also be considered alternative realities in democratic public life, where the techniques of communication and orientation can be acquired in protected milieus.

According to our data the form that activities in students' everyday interactions take is not the classical form of democratic involvement, but rather professional communication and orientation. These professional skills are being formed in the alternative reality of parallel public spaces. They offer opportunities for active involvement in parallel to the discouraging reality. These parallel realities are status homogenous insofar as the status of members is not questionable.

Conclusion

This analysis for this paper in the framework of the *campus-life* project sought to reveal patterns of civic and political participation in an attempt to contribute directly to

the discussion about the low affinity and activity of young adults. It aimed to address the question whether forms of participation can be associated with students' socio-economic status, or if they are predominantly determined by patterns and meaning complexes perceived in private communities.

First, quantitative analysis was carried out to answer the question what implications socio-economic background, value profile or activity structure have for civic and political involvement. In the light of the quantitative data, the explanatory power of socio-economic background variables, activity structure or value profile proved to be insufficient to explain students' participation. The low impact of socio-economic status variables was further substantiated by my qualitative data. Although qualitative interviews were carried out in two student hostels where students' socio-economic backgrounds sharply contrasted, the perception of public matters and forms of participation or resistance did not show significant differences. The argument advanced in my quantitative study accords with previous findings of Utasi (2013) and Gábor (2012) who declared that the peculiar evolutionary development of youth culture in Hungary has led to a paradoxical situation in which institutional dependency and cultural independency coexist.

This consideration led to study of the role of interpretive communities. Analysis of the activity patterns and world concepts that have evolved in private communities appeared to be fundamental to determining students' involvement in public matters. In an effort to reveal the role of interpretative private communities in civic and political participation, the level of students' integration into formal and informal communities was firstly uncovered, and then by means of qualitative methods the construction of activity patterns was analyzed.

The quantitative study of social integration revealed that the low level of social integration of students in student houses is due to students' entertainment habits, the frequency they go home and their overly strong desire to meet social, financial and academic expectations.

Within this framework, this paper focuses on the construction of activity patterns within interpretative communities, on the complex relationship between students' perception of the public realm and forms of action thought reasonable in this public environment. The new projective technique developed in the research for this reason reflects an invitation and a plea for the conceptual framework of *'political participation'* to be widened and for the possibilities of post conventional activities beyond the classical notion of political apathy to be considered.

To my knowledge, *narrative stimulating story cubes* have not been used in social sciences before. Although photographs and objects are often used as projective techniques, their interpretation is complex and manifold. The simplicity of pictograms and the respondents' own narratives facilitate interpretation. Since this method generates lots of information in a relatively short period of time, it could be a suitable 'supplement' for different types of interviews in many research fields.

The primary contribution of this method, however, is that it provides a comfortable interview situation without structured questions. The power dynamic between researcher and respondent in terms of age or gender can be nicely formed during the interviews. The method creates a playful, protected milieu in which representations of the surrounding public environment are detectable.

This projective technique was applied in 40 qualitative interviews (26 group interviews, 4 semi-structured interviews, 10 narrative interviews) in two student houses at the University of Debrecen. Respondents were asked to *throw narrative stimulating cubes* (18), and, by using the pictograms on the top of each cube, put together their understanding of Hungarian Public life. The content analysis of this method relied on the characteristics of the stereotypes triggered, the frequency of their appearance and the stories these associations were embedded in. Visual constructs – the way the cubes were set out on a table – were considered to be a kind of mental map. They reflected students' own perspectives about social structures and their place within them. There were two interrelated dimensions of content analysis: the level of 1.) primary meaning complexes; and, 2.) secondary meaning complexes (visual and narrative constructs). Primary meaning complexes offered the opportunity to specify the associative field, the way cubes were set out on a table helped to locate categories in which these associations were organized and, finally, narrative constructs were used to draw attention to students' public notions and forms of involvement.

Story cubes as a narrative stimulating projective surface also appeared to be suitable devices for uncovering social structures and their representations. They were proven immensely fruitful at revealing hidden structures and strategies of self-representation. Some concerns, however, must also be taken into account when using narrative stimulating story cubes. They evoke quick stereotypes and are inappropriate for revealing intimacy. It is therefore suggested that they be used in combination with different interview techniques in order to deepen the meaning of the associations triggered. The method itself fosters narratives rather than descriptions. It encourages respondents to tell amusing or enthralling stories and pinpoint conflicts and events.

Narrative stimulating story cubes proved to be appropriate for acquiring data about students' public notions and political activity. Qualitative analysis led to the following outcomes, which allow me to draw some tentative conclusions in terms of public notions and the construction of forms of activities:

(1) Public notions. Although the question students were asked referred to Hungarian public life, students avoided speaking about public life in the traditional sense. They tended to speak about Hungarian people in general or about events which had taken place in their close vicinity. The notion of modern societies seems to be missing from the students' civic culture, which further indicates their low motivation to be active

citizens. The fact that only a few of the statements collected can be associated with political attitudes or self-representation indicates that the majority of students shy away from expressing public opinions.

Public stories were interpreted on three different levels – on the level of social life-worlds, society and politics.

Social life-worlds. In the description of students' everyday interactions and future ambitions, personal existential struggles seem to be of paramount importance. According to students' perceptions, success and failure in their careers exclusively depend on personal abilities in a non-supportive institutional context. The lonely existential struggle apparent throughout the everyday stories which were presented was accompanied by continuous existential, institutional and even physical threats. Not surprisingly, deviant behaviour such as verbal and non-verbal aggression and, in extreme cases, food, drug and alcohol addiction were also quite often mentioned or referred to.

Society. Apart from mentioning fascinating and scandalous everyday stories, respondents confined their comments to broad generalities. Between the 'particular' and the 'general' students do not seem to perceive an intermittent public space they can identify themselves with or be involved in. When describing Hungarian public life, students emphasized the presence of crime, hopelessness and multiple hierarchies. Intense desires for security and a strong belief in transcendent solutions show that young adults in Hungary are not convinced about the outcome of reform initiatives. Findings suggest that consequential policies targeted at youth might help mitigate students' personal frustrations and existential instability.

Politics. Taking into consideration the political comments during the interviews, it became clear that expressing opinions is widely considered to be taboo. Opinions, however, if they emerged, were definite and remarkable, a fact which opens the space for further questioning around the concept of political apathy. In the light of the data it can be stated that engagement in political debates is not conceived to be part of the 'academic ethos'. The number of political comments was considerably less than the number of remarks about society in general or on social-life worlds in particular. Leaders, political actors and well-known celebrities were hardly ever mentioned. If they were mentioned, their close connection to crime was pointed out. My respondents intend to stay away from or even ignore public matters because of the lack of professionalism of political actors and the lack of democratic articulation of interests.

(2) Translation of public values into activities. On the basis of my data I would argue against Szalai (2011) who found that young adults in Hungary cannot be considered to be a political generation and do not have the necessary power to form existing political systems. The argument that this generation suffers from political apathy also appears to be a deceptive simplification. My data indicate

firm resistance against the public sphere. However, we should take into account two factors before we surrender all claims that students have the capacity to form political systems. On the one hand, young adults are not part of political society in Hungary. Therefore they are neither committed to nor constrained by any political culture. Unlike intellectuals, they are not forced to react to or follow certain rules expressed by the existing political culture. Ignorance can be bliss. In a way, young adults in Hungary can stay away from social and political institutions and even stay away from processes of institutionalization (Rosen 2001). On the other hand, they distain pointless, everyday existential struggling and do not share the logic of older generations. These two factors, albeit from outside the political system, may enjoy enough power to form political actors.

This argument is further underpinned by the fact that there is an essential frustration and disappointment with elites and forms of democratic culture as a corollary of the structural deficits of new capitalism. As a consequence, young adults, in this atmosphere of general mistrust, are forced to cautiously plan their futures and tend to perfect the skills that are needed to occupy higher positions. These include high level reflection, communication and orientation, as well as the reconceptualization of reality; the creation of alternative realities. All of these forms of post conventional actions erode political systems and question its legitimacy from an external perspective.

(3) Institutional impact. Although I analyzed two institutions with contrasting operational objectives and managerial styles, neither of them provide an example of successful political socialization. While faculty played an important role in political socialization, student houses (even with their specific community initiatives) did not provide an environment where students actively determine their living conditions. From an institutional point of view, my data show that formal institutions (universities, student houses and even families) have a limited effect on the students' patterns of activity. Informal institutions, however, such as 'institutionalized' space construction or communication have a significant influence on students' political behaviour. The reason for the low institutional influence on political socialization seems to lie in the fact that students do not tend to identify themselves with institutions and they avoid classical forms of activities. Rather, they wish to take advantage of the discrepancies in the different levels of the system.

(4) Private communities. Finally, my data reflects the alteration of classical communities characterized by norms, boundaries and collective identities. My findings provide further evidence of the rearrangement of values and commitments (Bauer –Szabó 2005, 2009, 2011). In the emerging new communities, communication and orientation gain prevalence (Delanty 2003). Parallel to the alteration of communities, the patterns of the translation of public values into collective action also changes. In

the light of our quantitative and qualitative data, young adults in Hungary display particularly well the concept of a 'fluid society' in an East-European context (Bauman 2000). They dwell in disorder, tolerate fragmentation and flourish on dislocation in the midst of the identity game as communities disappear (Wouters 2007).

The argument advanced in this paper is in accordance with Utasi's findings that point to the process of the individualization of private communities in parallel to growing institutional individualization. This process may be characterized by the fact that, under the circumstances of increasing institutional dependency and control, individuals paradoxically avoid integrating into macro groups and advocate for career opportunities. The public sphere and spaces are understood through the lens of the private. The private/public distinction gains a specific action theoretical perspective (Mannheim 1969). This new form of generational orientation leads to new forms of civic and political involvement. How can we expect political participation in a situation where the people concerned are not aware of institutional forms of articulating needs or eliminating conflicts? What is more, they are not going to be involved in the sustenance or alteration of these institutional forms since they do not believe in them.

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Science and Society

Scientific Societies in Victorian England[1]

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ABSTRACT: The article analyzes the development of scientific thinking and production in England from the early to the late Victorian period. 19th century England saw a thorough change in every sphere of society including that of science. This was a time when the very idea of science – as understood in the 20th century – started to emerge. The article compares the *modus operandi* of three scientific bodies of utmost importance: the Royal Society, the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and the so-called X-Club. The first one represented an old-fashioned scientific body with a narrow, aristocratic social basis, whereas the BAAS, a reformist, much newer society was founded with the manifest idea of science as a universal, all-encompassing and neutral field, free of political and religious influences. The article shows that despite this official standing, the BAAS still represented a narrow range of scientific, political, cultural and social interests. In contrast to both of these bodies, the X-Club, an informal but highly influential set of nine scientists, introduced the idea of a modernized science. Largely due to their influence and shrewd strategic action, by the end of the century the scientific sphere had become far more independent of extra-scientific influences than ever before. The article concludes, however, that this independence meant a greater need to disguise the social and cultural embeddedness of science with a new set of criteria for scientific legitimacy, rather than actual, full autonomy.

Keywords: Victorian England, history of science, science and society, Royal Society, British Association for the Advancement of Science, X-Club

Science in Victorian England

"Don't accept any scientific place, if you can avoid it, and tell no one that I gave you this advice, as they would all cry out against me as the preacher of anti-patriotic principles. I fought against the calamity of being President[2] as long as I could. All has gone on smoothly, and it has not cost me more time than I anticipated; but my question is whether the time annihilated by learned bodies ('par les affaires administratives') is balanced by any good they do. (...) At least, work as I did, exclusively for yourself and for science for many years and do not prematurely incur the honour or penalty of official dignities. There are people who may be profitably

1 I would like to express my gratitude to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for the grant I received under the János Bolyai Postdoctoral Scholarship programme while conducting the research that serves as the basis for this article.

2 Lyell was the president of the Geological Society in 1835-36 (and later in 1849-50).

employed in such duties, because they would not work if not so engaged." (Charles Lyell to Charles Darwin, 26 December, 1836)[3]

These words were written by Charles Lyell, the excellent geologist and one of the pioneers of evolutionary theories, to the young Darwin. Although Darwin went on to become a member of numerous scientific bodies, and received many official honors and awards (among others the Copley Medal, the most prestigious recognition of the Royal Society), he seems to have taken his older friend's advice to heart, or perhaps just followed his own inclinations, and chose to witness most of the intensive scientific life of the decades to come from his peaceful country home.

Other outstanding figures of Victorian English[4] scientific life, however, were characterized by having a rather different attitude. One of the most important processes taking place during the era was a thoroughgoing reform of scientific bodies – an aspiration toward which many well-positioned scientists invested a great amount of energy.

English scientific life went through a radical transformation from around the middle of the century. To the extent that it is valid to use a term that would only be meaningful in relation to a professionalized science that emerged later, we can say that the first half of the century was characterized by an 'amateurish' science. The scientific field was almost fully dependent on aristocratic control and funding and received very minimal state support. There were practically no scientific jobs, and practicing science was mainly only possible as a leisure time activity. Compared to the traditionally accepted fields of study – such as theology, philosophy and classics – natural science played a marginal role in the curricula of universities and other schools.

The old elite universities changed very slowly. Unlike in the United States or France at the time, the higher education system in England did not go through a radical reform, and the rigid university structure and the resistance of the establishment towards change was a major hindrance to the emergence of new subjects like sociology and even new approaches within traditional subjects. However, natural science was in a favorable situation as economic and social changes created an increased need for scientific instruction. This was represented by changes such as the introduction of the Natural Science Tripos at Cambridge, or the fact that the social background of students started to gradually change with an increasing intake of middle-class students. (MacLeod–Moseley 1980) These changes, however, did not mean a radical transformation: the influence of the establishment remained unquestioned both with regards to social background and the contents of the curriculum. Despite the appearance of new, more open and tolerant institutions of higher education such as the University College of London, throughout the whole Victorian period, the main

3 Source: http://www.darwinproject.ac.uk/entry-335

4 The present article focuses on England alone, since Ireland, Scotland, and Wales were all quite different from the point of view of the analysis. However, when appropriate, I make some references to Britain as a whole.

loci of scientific life and especially of transformations within it were the formal and informal scientific societies.

There are numerous studies about the scientific life of Victorian England. One of the approaches considers professionalization to be the most significant factor, and describes different conflicts and often sharp public debates as a result of this process (e.g. Turner 1978). This dimension is obviously of no little importance. Members of the so-called X-Club and others indeed did a lot to promote the more professional working of scientific institutions, clearer regulation of scientific methods, financing of laboratories and modernizing the curricula of universities and other schools. However, this was in fact more a consequence of the struggles often only pursued for influence and positions than the originally intended goal. Furthermore, the professional/amateur dichotomy cannot be really plausibly applied to this time. Many of the leading figures of the scientific movement[5] were amateurs in today's understanding of the word, and most of them made an at least acceptable living from means other than practicing science. It is still clear, on the other hand, that a major aspect of the 'boundary work'[6] of the time was to remove the 'amateurishness' from science, to define the criteria for a pure science conducted in specific ways, and to establish science as a career.

The amateur/professional dimension was, however, partly overlapped by the conflict between religion and science. The British scientific movement tried to break away from its religious roots and fairly quickly turned against any religious support. In Britain, where the scientific movement organized around natural sciences, and even the solution of social problems was expected from natural sciences, the tension between evolutionary theories and religious dogmas, and the formal and informal dominance of the church in cultural institutions and public thinking contributed to an early break. Thus, the main processes in Victorian scientific life did not only revolve around the issue of professionalization – their social and wider cultural aspects were at least as significant. All this is reflected in the functioning, and the changes therein, of formal and informal institutions of science.

From a theoretical, ideological point of view, British natural science of the period was dominated by theology of nature, which sought to uncover the manifestations of divine wisdom in the great variety and different phenomena of nature. This approach, represented by William Paley, Richard Owen and others, was a major obstacle to the wider reception of the new scientific – primarily evolutionary – approaches to nature that were emerging at the time. The belief in an unchanging nature and the literal truth of Biblical teachings, however, gradually started to erode as even natural

5 I use the term 'movement' in reference to the scientists and their aspirations who advanced the described changes in the scientific sphere. This term, although commonly used in historical analyses (e.g. in the writings of Ruth Barton and Frank Turner), serves the purpose of convenience here. The process of transformation under analysis was not the result of explicit goals and strategic activity alone, and the persons involved became organized around different alignments that were both fluid to some extent and also overlapped with a few issues of importance.

6 See Gieryn 1983.

theology incorporated the notion of a changing nature, and especially in the wake of widely read – and sometimes scandalous – books such as Ch. Lyell's *Principles of Geology* or R. Chambers' *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*. Nonetheless, the theology of nature continued to be influential right until the end of the century. The main purpose of the newly emerging scientific movement was to free the field of science from any religious considerations and establish autonomy for science both institutionally and theoretically.

Science in Britain enjoyed great support from the field of religion. From the 17th century, the clergymen naturalist was an important actor in British science. Clerics played a significant role in the founding of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1831. It was this link between the two fields that the conflict between science and religion in the second part of the century challenged. The representatives of the new science questioned the legitimacy of any religious influence in scientific institutions, instruction, and publications. In general, they questioned any religious authority over science that was hitherto taken for granted. The conflict was not between religious and non-religious scientists. Most of the scientists of the era were religious, even if the most radical ones, like Darwin and Huxley, declared themselves to be agnostic after the sharpening of the conflict.[7] It was not even as simple as a debate over the literal truth of Biblical content. The conflict emerged between those who envisioned and aspired to the creation of a scientific field where no religious influence whatsoever could exert itself, a science that would rely on no transcendental forces in its explanations and theories, and those, on the other hand, who considered science, however wonderful, to be inferior to religion and tried to keep religious moral and intellectual authority intact.

The question of the expertise deemed necessary to claim the title 'scientist' emerged as one of the focal points of scientific debates. As Th. H. Huxley wrote to J. D. Hooker in 1859 about a fundraising proposal: "If there is to be any fund raised at all, I am quite of your mind that it should be a scientific fund and not a mere naturalists' fund. Sectarianism in such matters is ridiculous, and besides that in this particular case it is bad policy. For the word 'Naturalist' unfortunately includes a far lower order of men than chemist, physicist, or mathematician. You don't call a man a mathematician because he has spent his life in getting as far as quadratics; but every fool who can make bad species and worse genera is a 'Naturalist'!"[8] Since Huxley and his allies soon succeeded in infiltrating the ranks of the Royal Society

7 Darwin himself was basically a religious man, and he saw the limitations of scientific knowledge. He had great dilemmas over the issue of science and religion, as one of his letters to Asa Gray indicates: "I had no intention to write atheistically. But I own that I cannot see, as plainly as others do, & as I shd wish to do, evidence of design & beneficence on all sides of us. There seems to me too much misery in the world. (...) On the other hand I cannot anyhow be contented to view this wonderful universe & especially the nature of man, & to conclude that everything is the result of brute force. I am inclined to look at everything as resulting from designed laws, with the details, whether good or bad, left to the working out of what we may call chance. Not that this notion *at all* satisfies me. I feel most deeply that the whole subject is too profound for the human intellect. A dog might as well speculate on the mind of Newton. – Let each man hope & believe what he can." http://www.darwinproject.ac.uk/entry-2814

8 Source: http://aleph0.clarku.edu/huxley/letters/59.html

and the British Association and taking over the control of the research funds thereof, these sorts of ideas, as Turner (1978) rightly points out, were more than just expressions of personal opinions – they were the basis of a conscious policy that aimed at excluding the enthusiastic 'amateurs' of natural science from financial resources, institutional positions, and stripping them of the legitimacy necessary for the practice of science. The proportion of clerical membership in main scientific organizations began to decrease radically, and soon religion and science constituted two more or less separate career trajectories.

Our notions of truth, according to Steve Shapin (1994), are not separate from our convictions about the credibility of others, since – however explicitly modern science advocates the omnipotence of direct experience – most of our knowledge comes from others. No scientific practice has been able to free itself of indirect knowledge, and therefore a rejection of testimony and authority is impossible. Even within the field of science, says Shapin, trust is one of the most important capitals. The fabric of our social relations is woven from knowledge, and our knowledge about the world is based on our knowledge about other people. The scientific life of early modern England was determined by the trustworthy individual, the gentleman. Scientific and social credibility, trustworthiness, were fully intertwined and not separable. Observing the scientific life of early 19th century England, Shapin's claims, made in reference to an earlier period, still seem to be plausible.

But the 19th century brought significant changes in this respect – just as with many other things. What had at the beginning of the century been the preserve of the passions of gentlemen became by the century's end a professionalized and specialized science. And yet, the impression that such a sharp distinction could be made about social and scientific knowledge was only superficial. Or more precisely: the threads of the fabric became interwoven in a more hidden, indirect manner. Social relations remained an integral part of the scientific field, but they operated on the basis of more complicated legitimizing processes, and exerted their influence in a more latent way. Social influence became more indirect, and – if you will – this kind of distancing was professionalization itself.

In yet another important work about 17th century English science, Robert K. Merton (1938) also expresses thoughts that seem of utmost importance in interpreting 19th century processes. Taking a stand against a positivistic notion of the internal, accumulative and linear progress of science, Merton rejects the idea of scientific development mostly carried forward by brilliant revelations and theories, as "[a] special talent can rarely find expression when the world will have none of it" (Merton 1938: 364). Thus, instead of analyzing brilliant ideas and theories, he studies the 'external', social and cultural circumstances, and emphasizes their primacy. Although this present article is based on the notion that, in the history of science, so-called external and internal factors are inseparable, the aspects Merton

deemed important play a major role in 19th century England as well – even if they should not be considered merely 'external'.

As Merton points out, socio-economic needs directly influenced scientific research – favoring some areas and pushing others into the background. He also claims that a positive attitude towards change as such was a significant element of the context within which 17th century science developed. In my opinion, it is exactly the belief, blooming in the 19th century, in the desirability of change understood as progress, that was the most important and fundamental ingredient of Victorian English scientific life – and not only as an 'external' cultural factor, but also as a focal question within the scientific discourses themselves. Thus, progress became a desired and even expected social and political goal, which concerned practically every area from the politics of Empire to the sanitary state of public places – and, at the same time, a point of scientific interest addressed within the framework of different, and gradually separating, scientific disciplines. As progress was elevated to the rank of the highest value by modernity, the prestige of science rose with it, and its practitioners became ever better versed in posing as the holders of the key to progress.

The changes in the modus operandi of the institutions of 19th century English science show, among other things, that science thus redefined took on an increasingly public role in two senses. First, it became able to attract the interest of an ever-growing audience; and second in the sense that the scientists started, much more consciously and efficiently, to argue that science is a matter of concern, and what is more, is in the interests of society at large. A utilitarian approach to science which emphasizes that scientific results are not only valuable in themselves but rather can be utilized specifically for the benefit of society could only thrive in the receptive soil of a broader way of thinking impregnated by the idea of progress. And this is a defining characteristic of modernity.

A Company of Cultured Aristocrats: the Royal Society

At the beginning of the 19th century, The Royal Society of London, established in 1660, the British counterpart of an academy of science, was more akin to a "fashionable club" (Turner 1978) than a major scientific institution, in the sense that its membership was largely based on social background and connections rather than scientific excellence.[9] In accordance with a ruling from 1731, recruitment of a new member required the recommendation of three members. The letter of recommendation, signed by these members and hung on the wall, often did not contain many details about the candidate's scientific work, and sometimes only contained generic text[10]. Obviously, it was, more than anything else, the names – the

9 About the Royal Society, see Turner 1978, Boas Hall 1984, Morrell–Thackray 1981. Notes and records of the meetings, information on the members and other related materials are available: http://royalsociety.org/library/collections/#archive.

10 This merely stated that a certain gentleman of great knowledge "in various branches of science", wishes to become a Fellow, and the undersigned believe him to be "fully worthy of this honour". The exact texts of recommendation for the

standing – of the candidate and of his mentors that were decisive in the matter. This is not to say that the question of members' scientific achievements did not arise at all. Nonetheless, it can be argued that an excellent naturalist could only become a Fellow of the Royal Society if he possessed the right connections, whereas a gentleman of high standing could achieve the same without any actual scientific work, were this his ambition. In his sharply critical and, as a result, highly controversial book, Charles Babbage described the process as the following: "A. B. gets any three Fellows to sign a certificate, stating that he (A. B.) is desirous of becoming a member, and likely to be a useful and valuable one. This is handed in to the Secretary, and suspended in the meeting-room. At the end of ten weeks, if A. B. has the good fortune to be perfectly unknown by any literary or scientific achievement, however small, he is quite sure of being elected as a matter of course. If, on the other hand, he has unfortunately written on any subject connected with science, or is supposed to be acquainted with any branch of it, the members begin to inquire what he has done to deserve the honour; and, unless he has powerful friends, he has a fair chance of being black-balled." (Babbage 1830: 50-51)

General changes, however, slowly started to influence the ways in which scientific organizations operated as well. British society and social thinking from the 1820s to the 40s was heavily impregnated by the issue of reform. The 'Age of Reform' was characterized by demonstrations, violent action against striking workers, organizations emerging along different ideological lines, a widening middle class, and the birth of new industrial and cultural centers that created alternatives to London. New and faster ways of transportation and communication made new alliances possible that stretched beyond the immediate locality; it is not surprising therefore that the number of different societies and unions multiplied. Even legislation passed in 1831 banning all kinds of new organizations could not hinder this process. Since they were formed under the ideology of science, the attraction of the new scientific societies, as Morrell and Thackray point out (1981), lay in the idea that they represented universal values and thus bridged political and social differences. This was the time of the establishment of *the British Association for the Advancement of Science* too, based on a wider social background: its membership was recruited from not just the aristocracy but also the gentry and the middle class.[11]

As opposed to the new societies that were formed under and adjusted to the changed circumstances, the aristocratic club of the Royal Society seemed less and less compatible in this context. The question of reform was kept at the fore during the 1820s, but as the leadership was held by a "comfortable, insulated, controlling oligarchy" (Morrell–Thackray 1981: 36), changes remained only a wish for some. The Royal Society continued to be satisfied with its old and convenient positions. The first three charters

candidates can be viewed here: https://collections.royalsociety.org/?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqCmd=Overview.tcl&dsqSearch=(((text)%3d%27conditions%27)or((text)%3d%27for%27)or((text)%3d%27fellowship%27))and(RefNo%3d%27EC*%27)

11 The BAAS will be discussed in detail below.

of the Society, issued between 1662 and 1669 (the second two being additions to the first one), which describe the structure and the privileges of the organization, and name the King as the main founder and patron of the Society[12], established a framework that seemed to suit members until the first half of the 19th century. The Royal Society of the early 19th century maintained a fundamentally passive, comfortable modus operandi, and, as Morrell and Thackray emphasize (op. cit.), in contrast to some of the newly formed societies, it expressed its views and gave advice to the government only when asked, and never aspired to explicitly and actively take a stand on any issue. Its lobbying never extended beyond utilizing informal relations and neither did the Society lobby for government funding and support for science as such, an objective that soon became the driving aspiration of other organizations.

The idea that the Royal Society, and with it science as a whole, was in dire need of reform was first proposed from outside the ranks of the Society. In 1830, the excellent mathematician Charles Babbage published his above-mentioned book, *Reflections on the Decline of Science in England and on Some of Its Causes*. Not only did it provoke controversy but it also created new frontlines within scientific life. The work offers a highly unfavorable picture of the Royal Society and describes it as a somewhat pathetic 'flagship' of British, or even, international, scientific life, and strongly argues for profound changes. However, there were many who were satisfied with current operations who felt the work was an unreasonable attack. Similarly controversial opinions were expressed by David Brewster, the inventor of the kaleidoscope and editor of the *Edinburgh Journal of Science*, in the pages of his journal.[13] They both deemed the state of science to be a source of grief and shame. According to them, the reasons for the shameful state lay in a combination of institutional passivity; an inability to represent interests and old-fashioned, aristocratic ways which relegated science to no more than a mere hobby. As a consequence, real scientific achievements did not enjoy any support. They drew attention to the sharp contrast to the situation in France, where science could lay a legitimate and rightful claim to state support, and scientific accomplishments received their due recognition.

These ideas served as the bases of a reform plan to introduce radical changes to the Royal Society. The advocates of reform chose John Herschel, the outstanding scientist – astronomer, photographer, meteorologist, and botanist, one to have received the Copley Medal – as their candidate for president at the elections in the autumn of 1830. His rival, none less than the Duke of Sussex himself, eventually won by a slight majority of votes – and the reform did not materialize.

12 Source: https://collections.royalsociety.org/DServe.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqCmd=show.tcl&dsqSearch=(RefNo==%27DC%2F1%2F1%27)

13 Brewster serves as a good illustration that 19th century British scientific discourses were fractured along several different lines, and therefore we cannot talk about homogenous or united camps. Brewster took a strong stand in supporting the institutional reform of scientific life, while just as strongly opposing even the early, less radical versions of evolutionary theories that were about to start gaining ever greater intellectual traction. This is not simply because what seemed progressive in 1830 became obsolete within a couple of decades, but rather because even the most controversial issues that created the sharpest structural divides within the scientific field, such as religion and evolution, did not create fully unambiguous and permanent camps.

This attempt offered several lessons. On the one hand, it became clear that a majority within the Royal Society still considered it to be an aristocratic organization, and attached more significance to rank and social background than to scientific activity. On the other, it also became apparent that the cause of modernization needed far wider support, and reformers needed to make alliances. As Morrell and Thackray show through detailed documentation (1981), this failed attempt, and the lessons learnt, gave birth to the British Association of the Advancement of Science in 1831.

As to the Royal Society, it continued to operate, undisturbed and unperturbed, along the lines of its old modus operandi for a while longer. Although by the middle of the century the number of scientist members had increased, and a committee was appointed in 1831 "to consider the best means of limiting the numbers admitted into the Royal Society"[14], this was as yet not reflected in the organization's rules. It remained an issue of debate whether the Society should continue its existence as a company of influential aristocrats, or become one composed of men who excelled at science. In view of the continental example, the question of whether to seek support from the state, or to remain a fully independent, private body, relying on the beneficence of supporters, remained a controversial issue (Boas Hall 1984). To put it differently, it was not clear whether it was better to depend on state funding or to remain relying on aristocratic patronage.

Real changes eventually started in 1847 with the introduction of significant reforms – reforms that initiated the process whereby the Royal Society turned into a modern scientific body. Rules regulating membership were changed so that henceforth only 15 members a year could be newly elected, thus reducing the size of the membership in the long run. Also, more importantly, in selecting new members scientific criteria were accorded more weight than social ones (Boas Hall 1984: 155-156). The key to the changes lay clearly within the composition of the membership: the Royal Society was unable to catch up with ongoing processes that altered scientific life as long as members predominantly represented and expressed an older view of science. Thus, at the middle of the century, the Royal Society stepped onto the road that led to the modernization of scientific institutions; that is, towards an explicit reduction of the influence of the political, social and religious and more emphasis on a more 'purely' scientific approach.

However, it would be highly misleading to conclude that social relations were no longer an integral part of the working of either the Royal Society, or any other scientific body, or the whole of the scientific field. Influence, informal relationships, social capital and other ingredients of social and cultural relations remained organic elements of science. And yet, a process which would render the influence of these 'external' factors within the scientific field illegitimate, and thus limit it, began to

14 Source: https://collections.royalsociety.org/DServe.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqCmd=show.tcl&dsqSearch=(RefNo==%27DM%2F1%2F37%27)

thoroughly change scientific life. Such disguising of social embeddedness constituted a significant element of the younger, but immediately more 'professional' *British Society for the Advancement of Science*.

'Gentlemen of Science': the British Association for the Advancement of Science

A lot is revealed about the nature of how science is conducted by the fact that the term 'scientist' itself was only coined in 1833 by William Whewell, the Cambridge professor of mathematics. But it is not without good reason either that this happened at the third annual meeting of the BAAS. For this was the society in which – regarding both its notions and practice – the germ of 20th century science production can be identified right from the beginning.[15]

The formation of the British Association was initiated by men of science who were dissatisfied by the old-fashioned ways and inertia of the Royal Society, by its incapacity to lobby for the cause of science, and especially by the fact that, despite all these drawbacks, it still dominated the field of science. At the 'Age of Reform' the necessity of reforming science was clearly expressed. But this necessity was not understood as a cause in itself, but rather an expression of a higher social goal: science needed to be reformed in order that society could be reformed.[16] Unsurprisingly, personal ambitions also played a role in establishing the BAAS: some of its primary advocates had not been able to achieve what they thought was their due in hitherto socially rather closed scientific life. Brewster, for example, who dreamed up the British Association, was the son of an Edinburgh teacher, an excellent inventor, who, considering his achievements, received little institutional recognition.

The Association was formed in an era, when, on the one hand, in the wake of rapid industrialization, there was an unparalleled growth of interest in science. This era saw an abundance of new 'learned societies' and journals, and a proliferation of popular scientific writing. Data gathered by Morrell and Thackray clearly show a marked increase during the decades between the end of the 18th and middle of the 19th centuries (Morrell–Thackray 1981: 13). Furthermore, societies formed in the countryside had a greater share in the overall increase: urbanization, as we have seen, resulted in, among other things, a growing number of new cultural centers. Enthusiastic hobby naturalists, excited about the newest geological discoveries and theories, could enjoy the opportunities better communication channels offered for

15 Thorough documentation and analysis of the first years of the British Association can be found in Morrell and Thackray 1981, which serves as the major source for the overview below. If not otherwise stated, data and information used on the following pages can be found there. The notes and records of the first five annual meetings of the BAAS are available here: http://baas.research.glam.ac.uk/.

16 The organic relationship between the reform of science and that of society was an idea put forward ever more explicitly. This was the very notion that helped scientific bodies to grow more powerful in representing their interests, and became a major rhetorical device used in the struggle for the autonomy of science. It even formed the background of more abstract philosophical debates, such as, for example, the debate between Whewell and J. S. Mill. (For this see Snyder 2006.)

the countrywide distribution and discussion of fossils and other findings[17]. On the other hand, in an era of sharpening political conflicts and disturbances, science as the representative of universal values appeared to be a means to bridge ruptures, and to create a politically and ideologically independent, peaceful island. The universal nature of the science represented by the BAAS was also indicated by the aspiration to include as many foreign scientists as possible within its ranks. And although most foreign members were not active, the Association could pride itself on having the membership of scholars such as the famous Belgian statistician A. Quetelet, who even participated at some meetings. This universalistic approach, the idea that scientific societies, and more precisely the BAAS could unite very different groups in the name of science, that it was independent of political and religious values, and that it could dissolve tensions and oppositions – this self-identification was one of the most important keys to the success of the Association.

Another highly important innovation was the novel modus operandi of the BAAS. Apart from the Geological Society, established in 1807, the BAAS was the only scientific body at this time to introduce a system of presentations and discussions of scientific papers at its annual meetings. This made active participation possible for many, and significantly contributed to the spread of the institution of scientific discussions and of the ideas presented therein. The system of research funds and grants (also first introduced by the British Association) was no less attractive. All this was possible because of the unexpected and unparalleled success of the Association: the first meeting in York was attended by more than three hundred people, and within a couple of years this number grew to several thousand, just like the number of permanent members. Attendance at meetings and membership cost money, forming the basis of a research fund. The regularly published *Reports* were another success – after the first few years, they contained summaries of original research. All this was greatly different from how the Royal Society worked, and made the British Association within a very short time the most popular, and, when it came to lobbying and advocacy, the most authoritative and most powerful scientific body.

The British Association posed, right from the beginning, in the role of an instrument of social cohesion. It aspired to appear to be a neutral body, existing above and transcending social, political-ideological, religious and geographical differences and opposition. The British intelligentsia of the time were rather mixed: their ranks composed of bankers, entrepreneurs and aristocrats alongside countryside teachers, vicars, physicians, and gentlemen of independent (often inherited) means. The decentralizing effects of industrialization manifested themselves geographically in the emergence of cultural centers outside London: several country towns became the homes of scientific societies, clubs and journals. The increasing religious heterogeneity of society was another significant aspect of pluralization: while the

17 For the significance of this see McGowan 2001.

cultural and political dominance of the Anglican Church was sanctioned by written rules, the proportion of nonconformists increased significantly, and Methodism grew in strength as well, especially among the working class.[18] The major political frontlines were marked by the Whig/Tory opposition, and the strengthening socialist movement.

The British Association was meant to embody the independence and autonomy of science from all this. In comparison to the situation with the Royal Society, this is, beyond doubt, a not fully unrealistic picture. There is a vast abyss, however, between the notion that the British Association was an inclusive, all-encompassing, uniting and neutral body and the reality that emerges from looking closely at the membership of the BAAS, and more significantly at the narrow group that actually controlled the Association. For they were a group with a homogeneous social background, representing very clear political and religious values.

After analyzing the first six years of the BAAS, Morrell and Thackray (1981) consider that a circle of 23 men were the most influential. They held the most important offices within the Society, decided about the distribution of research grants, determined the contents of the yearly *Reports* – and what is more, largely wrote them themselves, just as they were the main beneficiaries of the research grants. They decided where to hold the yearly meetings – a decision of high strategic significance. In short, they decided about every single issue of importance. This group included the above-mentioned Charles Babbage and David Brewster who had voiced their discontent and ideas about reform in their writing. John Dalton, renowned for his theory of the atom, and William Whewell, the Cambridge mathematics professor of growing reputation and respect, both belonged here, just as did another Cambridge professor: the botanist John Henslow, young Darwin's mentor.

In contrast to the universalistic image, this group can be defined by indicators of status: almost all of them were Anglicans, more specifically Anglicans belonging to the relatively more liberal, but basically centrist Broad Church. Neither Methodists, nor Catholics or Jews were to be found within their ranks, there were only two nonconformists, and the only Quaker, Dalton. Politically, they supported the Whigs – several of them were MPs – that is, they were on the side of centrist politics, supported cautious reform, and they demarcated their views from those of radical conservatives and socialists or utilitarians of the ilk of John Stuart Mill.[19] Geographically, the London-Cambridge axis dominated. The men of science controlling the BAAS in its first period of existence were typically Cambridge professors or prominent figures from the London scientific scene, members of London scientific societies, especially of the Geological Society. This group had significant social capital, and was bonded to the political and cultural elite by strong ties. In comparison to the Royal Society, it

18 For the religious diversification of British society during the era, see Wolffe 1994, Larsen 2004, 2011, or the data of the religious census conducted in 1851 (Census 1854). (The Census data need to be interpreted with reference to the circumstances of the gathering of the information.)

19 About the connection between science and Whig politics see Bord 2009.

was, nonetheless, typically less conservative and positioned lower in terms of social background.[20]

While there is no doubt that the BAAS had a more democratic base than the Royal Society, the Association was also strongly dependent on support from aristocrats.[21] Within its rapidly increasing membership the aristocracy was significantly represented until the 1840s, and by 1844 they exceeded the number of academics (Morrell–Thackray 1981:110). Exclusive dinners and balls were organized at the annual meetings, not least for the purpose of gaining and maintaining the support of the best circles, and the presidency of the BAAS was held several times by an aristocrat who lacked scientific credentials but possessed a good name. From the end of the 1830s, voices demanding that a prominent scientist be president became louder, and Lyell expressed his view that the 'dignity' of science required a man of science to be the first man of the Association (ibid. 117). Eventually, from the middle of the 1840s, by which time the BAAS had grown into an unquestionably powerful body, less dependent upon the benevolence and practical support of the aristocracy, this became the actual guiding principle.[22]

But what did science itself, in its form represented by this excellent society, look like? First of all, their science was *natural science*. Philosophy and classics were left out, and even anthropology and statistics were interpreted as quasi-natural sciences. According to Morrell and Thackray (op. cit.), this was because subjects like social sciences and philosophy were controversial fields, evoking issues leaden with tension, which a balanced, or rather, cautious society that scrupulously avoided openly taking sides could not afford.

Also, in accordance with their universalistic mission, in answering an important – perhaps the most important – question of the era, they advocated the mutual independence and autonomy of science and religion. The suitable approach was a form of theology of nature. As a reply to the increasingly obvious and better-accepted notion of permanent change within nature, this approach sought out and discovered signs of Divine providence and wisdom in the processes taking place within nature. That is, it advocated harmony between Scripture and natural science. For the wary British Association, natural theology offered a perfect theoretical framework for the dual purpose of not having to deem latest scientific results blasphemy, but at the same time not having to challenge the validity of religious dogmas either.

20 As we shall see, members of the more radical X Club, which was formed later, represented the social elites even less. Although this suggests a very definite tendency, in my opinion, scientific life in Victorian England was far more complex than predominantly manifesting unambiguous processes like this. Different groups and networks overlapped other along various important lines of dispute and interest. Hence, we cannot talk about the unambiguous victory of science over religion, or the middle classes taking over the important positions from the aristocracy, or even about these – or any other clearly delineated – groups confronting one another.

21 Exact data can be found in Morrell–Thackray 1981: 549. The tables here show that the proportion of the aristocracy within the membership gradually decreased between 1831 and 1844. At the same time, the number of academics with university positions fell too. This indicates that it was not so much the composition of the membership, but rather the distribution of influential or symbolic positions that marked the slow process of becoming more independent that was beginning to take place. The same process is marked far more clearly by the decrease in religious membership (the number of Anglican vicars), which was quite spectacular as early as the first 15 years of the organization.

22 However, scientific activity remained a kind of fashion within aristocratic circles. Many people of rank established 'scientific centres' on their estates, some even housing laboratories after their emergence and spread in the 1870. See Opitz 2006.

Nevertheless, even the BAAS could not avoid addressing the controversial issue of the tense relationship between religion and science altogether. Advocates of a more dogmatic version of religious teachings attacked the British Association, claiming that by promoting the self-value of science it was really promoting secular ideas, and by doing that it was threatening the moral unity of society. William Vernon Harcourt, a member of the inner circle of the BAAS and its president in 1839, who was not only an Anglican minister (similarly to many others from this group), but had a church career, had to, in his presidential address, explicitly raise the issue and try to convincingly argue for the mutual independence of religion and science (Morrell–Thackray 1981: 243). Harcourt and others fought hard against the allegation that science – at least in the form represented by the BAAS – would inevitably lead to religious teachings being replaced by materialistic notions. Their argument centered around a harmonious picture of the relationship between the two fields.

By this time, certain religious tenets had already become burdened with sensibilities and tension. Increasingly deep fractures and hostilities between different denominations, and within the Anglican Church itself, had made the whole issue harder to tackle. Things did not become easier when newer and newer ideas about a changing nature, ancient Earth and extinct species appeared on the scene. It became practically impossible for scientific bodies to face the problem. The seemingly best strategy was that taken by the BAAS: defense of both fields of study through expressing a vision of the harmonious coexistence of religion and science. However, in a country where a strong tradition of the literal interpretation of the Bible still flourished and had many supporters despite recent geological findings which clearly contradicted this perspective, this point of view was not easy to maintain.

Many historians of science attribute great significance to a work published in 1844 by an anonymous author under the title *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*.[23] In Morrell and Thackray's interpretation, this book evoked outrage and resentment from BAAS scientists because it explored the relationship in exactly the way that they had fought against: this book pursued an explanation of the changes in nature much further than they did themselves, emphasizing their scientific, materialistic bases. From the early evolutionist works, this is the book that James Secord (2001) also considers to be of utmost importance, arguing that its sensational publication and the following debates prepared the Victorian public to receive ideas about evolution that came later. Whereas I fully agree with the claim about the significance of the *Vestiges*, in my view, neither this nor other early evolutionary publications managed to prepare the soil for evolutionary theory to be fully received, at least in its Darwinian version. The intensity of the heated debates that followed the 1859 publication of the *Origin of the Species* had a lot to do with the genius of Darwin's model, and it was exactly the radically novel element of his theory that prompted so much controversy,

23 The author of the *Vestiges* was Robert Chambers, the Scottish publisher. His identity remained publicly undiscovered until 1884 (the 12th edition of the book), and until then the mystery caused a lot of attention.

at times bordering on outrage: the emphasis on the contingent character of evolution. For the idea of a nature producing its wonders in a basically random fashion, in an unpredictable process that could not even be entirely understood as progress, was almost completely alien to Victorian notions of the world. And herein lies the explanation for the long-term rejection of this version of Darwin's theory, and the fact that even most evolutionary scientists refused to accept the element of randomness in the mechanism that Darwin called 'natural selection'. Thus, we can say that nothing had actually prepared Victorian audiences for such a shock, and that indeed, for many decades to come, different, more domesticated iterations of evolutionary theory were produced which ensured that Darwin's theory was not rejected altogether. The *Vestiges* attracted huge attention for many reasons, not just because of the mystery surrounding their author, but the document still remained within the framework of natural theology, described a predictable, unilinear, teleological process that even then was a big enough bite for most of the Victorian reading public, and did little to increase the uptake of more radical notions.

It nonetheless remains the case that from the point of view of the BAAS leaders – who, even if not in their political values but certainly with regards to their social networks and modus operandi, were conservative and deeply embedded in Anglicanism – the Vestiges was a dangerous book, since it actually represented a more secular scientific approach.

The spectacularly successful Association grew significantly within a very short time. It became clear almost immediately that the meetings could only be organized along disciplinary divisions, thus creating sections was necessary. At the beginning, Section A, including mathematics, physics and astronomy, was the most favored.[24] These fields of study remained at a distance from the problematic, controversial disciplines, and were also perfect for showcasing the objectivity of science and the applicability of its results, while at the same time their 'perfection' corresponded with ideas about divine wisdom and harmony. These areas of study dominated in both the publications of the *Reports* and the distribution of grants. Geology and geography (Section C) were also important. Geology was especially significant, since – aside from botany, which was considered to be a feminine and therefore inferior area[25] – it was the discipline most capable of involving enthusiastic amateur naturalists, the pillars of Victorian English science. Furthermore, this was the area that, after Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, and later the Vestiges, first raised the issue of evolution, and thus evoked interest outside the BAAS. It is for good reason, therefore, that the meetings of Section C were always well-attended. However, for a few years this was not reflected in the financing of research. From 1835 onwards these topics took up greater space in the *Reports*, but still in a form that expressed a strictly natural theological approach. Of

24 For exact data about the distribution of research grants by section or name, and about publications of members see Morrell–Thackray 1981: 550, 551, 552.

25 For such a perception of botany see Endersby 2009.

course, as a result of the developments soon to take place (from the end of the 1850s) in the famous Section D, botany and zoology entered the limelight.

The Association's scrupulous avoidance of the political is visible in its treatment of ethnology (anthropology) and statistics. Ethnology endangered the popular – and, from today's viewpoint, racist – Eurocentric notions of superiority, and at the same time raised awkward questions about Britain's colonial politics.[26] The Aborigines' Protection Society was established in 1837 to advocate for aboriginals living in the colonies, and tried to scientifically found itself of the notion that colonialism was cruel. This kind of anthropology was not acceptable to the BAAS. Not because its scientists supported oppressing and inhumane politics, but because they would not accept any scientific theory that had clear political implications, whatever it might be. As a result of controversies amongst anthropologists of the time, the Ethnological Society of London was established in 1842, although this association restricted its activities to documenting linguistic, archeological and other facts about aboriginals, and thus neutralized the field. Even though the opposing scientific body – the Anthropological Society – advocated a racist and oppressive politics, and therefore, in this context, the Ethnological Society also represented a political stance by refuting this, in practice, their descriptive and neutral approach was acceptable to the BAAS (Barton 1998, Morrell–Thackray 1981).

Something similar happened with the also problematic field of statistics. During the first decades of the century a great deal of attention was directed at demographic issues because of the appearance of urban masses and the pace of population growth henceforth considered dangerous. For the British Association, only a neutral statistics that lacked political implications was acceptable.[27] This was despite the fact that the 1833 meeting in Cambridge saw the participation of Thomas Malthus and Adolphe Quetelet, the prominent Belgian statistician, and papers published on statistics were attracting crowds – all of which indicated an obvious interest in a less politically neutral approach towards the topic. The leaders of the Association, however, made sure to draw the lines between a descriptive and ameliorate statistics, and to keep their own approach within the former. Applications for research grants for research on statistics were rejected, and the editors of the *Reports* habitually cut statistical-related papers down to mere overviews of 'facts'.

Another novelty of the British Association stemmed from its sheer size and visibility. Membership was in the thousands within only a few years[28], which

26 Adding to this, it also offered 'scientific' entertainment by organizing 'aboriginal exhibits'. In 1847, for instance, Londoners could inspect bushmen, Zulus, pygmies, etc. 'exhibited' in Exeter Hall. See Qureshi 2011.

27 Population growth had, by this time, been targeted by different practical policies and interventions, raising various political, philosophical, ideological and moral questions (see Robinson 2002). Thus, a 'scientific', 'neutral' conception of any issue related to this problem indicated that the strategy of ignorance of the BAAS was fully conscious.

28 For different indicators of membership see Morrell–Thackray 1981: 548-550. The approach that tied membership to fees differed significantly from that of the Royal Society. This latter had far fewer members (even prior to the reforms of 1847 only about 20-25 new members were accepted a year), but since its finances did not depend on fees, it did not need a wider membership. As we have seen, the opposite strategy was later to be followed: the Society moved towards a stricter selection of members from the middle of the century.

provided a steady income and also secured an excellent lobbying position for the Association. Even more significantly, the BAAS was the first respected scholarly body that turned its events into real festivals, marked by spectacular symbols and pomp – and thus, both recognized and deepened the relationship between science and publicity. Meetings, abundant in spectacle and 'celebrities', prominent scientists and nobilities, attracted not only thousands of people, but also the attention of the press. Thus, apart from cultivating a clear science politics, directing energies into lobbying and advocacy, and nurturing both formal and informal relationships, the BAAS was able to communicate the values of science in a visual manner, and thus to widen its scope of audience. In this sense, science did indeed become a public matter.

Expressing his concern in 1840, the physicist and mathematician Humphrey Lloyd, a later president of the BAAS, stated: "The only thing that seems to me doubtful is the propriety of the Association itself meddling with the ladies, or taking their money. Is it not rather American?" (quoted in Morrell–Thackray 1981: 148).

'Meddling with the ladies', however, proved to be of great benefit to the British Association. Until the second half of the 19th century women were excluded from all scientific bodies and positions, so it is not surprising that they were not invited to attend the first meeting of the BAAS at all. Mrs. Somerville, the grande dame of science of the time, was herself of the opinion that female participation would decrease the prestige and solemnity of the Association. However, changes in personal attitudes are also telling: by the end of the 1860s, Mary Somerville went so far as to sign Mill's petition for giving the right to vote to women. The iconic figure of the times eventually came to contribute to a slow change in women's role in culture and science[29], but during the first half of the 19th century women could not demand a place within the field of science. However, as BAAS meetings were held in country towns, many of those attending brought along their wives and daughters, and so, in practice, the life of the Association was from the beginning colored by the presence of women. In 1833, 'ladies' tickets' were introduced, offering a significant source of income for the BAAS. Ladies' tickets notwithstanding, women were barred from membership for a long time, and even with their tickets could only attend evening lectures and social events connected to meetings. The letter quoted above reflects the situation the Association had to face by the end of the 1830s: women had actually become an organic feature in the life of the BAAS, mainly because of their financial contribution and permanent presence. The ambivalence about this situation is quite typical of the whole era, or in fact suggests a relatively tolerant attitude, given the circumstances of women in Victorian England, where, for instance, they were not permitted to attend universities, and were restricted in their other rights as well. In my opinion, the reluctant tolerance of the BAAS is not so much a manifestation of the expression of a value system, but rather an unintended consequence of the new modus operandi. For the creation and

29 For more about Mary Somerville see Neely 2003.

significance of the research fund, and the importance of the grandiose meetings meant that the Association could not afford to fully exclude a group that bought more than a thousand tickets a year. The female presence was also desirable at meetings that were highlighted by ceremonies, balls and dinners – all utilized for gaining wide social support. Thus, their partial inclusion was a result of a compromise made between the demands of necessity and reputation.

Science represented by the BAAS was therefore not devoid of values and ideological implications. In fact, we cannot even claim that it was in practice more neutral than the form advocated by the Royal Society. However, a highly important *differentia specifica* of modern science can be grasped here, at the moment of its birth: science does have to appear to be useful and objective, and if it does represent any kind of value, it must be nothing other than the common good, the cause of humankind. Science is a value in itself, and as such, its criteria must be concerned with finding the truth, but at the same time it serves the good of society, and in that respect its value system relates to serving the cause of progress. Any other feature that threatens to surface and influence the scientific field creates a bias and weakens its powers. This is why the autonomy of science needs to be protected. This ideology, from which scientists of many developed countries have profited since the 19th century, demanded that the workings of the scientific field which – necessarily and inevitably – continued to be socially and culturally embedded, should appear to be autonomous, and 'external' influences should be limited and masked.

Darwin's 'Young Guard': the X-Club

19th century English science existed in the age of clubs. Besides official scientific associations and universities, many informal groups were formed, some of which exerted a decisive influence on the workings of the official bodies. The informal club was an accepted means of exchanging and discussing new ideas and information. Besides the Red Lion Club, or the renowned Philosophical Club, and other similar groups, Herbert Spencer and his friends founded the X-Club in 1864. The Club had nine members, all prominent scientists, and during the two and a half decades of its existence its members managed to significantly shape and influence the scientific life of Victorian England.[30]

Any interpretation of the Club's modus operandi is not unambiguous. The explicit intention of the scientists that belonged to this club was only to nurture their old relationships through regular conversations over dinner, but it is also obvious that they had a clear view of how scientific life and thinking should be transformed. As Th. A. Hirst recalled of the founding of the club: "Besides personal friendship,

30 Members of the X-Club were the following: J. D. Hooker: botanist, T. H. Huxley: naturalist, physiologist, W. Spottiswoode: mathematician, J. Tyndall: physicist, E. Frankland: chemist, Th. Hirst: mathematician, G. Busk: physician, naturalist, J. Lubbock: naturalist, and the philosopher H. Spencer. About the X-Club see Jensen 1970, MacLeod 1970, Turner 1978, Moore 1991, Barton 1990, 1998, Desmond 2001.

the bond that united us was devotion to science, pure and free, untramelled by religious dogmas." (quoted in Jensen 1970:1). In the contemporary mind, the group was held to be the most influential scientific lobby; some referred to the members as "the Albermarle street conspirators" (referring to where the hotel they met at was located), and a newer article calls them a "guerilla army" (Moore 1991). These adjectives, even if somewhat exaggerated, are in fact supported by historical insight. What can certainly be stated is – as an American advocate of evolutionary ideas wrote during his visit to England – that these were a set of highly "influential chaps" (quoted in Barton 1990: 58). What their personal intentions at the first meeting were is hard to establish. Perhaps this circle of friends only founded the club in order to nurture their personal relationships, but it is more likely that they suspected, as early as in 1864, that – as Hirst put it in his diaries (Jensen 1970: 1) – there would come a time when coordinated action would prove useful. Regardless of their explicit intentions and plans, the X-Club became one of the most influential groups in 19th century English scientific life, and this informal body exerted a decisive influence upon the processes that took place within the official organizations of science for more than two decades.

In the narrative outlined in the present article, the emergence of this group indicates a decisive advance in the process that led to the transformation of the old-fashioned, gentlemanly, 'amateurish' science into a modern, disciplinarily-divided, politically and socially more neutral science: in short, professionalization. This new understanding of science brought a greater degree of autonomy, made the role of 'external' – social, political, cultural – factors more indirect, and parallel to the transformation of the scientific field, it also significantly changed every day popular thinking.

Members of the dining club knew each other from the 1850s, many of them as close friends. Spencer, Huxley, Hooker and the others had different social and financial backgrounds, but at the beginning of their careers they were all in marginal positions within a scientific field mostly comprised of gentlemen of privileges who were conducting a traditional and largely religious science. Ruth Barton (1998) outlines the early networks between the members. According to her description, there were basically two circles of three friends – one containing Tyndall, Hirst and Frankland and one containing Huxley, Busk and Hooker – that the group organized around and grew out of. It took longer for those in the first group to become naturalists as they came from less privileged backgrounds. The father of the Irish Tyndall, for instance, was a police constable, and Tyndall himself started his career as a land surveyor. He met both Frankland and Hirst at university. Hooker, Huxley and Busk had worked as physicians for the navy before embarking upon a scientific career in London in the early 1850s. The last ones to join the group were Spencer, Lubbock, and Spottiswoode, and soon after their appearance on the scene the X Club was formed. Lubbock and Spottiswoode represented the privileged Anglican milieu. The wealthy Lubbock, who happened to be Darwin's neighbor in Down, was an influential supporter of

scientific work, and, significantly, the treasurer of the Royal Society. Hence, Lubbock and Spottiswoode had the necessary connections to promote entry into the 'proper' circles, and increased the Club's prestige in general. And Spencer, the eternal outsider, who came from a Nonconformist family, had gained enough recognition with his publications on the philosophy of evolution by the 1860s to be an important link to more radical literary and philosophical circles. This was clearly rather heterogeneous company, but members typically – in comparison to the dominant members of either the Royal Society or the BAAS – had a more marginalized social background.

Beyond their personal relationships, the main bond between them was the rejection of Christian orthodoxies in their scientific understanding of the world. The nine members covered much of the scientific spectrum, and for a good reason: representing 'Science' was an explicit intention of theirs, right from the moment of the founding of the Club. The group was also, especially at the beginning when the members were young, a vehicle for mutual career support. Higher ambitions, the cause of science as such, came into the forefront when their own institutional positions became more secure.

Several of them had, by 1864, been accepted into the Athenaeum Club, the organized body of the intellectual elite which offered them access to different elite groups. They increasingly became involved in different public issues. They joined the Ethnological Society, for instance, which got into a stormy conflict with the racist Anthropological Society. The latter, founded in 1863, in contrast to the Ethnological Society that by then supported evolutionary theories, refuted Darwinism and its political-ideological connotations: it questioned, for example, the idea of the common origin of humankind. The X-Club members furthermore supported clerical reform in alliance with leading liberal thinkers such as Mill. They collectively and publicly defended the Essayists (the authors of *Essays and Reviews*) and Bishop Colenso, who in their work (published in 1860 and 1862 respectively) – scandalous according to many – challenged the literal truth of the Bible. Overall, there were hardly any controversial public issues about which the members of the Club did not voice their opinion. Obviously then, this group, unlike the British Association and the Royal Society, did not shy away from making open political statements of a type far more radical than the more latent but still fairly clear orientations of the other two bodies. By the time of the founding of the X-Club, this kind of collective and organized action was not new its members.

The members met regularly until 1892, but during the last years – because of deaths, illnesses and some personal conflicts[31] – as a group they were less efficient. Until then, together they catalyzed processes within the scientific field in a major way.

31 The most important of these was when – indicating the impending collapse of the group – in 1889 Huxley criticized Spencer's radical laissez-faire ideology on the pages of the Times. Huxley always supported central reform, whereas Spencer advocated a very limited role for the state and an unrestricted market economy. This difference of opinion remained secondary for a long time in comparison to their fight for the omnipotence of science, and gained greater significance only after they had achieved a lot as the vanguard of science. Of course, they always knew about their ideological differences, but this time Spencer was outraged because Huxley attacked him publicly.

One of the main topics for discussion at their regular dinners was the candidate list for Royal Society membership. Dinners usually took place immediately before Royal Society meetings, and thus at the following meetings they represented a united front and pursued their interests rather efficiently. During the 1850s and 60s, X-Club scientists were already active, albeit only 'junior', members of the Royal Society. Spencer was the only exception: this was partly due to hurt feelings as he had been refused the recognition of the Society at an earlier date, but much more because of his voluntary, and almost vocational, outsider status. Despite this fact, even he actively participated in discussing and influencing Royal Society affairs. Club members quickly climbed the ladder of Royal Society hierarchy, and several of them (Hooker, Huxley and Spottiswoode) later became presidents. Between the years of 1870 and 1882, at least three X-Club members were members of the presidential committee (Barton: 1990: 60). By 1864, all except for Spencer had become members of the BAAS, and the Club had provided five Association presidents. They played leading roles in the most important discipline-based organizations (for instance, in the Geological Society), and participated in the life of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, one of the most important scientific centers of the time, where they gave numerous public lectures. As Spencer put it in his *Autobiography* (1904, II: 134): "to enumerate all their titles, and honours, and the offices they filled, would occupy too much space. Of the nine, I was the only one who was fellow of no society, and had presided over nothing."

It was interest in Royal Society affairs that gave the immediate incentive for the founding of the X-Club. Despite the reforms of 1847, the society remained characterized by a certain kind of 'amateurishness' for the next two decades – in selecting presidents, for example, social background and proper networks continued to be at least as important factors as scientific excellence. The X-Club members were also highly dissatisfied by the procedural and substantial matter of the giving out of awards and official recognition. In 1864, when Darwin received the Copley Medal, the Society's most prestigious distinction, the group members were outraged by the words of the president George Sabine, who said that in their decision to commend Darwin they had to ignore his theory of natural selection (Barton 1990: 61).

Among other things, the X-Club was also glued together by the decisive advocacy of Darwin's theory, and their endeavors to disseminate to the widest circle possible. Darwin himself was not a member of the Club, although he nurtured close relationships with several of them. (Hooker was one of his oldest and closest friends.) There were disagreements about the details of evolutionary theory[32], but

32 Spencer, for example, did not agree with Darwin about the bases of the process: he did not accept that variations of character appeared randomly, and instead held that the Lamarckian mechanism of the inheritance of acquired characteristics was the major engine of evolution. But, in fact, the overwhelming majority of scientists as well as the public had a problem with accepting contingency. This remained the case for decades more, as, while accepting that the book of Genesis may not contain literal truth, and that species do actually change, was perhaps not all that difficult by then, believing in a process that is random, purposeless and non-directional was way too hard. (Of course, to digest the fact that man was also a subject of the very same process was not easy either.) Moore analyzes the significantly different meanings attributed to the expression 'Darwinism' in 19th century understandings (Moore 1991).

they shrunk in significance in the light of their highest goal: to fight against science that was conducted in a natural theological framework, and in parallel with this, to take over formal and informal positions of authority.

Besides the Royal Society, the British Association occupied a lot of the X-Club members' energies and attention. Again, it was only Spencer who refrained from joining the Association, while the others were active members, or even presidents. They also joined the most important disciplinary bodies such as the Mathematical, Geological, and Chemical Societies.

It would be an exaggeration to claim that they were first and foremost, or even exclusively, motivated by their personal ambitions. The Royal Society represented science itself. Questions like who occupied presidential and other influential positions, who received research grants and different awards were matters of power relations within the field, and of the authority and status of science within a wider public sphere. Hence, they did everything to sever the link between the legitimacy of science and political, aristocratic and religious support, and whereas they also emphasized the utility of science, they wanted the pure value of science recognized too.[33]

Other institutions of science also gained the attention of the X-Club. Huxley and Hooker invested great effort into widening the laboratory networks, increasing the acceptability of laboratory findings and increasing their prestige and role in science instruction as well. Huxley participated in the training of teachers (Desmond 2001). And although they did not acquire positions in major universities – which was not their ambition – they gave lectures in many different institutions of education. In this sense, they did not aspire to an elitist isolation; what is more, they endeavored to disseminate their ideas in the widest possible circles.

the popularization of science. As Lightman (2007) shows, even Huxley, who became known as one of the most vehement, energetic and best popularizers, was not only reluctant about this activity at first, but also explicitly considered popularizing to be an inferior activity. His and his allies' attitudes changed in the context of the rising eminence of natural science instruction in the aftermath of world exhibitions as a result of the Education Act and similar events, all of which showed the importance of educating the public. By the 1860s, upon realizing the outstanding significance of popularizing science, even for their own cause, the

33 The discourse about the utility of science was not independent from questions about the Empire, sharpening international competition, and mainly the rapid and spectacular strengthening of Germany. Talk of a 'Darwinian industrial war' was not rare in political discourse. The scientific movement profited vastly from the expectation that scientific findings could ensure that the industrial superiority of Britain was sustained. But it came under attack as well for the very same reason, since on the one hand it did not quite succeed in meeting these high expectations, and on the other, it met them too well when trying to base the understanding and management of different segments of social life on mere material findings. This was the time when, for example, resistance against newly-introduced vaccinations began (Desmond 2001, MacLeod 1982). It should also be noted here that, even though a widely-held interpretation of Darwin's theory understands it as an application of the theory of competition in classic economics applied to the field of nature, this is in fact difficult to support. Darwin seems to have been more greatly influenced by earlier natural scientific concepts, especially Carl Linneus' Oeconomia Naturae, and there are few traces indicating that the basis of his theory of natural selection lay in his personal experiences of the era, or a theoretical impression of classic political economics (cf. Hull 2005, Pearce 2010).

scientific elite entered the field. Rather than managing to question the legitimacy of the popularizers, they turned into successful popularizers themselves.

The industry of popularizing science was of utmost importance to the paradigm change that took place in Victorian England in scientific thinking. The success of popular scientific work provided huge impetus for the scientific elite to enter this industry, by which they managed to spread their ideas outside the restricted field of pre-existing practitioners and advocates (Lightman 2007). And although, despite their efforts, religious themes continued to impregnate scientific publications and scientific thinking in general right until the end of the century (most of the new and popular scientific works did not meet the criteria of the new scientists who tried to draw a hard line between these fields), we can still say that these publications contributed to the success of the scientific movement. They disseminated scientific knowledge and advocated the importance of natural sciences to a massive audience drawn from different strata of society. This could not have been achieved independently by a scientific elite that isolated itself from the public.

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It is a well-known fact that the 1859 publication of *The Origin of the Species* was followed by lively debates and heated dispute. The reception of Darwin's work was far from a glorious and smooth conquest of ideas. Certain elements of the theory were not accepted by even the majority of the evolutionists for a while. There were many among them who, while claiming to be evolutionists, either somehow smuggled drops of theology of nature back into Darwin's theory or, similarly to the overwhelming majority of the Victorian public and scientists, were simply unable to accept the contingency of the process described by Darwin and thus interpreted it in a teleological manner on the basis of Lamarckism. Hence, there was far less than full agreement, even among the evolutionists. In retrospect, however, it seems that the new scientific approach firmly and unambiguously won over the old, religiously-framed scientific thinking. Eventually, that is what happened. But the process that ultimately separated the fields of religion and science was not one of straight secularization. The cultural and institutional role of the church strengthened in other spheres, and thus the scientific movement was paralleled by a religious revival in Britain (Turner 1978). As a result, the separation of scientific and religious fields became increasingly marked.

From the point of view of the history of science, the most significant feature of the processes taking place was a realignment of the boundaries between religion and science, and 'amateur' and 'professional' science. The representatives of the new science in England wanted to establish an autonomous science completely free from the influence of religion, politics and social background. This can of course never be fully achieved, but the transformations made in earlier age were radical. The new science became far more independent of 'extra-scientific' influence than it had been

before – but ironically, to achieve this goal, the new scientists relied primarily on 'extra-scientific' means.

Autonomy, in this context, can only be understood as a relative term. Inspection of the process that is indicated by the changing modus operandi of the scientific institutions actually reveals, rather than a straightforward increase of autonomy, an increase in the value of the autonomy of science. And, as a consequence, the natural absence of autonomy had to be disguised by a covering of embeddedness and the rendering of different influences more indirect. Social background, political and religious values, financial aspects, personal relationships, trust, or even emotions, and many other phenomena that are normally considered to be extra-scientific, continued to impregnate the sphere of science. These influences, however, were made less direct by the imposition of clearer boundaries, a modified institutional structure, crystallized rules of research and theory building, and clearer criteria for scientific achievement. But these changes do not amount to some sort of deceit or lie; the redefined role of science actually demands the appearance of autonomy – without this, it cannot function as an organic part of a changed social context.

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